C. Francis.

Bound in 1882.

Rebound, 1906.
Contents

2. Willard's History of Lancaster.
3. Dr. Ripley's Half-Century Discourse.
4. Willard's Address to the Members of the Bar in Worcester County.
5. Dr. Pierce's Second Century Discourse at Dorchester.
6. Everett's Address at Charlestown.
7. Dr. Harris' Memorials of the First Church in Dorchester.
8. Mr. Frothingham's Second Century Sermon at the First Church in Boston.
10. Francis: Historical Sketch of Watertown.
TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

SKETCHES

OF THE

TOWN OF NORTHBOROUGH,

WITH THE

EARLY HISTORY OF

MARLBOROUGH,

IN THE

Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

FURNISHED FOR THE

WORCESTER MAGAZINE.

BY REV. JOSEPH ALLEN,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN NORTHBOROUGH, AND MEMBER OF THE

WORCESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WORCESTER:

PUBLISHED BY W. LINCOLN & C. C. BALDWIN.

CHARLES GRIFFIN......PRINTER.

1826.
HISTORY OF NORTHBOROUGH.

Northborough, though one of the youngest and smallest incorporated towns in the County of Worcester, was, for nearly 50 years, prior to the date of its incorporation, a part of Westborough; first as part of an undivided whole, and then as a separate precinct or parish. This carries us back to the year 1717, before which time, Westborough itself, including Northborough, belonged to the large and ancient town of Marlborough. Northborough then, as being included in Marlborough, may lay claim to considerable antiquity. Marlborough was incorporated in 1660, only about 30 years after the commencement of the Massachusetts Colony. The stream of emigration may easily be traced back from this, which was for many years a frontier settlement, bordering upon the unexplored wilderness, to the fountain head. The settlement in Marlborough was commenced four years before the date of its incorporation, by emigrants from Sudbury, which was older by about 20 years than Marlborough, having been incorporated in 1638. The next step carries us back to Concord, which was purchased of the natives and incorporated in 1635.*

The next step brings us to Watertown, where a settlement was made in 1630, the same year that Boston began to be built. It was in this year that a large number of emigrants arrived from England, which served greatly to enlarge and strengthen the Colony, then in its infancy. The oldest town in the Massachusetts Colony is Salem, where a settlement was commenced in 1628, eight years after the landing of our fathers at Plymouth.

Thus we see that within the short space of 30 years from the first planting of this Colony, the wilderness had been explored, and a permanent settlement effected, by our enterprising forefathers, in the ancient town of Marlborough, which then included Westborough, Southborough, and Northborough, now within the limits of Worcester County.

It will not therefore be improper to prefix to the history of this town some account of the first settlement and early history of the Plantation at Marlborough.

The following petition was presented to the General Court in May, 1656.

"To the Hon. Governor, Dep. Governor, Magistrates and Deputies of the General Court now assembled in Boston."

"The humble petition of several of the Inhabitants of Sudbury, whose names are hereunder written, humbly sheweth; that whereas your petitioners have lived divers years in Sudbury, and God hath been pleased to increase our children, which are now divers of them grown to man's estate, and wee, many of us, grown into years, so as that wee should bee glad to see them settled before the Lord take us away from hence, as also God having given us some considerable quantity of cattle, so that wee are so streighened that wee cannot so comfortably subsist as could bee desired; and some of us having taken some pains to view the country; wee have found a place which lyeth westward, about eight miles from Sudbury, which wee conceive might bee comfortable for our subsistence:

"It is therefore the humble request of your Petitioners to this Hon'd Court, that you would bee pleased to grant unto us ( ) eight miles square, or so much land as may containe to eight miles square, for to make a plantation.

"If it shall please this Hon'd Court to grant our petition, it is farther than the request of your petitioners to this Hon'd Court, that you will bee pleased to appoint Mr. Thomas Danforth or Lies ten Fisher to lay out the bounds of the Plantation; and wee shall satisfy those whom this Hon'd Court shall please to employ in it. So apprehending this weighty occasion, wee shall no farther trouble this Hon'd Court, but shall ever pray for your happinesse."

Edmond Rice, Thomas King, William Ward, John How,* John Bent, Sen'r. John Maynard,

*According to a tradition handed down in the family, the first English person that came to reside in Marlborough, was John How, son of a How, of Watertown, supposed to be John How, Esq. who came from Warwickshire,
John Woods, Edward Rice, John Ruddocke,
Richard Newton, Peter Bent, Henry Rice,
Thomas Goodenow.

"That this is a true copy of the original petition presented to
the General Court, May, 1656, left on file and thereto compared, is
Attested, per Edward Rawson, Secry."  To this petition the following answer was made.

At a General Court held in Boston, May 14, 1756.

"In answer to the petition of the aforesaid inhabitants of Sudbury,
the Court judgeth it meete to grant them a proportion of land of
six miles, or otherwise, in some convenient form equivalent there­
unto, at the discretion of the committee in the place desired, pro­
vided it hinder no former grant, that there bee a Towne settled
with twenty or more families within three years, so as an able min­
istry may bee there maintained. And it is ordered that Mr. Ed­
ward Jackson, Capt. Eleazer Lusher, Ephraim Child, with Mr.
Thomas Danforth, or Liesten Fisher, shall bee, and hereby are ap­
pointed as a committee to lay out the bounds thereof, and make
return to the next Court of Election, or else the grant to bee void.

"This is a true copy taken out of the Court's Books of Records,
as Attest Edward Rawson, Secry."  England, and who, as appears from a record in the possession of Mr. Adam
How, of Sudbury, also a descendant of John, was himself the son of John
How, of Hodinhull, and connected with the family of Lord Charles How,
Earl of Lancaster, in the reign of Charles I.

Mr. How came from Watertown to Marlborough, built a cabin a little to
the east of the Indian Planting field, where his descendants lived for
many generations. By his prudence and kindness, he gained the good will
and confidence of his savage neighbors, who accordingly made him the um­
pire in all their differences.

The following is related as one of the verdicts of this second Solomon
Two Indians, whose corn fields were contiguous, disputed about the posses­sion of a pumpkin, which grew on a vine, that had transgressed the limits of
the field in which it was planted. The vine was planted in one field; the
pumpkin grew in the other. The dispute grew warm, and might have led to
serious consequences, had it not occurred to them to refer the matter in de­
bate to the arbitration of the white man, their neighbor. Mr. How is accord­
ingly sent for, who after having given a patient hearing to both parties, directs
them to bring him a knife, with which he divides the pumpkin into two equal
parts, giving half to each. Both parties extol the equity of the judge, and
readily acquiesce in the decision, pleased, no doubt, quite as much with the
manner in which the thing was done, as in admiration of the justice of
the deed.

The descendants of John How are very numerous in Marlborough, and in
the towns in the vicinity. There are 28 of the name of How on the list of
voters, in Marlborough, for the present year.

Col. Thomas How was a son of the above, who, for many years, was one
of the leading men in the town. John How died sometime before 1666, as
appears by a deed of his son Josiah to Thomas, of that date. Rev. Perley
How, of Surry, N. H. was a descendant of John, and of Col. Thomas How.
The Plantation was accordingly soon commenced in the neighborhood of Ockoocangansett, (the Indian name of the hill back of the old Meeting House in Marlborough,) and thence extending to Whipsuppenicke, (a hill about a mile southeasterly of the former,) and the neighboring parts. By this name, Whipsuppenicke, or Whipsufferadge, as it was sometimes written, the English Plantation of Marlborough was known, till its incorporation, in 1660.

Of the Indian Plantation at Marlborough, called, from the hill abovenamed, Ockoocangansett, some account will be given hereafter.

A plan of the English plantation was made in May, 1667, by Samuel Andrews, surveyor, which was approved by the Deputies, 17th 3mo. 1667.

Wm. Torrey, Clerk.

Consented to by the Magistrates, Edward Rawson, Sec'y.

This plan was made on parchment on a scale of two inches to a mile, and is now in the hands of Mr. Silas Gates of Marlborough.

The plantation contained by admeasurement 29,419 acres, which, with the 6000 acres reserved for the Indians, of which we shall presently speak, amounted to 35,419 acres. The Indian planting field, on Ockoocangansett, the hill back of where the old meeting house stood, was included within the bounds of the English plantation, and formed a square containing about two hundred acres. From the northwestern angle of this field the boundary line between the Indian plantation on the east, and the English plantation on the west, extends three miles north, seven degrees west, to a point a little beyond the river Assabett*. From this point the boundary line runs seven miles west, twenty five degrees south, (cutting off what is now the northwest angle of Northborough, and which forms what are called the New Grants.) Thence five miles south-southeast, to the south west extremity of the plantation; thence two miles and three-fourths of a mile east, nine degrees north, leading into Cedar swamp; thence southeast, two hundred and fifty six rods on Sudbury River; thence two miles and three quarters, due east; thence two miles and one hundred and twenty rods northeast, thirteen degrees north; thence three

*This name is written and spoken variously by different persons. In the report of the Canal Commissioners presented at the recent session of the Legislature of this State, it is written Elzebeth, and is supposed to be a corruption of Elizabeth. By some aged persons, it is called Elzebeth; in Whitney's Hist. Assabet. In the earliest records of Marlborough, however, it is almost uniformly written with a final h, Assabeth or Assabeth. If either of the two last letters are omitted, it should probably be the t. In which case the name would be Assabeh.
hundred and forty eight rods north, seventeen degrees east; thence one mile and three fourths of a mile due north, which reaches to the Indian line; then three miles, due west, on this line, which completes the boundaries of the English plantation.

It would seem, from the above account, that the proprietors exceeded the limits of their grant by more than 6000 acres. We are not to conclude, however, that they acted fraudulently in this business; since it appears that the draft of the plantation was presented to the General Court for their acceptance, and approved by the Deputies and Magistrates.

The form of the plantation was evidently regulated by a regard to the surface and soil. Thus the boundary lines on the north and west included all the meadows on the Assabeth, west of the Indian plantation, and the extensive intervale, including several large meadows and cedar swamps, which runs through nearly the whole extent of Northborough and Westborough. The boundaries on the south and east were also fixed with the same sagacity and foresight.

It is said that the meadows, at the first settlement of our country, produced much larger crops of grass, of a much better quality, than at the present day. This circumstance, together with the difficulty of subduing the uplands, will account for the eagerness manifested by the first settlers to possess a good supply of meadow grounds.*

The first meeting of the proprietors of the English plantation, was held 25th of the VIIth month (September) 1656.†

In 1657, the following eight names are found among the proprietors, in addition to the thirteen original petitioners above mentioned, making up the number of twenty one.

* It appears from the early records of Marlborough, that for many years after its incorporation, the town was greatly infested by wolves and rattlesnakes.

In a single year, (1683) the town paid a bounty for no fewer than twenty three wolves. In 1680, the following record was made. † "Voted, to raise thirteen men to go out to kill rattlesnakes, eight to Cold Harbour-ward, and so to the other place they call boston, (now the northwestern corner of Westborough) and five to Stoney Brook-ward, to the places thereabout. John Brigham to call out seven with him to the first, and Joseph Newton four with him, to the latter, and they were to have two shillings apiece per day, paid out of a town rates."

† "Sept. 25th. 1656. Upon amitinge of the petitioners appointed to take sum course to lay out the plantation granted to several inhabitants of Sudbury, it was ordered that all that doe take up lots in that plantation shall pay all publique charges that shall arise upon that plantation, according to their house lots and to be resident there in two years or set in a man that the town shall approve one, or else too loose their lots; but if God shall take away any man by death, he have liberty to give his lott to whom he will."
At a meeting of the proprietors of this plantation the 26th of Xber, (December) 1659.

"It is ordered that all such as lay clayme to any interest in this new plantation at Whipsufferadge, (by the Indians called Whipspappenicke) are to perfect their house lots by the 25th of March next ensuing, or else to loose all their interest in the aforesaid plantation."

Agreeably to this order, thirty eight house lots, including one for a minister, and one for a smith, were set off, and granted to the proprietors, the 26th of Nov. 1660.

Besides the persons already mentioned, the following had house lots assigned to them, at this date.

Joseph Rice, Richard Ward, John Barrett,
John How, Jr. Benjamin Rice, Jos. Holmes,
Henry Kerley, John Bellows, Samuel How,
Richard Barns, Abraham How, Henry Axtell,
Andrew Belcher, Tho. Goodenow, Jr. John Newton,
Obediah Ward, John Rutter,

These thirty eight house lots, amounting in all to 992½ acres consisted of some of the best and most commodious tracts of land in Marlborough. They contained from fifty to fifteen acres each, according to the interest of the several proprietors in the plantation. The principal part of the land, which was not taken up for house lots, with the exception of Chauncey, (now Westborough and Northborough,) was left common (called Cow Commons) to be disposed of by subsequent grants.

The following boundaries were assigned to the Cow Commons in 1662.

"From John Alcocks line (now known by the name of the Farm) to Stoney Brook; thence up the brook to Crane Meadow, and so along to Stirrup Meadow Brook, and to be extended as the Brooke runs to Assibathe River, and down the said river till it comes to the Indian line. This is, and shall remain a perpetual Cow Common for the use of this town, never to bee altered without the consent of all the inhabitants and proprietors thereof at a full meeting; excepting four score acres of upland this town hath reserved within the aforesaid tract of land to accommodate some such desirable persons withall as need may require, opportunity present, and the town accept."
A vote was passed at a meeting of the proprietors in 1705, to divide the Cow Commons among the original proprietors and such as had acquired rights in the plantation, in proportion to the first grants.

So early as 1660, it appears that measures had been adopted by the proprietors of Marlborough, for the maintenance of public worship; and that Mr. William Brimsmead, afterwards ordained as their pastor, was employed as a preacher.

In the following year, they voted to build a house for their minister; and, in 1662, the frame of a house, with the house lot on which it stood, were granted to Wm. Brimsmead, Minister.*

In 1662, a rate was made of 12 pence per acre upon all house lots for building a Meeting House; and again, in 1664, of 3½ pence per acre for finishing the house. This house, which was afterwards burnt by the Indians, stood on the old common, within the limits of the Indian planting field, which, Hutchinson says, “caused great disputes and discouragements.”†

It appears from the following record, that the land on which the Meeting House was erected was afterwards purchased of an Indian, whose title to the land was probably disputed by his brethren of the Indian Plantation.

"1663, April 4. Anamaks, an Indian of Whipsuppenicke, for divers reasons and considerations, sold to John Ruddock and John How, for the use of the town of Marlborough, the land that the Meeting House now stands on—also the land for the highway on the fore side of said Meeting House, and so upon a square of ten feet, round about the said Meeting House." This land, with the addition of half an acre purchased in 1688, of Daniel, Samuel, and Nathaniel Gookin, sons of Maj. Gen. Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, constitutes what is now the old common, the whole of which did

* The house built for Mr. Brimsmead stood on the lot of land west of Occoocangansett, not far from the spot on which the old Meeting House was afterwards erected. There is a tradition that Mr. Brimsmead's house was set on fire by the Indians in King Philip's war, and that the flames communicated with the Meeting House, which was the occasion of its being burnt.

not come into the possession of the town till 1706, when the half acre above mentioned was purchased by Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, "for the use of the town, to set a Meeting House on."

Till 1675, nothing serious appears to have occurred to interrupt the prosperity of the inhabitants of this flourishing settlement. But their prosperity received a severe check in the war which now ensued. After the destruction of Lancaster, (Feb. 10, 1676, O. S.) a party of the enemy directed their course through Marlborough, where they committed some depredations, on their way to Sudbury and Medfield, in the latter of which places nearly 50 dwelling houses were burnt, and 15 persons lost their lives.

A second attack was made upon the English settlement at Marlborough, on the 20th of the following month, which, though no lives were lost, was attended with more disastrous consequences. It was Lord's day; and the inhabitants were assembled for public worship, when the preacher, the Rev. Mr. Brimsmead, was interrupted in the midst of his discourse by the appalling cry, that the Indians were advancing upon them. The Assembly instantly dispersed; and, with a single exception,* succeeded in reaching the neighboring garrison house in safety before the enemy came up. But though they defended themselves, they could afford no protection to their property, much of which was wasted or destroyed. Their Meeting House and many of their dwelling houses were burned to the ground; their fruit trees hacked and pilled; their cattle killed or maimed, so that marks of their ravages were visible for many years.

The alarm occasioned by this attack, and the defenceless state to which the inhabitants were reduced, led them to retire from the place, and to seek shelter in a more populous neighborhood. Shortly after the close of the war, which lasted little more than a year, they returned to their farms, and were permitted for many years to cultivate them in peace.†

* The person to whom allusion is here made was Moses Newton, grandfather of the late Deac. Paul Newton, of this town. Being detained behind the rest in the benevolent attempt to rescue an aged and infirm female, who would otherwise have been exposed to certain destruction, he received a ball in his elbow, which deprived him in a measure of the use of his arm ever after. Solomon Newton, a grandson of the above, is now living, (1826) aged 92 years, with his son, Willard Newton, Esq. in Southborough, on the farm taken up by his great-grandfather, Richard Newton, nearly 170 years ago. Richard came from England, and was one of the 13 original proprietors of Marlborough. Richard had three sons, Moses, Ezekiel and John. Moses was the father of eight sons and two daughters, viz. Moses, Jonathan, James, Josiah, David, Edward, Hannah, Mercy, Jacob, and Ebenezer.

† There are no records in the Proprietors' Books of what took place be-
Soon after their return, they proceeded to the erection of a new Meeting House, which, like the former, was thatched with straw, or rather a species of tall grass, taken from the meadow since called, from that circumstance, Thatch Meadow. This building, which was left in an unfinished state, lasted but a few years. In 1680, an unsuccessful attempt was made to enlarge and repair it; and at length, in 1688, a larger and more commodious house was erected, near the site of the former, which lasted more than one hundred and twenty years, having stood till the new Meeting House in the east Parish was erected, in 1809.*

Prior to the year 1684, it appears that nothing effectual had been done towards purchasing a title to the land "cleare of the Indians, who were continually making demands upon the towne." The Plantation was commenced under the auspices of the Gen. Court; and, as 6000 acres, bordering upon this Plantation, had been reserved by order of the Court, for the use of the Indians, nothing further seems to have been thought necessary for many years, either by the English or the Indians, to give the former a perfect title to their lands. It was not indeed till the Indian Plantation was broken up, and most of the inhabitants dispersed, that the Indians of Natick and Wamesit, (now a part of Tewksbury,) who belonged to the same tribe with the Marlborough Indians, put in their claims to a right in the soil which had been cultivated by the English now for nearly 30 years.

At length, in the winter of 1684, a Committee of three persons between May, 1675, and July, 1677. It appears that the inhabitants had returned some time before the latter date. It appears from the Records of the General Court, that preparations for defence against the Indians had been made as early as 1670. "Ordered, that the Surveyor General shall forthwith deliver unto Maj. Hathorn, or to Lieut. Samuel Ward, 50 great shot, fit for the guns in the Fort at Marlborough. A Fort was maintained there through the war.

"The old Meeting House was valued, in 1689, at £10; the pulpit at £4, "which were improved in the new Meeting House for carrying on the finishing of that."—It would appear, from the following vote, which passed with great unanimity at a meeting of the proprietors, May 21, 1688, that there had been some controversy respecting the location of the new Meeting House, and that it was even then in contemplation to divide the town into two parishes.

"Voted, That if the westerly part of the town shall see cause afterwards to build another Meeting House, and find themselves able so to do, and maintain a minister; then the division to be made by a line at the cari-way at Stirrup Brook, where Connecticut way now goeth over, (now within the limits of Northborough,) and so to run a parallel line with the west line of the bounds of the town." It would seem highly probable, from this vote, that there were inhabitants then living west of the line thus defined, and which was afterwards (1717) made the boundary line between Marlborough and Westborough.
was appointed by the town to treat with the Indians; who, April 17th and 18th, with the help of Maj. Peter Bulkley and Capt. Thomas Hincksmen, made a bargain that the town should pay them £31 for a deed in full. The town accepted the conditions, and agreed to bring in the money, (assessed upon the proprietors, now 50 in number,) to the Meeting House, on the 20th of May next, which was accordingly done, and the deed signed by the Indians presented to the town, who directed that it should be kept by Abraham Williams, as also the plat of the plantation made by Samuel Andrews, of which an account has already been given.

A Copy of the Indian Deed of the Plantation of Marlborough.

"To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, Greeting,

KNOW YE, That we, the Indian inhabitants of the Plantations called Natick and Wamesit," (now part of Tewksbury,) "in the Massachusetts Colonie, in New England, namely," (the names of the grantees are written below, with the omission of Andrew Pilim or Pitimee, and John Wamesqut, and the addition of Edmund Asowonit, making the whole number 25,) "for and in consideration of the sum of thirty one pounds of lawful money of New England, which said sum, wee the said" (here the names are repeated,) "do acknowledge ourselves to have received of Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, both of the town of Marlborough, in the County of Middlesex, in New England, who, in the said payment, not only for themselves, but also as agents in behalf of all the rest of their fellow purchasers, belonging to the said town of Marlborough, and of the said sum of thirty one pounds, and of every part and parcel thereof, wee the said" (names repeated) "for ourselves, and for our heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do freely, clearly, and wholly, exonerate, acquit, and discharge the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice and all their said fellow purchasers belonging to the said town of Marlborough, and every of them, and their heirs, executors, administrators, and every of them forever; have given, granted, bargained, sold, and by these presents, do give, grant, bargain, sell, and confirm, unto the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice and unto all their said fellow purchasers belonging to the said town of Marlborough, and unto all and every of their several heirs and assigns forever, all that tract of land, which is contained within the bounds of the Town, Township, or Plantation, called Marlborough aforesaid, as the said bounds were laid out, plotted and represented by Mr. Samuel Andrews, of Cambridge, un-
HISTORY OF NORTHBOROUGH

to the Court of the Massachusetts Colonie aforesaid, and by the said Court accepted and recorded, that is to say all Uplands, Meadows, Swamps, Woods, Timber, Fountains, Brooks, Rivers, Ponds, and Herbage, within the said bounds of the said Town, Township, or Plantation of Marlborough, together with all and singular the appurtenances thereof, and all manner of profits, gains, and advantages, arising upon, or from, the said tract of land, which the said Abraham Williams, or Joseph Rice, or all, or any of their fellow purchasers, belonging to the town of Marlborough aforesaid, at any time formerly had, or now have, or hereafter at any time may, or shall have; (except a certain farm, some years ago laid out unto Mr. John Alcock, deceased, which lyeth within the bounds of said town or township of Marlborough, and is by us, the said [names repeated] “utterly and totally exempted and excluded from this present bargain.) To have and to hold all the forementioned tract of land” (here the description is repeated) “to their own proper use and improvement, as is above declared, (except the farm before excepted,) to themselves, the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, and to all their said fellow purchasers, belonging to the said Marlborough, and unto all and several their heirs and assigns forever, in a good and sure estate of inheritance, in fee simple, without any claims or demands, any obstruction, eviction, expulsion, or molestation whatsoever, from us the said” (names repeated) “or from the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of us the said Indians, or either of us, or from any other person or persons whatsoever, acting by, from, or under us or them, or any of them, our said heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns. Furthermore, wee, the said” (names repeated) “do covenant and grant, with, and too, the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, and all their said fellow purchasers, belonging to said Marlborough, that wee, the above named Indians, have been, until the conveyance and assurance made by these presents, the true and proper owners of all the said tract of land, lying within the bounds of the plantation or township of Marlborough, together with all and singular the appurtenances thereof, in our own right, and to our own use, in a good absolute and firm estate of inheritance, in fee simple, and have full power, good right, and lawful authority to grant, bargain, sell, convey, and assure, the said tract of land, and every part and parcel thereof, with all and singular the appurtenances of the same, as is before, in these presents, mentioned; and wee, the said” (names repeated) “do warrant and assure that all the tract of
HISTORY OF NORTHBOROUGH.

land, and all and every the appurtenances thereof, by these presents, alienated and sold, have been and are at the time of signing and sealing of this Deed of sale, utterly and totally free, and clear from any former bargains, sales, gifts, grants, leases, mortgages, judgments, executions, extents, and incumbrances whatsoever; and wee, the said" (names repeated) "for ourselves, and our heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do, and shall, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, (as occasion shall be offered) confirm, defend, and make good, unto all intents and purposes, this whole bargain and sale aforesaid, and unto all and several their heirs and assigns forever. In witness of all which premises, wee, the said" (names repeated) "have hereunto set our hands and seals, this twelfth day of June, in the year of our Lord Christ, one thousand six hundred, eighty and four, Annoq. Regni Regis Caroli Secundi XXXVI.

Andrew Pilim (Pitimée)

Attorney to old F. Waban.

his mark

John x Nasquanet
signum

his mark

William x Wononatomog
signum

his mark

John x Speen
signum

Jacob x Ponopohquin
signum

Jeremy x Sosooqhooh
signum

Samuel x William
signum

Nathaniel x Quonkatohn
signum

James Speen
signum

John x Wamesquat
signum

Job x Pohpono
his mark

Benjamin x Tray
his mark

Sosowun x noo
signum

James x Wiser
signum

Simon Betogkom

his mark

Great x John

Thomas Waban

his mark

Abraham x Speen

his mark

Great x James

signum

Jacob x I’etowat

signum

Jehoja x kin

signum

Peter x Ephraim

Attorney for Jno. Awoosamug

signum

John x Awoosamug

signum

Thom. x Dublet

signum

Benjamin B Boho.

his mark

Signed, sealed, and delivered, in presence of us witnesses,

Simon Crosby

John Curtis

his mark

Henry x Rice

John Magus

Daniel Takawompait

Indians.

"June 11th and 12th, 1684. At a Court held at Natick among the Indians, there appeared in Court, and before me, all the sealers and subscribers to this deed, being twenty five (there are twen-
ty six signatures) persons in number, and freely acknowledged this writing to be their act and deed."

"As Attests, DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen'r Assistant."

"This Deed entered in the Register at Cambridge. Lib. 9. page 293—299. 7. 2. 85. By THO: DANFORTH, R."

It will be seen from the above signatures, that, besides the two Indian witnesses, John Magus and Daniel Takawompait, four others, viz. Andrew Pitimee, James Speen, Simon Betogkom, and Thomas Waban, wrote their own names. Daniel Takawompait, or Tokkohwompait, was a pastor of the church in Natick, in 1698, ordained by the Rev. and holy man of God, JOHN ELIOT. He is said to have been a person of great knowledge.* Thomas Waban was probably a son of old Waban, the first Indian convert in Massachusetts, and one who supported a consistent christian character till his death, which happened in 1674, at the age of 70.† Maj. Gen. Daniel Gookin, before whom the deed was acknowledged, was the friend and fellow laborer of Eliot, an enlightened, virtuous, and benevolent magistrate. He belonged to Cambridge, where he died in 1687, aged 75.

Two others, whose names are affixed to this instrument, viz. John Speen, and John Awoosamug, are mentioned in the account of Dochester.‡ The former of whom, it appears, was for some time a teacher, till he became addicted to intemperance, when he was laid aside. The latter, though he had been propounded to join the church, had been excluded on account of his quick and passionate temper, but discovered marks of penitence during his last sickness, which satisfied the scruples of his brethren.

The Indian Plantation of Ockoocangansett,§ or Marlborough.

Some time previous to the commencement of the English Plantation, as appears from the following order of the General Court, the Indians had a grant of a township in that place.

"In reference to the case between Mr. Eliot, in behalf of the Indians of Oguonikongquamesit, and Sudbury men: the Courte finding that the Indians had a graunt of a township in the place before

* See 1 Hist. Col. X. 134. † 1 Hist. Col. V. 263. ‡ 1 Hist. Col. IX. 193.

§I have given the name as it is uniformly written in the earliest records of Marlborough. Hutchinson, quoting from Eliot, who visited the place in 1670, writes it Oguonikonquamesut; Gookin, who wrote in 1674, Okomkamesit. The word has since been corrupted into Agoganggomisset. This name, it should be considered, was at first appropriated to the Indian Plantation, while the English Plantation, before its incorporation in 1660, was called Whipsappenick. Both plantations were, however, in 1674, called by the same name by Daniel Gookin.
the English, the Courte determines and orders, that Mr. Edward Jackson, Mr. Tho. Danforth, Mr. Ephraim Child and Capt. Lusher,* or any three of them, as a committee, shall with the first convenient opportunity, if it may be before winter, lay out a township in the said place, of 6000 acres, to the Indians in which, at least, shall bee three or four hundred acres of meadow; and in case there be enough left for a convenient township for the Sudbury men, to lay it out to them; the grant of Mr. Alcock's (842 acres granted in 1655) confirmed by the last Court out of both excepted and reserved, and the Indians to have the Hill on which they are, and the rest of the land to be laid out adjoining to it as may be convenient to both plantations.”†

The Hill mentioned in this order, had been improved for many years by the Indians, probably long before the arrival of the English, as a planting field. It was afterwards, in 1677, as appears from the following instrument, conveyed to Daniel Gookin, Esq.

"Know all men by these presents that we old Nequain, Robin called old Robin, Benjamin Wuttanamit, James called Great James, John Nasquamit, Sarah the widow of Peter Nasquamant, in behalf of her child Moses David, next heir to my father and to my uncle Josiah Harding, deceased, without issue, Assoask the widow of Josiah Nowell, in behalf of my children, Sarah Conomog, sole exexurix to my late husband, Conomóg, Elizabeth, the only daughter and heir of Solomon, deceased," [Solomon had been the teacher of the Indians of Marlborough,] "James Spene, in behalf of my wife, being all of us, true proprietors, possessors and improvers of the Indian lands called Whipsufferage, alias Okonkonomesit, adjoining to Marlborough in the colony of Massachusetts in New England for divers considerations us thereunto moving, especially the love and duty we owe to our honored magistrate, Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, Esq. who hath been a ruler to us above 20 years, do hereby freely and absolutely give, grant and confirm, unto him the said Daniel Gookin, Esq. and his heirs forever, one parcel of land heretofore broken up, and being planted by us and our predecessors, called by the name of Okonkonomesit Hill, situate, lying and being on the south side of our township and plantation, near Marlborough, containing about one hundred acres, more or less, (also ten acres in Fort Meadow, and ten in Long Meadow,) with free

* These three, Danforth, Child, and Lusher, were respectively deputies to the General Court from Cambridge, Watertown, and Dedham, in 1657.
† Records of the General Court for the year 1658-9.
liberty of commonage for wood, timber, feeding of his cattle, upon any common land, within our township or plantation."

"Second day of May, 1677.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

John Eliot, Waban X his mark,
Noah Wiswell, Piamboo X his mark,
Joshua Woods, Joseph Wheeler.

Acknowledged before me,

THOMAS DANFORTH, Assistant.

Entered and recorded at the Registry at Cambridge.*"

It is thus described by Gookin in 1674. "In this Indian Plantation there is a piece of fertile land, containing above 150 acres, upon which the Indians have, not long since, lived, and planted several apple trees thereupon, which bear abundance of fruit; but now the Indians are removed from it about a mile. This tract of land doth so embosom itself into the English town, that it is encompassed about with it, except one way; and upon the edge of this land the English have placed their Meeting House." It was a favorite design of the benevolent Gookin, which he proposed in his Historical Collections, "as an expedient for civilizing the Indians, and propagating the Gospel among them," to have this tract of land, which, with certain meadows and woodland, he says, "is well worth £200 in money, set apart for an Indian free school; and there to build a convenient house for a school master and his family, and under the same roof may be a room for a school." This, with the necessary out buildings, he computes will not cost more than £200 in money; and the use of the land, he thinks, will be an adequate compensation for the services of the school master.

"Moreover, it is very probable," he adds, "that the English people of Marlborough will gladly and readily send their children to the same school, and pay the school master for them, which will better his maintenance; for they have no school in that place at the present."

We learn further from this account that the number of families in Marlborough, at this period, did not amount to fifty, every village containing that number being required by the laws to provide a school "to teach the English tongue, and to write." "These

*May 18, 1682. Waban, Piamboo, Great James, Thomas Tray, and John Wincols, proprietors of the Indian Plantation of Whipsufferadge, granted to Samuel Gookin, of Cambridge, liberty to erect a Saw Mill upon any brook or run of water within the said Plantation, with land not exceeding three acres, use of timber, &c. for 30 years.
people of Marlborough," says he, somewhat indignantly, "wanting a few of fifty families, do take that low advantage to ease their purses of this common charge."

What reception this proposal met with, we are not informed. It was most certainly an expedient that promised the happiest consequences, and worthy of the liberal and philanthropic mind of its author. How close is the resemblance between this plan, conceived more than one hundred and fifty years since, and that of the Indian schools recently established at Brainerd, Eliot, Mayhew, and other places in the United States?*

The people of Marlborough, notwithstanding the severity of Gookin's censure, have not been behind other towns in New England in their attention to schools. Owing to the troubles which ensued, soon after the date of Gookin's Historical Collections, they felt themselves unable to meet the expense of a public school for several following years. At length, however, in 1698, Benjamin Franklin† was employed as a school master in Marlborough, from the first of November, 1696, to the last of March, 1697, at eight shillings per week; "he engaging carefully to teach all such youth as com or are sent to him, to read English once a day, at least, or more, if need require; also to learn to write and cast accounts." The school was kept in Isaac Wood's house, which was then unoccupied.

† This person was probably an uncle of Doctor Benjamin Franklin. In the first volume of Franklin's Works, edited by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, page 6, is the following account of the person referred to above. "My grandfather had four sons, who grew up, viz: Thomas, John, Benjamin and Josiah. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship in London. He was an ingenious man. I remember, when I was a boy, he came to my father's, in Boston, and resided in the house with us for several years. There was always a particular affection between my father and him, and I was his godson. He lived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of manuscript of his own poetry, consisting of fugitive pieces addressed to his friends. He had invented a short hand of his own, which he taught me, but not having practiced it, I have now forgotten it. He was very pious, and an assiduous attendant at the sermons of the best preachers, which he reduced to writing according to his method, and had thus collected several volumes of them. He was also a good deal of a politician; too much so, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my possession, in London, a collection he made of all the principal political pamphlets relating to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting, as appears, by their numbering; but there still remains eight volumes in folio, and twenty in quarto and octavo. A dealer in old books had met with them, and knowing me by name, having bought books of him, he brought them to me. It would appear that my uncle must have left them here, when he went to America, which was about fifty years ago. I found several of his notes in the margins. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, is still living in Boston."
Jan. 10, 1698-9. The town voted to build a school house. After this, Mr. Jonathan Johnson was employed as a school master for many years in succession.

The Indian Plantation was laid out agreeably to the following report of the Commissioners appointed as aforesaid.

"Whipsuppeneck the 19th of June, 1659.

"The Committee appointed by the Gen. Court to lay out a Plantation for the Indians of 6000 acres at the above named place, having given Mr. Eliot* a meeting and duly weighed all his exceptions in the behalf of the Indians; first, what hath beene formerly acted and returned to the Gen. Court, do judge meete in way of compli­ance, that the bounds of the Indian Plantation bee enlarged unto the most westerly part of the fence, that now standeth on the west side of the Hill or planting field called Ockoocangansett, and from thence to bee extended on a direct north line untill they have their full quantity of 6000 acres: the bounds of their Plantation in all other respects, wee judge meete that they stand as in the form returned; and that their full complement of meadow by Court Grant, may stand and bee exactly measured out by an artist within the limits of the aforesaid lines, when the Indians, or any in their behalf, are willing to be at the charges thereof: provided alwaies that the Indians may have noe power to make sale thereof, of all or any part of their abovesaid lands, otherwise than by the consent of the Hon’d Gen’l Court; or when any shall be made or happen, the Plantation of English there seated may have the first tender of it from the Court; which caution wee the rather insert, because not only a considerable part of the nearest and best planting land is heereby taken away from the English (as we are informed) but the nearest and best part of their meadow, by estimation about an hundred acres in one place, that this north line doth take away, which tendeth much to the detriment of the English Plantation, especially if the lands should bee impropricated to any other use than the Indians proposed, that is to say, for an Indian Plantation, or for the accommodating their Plantation, they should bee deprived thereof."

Signed by

ELEAZER LUSHER,
EDWARD JACKSON,
EPHRAIM CHILD,
THOMAS DANFORTH,

Commissioners.

* The celebrated John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, commonly called the Apostle of the Indians.
The account given of this Plantation by Capt. afterwards, Maj. Gen. Go'kin, of Cambridge, who visited it in 1674, more than one hundred and fifty years since, will be interesting to those who have not already seen it.

"Okommakamesit, alias Marlborough, is situated about twelve miles north northeast from Hassanamesitt, (Grafton) about thirty miles from Boston westerly.

"This village contains about ten families, and consequently about fifty souls. The quantity of land appertaining to it is six thousand acres. It is much of it good land, and yieldeth plenty of corn, being well husbanded. It is sufficiently stored with meadow, and is well wooded and watered. It hath several good orchards upon it, planted by the Indians: and is in itself a very good plantation. This town doth join so near to the English of Marlborough, that it (we might apply to it what) was spoken of David in type and our Lord Jesus Christ, the antitype, "Under his shadow ye shall rejoice:" but the Indians here do not much rejoice under the Englishmen's shadow; who do so overtop them in their number of people, stocks of cattle, &c. that the Indians do not greatly flourish, or delight in their station at present.

"Their ruler here was Onomog, who is lately deceased, about two months since; which is a great blow to that place. He was a pious and discreet man, and the very soul as it were of that place. Their teacher's name is **** Here they observe the same decorum for religion and civil order, as is done in other towns. They have a constable and other officers, as the rest have. The Lord sanctify the present affliction they are under by reason of their bereavements; and raise up others, and give them grace to promote religion and good order among them."

From this account, which is given by an eye witness, it is pretty evident that a spirit of jealousy and envy against their more prosperous neighbors of the English Plantation, was even then rankling in their hearts: and we are not much surprised to learn that, in the calamitous war which broke out in the following year between the English and Indians, known by the name of King Philip's war, some of these half civilized sons of the forest were found among the enemy, at the place of their general rendezvous, in the western part of Worcester County, a few days previous to their desolating march

*Hutchinson says his name was Solomon, judged to be a serious and sound Christian.  p. 107.
through the country, in which Lancaster, and many other towns, experienced the horrors of savage warfare.*

*James Quanipaug, who was sent out with another Indian by the name of Job to reconnoitre the enemy, then in the Western part of this County, in the beginning of 1676, passed through Hassauauiesit (Grafton) thence to Manexit, (a part of Woodstock) where he was taken by seven Indians and carried to Menimesseg, (New Braintree) where he found many of the enemy, and among them "the Marlborough Indians who pretended that they had been fetched away by the other Indians." Some of them professed to be willing to return. Philip is said at this time to have been about half a day's journey on the other side of Fort Orania, (Albany) and the Hadley Indians on this side. They were then preparing for that memorable expedition, in which the towns of Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, were destroyed.

The letter of James Quanipaug bears date 24th: 11 mo: 1675. (Jan. 24, 1676.) It was only 16 days after this, viz. Feb. 10th O. S. that they made a descent upon Lancaster, with 1500 warriors, and butchered or carried into captivity nearly all the inhabitants of that flourishing village.

Whether the Marlborough Indians joined in this expedition, or left the enemy and returned to their homes, I have not been able after diligent enquiry to ascertain. The little that I have been able to collect, though corroborated by circumstantial evidence, rests mainly on tradition.

Though it appears from the testimony of James Quanipaug that the Marlborough Indians were with Philip's men at Menimesseg, it is by no means certain that all who belonged to the Plantation had gone over to the enemy. Tradition says, that those who remained at home were suspected of treachery, and that representations to that effect were made to the governor, (Leverett) who dispatched a company of soldiers under the command of Capt. Mosely, to convey them to Boston. They reached Marlborough, it is said, in the night; and early in the morning, before the Indians had any suspicion of their design, surrounded the fort to which they were accustomed to repair at night, seized on their arms, and obliged them to surrender. They attempted no resistance, and it is by no means certain that they entertained any hostile designs against the English. They were, however, taken into the custody of the soldiers; and, having their hands fastened behind their backs, and then being connected together by means of a cart rope, they were in this manner driven down to Boston, whence it is probable, that they were conveyed, in company with the Indians of Natick and other places, to one of the islands in the harbor, and kept in durance till the close of the war.

This tradition is corroborated by the following circumstances.

In the account of Daniel Gookin, in 1 Hist. Col. 1. 228, it is said that "some instances of perfidy in Indians, who had professed themselves friendly, excited suspicions against all their tribes. The General Court of Massachussetts passed several severe laws against them; and the Indians of Natick and other places, who had subjected themselves to the English government, were hurried down to Long Island (Hutchinson says Deer Island,) in the harbor of Boston, where they remained all winter, and endured inexpressible hardships." We learn further from Hutchinson, that the Indians of Punkapog alone (now Stoughton) were exempted from this severity of treatment. The ground of the harsh measures adopted in reference to the Indians in the neighborhood of Boston, was, the perfidious conduct of the Springfield Indians, in assisting in the destruction of Westfield, Hadley, and other places, in October 1675. "This instance of perfidy," says Hutchinson, "seems to have increased the jealousies and suspicions, which had before begun of the Indians round Boston, viz. Punkapog, Natick, &c."

At the session, in October, the General Court ordered "that no person shall entertain, own, or countenance any Indian under the penalty of being a betrayer of this government."

"That a guard be set at the entrance of the town of Boston, and that no
This war, if calamitous to the English, proved fatal to nearly all the Indian Plantations in New England. Among the rest the Indian be suffered to enter upon any pretence without a guard of two musketeers, and not to lodge in town."

"That any person may apprehend an Indian, finding him in town, or approaching the town, and that none be suffered to come in by water."

To this we may add, that Capt. Mosely's character was such as to render it highly probable that he performed the part which tradition has assigned to him. Hutchinson says, "he had been an old privateerer at Jamaica, probably of such as were called Buccaneers." He commanded a company of 110 volunteers, in the war with King Philip, and was one of the most resolute and courageous captains of his day. It was he who, on Sept. 1, 1675, went out to the rescue of Capt. Lathrop, who with only 80 men was attacked by a body of 7 or 8 hundred Indians at Deerfield, when all Capt. L's company, with the exception of seven or eight, were cut off. He also led the van in the terrible assault made upon the Indians, Dec. 19, in the Narragansett country, in which six English captains were killed, and nearly 200 men killed and wounded.

I hope I shall be pardoned for adding to this already extended note, the following particulars respecting the remains of the Marlborough Indians.

After the close of the war, some of the Indians of Marlborough appear to have returned to their former place of abode. But their plantation was broken up, and they were forced to find shelter and subsistence as they were able.

A considerable number of the Indians who remained in, or returned to, Marlborough, after the war, lived in the westerly part of the town, on the farm of Thomas Brigham, one of the oldest proprietors, the common ancestor of all the Brighams in this town, as well as of many of that name in Marlborough, Westborough, and other places. The late Judge Brigham, of Westborough, and Rev. Benjamin Brigham, of Fitzwilliam, were great-grandsons of Thomas.

Among those who returned was David, alias David Munnanaw, who had joined Philip, and as he afterwards confessed, assisted in the destruction of Medfield. This treacherous Indian had, it is said, a slit thumb, which circumstance led to his conviction. He had been absent from Marlborough several months, but after his return would give no account of himself whither he had been, or how he had employed himself in the mean time. At length, however, an inhabitant of Medfield, one whom Munnanaw had wounded, being at Marlborough, immediately recognized him by the mark on his thumb, and charged him with his treachery. At first he denied the charge; but, finding that the proof against him could not be evaded, he at length owned that he had been led away by Philip, and had assisted in the burning of Medfield.

He was, however, suffered to live without molestation. His wigwam stood on the borders of the beautiful lake, near the public house kept by Mr. Silas Gates, where he lived with his family many years, till the infirmities of old age came upon him. He was accustomed to repair to the neighboring orchards for the purpose of obtaining fruit. There was one tree of the fruit of which he was particularly fond, and which was accordingly his favorite place of resort. In this spot the old warrior expired. Old David Munnanaw died a little more than 80 years since, having lived, as was supposed, nearly or quite a century of years. Capt. Timothy Brigham, now in his 91st year, well recollects having seen him, when he was a child of about 9 or 10 years old, at his grandfather's, Jonathan Brigham's, of Marlborough. According to this account, Munnanaw must have been a young man, 25 or 30 years of age, at the time of Philip's war. Capt. B. represents him as bearing the marks of extreme old age, his flesh wasted, and his skin shrivelled. He understood that he had the reputation of having been treacherous to the English. Abimelech David, supposed to be a son of the former, was a tall, stout, well pro-
Plantation of Marlborough, was completely broken up and soon passed into other hands. On the 15th of July 1684, a few weeks subsequent to the date of the Indian deed of the English Plantation, the Indian lands were formally transferred by deed to John Brigham of Marlborough and his fellow purchasers;* and in October, 1686, the aforesaid John Brigham who was a noted surveyor and speculator in lands, was appointed "to lay out 30 acres to each of the proprietors in some of the best of the land lying as convenient as may be to the town of Marlborough."

June the 5th 1700, the inhabitants of Marlborough petitioned the General Court, that the proprietors of the Indian lands might be annexed to the said town, which petition was granted, and Marlborough accordingly received an accession of 6000 acres, a large proportion of which is good land.

After the close of Philip's war the inhabitants of Marlborough do not appear to have been seriously molested by the Indians till after the commencement of the eighteenth century.

In the mean time the settlement had extended itself towards the borders of the town, so that some time previous to the close of the portioned Indian, is well remembered by many persons now living. Abimilech had several daughters, among whom were Sue, Deborah, Esther, Patience, Nabby, and Betty. They lived in a wretched hovel or wigwam, under the large oak now standing near the dwelling house of Mr. Warren Brigham. They had become dissolute in their habits, and were exceedingly troublesome to their neighbors; and they are remembered with very little respect or affection.

The Indian burying ground, where the last remnants of the race were interred, is situated a few rods from the south road, leading from Marlborough to Northborough, near the residence of Widow Holyoke, in a field belonging to the old Brigham farm. It has been enjoined on the family in each succeeding generation, not to trespass on this repository of the dead; an injunction which has hitherto been duly regarded. The burying ground is about five rods in length, and somewhat more than one rod in breadth, covered with wild grass and loose stones. A few years since, as I have been informed, as many as twenty or thirty graves were plainly distinguishable, though they have now almost wholly disappeared. Two of the graves were situated without the bounds of the rest, and in a direction perpendicular to them; the former being from north to south, the latter from east to west. Many aged persons can remember when the last degraded remnants of the race, once inhabiting the soil we occupy, enclosed in rude coffins of rough boards, hastily put together, and without any religious ceremony, were conveyed to this repository of the dead.

* This deed appears to have been obtained by unfair means, as in the following September, a committee appointed by the General Court to examine into the grounds of complaint made by the Indians against the English of Marlborough, reported in favor of the Indians, and "the Court ordered and declared that the Indian deed of sale to the inhabitants of Marlborough of 5800 acres of land (the whole of the Indian Plantation with the exception of the Indian Planting field) bearing date July 15, 1684, is illegal and consequently null and void."
HISTORY OF NORTH BOROUGH.

seventeenth century, some of the lands now included within the limits of Westborough and Northborough, then called Chauncey, or Chauncey Village, had been laid out for farms.

Indeed so early as 1660, the very year that Marlborough was incorporated, several tracts of meadow, lying within the limits of this town, were surveyed and the names given them which they now bear.* And, in 1662, three large meadows, Cold Harbour Meadow, Middle Meadow, and Chauncey Meadow, the first of which and part of the second, lie within the limits of this town, were ordered to be surveyed, and each to be laid out in thirty four lots, which was probably the number of proprietors at that time.†

The first grants of land lying within the limits of what is now Westborough and Northborough, with the exception of the meadows above named, bear the date of 1672. From this time, and before the close of the century, many of the proprietors of Marlborough had taken up their 2nd, 3d, and 4th divisions in the western part of the town, several of them west of the river Assabeth.

It is asserted by Rev. Mr. Whitney, in his history of this town, that there were settlers in this part of Marlborough before there were any in what is now Westborough. The first settler according to tradition was John Brigham, from Sudbury, a noted land surveyor.

* Three Corner Meadow, Stirrup Meadow, Crane Meadow, Cedar Meadow, &c.

† The origin of these names according to tradition was as follows:—Cold Harbour Meadow, in the western part of this town, so called from the circumstance of a traveller, having lost his way, being compelled to remain through a cold winter's night in a stack of hay in that place, and on the following morning, having made his way through the wilderness to the habitations of man, and being asked where he lodged during the night, replied, "In Cold Harbour." Middle Meadow, on the borders of Westborough and Northborough, so called probably from its situation in reference to the two others. Chauncey Meadow, in Westborough, so called probably for the same reason that the western part of Marlborough was called Chauncey. The origin of the name was known only by tradition in the Rev. Mr. Parkman's day, who was ordained in Westborough, Oct. 28th, 1724, and who gave the following account. "It is said that in early times one Mr. Chauncey was lost in one of the swamps here, and from hence this part of the town had its name." I find from the records of the General Court for the year 1665, that Mr. Chauncey had taken up lands within the limits of Marlborough, and that the proprietors of Marlborough were ordered to remunerate him for his expenses incurred in laying out his farm, "and he hath liberty to lay out the same in any land not formerly granted by this Court." Quoile.—May not this have been President Chauncey, of Harvard College, to whom an account of the smallness of his salary, repeated grants of land were made about this time by the General Court? Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, the great-grandson of President Chauncey, says that the latter was the first, and the common ancestor of all of that name in this place. If so, the Mr. C. above mentioned must have been President Chauncey or one of his sons.
or, undoubtedly the same person who has been mentioned in our account of the Indian Plantation. It appears from the Proprietors' records that a grant of land was made to John Brigham, in 1672, "in the place formerly desired, that is, on Licor Meadow plain." This land was probably part of the Coram Farm, so called, the principal part of which lay on the northern side of the old Marlborough line, and now constitutes, in whole, or in part, the farms of Nahum Fay, Esq. John Green, Asa Fay, Lewis Fay, and Stephen Williams, Esq. The lands of Mr. Brigham extended to the saw mill of Mr. Lowell Holbrook, near which he erected a small cabin, in which he lived several years, remote from any human habitation, till, at length, the fear of the Savages compelled him to retreat to a place of greater security; and, it is said, that only a few days after his removal, a party of Indians came to the place and burned his house to the ground.

The first Saw Mill erected in this town was built by the above named Brigham, and stood on the same spot, which is now occupied for the same purpose.

In the same year (1672) a grant of land was made to Samuel Goodenow, grandfather of the late W. A. Goodenow, and to Thomas Brigham, the person mentioned in the last note, "by Double Pond Meadow, on both sides said meadow." The lands taken up on the account of the above named Samuel Goodenow, constituted three

*The old Marlborough line, was a straight line of seven miles in extent, running through the northwest angle of this town, and cutting off more than 2000 acres, which constitute what is called the new grants, of which an account will be given hereafter.

† John Brigham was one of three brothers (John, Samuel, and Thomas) who came from Sudbury to Marlborough sometime previous to 1672. Their father was from England, married a Mercie Hurd also from England, settled in Sudbury, where he died probably in middle life, as his widow had buried a second husband by the name of Hunt, before her sons removed to Marlborough. Samuel Brigham, was the grand-father of the late Dr. Samuel Brigham, of Marlborough: Thomas was an ancestor of the late Judge Brigham, of Westborough; and John, who was sometimes called Doctor Brigham, was the father of the Mrs. Mary Fay, wife of Gershom Fay, of whose remarkable escape from the Indians we shall presently give an account. John Brigham was one of the selectmen of Marlborough in 1679, and in the winter of 1689-90, representative to the Convention then sitting in Boston. The Coram Farm, was granted him, it is said, by the General Court to compensate him for services as a surveyor of lands. Mr. Brigham lived to be quite aged, and used to come to reside with his daughter Mrs. Fay, in this town.

‡ Quere. May not this meadow be the one which lies between Great and Little Chauncey ponds, which, as they are connected with each other by a water communication, might have been called at first Double Pond? David Brigham, son of Thomas, lived on the borders of Great Chauncey, on the farm now in the possession of Lovett Peters, Esq.
of the oldest settlements in this town, on one of which was the principal garrison house, used for many years as a defence against the Indians, and which stood on the farm of Mr. Gill Bartlett, then owned by Samuel Goodenow, Jr. The other two, were in the vicinity of this, and constitute in whole, or in part, the farms of Deac. Jonas Bartlett and Mr. Stephen How.

In the same year, a grant of land was made to John Rediet, "west of Assabeth River, northwest side of the Chauncey Great Pond, bounded on the east by a Spruce Swamp," another tract on "the Nepmuck road, that formerly led toward Coneticoat."* The land of John Rediet, who was one of the first proprietors and greatest land holders of Marlborough, came into the possession of Nathaniel Oaks, who married his daughter, and who lived on the farm owned in succession by Rev. John Martyn and Rev. Peter Whitney, and now in the possession of Mr. Jacob Pierce.† Capt. James Eager was another of the first settlers of this town. He lived near the centre of the town on the farm now in the possession of Mr. John Fisk. His house was once used for a garrison, and was for many years occupied as a tavern, being the first that was opened in the place.‡

* "The Nepmuck Road, that formerly led toward Coneticoat," was the old Connecticut road that passed through the southeast part of this town, over Rock Hill, east of Great and Little Chauncey ponds, into Westborough and thence through Hassanamesit or Grafton. 1. Hist. Col. 1. p. 185 and 192.

† Nathaniel Oaks came from England, married Mehitable, daughter of John Rediet, who died Nov. 25th, 1702, without children. His second wife Mary, was a daughter of Adam Holloway, by whom he had the following children, viz.—Nathaniel, who lived at Bolton. William, burned to death at Shrewsbury in the house of Capt. Keyes. Hannah, married to Gersham Fay, Jr. died March 8, 1806, wanting but a few months of a century. She was the mother of the late Thaddeus Fay, who died, July 22, 1822, aged 91 years. Mary, married to Daniel Maynard, Marlborough. Ann, married to David Maynard, Westborough. John, built the house near Col. Crawford's, owned by Joel Gasset. Jonathan, removed to Harvard. George, lived near the house of Mr. Luther Hawse, and built a saw mill on the river Assabeth.

‡ Capt. James Eager was a native of Marlborough, born 1685, died 1755, aged 70. He was one of the leading men of the place at the time that Northborough became a separate precinct. It is said that his house was the first that was built on the new Connecticut road, between the house of Samuel Goodenow and the town of Worcester. It is but little more than a hundred years, since there was not a human habitation on the road from Marlborough to Brookfield, west of the Goodenow farm, in the eastern part of this town, with the exception of a few log houses in that part of Worcester called Boggachoaq. James Eager, Jr. a son of the above, was married to Marian, daughter of Joseph Wheeler. Their daughter Zilpeh, was married to Michael, son of Rev. John Martyn through whom there are several persons in this town who trace their descent from the first minister of the place.
Several other persons settled in what is now Marlborough, in the early part of the last century.*

Soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century, the English settlers of Marlborough were again exposed to the horrors of Indian warfare. It will be difficult for us, who are permitted to dwell in security under the shelter of the domestic roof, to form an adequate idea of the perilous condition of our forefathers, at this gloomy period. "We have, indeed, heard within our ears, and our fathers have told" us the story of their dangers and sufferings "in the waste and howling wilderness." But how difficult to enter into the feelings of men, who were in constant peril for their lives; who, like the children of Israel in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, repaired to their work with weapons in their hands, and who were liable to be waked from their midnight slumber by the savage yells of a pitiless foe? In many instances were they

*Simeon Howard was the father of Cornet Simeon Howard, and of Jonathan Howard, whose son, Gideon Howard, removed to Worthington, in this state, where his descendants, it is supposed, still live.

Simon Howard, Senior, from Concord, was another of the first settlers. His house stood near the hearse house, on the land of Mr. Asa Fay. It is not known whether the Simeon Howard mentioned above, was related to Simeon Howard, D. D. late pastor of the west church in Boston.

Adam Holloway, from Concord, (died in 1733, aged 80,) and his son Lieut. Wm. Holloway, (died Jan. 6, 1760, aged 71,) settled on the farm now owned by Stephen Williams, Esq.

Lieut. Wm. Holloway, married Mary, (died March 9, 1788, aged 94,) a daughter of Simeon Howard, Senior, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. The sons died young. Of the daughters, Mary, married Jonathan Bartlett, died Dec. 22, 1821, aged 95.—Hannah, married Capt. James Stone, of Westeru.—Betty, married Daniel Wheeler, of Hardwick.—Jemima, married John Taylor, who died at St. Albans, Vt.

John Taylor, was the father of Col. Holloway Taylor now of St. Albans and of John Taylor, Esq an Attorney at law, at Northampton.

Gershom Fay, Senior, was one of the first settlers of this town. He was the son of John Fay, of Marlborough, married Mary, a daughter of John Brigham, died in 1720. He lived at first in the easterly part of the town, afterwards, built a house on the Coram Farm, near the bend of the road, between the dwelling house of Capt. Hastings, and that of Stephen Williams, Esq. His children were Gershom, Mary, Susanna, Sarah, Silas, Timothy, and Paul.

Thomas Ward, from Marlborough, was the first settler on the farm now in the possession of Asaph Rice; and Deac. Isaac Tomblin on the farm of the late Deac. Isaac Davis.

Hezekiah Tomblin, lived first on Tomblin Hill, so called; Ephraim Bee-
man, on the farm of Samuel Dalrymple.

Joseph Wheeler, (died in 1747, aged 56,) lived on the southern declivity of Ball's Hill, so called.

Ephraim Allen, from Roxbury, purchased of an Eleazer How, a few acres of land, with a grist mill erected thereon, the site of the present mill, and Cotton Factory. This was the first, and for many years the only grist mill, in this town.
compelled to desert their farms, leaving their lands untilled, while old and young, the strong and the feeble, flocked to the frail fortifications, denominated garrisons, as their only means of safety.

These were usually nothing more than common dwelling houses, surrounded by palisades, and furnished with a supply of fire arms and ammunition. In the year 1711, there were no fewer than twenty six garrison houses within the limits of Marlborough, to each of which were assigned, on an average, five or six families, the whole number of families being one hundred and thirty seven.*

* "**Marlborough, December 11, 1711.**

"These several persons are allowed by the Captain Generall.

"The persons assigned to each particular Garrison are as followeth:

Ordered, by us the Subscribers, by the direction of an act of the Generall Court, entitled an act for the better security and defence of the fronteers.

Capt. How's Garrison.
Samuel Stevens
James How
Jonathan How
Samuel Stow, Senior
Thomas Stow
Jonathan Morse.

Mr. Breck's* Garrison.

Capt. Kerly's Garrison.
Nathaniel Joslin
Joseph Maynard
Deacon Woods
Nathaniel Johnson
Thomas Amsden
Simon Gates
Joseph Johnson.

Capt. Brigham's Garrison.
Peter Plimpton
Benjamin Mixer

Isaac Amsden's Garrison.
Thomas Newton
Sergeant Mainard
James Woods
Adam Martin
Is. Tempels
Deacon Newton
John Amsden.

Moses Newton
David Fay
John Newton
Widdow Johnson
Moses Newton, Jr.
James Kady.

Lieut. Williams' Garrison.
Thomas Buman
Peter Bent
Richard Barns
Edward Barns

Ensign How's Garrison.
Ensign Bouker
Joseph Wait
David Church
Benjamin Rice
Peter Rice
Jacob Rice
Joseph Rice.

Samuel Morrill's Garrison.
Sergeant Barret
John Barns
Benjamin Baylis
Joseph Ward
Joshua Rice
Thomas Martin
Samuel Bush.

Thomas Brigham's Garrison.
Jonathan Brigham
Oliver Ward
Increas Ward.

 Zac. Eager
Abraham Eager
Daniel Johnson
Samuel Wheelock
Obadiah Ward
Thomas Axtel.

Samuel Goodenow's Garrison.
Nathaniel Oakes

* This undoubtedly was the Rev. Robert Breck, the second Minister of Marlborough.
For several of the preceding years, the inhabitants, especially such as lived in the borders of the town, had been kept in a state of constant anxiety and alarm, in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Indians.

August 8th, 1704, a party of Indians, eight or ten in number, rushed suddenly from the woods, and fell upon a number

Jonathan Farbush
Gershom Fay.

Lieut. How’s GARISON.
Thomas Ward
Edward Rice

NATHAN BRIGHAM’S GARISON.
Joseph Stratten
Henry Bartlett
Elicksander Steward.

SAMUEL WARD Senior’s GARISON.
William Ward
Widdow Hannah Ward
Jonathan Johnson, Senior
Caleb Rice.

JOHN Mathew’s GARISON.
William Johnson
Samuel Ward.

DANIEL RICE’S GARISON.
Widdow Sarah Tayler
Suply Weeks
Elyazer Taylyer.

SAMUEL FORBUSH’S GARISON.
James Bradish
Thomas Forbush
James Glessen.

EDMONT RICE’S GARISON.
David Brigham
Isaac Tomblin
David Maynard.

THOMAS RICE’S GARISON.
John Pratt
Charles Rice.

THOMAS HAPGOOD’S GARISON.
John Forbush

John Wheeler
Josiah How
B— Curly (Kerly) Senior
James Curly.

SIMON MAINARD’S GARISON.
Adam Holloway
Benjamin Whitney
Joseph Newton
John Keyes
Abrell Bush.

MILL GARISON.
Thomas Barret
John Banister.

JOHN NEWTON Jr’s GARISON.
Eliazer Bellows
John Bellows
James Eager
James Newton
Benjamin Newton
Ephraim Newton
John Woods
Abraham Newton.

JOHN NEWTON’s GARISON.
Is. Woods
Thomas Witherby
Is. Amsden
Moses Lenard
Roger Bruce.

JOSEPH MORSE’S GARISON.
Thomas Biglo
Samuel Biglo
Samuel Morse
John Biglo
John Sherman
Daniel Harington.

THOMAS HOW
SAMUEL BRIGHAM
ISAAC AMSDEN
ELEAZER HOW
DANIEL HOW
JOHN BOUKER
JONATHAN JOHNSON
NATHANIEL JOSLIN
PETER RICE
JOHN MAINARD
JOHN BARRETT

COMMITTEE."
of the inhabitants of what is now Westborough, while at work in the field; killed Nahor, a son of Mr. Edmund Rice, on the spot, seized and carried into captivity two other sons, Silas and Timothy; also Ashur and Adonijah, two sons of Mr. Thomas Rice. Ashur was redeemed by his father, and returned in about four years. He afterwards settled in Spencer. Adonijah remained in Canada, cultivated a farm in the vicinity of Montreal. His Indian name was Asaunaugooton. The other two lived among the Indians, married Indian wives, acquired their habits, and lost all knowledge of the English language. The puritanical names of Silas and Timothy were changed into the heathenish, but not unmusical ones of Tookanowras and Oughtsorongoughton. The latter is said to have been the third of the six chiefs of the Cagnawaga tribe, and the one who made the speech to Gen. Gage, in behalf of his tribe, soon after the reduction of Montreal. This chief, in the year 1740, thirty six years after his captivity, visited his relations in Westborough, and retained, it is said, a distinct recollection of the circumstances of his captivity, and of several aged persons then living. Mr. Seth Rice, father of the late Deacon Seth Rice, and who died in 1796, aged 91, was a brother, and Thankful, wife of the late Mr. Josiah Rice, was a sister, of the above named Silas and Timothy.

In the preceding month, (July) two of the inhabitants of Marlborough, viz. Abraham How and Benjamin Hutchins, were slain by the Indians at Lancaster.

On the 15th of October, 1705, Mr. John Biglow, of Marlborough, being then at Lancaster, at the garrison house of Mr. Thomas Sawyer, was, with Mr. Sawyer and his son Elias, taken by the Indians, and conveyed to Canada. They obtained their release in the following manner: Both of them were ingenious mechanics, one, (Sawyer) a blacksmith, the other, (Biglow) a carpenter. While they were at Montreal, they proposed to the French Governor, who resided in that city, that, in case he would procure their ransom, they would erect for him a saw mill, there being none at that time in all Canada. The offer was readily accepted; they fulfilled their engagement; and, after some delays, were permitted to return to their friends, with whom they lived to a good old age. Mr. Biglow, in token of his gratitude for his remarkable deliverance from captivity, called his daughter, born soon after his return, "Freedom," and a second, born some time afterwards, he called "Comfort," as expressive of the happiness and peace he then enjoyed, contrasted with the hardships and fears of a state of captivity.
Comfort was married to Joseph Brigham, the father of Mr. Jonah Brigham, of this town, who, when a child, often listened to the account given by his grandfather Biglow, of the circumstances of his captivity and escape.

In 1707, August 18th, the following tragical event occurred in what is now the easterly part of Northborough. There was at this time a garrison house standing on the south side of the road, near the brook, known by the name of Stirrup Brook, which crosses the great road between the farms of Messrs. Jonas and Gill Bartlett, then in the possession of Samuel Goodenow. As Mary Goodenow, daughter of Samuel, and Mrs. Mary Fay, wife of Gershom Fay, were gathering herbs in the adjoining meadow, a party of Indians, twenty four in number, all of whom are said to have been stout warriors, were seen issuing from the woods and making towards them. Mrs. Fay succeeded in effecting her escape, She was closely pursued by a party of the enemy; but before they came up, had time to enter the garrison, and to fasten the gate of the enclosure. There fortunately happened to be one man then within, the rest of the men belonging to the garrison being in the fields at work. Their savage invaders attempted in vain to break through the enclosure. These heroic defenders, by dint of great exertion, maintained the unequal conflict, till a party of friends, alarmed by the report of the muskets, came to their relief, when the enemy betook themselves to flight.*

The other unfortunate young woman, Miss Goodenow, being retarded in her flight by lameness, was seized by her merciless pursuers, dragged across the brook to the side of the hill, a little south of the road, where she was killed and scalped, and where her mangled body was afterwards found and buried, and where her grave is shown at this day.

On the following day, the enemy were pursued by a company of about thirty men, from Marlborough and Lancaster, and over-
taken in what is now Sterling, where a hard conflict ensued, in which nine of their number, and two of our men were slain. In one of their packs was found the scalp of the unfortunate Miss Goodenow, which was the first intimation that was obtained of her melancholy fate.

Nothing worthy of record is preserved of what took place between this period* and the incorporation of the westerly part of Marlborough, then called Chauncey Village, and including what is now Westborough and Northborough. The act of incorporation is dated November 19, 1717, O. S. or, in our present reckoning, November 30.

In the fall of 1718, the first meeting house was raised, which stood near the northern limits of Westborough, not far from the public house kept by Mr. Silas Wesson. It was not, however, till October 28, 1724, or nearly seven years after the town was incorporated, that a church was gathered, and the Rev. Mr. Parkman, the first minister of Westborough, was ordained.

It was at this house that our fathers, the first settlers of Northborough, worshipped for more than twenty years, some of them being accustomed to walk every Sabbath the distance of five or six miles.

At length, October 20, 1744, the town of Westborough, consisting at that time of one hundred and twenty five families, was divided into two precincts; the north part, to use the words of Rev. Mr. Parkman, "being indeed very small."† The number of families set off to the north precinct was only thirty eight; while eighty seven families remained attached to the old society. Nor was the separation effected without much opposition, and mutual recrimination, the unhappy effects of which lasted many years.

Having arrived at that period of our history, when Northborough became a separate precinct, we proceed to give some account of its boundaries, dimensions, face of the soil, &c.

* I find, from a record kept by Col. Williams, of Marlborough, that Jonathan Johnson was slain by the Indians, October 12, 1708, but at what place, and under what circumstances, I have not been able to ascertain.

† The act of the General Court, setting off the north part of Westborough as a separate precinct, provides, "that the Inhabitants of said north part should give security to Rev. Mr. Parkman, their present pastor, to give him £100, lawful money, settlement, and £50, like money, per annum, in case he should incline to settle with them, agreeably to what they now promise; or otherwise, £12, 10s. like money, if he chooses to continue in the south part." It is unnecessary to add, that Rev. Mr. Parkman chose to remain the minister of the old parish. He died Dec. 9, 1782, in the 80th year of his age, and the 59th of his ministry.
BOUNDARIES, &c.—A plan of the town was made in 1795, by Mr. Silas Keyes, surveyor, then an inhabitant of the place. According to this plan, Northborough contained 10096 acres, including ponds and roads. Since that date, that is, Feb. 15, 1806, the dividing line between this town and Berlin, was by mutual consent, altered so as to bring both towns into a better shape; and in June 20, 1807, the line between Northborough and Marlborough was altered, so as to include the farm of Deac. Jonas Bartlett, within the limits of this town. In its present state, the town contains about 10,150 acres.

The boundaries according to the plan made in 1795, are as follows* :—Beginning at the southwest corner, at a heap of stones on Shrewsbury line, it thence runs east, nineteen degrees north, four hundred and eighty nine rods, to a stake by the river Assabeth; thence, in a northeasterly direction, as the river runs, one hundred and seventy six rods, to the County road, near the dwelling house of Phineas Davis, Esq.; thence, by said river, one hundred and ninety four rods, to a stake and stones; thence east, twenty degrees north, eight hundred and sixty four rods, to a stake and stones on Southborough line. (The above are the boundaries between Northborough and Westborough.) From the last mentioned bounds, the line runs north, thirty two degrees west, one hundred and forty rods by Southborough, to a stake and stones at the corner of Marlborough. (The above are the boundaries between Northborough and Southborough.) From Marlborough corner the line ran, according to the plan of Mr. Keyes, north, thirty degrees forty five minutes west, one hundred and eighty seven rods, to a stake and stones; thence north, forty degrees thirty minutes west, one hundred and ten rods, to do.; thence north, twenty two degrees thirty minutes west, one hundred and forty eight rods, to do.; thence north, thirty two degrees west, forty rods, to a swamp white oak; thence north, twenty nine degrees west, seventy two rods, to a stake and stones; thence north, thirty degrees west, sixty four rods, to do. by the County road; thence north, thirty one degrees forty minutes west, seventy seven rods, to do. ; thence north, twenty eight degrees fifteen minutes west, one hundred and twenty eight rods, to a walnut tree by the river; thence north, thirty three degrees thirty minutes west, sixty eight rods, to a large oak tree marked; thence north, twenty seven degrees west, forty seven

* For the alterations referred to above, see Massachusetts Special Laws, Vol. IV. p. 3 and 112.
rods, to a pine tree marked; thence north, thirty one degrees thirty minutes west, one hundred and twenty nine rods, to a stake and stones by Berlin line or corner. (The above were the former bounds between Northborough and Marlborough; for the alteration see note.) From Berlin corner, the line ran north, thirty degrees west, one hundred and forty eight rods, to a heap of stones; thence east, thirty two degrees north, ninety rods, to the Long Stone, so called; thence west, sixteen degrees north, eight hundred and ten rods, to a heap of stones on Boylston line. (These were the former bounds between Northborough and Berlin; for the alteration see note.) Thence south, sixteen degrees west, eight hundred and sixty eight rods, to a heap of stones at Shrewsbury corner. (This is the line between Northborough and Boylston.) Thence south, sixteen degrees west, one hundred and forty nine rods, to a heap of stones. (This is supposed to be on or near the old Marlborough line, which extended thence in one direction to the northwest corner of Marlborough.) Thence south, twenty four degrees east, one hundred and eighty two rods, to a great oak; thence south, twenty one degrees east, one hundred and fifty rods, to a heap of stones; thence south, one degree east, twenty rods to the County road; thence, in the same direction, three hundred and seventeen rods, to a red oak; thence south, twenty eight degrees thirty five minutes east, one hundred and ninety four rods, to where it began. (These are the bounds between Northborough and Shrewsbury.)

Besides what was originally a part of Marlborough, this town includes a large triangular tract, lying north of the old Marlborough line, (of which the Coram Farm and the Brown Farm made a part) and containing, as has been estimated, between two and three thousand acres. This tract, with several others now in the westerly part of Westborough, was surveyed in January and February, 1715–16, by Wm. Ward, and annexed to Chauncey Village by a grant of the General Court, before the latter was separated from Marlborough.

In March and April, 1721, this tract was again surveyed by James Keyes; and a committee, consisting of John Sherman, David Brigham, and Joseph Wheeler, was appointed to lay it out in forty five shares, according to the number of the proprietors, which shares were afterwards divided among them by lot.

Besides the above tract, the principal part of the farm of Deac.
Caleb Rice, of Marlborough,* which lay without the original boundaries of the town, with another tract nearly as large, adjoining the former, falls within the limits of Northborough, forming the southwest angle of the town.

Northborough is of an irregular form, its average length being about five miles, and its average breadth somewhat more than three miles.

**Surface, Soil, &c.**—The principal part of the town consists of a valley, environed by the hills of Marlborough on the east, Berlin on the north, and Boylston and Shrewsbury on the west, and opening into Westborough on the south, which town is an extension of the same low grounds. The surface of this valley is, however, diversified by numerous hills, some of which are so considerable as to be distinguished by names. The northwest corner of the town, comprehending five or six good farms, and more than 1000 acres of land, forms part of the ridge of high land, running from Berlin, through Boylston and Shrewsbury, and is commonly called Ball's Hill.†

Liquor Hill is a beautiful eminence, rising with a gentle declivity from the great road, nearly opposite to the church, skirted with forest trees, while its summit and its northern and southern declivities are open to the view and form a rich and pleasing prospect. Edmund Hill, about a mile in the northerly direction from the church, and Cedar Hill, in the southeastern part of the town, are similar in form to Liquor Hill, but less open to observation.

Northborough is well supplied with streams of water. The principal stream is the river Assabeth, which, rising in Grafton, and crossing an angle of Westborough, flows diagonally in a northeastern direction, through this town, crossing the great road, about half a mile east of the church, and furnishing several valuable water privileges.

Cold Harbour Brook rises in Shrewsbury, crosses the southeast corner of Boylston, and enters this town. Having received a small

---

* Deac. Caleb Rice was the father of the late Josiah Rice, of this town, who died 1792, aged 92, and who came into possession of the farm above-mentioned, and was one of the greatest landholders in the town. That farm alone contained above five hundred acres, besides which, he owned several hundred acres in other parts of the town.

† So called from two brothers, James and Nathan Ball, from Watertown, who settled there about the year 1720, and where some of their descendants still live. James, the father of the late Dr. Stephen Ball, and grandfather of the present Dr. Stephen Ball, Sen. died 1756, aged 62. Nathan, father of Nathan Ball, died 1768, aged 73.
tributary stream from Rocky Pond, in Boylston, and supplying water for a Grist and Saw Mill, it flows in a very circuitous route through a tract of rich intervals and extensive meadows, crossing the road at Cold Harbour bridge, a few rods south of the church, and having received another small stream from the west, on which a Saw Mill is erected, it falls into the Assabeth, a little below where the latter crosses the great road.

In the easterly part of the town, a small stream, called Stirrup Brook, issuing from Little Chauncey Pond, furnishes a supply of water for a Saw Mill, and is bordered by a rich interval and meadows.

Another small stream, called Hop Brook, from the abundance of wild hops which formerly grew on its banks, rises in Shrewsbury, crosses the southwest angle of this town, furnishing water for two Saw Mills and one Grist Mill, and falls into the Assabeth, soon after that river enters the town. It appears, therefore, that all the waters of Northborough fall into the Assabeth, which conveys them to the Merrimack between Chelmsford and Tewksbury.

The two principal ponds in Northborough are the Little Chauncey, in the southeastern part of the town, containing sixty-five acres, and Solomon's Pond, in the northeastern part, containing twenty-six acres. Little Chauncey takes its name from Great Chauncey, in Westborough, with which it is connected by a small stream. It is a beautiful sheet of water, well stored with fish, its borders in part fringed with woods, while to the east, it opens towards cultivated fields. Solomon's Pond, so named from Solomon, an Indian, who was drowned in it, is not destitute of beauty, and is encompassed by a tract of excellent land.

The soil is in general rich and productive, the poorest being, as Whitney justly observes, that "which appears as we travel the great road." In the northern part of the town, the land is rocky and hard, though it produces good crops of hay and grain. In the middle and southern parts the land is more level, and if not more productive, is cultivated with much less labor and expense.

Roads, &c.—The principal road is the old Worcester Post road, which passes through the middle of the town, about forty rods south of the Meeting House. The distance to Boston from this town is 34 miles; to Worcester 10 miles. Four Stages, furnishing a daily Mail from the east and from the west, pass on this road every day, Sundays excepted.

The old County road from Framingham to Worcester, also leads
through the south part of the town; and the Worcester Turnpike crosses the southwest angle, passing one house only in Northborough. The roads from Lancaster to this place, one of which passes the Meeting House in Berlin, and that from Boylston, are much travelled. The distance to Lancaster is 10 miles; to Boylston 6; to Westborough 4½ miles.

The highways are kept in repair by an annual tax of from $500 to $800.

Mills, Manufactories, &c.—Northborough contains at present four Grist Mills, five Saw Mills, two Carding Machines, a manufactory for Hoes and Scythes; large and commodious works recently established by Capt. Thomas W. Lyon, for manufacturing Cotton Machinery; an extensive Tannery owned by Phinehas and Joseph Davis, Esquires, whose annual sales of leather amount to $20,000. There are also six Coopers, four Blacksmiths, one Saddle and Harness Maker, one Book Binder, three Wheelwrights, eight or ten Shoemakers, who, besides supplying the wants of the town, manufacture about 4000 pairs of shoes annually for a foreign market. The Cotton Factory, built in 1814, by the Northborough Manufacturing Company, at an expense of about $30,000, was lately sold at auction, and is now in the possession of Rogerson & Co. of Boston, and Isaac Davis, Esq. and Mr. Asaph Rice, of this town. It stands on the river Assabet, which furnishes a sufficient supply of water during the principal part of the season; and contains over 700 spindles for Cotton, and 100 for Woollen, 10 looms, a fulling mill, carding machine, &c. and manufactures 80,000 yards of cloth annually.

There are in the town, two stores, furnished with a good assortment of English and West India Goods, the one kept by Gale & Davis; the other by Rice, Farnsworth, & Co.

Population, Deaths, &c.—At the time of the ordination of Rev. Mr. Martyn, (1746) there were 40 families in the place; the number had increased to 82 families at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Whitney, (1767); and, in 1796, to more than 110 families. By the census of 1810, the number of inhabitants was 794; by that of 1820, 1018, making an increase of 224 in ten years. By a census taken the last winter, however, and which it is believed is very nearly accurate, the whole number of inhabitants was only 946, of whom 488 were males, and 458 females.

In the autumn of 1746, the year that Rev. Mr. Martyn was ordained, and for several following years, particularly in 1749 and 1750, this society was visited by a very mortal sickness among
children, by which the growth of the society must have been very sensibly checked, and which must have been attended with circumstances of peculiar distress.*

Sixty children, out of a population which could not have much exceeded three hundred, fell victims to the desolating pestilence; and, with the exception of one adult, (Benjamin Rugg; a stranger,) were the first persons that were buried in the new church yard.†

This was the last sweeping, mortal sickness, with which this place has been visited.

Since the great sickness, in the years 1749 and 1750, no town in this vicinity has been more exempt from wasting, mortal distempers. The number of deaths from 1780, to 1800, including a period of twenty years, amounted to only 146, averaging a little more than 7 in a year. During the first twenty-five years of the present century, the number was 282. The average number for the last ten years has been about 11½ annually, in a population of nearly a thousand souls. The whole number of deaths from 1780, to the present date, (June, 1826) is 450; of whom seventy eight were 70 years and upwards; forty three, 80 years and upwards; seventeen, 90 years and upwards; one (Wid. Hannah Fay‡) in her hundredth year; and one (Deac. Jonathan Livermore§) one hundred years and seven months. There are now living in this town, five or six

* The sickness which prevailed in 1746, Capt. Timothy Brigham informs me, was the dysentery, then called, "the fever and flux." Capt. B. then a child of 10 years old, lost a sister, and was himself sick of the disease. He thinks that as many as 30 children died that year, in this place. He recollects being attended in his sickness by Dr. Benjamin Gott, of Marlborough. The sickness of 1749 and 1750, was the "throat distemper," as it was termed, which, for many years after its first appearance in New England, proved such a desolating scourge.

† The old burying ground, in which many of the first settlers of Northborough were interred, is east of the road leading to Westborough, a little south of the dwelling house of Mr. William Maynard. It is now overgrown with trees and brush.

‡ Widow Hannah Fay was a daughter of Nathaniel Oaks, was married to Gershom Fay, father of the late Thaddeus Fay, and died, March 8, 1806, aged 100.

§ Deac. Livermore came from Watertown about A.D. 1720, and settled on the Brown farm, so called, where David Dinsmore now lives. He was the first Parish Clerk in this place, which office he held many years. He died April 26, 1801, aged 101. A short time after he was 100 years old, he rode on horseback from his house to a military review, near the middle of the town, the distance of three miles, and returned without fatigue. He possessed uncommon learning for his time, was an accurate surveyor, and an excellent penman, owing to which circumstance, the early records of the town appear in a remarkably fine state.
persons over eighty years; and one, (Capt. Timothy Brigham,*) in his ninety first year. One couple (Capt. Amos Rice† and his wife) still survive, who were joined in marriage before the death of Rev. Mr. Martyn, who baptised their first child. They were married May 8th, 1766, and have lived together more than sixty years.

The average number of births for a year, has been, of late, about thirty; which, deducting the deaths, will give an annual increase of from fifteen to twenty souls.

Civil History.—Nothing has been found on record relating to the part which this town bore in the old French wars, as we have been accustomed to hear them called by our aged fathers. We learn, however, from the few who survive of the generation then on the stage of active life, that this small district was not backward in furnishing men to join the several expeditions, which were undertaken for the conquest of the French in Canada.

Eliphalet Warren, John Carruth, and Adam Fay, joined the expedition to Halifax, in 1754. In the following year, Benjamin Flood and Eber Eager, the latter of whom did not live to return, were at Crown point. In 1758, the eight following persons were with the army under General Abercrombie, at his defeat before Ticonderoga. Capt. Timothy Brigham, [now living and who retains a perfect recollection of the scenes he passed through in this ill-fated expedition,] Eliphalet Stone, Samuel Stone, [who died on his return,] Benjamin Flood, Josiah Bowker, Samuel Morse, Gideon Howard, and Joel Rice. Capt. Brigham says that the attack upon the French lines commenced at 5 o’clock, A. M. and lasted till 7 o’clock, P. M.; and that over 1900 of our men were missing at the calling of the rolls that evening. Capt. B. says that after this repulse, the army retreated to Lake George, soon after which, the company to

* Capt. Timothy Brigham is a son of Jesse, who was a son of Jonathan, who was a son of Thomas Brigham, one of the early settlers of Marlborough. He was present at the defeat of the English, under Abercrombie, before Ticonderoga, in 1758, and Lieutenant of the company of minute men that marched down to Cambridge on the memorable 19th of April, 1775. Jonathan Brigham was in the Indian fight, at Lancaster, (now Sterling) Aug. 19, 1767, and stood next to Richard Singletary, who was killed in the action. This fact, Capt. B. had from his own mouth.

† Capt. Amos Rice is a son of Jacob, who was a son of Jacob, who was a son of Edward, one of the 13 original petitioners for the Plantation of Marlborough. Benjamin, another son of Edward, was the father of Deac. Matthias Rice, and of Simeon Rice, late of this town, and of Zerubbabel Rice, late of Marlborough. Tradition says, that the first person by the name of Rice, who emigrated to New England, had eight sons, all of whom lived to be 90 years old and upwards.
which he belonged (Capt. Stephen Maynard's of Westborough) was dismissed and returned home.

There is one man, now living in this town, at the age of 88, nearly, [Lieut. Abraham Munroe] who was at Halifax, in the regiment of Maj. Rogers, of Londonderry, N. H. in the year 1757, and, at the taking of Ticonderoga under Gen. Amherst, in 1759. Mr. Munroe had there the rank of Ensign; and, in the following year, received a Lieutenancy. He served in the regiment of Col. Saltonstal, of Haverhill; and, at the departure of our army for Montreal, received orders to remain at the head of a detachment of men, for the purpose of completing the repairs of the fortifications at Crown Point. Lieut. Munroe continued at Ticonderoga, till his discharge, in May, 1763, under Capt. Omsbury, or Amsbury, to whom the command of the fort had been committed.

Several other persons belonging to this town, whose names I have not learned, were in service at different times during the French wars, some of whom did not live to return.

The following particulars have been collected relating to the part which this town bore in the burdens and privations of the revolutionary war.

It appears from the town records, that the inhabitants of this town, took an early and decided stand in defence of the liberties of our country. So early as March, 22d, 1773, more than two years before hostilities commenced, a number of spirited resolutions were passed at a district meeting, called for the purpose, among which were the following:

"2. Voted, as the opinion of this district, that it is the indispensible duty of all men and all bodies of men to unite and strenuously to oppose by all lawful ways and means, such unjust and unrighteous encroachments, made or attempted to be made upon their just rights; and that it is our duty earnestly to endeavor to hand those rights down inviolate to our posterity, as they were handed to us by our worthy ancestors.

"3. Voted, that the thanks of this district be given to the town of Boston for their friendly, seasonable and necessary intelligence; and that they be desired to keep their watch, and guard against all such invaders and incroaches for the future.

"4. Voted, that Capt. Bez. Eager, Doct. Stephen Ball, and Mr. Timothy Fay, be a committee to make answer to the committee of corres., at Boston, informing them of the opinion of this district in this matter."
In August of the following year, eight months before the war commenced, at a special meeting called for the purpose, the district passed the following vote.—"That we are determined to defend our charter rights and privileges, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, and that the town desire the committee of correspondence,* to write to their brethren in Boston, and inform them thereof."

In November, 1774, the district voted to appropriate money in the treasury to buy one hundred pounds of powder; three hundred pounds of lead, and two hundred and forty flints; and on June 3d, 1776, it was resolved, "that it was the mind of this town to be independent of Great Britain, in case the Continental Congress think proper; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes, if in Providence called, to defend the same."

Some time before the war broke out, a company of fifty minute men was raised in this town, under the command of the late Capt. Samuel Wood, who held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, whenever and wherever hostilities should commence.† At length the memorable 19th of April arrived, on which day, the first blood in our Revolutionary struggle was shed, at Lexington and Concord. On the same day, before one o'clock, P. M. the tidings reached this place. The company of minute men belonging to this town was collecting at the time to listen to an occasional patriotic discourse from Rev. Mr. Whitney. They were directed without a moment's delay, to put themselves in readiness to march; and in three or four hours from the time when the news arrived, they had taken leave of their families and were paraded in the yard of Capt. Woods' house, whence (the Rev. Mr. Whitney having in a fervent prayer commended them to the protection of the God of armies,) they immediately set out on their march for the field of danger and of blood.‡

*The following persons were a standing committee of Correspondence, in 1774. Bezaleel Eager, Seth Rice, Jr. Levi Brigham, Gillam Bass, and John Ball. In the following year, the ever memorable 1775, there were seven on the committee of correspondence, viz. Thadeus Fay, John Ball, Joel Rice, Amos Rice, [now living] Artemas Brigham, Jethro Peters, and Nathan Green.

† April 10th, 1775, the town voted to pay fifty minute men one shilling each, for each half day they shall meet to learn the Military art, for sixteen half days; and granted £40 for that purpose. The town also voted that Mr. Timothy Brigham, Constable, pay to Henry Gardner, Esq. the Province tax, which he has now in his hands, for the year 1773; and the District will indemnify him. Also Voted, to indemnify the Assessors for not making the province tax for the year 1774.

‡ Of the fifty men belonging to this company, the following persons are now living in this town. Capt. Timothy Brigham, then the Lieut. of the
Nor did the spirited resolutions, above adverted to, end in idle words. They were the result of reflection and patriotic principle; and they led to the cheerful endurance of privations and hardships, of which the descendants can probably form no adequate conception.

At one time five, and soon after three, at another five, at another seven, and on one occasion seventeen men, were called for from this small town by the General Court, and were marched in some instances, several hundred miles, to mingle in the scenes of war. *

In the spring of 1781, agreeably to a resolve of the General Court, this town was divided into eight classes, each class being required to furnish a man to serve in the Continental Army for the term of three years, or during the war. And what is worthy of remark, as it is an evidence of the patriotic spirit which prevailed among this people in the preceding autumn, viz. December 28, 1780, the town, taking into consideration the hardships undergone by those who had entered into the service of their country, and especially the losses they had sustained, by being paid in a depreciated currency, generously voted to raise their quota of men, and to pay and clothe them at their own expense, allowing them 40 shillings each, per month, in hard money, and £21 per year, also in hard money, in addition to their clothes.†

Six men more were called for from this town in the following summer; five to go to West Point, and one to Rhode Island, who were accordingly raised, and the town granted £122 5s. in hard money, (or $107,50,) to pay the same. At the same time, they were required to purchase, for the use of the army, 3518 lbs. of beef, for which the town granted £77, in hard money (or $256,66.) The whole amount granted at this meeting, and which went to the support of the war, was therefore £664,16 in hard money; which, considering the population of the town and the value of hard money at that period, was a great sum and must have been felt as a heavy burden. Previous to the June, 1778, it appears from the town company, Capt. Amos Rice, Mr. Isaac How, Mr. Joseph Sever, Mr. Reuben Babcock, and Mr. Nathan Rice. Capt. Samuel Wood, the commander of the company, died September 21, 1818, aged 75 years. He was present, and received a slight wound, at the battle of Bunker Hill. The Ensign of the company was Mr. Thomas Sever, now of Townsend, in this state.

* "July 13th, 1790, the town voted and granted the sum of ten thousand pounds to pay seventeen men hired into the service, nine for the term of six months, and eight for the term of three months."

† Town Records, I. p. 212.
records, that this town had expended in money and service towards carrying on the war £1474 14s. 1d. in a depreciated currency probably, the precise value of which, it is difficult now to determine.*

Such, we presume is no more than a fair specimen of the burdens borne by the community in support of the war of our Independence, and of the spirit with which they were borne.

In many, very many instances indeed, the people were impoverished and brought low. But they were not disheartened; and, by the smiles of a merciful Providence, their efforts were crowned with complete success. Let us who have entered into their labors not forget what we owe to that far-famed generation, who supported the privations and hardships of a long and harassing conflict, in support of our cherished liberties.†

The number was small of those who had refused to embark in the cause of liberty, the names of four only being recorded as absentees, whose estates were confiscated near the close of the war.‡

The patriotism of two others was indeed suspected, and they were subjected to a good deal of inconvenience in consequence of it.§

* The town records contain a list of the names of 90 persons (probably the whole number who paid taxes) with the amount contributed by each. "October 30, 1780, the town granted £6660 to purchase beef for the army." This I suppose was when the depreciation of money was nearly, or quite at the lowest ebb, about which time, £2933 6s. 8d. were granted to Rev. Mr. Whitney by an unanimous vote of the town, in addition to his yearly salary.

"May 17, 1781, the town granted the sum of £3300 Os. 0d. to pay for three horses for the use of the Continental army."

† Among the survivors of the soldiers of the revolution, in this town, five received pensions from the U. States, agreeably to the law passed, April, 1818. From all these, however, with the exception of two, one of whom has since died, their pensions were withdrawn, after the modification of the law, in 1820. Since that time, two of the number, reduced to poverty, have recovered their pensions; and the only remaining one from whom it was withdrawn, and who, depending on the pension, had involved himself in debt in erecting a small building for his accommodation, has been compelled to part with his snug little farm, and is now, in his old age, reduced to the very verge of absolute want. Such, so far as I have witnessed it, has been the operation of the laws respecting pensions to Revolutionary Soldiers. It may be remarked moreover, that the two to whom the pensions were continued, had been a town charge, and were not regarded as very valuable members of the community.

‡ These were James Eager and his son, John Eager; and Ebenezer Cutler, and Michael Martyn, sons in law of the late Capt. James Eager, of this town.

§ These were John Taylor, and Sylvanus Billings. The former, a gentleman of handsome property and who had been one of the leading men of the town; the latter also a man of considerable estate.
After the close of the war, the embarrassments arising from the want of a circulating medium, when almost all were deeply involved in debt, caused much uneasiness, and led the people to devise measures for their removal. August 7th, 1786, Isaac Davis was chosen as a delegate to attend a County Convention, at Leicester, on the 15th inst. to whom the following, among other instructions, were given by a committee appointed by the town. The delegate was to use his influence "that the Convention petition his Excellency, the Governor, and Council, to call the General Court together, in the month of October next, at farthest; and that the Convention present a humble and decent petition to the General Court to set up and establish a mint in the Commonwealth, &c." Complaints were also made of the salaries of the civil list, being so high, and of various other grievances under which the people labored.* There was nothing, however, of the spirit of rebellion or insubordination in the resolutions that were passed at this meeting, or in the conduct which followed; and though it appears from the representations of all, that the people generally were reduced to the greatest straits, yet only three or four individuals were found willing to join in the rebellion of that year, and to seek redress by measures of violence.†

Schools, &c.—Previous to the year 1766, I can find on record, no appropriations made for the education of youth. But I am informed that several instructors had, before that period, been em-

* There prevailed, at this time, very generally through the country, the most violent prejudices against the profession of the law. One of the instructions given to the delegate, at this time, was, that he was to use his influence in the convention, by petitioning and remonstrating to the General Court, "that the whole order of Lawyers be annihilated; for we conceive them not only to be building themselves upon the ruins of the distressed, but said order has increased, and is daily increasing, far beyond any other set or order of men among us, in numbers and affluence; and we apprehend they may become ere long somewhat dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people."

† The following is a list of the names of those who have represented this town in the General Court, from 1775, to the present time.

Col. Levi Brigham, from 1775, to 1777.—John Ball, 1778, 1782, and 1785.—Deac. Paul Newton, 1779, and 1780.—Deac. Seth Rice, 1783.—Deac. Isaac Davis, seven years—between 1787 and 1798.—Deac. Nahum Fay, 1800 and 1801.—James Keyes, Esq. eighteen years, from 1802, to the present time.

From the above account, it appears that this town has been represented thirty six years since the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

The following persons have been commissioned Justices of the peace. The first commission is dated July 3, 1793. Nahum Fay, Seth Grout, Isaac Davis, Stephen Williams, James Keyes, Phineas Davis, and Cyrus Gale. Of this number, three, Seth Grout, Isaac Davis and James Keyes, have since deceased.
ployed to teach, at private houses, in different parts of the town, and who were paid by the voluntary contributions of the parents. The first school house that was erected in this town, stood on the meeting house common, whence it was afterwards removed, and now forms part of the dwelling house of Mr. Joel Bartlett.* In 1770, the district was divided into four squadrons; but it was not till 1780, that the town passed a vote to build school houses in the several squadrons, and granted money for that purpose. The town granted £1000 for building four school houses, which, at the time it was expended, amounted to only £52 6s. 8d. to which they added £110 6s. 8d. amounting to £163 13s. 4d.

Since that period two new School districts have been formed; so that there are now six districts in the town, in each of which, a school is kept from eight to twelve weeks, both winter and summer.

The following is an abstract of the return of the School committee, made in May last, to the General Court.

| Amount paid for public Instruction, $600. |
| Time of keeping school in the year, 6 months each district. |
| Males under 7 years, 47 Females under 7 years, 39 |
| From 7 to 14, 98 From 7 to 14, 75 |
| From 14 and upwards, 68 From 14 and upwards, 47 |
| Males, 213 Females, 161 |
| Total, 374 |

There are, in this town, three respectable Libraries, containing in all about 500 volumes, exclusive of the Juvenile Library, which contains nearly 150 volumes, suited to children and youth.

The Juvenile Library, commenced in 1824, is supported by an annual contribution, and, under a few simple regulations, is accessible to all the children and youth, over the age of 7 years, residing in the town.

Many young men, educated in our schools, have been employed as Instructors, both here and in other towns, and have generally proved worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

Besides several professional gentlemen educated in our schools, and in the neighboring Academies, twelve young men have received a public education, eight of whom are graduates of Harvard

*Mr. Thomas Goodenow was the first Instructor, supported at the expense of the town. Mr. James Hart, a foreigner, was employed about this time, (1770) and is frequently spoken of as the father of the many excellent penmen for which this town has, in former years, been famed.
University, at Cambridge, one of Brown University, and one each, of Yale, Dartmouth, and Williams' Colleges.

Their names, professions, &c. are as follow:

1. Jonathan Livermore, son of the late Deac. Jonathan Livermore, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1760; settled in the ministry at Wilton, N. H. in 1763; was dismissed, but remained in that place, where he died, July, 1809, in the 80th year of his age.

2. Ebenezer Rice, son of the late Simon Rice,* was graduated at Harvard University, in 1760; was a Physician, and a justice of the peace, in Marlborough; afterwards removed to Barre, where he died.

3. Jacob Rice, son of the late Jacob Rice, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1765; settled in Henniker, N. H. being the first minister in that place; was dismissed, on account of ill health; was installed at Brownfield, Oxford County, Me. where he remained till his death, which took place suddenly, Feb. 1, 1824, Lord's Day, having preached to his people in the morning.

4. Elijah Brigham, son of the late Col. Levi Brigham, was graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1778; commenced the study of Divinity, which he soon relinquished, and engaged in mercantile business with his brother in law, Breck Parkman, Esq. of Westborough: in 1795, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; for several years was a Senator and Counsellor of this Commonwealth, a Justice through the State, and a Representative of this District in the Congress of the United States, from 1810 to the time of his death. Judge Brigham died suddenly, at Washington, Feb. 22, 1816, aged 64.

5. John Taylor, son of the late John Taylor, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1786; is now a Counsellor at Law, in Northampton, and one of the Representatives of that town in the General Court.

6. Peter Whitney, son of Rev. Peter Whitney, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1791; now the minister of Quincy, in this State, where he was ordained, Feb. 5, 1800.

7. Henry Gassett, son of Henry Gassett, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1795; is now a merchant, in Boston.

8. Israel Munroe, son of Abraham Munroe, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1800; was for some years a Counsellor at Law, in Boston; he now resides in the city of New York.

* Simon Rice, the father of Dr. Ebenezer Rice, was a brother of the late Deac. Matthias Rice, of this town. He lived just within the limits of Northborough, near the dwelling house of Mr. Ephraim Barnard.
9. Warren Fay, son of Nahum Fay, Esq. was graduated at Harvard University, in 1807; ordained at Brimfield, Nov. 3, 1808; dismissed, June 26, 1811; installed at Harvard, Jan. 26, 1814; dismissed, at his own request, Jan. 5, 1820; installed as minister of the First Congregational Church and Society in Charlestown, Feb. 23, 1820.

10. Luther Rice, son of Capt. Amos Rice, was graduated at Williams College, in 1810; ordained at Salem, Feb. 6, 1812, as a Missionary; sailed for Calcutta in company with Messrs. Hall & Judson, Feb. 18, 1812. Soon after his arrival he changed his views on the subject of baptism; was baptised by immersion; and, in the autumn of 1813, returned to this country. He now resides in Washington, D.C. and is Treasurer of Columbia College.

11. John Davis, son of the late Isaac Davis, Esq. was graduated at Yale College, in 1812; is now a Counsellor at Law, in Worcester, and represents this District in the Congress of the U. S.

12. Isaac Davis, son of Phineas Davis, Esq. was graduated at Brown University, in 1822; is now an Attorney at Law, in Worcester.

There are, at present, two physicians in this place, Docts. Stephen Ball, Sen’r. and Jun’r. The only other physician who made Northborough his permanent residence, was the late Doct, Stephen Ball, father of Stephen Ball, Sen’r. There has never been a lawyer residing in the place, with the exception of John Winslow, Esq. who remained here only a few years. And, it is a singular fact, that with this exception, and that of the three successive ministers, all of whom were educated at Harvard University, none of the permanent inhabitants of the town, at this or at any former period, received a public and liberal education.

Ecclesiastical, &c.—Measures were taken immediately after Northborough became a separate precinct, to support the public worship of God, by building a church, and procuring a minister.

December 31, 1744, the parish voted to build a meeting house, and to raise £50, lawful money, for that purpose. This led, as frequently happens, to a controversy respecting the location of the edifice, which, after several months continuance, was finally submitted to the arbitration of three respectable men from the neighboring towns, Capt. Daniel Heywood, of Worcester, Capt. John Haynes, of Sudbury, and Capt. Thomas Hapgood, of Shrewsbury, who fixed on the spot, near the site of the present church. The land on which the house was erected, was given to the town for
the use of its inhabitants, by Capt. James Eager, by a deed bearing date April 26, 1745, "so long as the said inhabitants of the north precinct shall improve said land for the standing of a meeting house for the public worship of God."

The committee reported, April 24, 1745; and, on April 30, only 6 days after, the house was raised; a vote having previously passed, that "every man should provide for the raising as he was spirited."

New difficulties now arose respecting the settlement of a minister. Several candidates had been employed; and, as usually happens in such cases, the minds of the people were divided between them. Under these circumstances, the precinct appointed a fast for the 12th Sept. 1745, and sent for five of the neighboring ministers "to give them their advice who they should apply to for candidates, in order to a choice."

The following gentlemen attended on the occasion; viz. Rev. Mr. Prentice, Rev. Mr. Parkman, Rev. Mr. Cushing, and Rev. Mr. Morse, who recommended that the parish should hear a few sabbaths each, two candidates from Cambridge, Rev. Mr. Rand, and Mr. Jedediah Adams, in order to a choice. Mr. John Martyn was one of the candidates, who had previously been employed by the parish; and although they complied with the advice of the neighboring ministers, so far as to hear the other candidates two sabbaths each, yet on the 19th of December, 1745, "Mr. John Martyn was chosen by a clear vote"; and a salary was offered him of £50 in bills of the last emission, (which was at 7s. 6d. per ounce,) or £200 in bills of the old form and tenor, after the rate of silver at 30s. per ounce, or in other bills of public credit, equivalent to the said sum, and to be paid at two payments annually." Besides this, a settlement of £300, old tenor, was voted by the parish.

Mr. Martyn accepted the invitation, and was ordained, May 21, 1746, O. S. a church having been gathered on the same day, consisting of ten brethren, besides the pastor elect, four of whom, it is worthy of notice, were foreigners.

* The dimensions of the first meeting house were 46 feet by 36. The whole cost of finishing the outside was £443 11s. 2d. The building committee consisted of Capt. James Eager, Win. Holloway, and Jesse Brigham. The house was framed by Daniel Hemminway. The price of labor at this time, was, in the old tenor currency, for a man per day scoring timber, 6s. for hewing, 6s. 6d. for carpenter's work, 8s. White pine timber, 3 pence per foot; for oak, 2½ pence, running measure. "Allowed Jotham Bartlett £2 10s. for two barrels of cider at the raising of the meeting house."

† The following are the names of the persons who subscribed to the church
The ordaining council consisted of the following pastors, with their delegates:

Rev. Mr. Parkman, of Westborough, who preached on the occasion, from Heb. xiii. 17; Rev. Mr. Prentice, of Lancaster, who gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Cushing, of Shrewsbury, who expressed the fellowship of the Churches; Rev. Mr. Loring, of Sudbury; Rev. Mr. Hall, of Sutton; Rev. Mr. Gardner, of Stow; and Rev. Mr. Barrett, of Hopkinton.

Although the ceremonies of the ordination took place in the meeting house, yet it appears from the town records that it was in a very unfinished state, having neither pulpit, galleries, glass windows, nor even permanent floors. It was not till June, in the following year, that a vote could be obtained “to glaze the meeting house and lay the floors;” and not till the next autumn, that the pulpit and gallery stairs were built. This was indeed the day of small things; and when we compare the accommodations of the spacious and elegant temple since erected near the spot, with the loose floors, and rough seats, and open windows of the house in which our fathers worshipped, we shall do well to inquire whether we surpass them as much in the punctuality of our attendance, and the spirituality of our worship, as in the beauty and accommodations of the place of our solemnities.

Northborough became an incorporated district, Jan. 24, 1766, not long after which, viz. April 30, 1767, the Rev. John Martyn, after a short illness, departed this life, in the 61st year of his age, and the 21st of his ministry. His wife died, Sept. 8, 1775, aged 70.

Mr. Martyn was a son of Capt. Edward Martyn, of Boston, where he spent his early life, under the care of an excellent mother, who had been left a widow in easy circumstances, some time previous to young Mr. Martyn’s entering college. Mr. Martyn was graduated at Harvard University, in 1724. For several years after he left college, he devoted his attention to secular pursuits, and was for some time an inhabitant of Harvard, in this county.*

* Rev. Mr. Martyn was married to Miss Mary Marret, of Cambridge, by whom he had the following children: John, who lived in this town; Mary, married to a Minot, of Concord; Michael, who was married to Zilpah, daughter of James Eager, and lived in this town till the commencement of the revo-
At length, at the age of 40, he directed his attention to theological pursuits, and became an able, faithful, and useful minister. He possessed, in a large measure, the confidence and affections of his flock, was honored in his life, and deeply lamented at his death.

Rev. Peter Whitney was the only person employed as a candidate in this place between the death of Mr. Martyn and his own ordination.

Mr. Martyn died the last day of April; and, after an interval of only 6 months and 4 days, that is, on the 4th of the following November, his successor was inducted into the office of a christian minister.*

The services at his ordination were performed by the following persons. Rev. Mr. Morse, of the second church in Shrewsbury, (now Boylston) made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Petersham, the father of the candidate, preached from Matthew, xxviii. 19, 20.; Rev. Mr. Parkman, of Westborough, made the consecrating prayer, and gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Marlborough, expressed the fellowship of the churches; and Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Chelmsford, made the concluding prayer. The other ministers on the ordaining council, were, Rev. Mr. Stone, of Southborough; Rev. Mr. Goss, of Bolton; Rev. Mr. Morrell, of Wilmington; Rev. Mr. Davis, of Holden; Rev. Mr. Woodward, of Weston; Rev. Mr. Clark, of Lexington; Rev. Mr. Sumner, of Shrewsbury; and Rev. Mr. Cummings, of Billerica.

The salary of Rev. Mr. Whitney was £66 13s. 4d. with a settlement of £160, lawful money.

Rev. Peter Whitney was the son of Rev. Aaron Whitney, the first minister of Petersham, was born Sept. 17, 1744. He was graduated at Harvard University, 1762, where he pursued his Theological studies preparatory to entering on the work of the ministry.

Distinguished for the urbanity of his manners, easy and familiar in his intercourse with his people, hospitable to strangers, and always ready to give a hearty welcome to his numerous friends; punctual to his engagements, observing an exact method in the distribution of his time, having a time for every thing and doing every thing in its time, without hurry or confusion; conscientious in the

olutionary war; Richard, who settled in Windsor, Conn.; and Nathaniel, who removed to one of the Southern States. Widow Abigail Fay, is the daughter of John, abovenamed, and is now living in this place.

*Mr. Whitney began to preach in Northborough, June 7, 1767, and gave his answer to settle the 12th of the following October.
discharge of his duties as a Christian minister, catholic in his principles and in his conduct, always taking an interest in whatever concerned the prosperity of the town and the interests of religion, he was, for many years, the happy minister of a kind and an affectionate people. At length, having continued in the work of the ministry almost half a century, he suddenly departed this life, February 29, 1816, in the 72d year of his age, and the 49th of his useful ministry.*

Mr. Whitney was married to Miss Julia Lambert, of Reading, in this state, by whom he had ten children who lived to man's estate, eight of whom still survive.

Mrs. Whitney survived her husband nearly five years, and died at Quincy, while on a visit to her children, Jan. 10, 1821, aged 79 years. All who knew Madam Whitney will bear testimony to her worth; and admit that she possessed, in no common measure, dignity of manners, sprightliness of mind, and goodness of heart. She was indeed a most pleasant companion and a most valuable friend.

The writer of these sketches was the only candidate employed by their society after the death of his immediate predecessor; and after a probation of about four months, was ordained their minister, Oct. 30, 1816.† His salary is $600 per annum.

* Rev. Mr. Marfyn left none of his writings in print. His successor made himself extensively known by his History of Worcester County; a work highly valuable for the facts it records, many of which would probably have been lost, had they not, with great pains and fidelity, been collected and embodied in this work. It is a work, the value of which will not be diminished by the more minute histories now publishing in the Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal.

The other printed writings of Mr. Whitney, so far as they have come to my knowledge, are—Two Discourses, delivered July 4, 1774; a Sermon, delivered at a Lecture, July 4, 1776, on publishing the Declaration of Independence; a half Century Sermon, preached June 1, 1796; a Sermon at the ordination of his son, Rev. Peter Whitney, of Quincy, February 5, 1800; a Sermon preached at Shrewsbury, February 16, 1810, at the funeral of Mrs. Lucy Sumner, wife of the Rev. Joseph Sumner, D. D.; and a notice of a remarkable apple tree, in the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The publication of the History of Worcester County recommended the author to the notice of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who elected him a member of that association.

† The ordination services were performed by the following persons:—Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Quincy, made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Prof. Ware, of Harvard University, preached from Jer. xv. 19; Rev. Pres. Kirkland, of H. U. made the Consecrating Prayer; Rev. Dr. Saunders, of Medfield, gave the charge; Rev. John E. Abbott, of Salem, gave the Right hand of Fellowship; Rev. Dr. Puffer, of Berlin, made the Concluding Prayer. Besides the above, the following Ministers were on the Council: Rev. Dr. Sumner, of Shrewsbury; Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester; Rev. Dr. Thayer, of
It appears, therefore, that from the ordination of Rev. Mr. Martin, in 1746, to the present time, a period of 80 years, this Christian society has been destitute of a settled minister only about 14 months; a fact highly creditable to the members of this society, as an evidence of their regard for the institutions of religion, and of the union and harmony which have long subsisted among them. And it may justly be considered, that the town is indebted to the spirit of union which has hitherto so generally prevailed among us, for the respectable rank which it now maintains. It would be easy, however painful, to predict the consequences of the prevalence of an opposite spirit. Large and opulent societies can bear to be reduced by division. But in societies small as this, and whose resources are no greater than ours, union should be the watchword of all who wish well to the cause of human improvement.

It is worthy of remark, that there has never been but one religious society in this town, and that only a very few families have, at any time, withdrawn themselves from the Congregational society. Four or five families of the Baptist denomination usually attend public worship in the adjoining towns. The first person of this denomination in this town, was Thomas Billings, who joined the Baptist Society, in Leicester, in 1766.

The increase of wealth and population, and a regard for the institutions of religion, led the inhabitants of this town, in the spring and summer of 1808, to erect a new and more spacious house for public worship.

The new Church is 56 ft. square, with a projection of 34 ft. by 15, surmounted by a tower, and cost, including the bell, $11,408 04. The cost of the bell was $510 00; its weight about 1200 lbs.

The proportions of this building are much admired by persons of good taste; and its location is such, that it appears to great advantage from the main road. May it long stand; and be to this Society a bond of union, and the place whither they shall delight to bring their stated offerings of prayer and praise.*

Lancaster; Rev. Mr. Packard, of Marlborough; Rev. Mr. Rockwood, of Westborough; Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Boylston; Rev. Mr. Frothingham, of Boston; Rev. Mr. Ripley, of Waltham; and Rev. Mr. Damon, of Lunenburg. Rev. J. Allen was born in Medfield, August 15, 1790, and was graduated at Harvard University, in 1811.

* The committee for building the new meeting house consisted of the following persons; James Keyes, Esq. Stephen Williams, Esq. Isaac Davis, Esq. Hollon Maynard, Col. William Eager, Seth Grout, Esq. Asaph Rice, and Phineas Davis, Esq. The business was committed to a sub-committee, composed of three; S. Williams, Esq. Asaph Rice, and Phineas Davis, Esq. The house was built by Col. Eames, of Buckland, and Capt. Brooks, of Princeton.
In the summer of 1822, a neat and handsome Town House was built, at the cost of about $1000, which is used for town meetings, singing schools, and various other purposes.

This town has been peculiarly unfortunate in the destruction of buildings by fire. No fewer than ten dwelling houses, in this small town, seven of them large, two story buildings, have been burnt to the ground. Besides these, two school houses, one grist mill, one saw mill, and one shoe-makers's shop, have fallen a prey to the same devouring element.

In respect to expenses incurred for the support of paupers, the town has for the most part been highly favored. Since the commencement of the present year, only two persons have been a town charge, the whole expense of maintaining whom, for a year, is less than one hundred dollars.

Some additional particulars relating to the ecclesiastical and secular affairs of this town, it may be proper to include in these historical sketches. Owing to the destruction of the church records, in the year 1780, when the dwelling house of Rev. Mr. Whitney, with most of its contents, was destroyed by fire, we have no means of ascertaining the number of baptisms and of persons, who joined the church, as well as many other particulars, which it might be interesting to know, of what took place previous to that date. We learn, however, from Rev. Mr. Parkman's account of Westborough, that, in 1767, the year of the Rev. Mr. Martyn's death, that the number of communicants was forty four, 21 males, and 23 females. The whole number of persons admitted into the church, during the ministry of Mr. Whitney, as nearly as can be ascertained, was 204. Since the death of Mr. Whitney, 54 have been added to the church, exclusive of such as have been received by recommendation from other churches. Besides these, 84 persons, during the ministry of Mr. Whitney, owned the baptismal covenant.

The number of persons baptised, from 1780 to the time of Mr. Whitney's decease, was 661; from that period to the present, 132.

From the gathering of this church, in 1746, to the present time, seven persons only have sustained the office of deacons, two of whom yet survive.

The two first deacons of this church were Jonathan Livermore and Matthias Rice. Deac. Livermore resigned, October 2d, 1782; died April 21, 1801, aged 100 years and 7 months. Deac. Rice died February 13, 1764, aged 58 years. Deac. Rice was succeeded by Paul Newton, who resigned May 8, 1795, and died May 18.
1797, aged 79. Deac. Livermore was succeeded by Seth Rice, who resigned April 30, 1807, and died Jan. 2, 1815, aged 77. Deac. Newton was succeeded by Isaac Davis, who resigned Nov. 18, 1825, and died April 27, 1826, aged 77. Deac. Rice was succeeded by Nahum Fay, and Deac. Davis by Jonas Bartlett. Deac. Fay came into office June 14, 1807, and Deac. Bartlett, February 26, 1826.

The amount of the ages of the five deacons who have deceased, is 392 years, the average of which exceeds 78 years.

In giving the history of this town, it will be proper that we subjoin a brief notice of those persons who have distinguished themselves as its benefactors. It has already been mentioned that the land on which the meeting house stands, with the adjoining common, was the donation of Capt. James Eager, of whom an account was given in a former part of these sketches.

Mrs. Martyn, the mother of the Rev. John Martyn, at first, wholly supplied furniture for the communion table. Rabbi Judah Monis, formerly a Hebrew Instructer, in Harvard University, gave to this church a silver cup, also a large silver tankard, afterwards converted into two cups. Another silver cup was procured, with the joint legacies of Capt. J. Eager and Lieut. William Holloway. A silver tankard was given by Anna, relict of Deac. Matthias Rice. Another silver cup was given by Pelatiah Rice, and his son in law, Thaddeus Fay. Another by Capt. Gideon Tenny; and recently, one by the late Deac. Isaac Davis. An elegant Folio Bible, in 2 vols. for the use of the pulpit, was the generous donation of Joseph Foster, Esq. of Cambridge.*

* Rabbi Judah Monis was a native of Italy, born in 1683 or 1684. Of his parentage, and of the circumstances which led him to emigrate to America, we have no account. He was employed as an instructor in the Hebrew language, in Harvard University, about the year 1720, before his conversion to Christianity. At length, he was led to receive Jesus Christ as the true Messiah; and, March 27, 1722, was publicly baptised at Cambridge; the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Boston, preaching a discourse in the College Hall on the occasion, from John, v. 46. In the preface to this discourse, the author says, that "it was prepared in obedience to the desire of the very Rev. Mr. Leverett, the present learned Head and President of the House where it was delivered, in case of the absence of the aged and venerable Dr. Increase Mather," who, he adds, "if his years had permitted him, would have presided and served on so great a solemnity." "As to Mr. Monis himself," Dr. Colman writes, "it must be confessed that he seems a very valuable proselyte. He is truly read and learned in the Jewish Cabala, and Rabbinics, a Master and Critic in the Hebrew: He reads, speaks, writes, and interprets it with great readiness and accuracy, and is truly didakticos, opt to teach. His diligence and industry, together with his ability, is manifest unto many who have seen his Grammar and Nomenclator, Hebrew and English; as also his Translation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer; the thirty nine articles of the
HISTORY OF NORTHBOROUGH. 55

Appendix I. Containing a list of persons who were heads of families in this place before or soon after it became a separate Pre-

Church of England, and the Assembly’s shorter Catechism into Hebrew; and he is now translating the larger Catechism.” On the same occasion, Mr. Monis also delivered a discourse from Rs. cxvi. 10, entitled “The Truth,” which was printed, with a Preface written by Dr. Increase Mather. This was followed soon afterwards by two other discourses from the same text, the first entitled “The Whole Truth,” the latter, “Nothing but the Truth.” These three discourses, with that of Dr. Colman, were printed in Boston, for Daniel Henchman, and “sold at his shop, over against the old Brick Church, in Cornhill, 1722.”

Mr. Monis continued in his office as an Instructor in Hebrew forty years, till the infirmities of age rendered him incapable of performing its duties. After the death of his wife, in 1761, he left Cambridge and removed to Northborough to reside in the family of Rev. Mr. Martyn, who had married a sister of his wife. Here he remained till the time of his death, which happened, April 25, 1764, at the age of 81 years. As he had no children, he bequeathed the principal part of his estate, which was considerable, to the family in which he resided at his death. The sum of £46 13s. 4d. was distributed among seven of the neighboring ministers; and about £126 was left as a fund, under the direction of a Board of Trustees, the interest of which was to be devoted to the relief of indigent widows of deceased clergymen. The Board of Trustees consists of the ministers of the following churches: The church in Northborough; the first church in Salem; first in Cambridge; the new north in Boston; and the first church in Hingham. The fund now amounts to $400, the interest of which is distributed annually among four widows of deceased clergymen.

The following is the inscription on Mr. Monis’ Grave Stone.

“HERE LIE BURIED THE REMAINS OF
RABBI JUDAH MONIS,
Late Hebrew Instructor,
At Harvard College, in Cambridge;
In which office he continued 40 years.
He was by birth and religion a Jew,
But embraced the Christian faith,
And was publicly baptised
At Cambridge, A. D. 1722,
And departed this life
April 25th, 1764,
Aged eighty one years, two months,
And twenty one days.
A native branch of Jacob see,
Which once from off its olive broke;
Regrafted from the living tree, Rom. xi. 17. 24.
Of the reviving sap partook.
From teeming Zion’s fertile womb, Isai. lxvi 8.
As dewy drops in early morn, Ps. ex. 3.
Or rising bodies from the tomb, John, v. 28. 29.
At once be Israel’s nation born. Isai. lxvi 8.”

Lieut. Wm. Holloway, of whose family an account has been given, was for many years, one of the leading characters in this town. He died Jan. 6, 1760, aged 71.

Deac. Matthias Rice was a grandson of Edward Rice, one of the origin-
HISTORY OF NORTHBOROUGH.

John Brigham.
Samuel Goodenow.
Samuel Goodenow, Jun.
David and Jonathan, sons of.
Samuel Goodenow, Jun.
Nathaniel Oakes,
Simeon Howard, Sen.
Gershom Fay, Sen.
Thomas Ward,
Oliver Ward, (1)
Deac. Isaac Tomblin,
Hezekiah Tomblin,
Ephraim Beeman,
Joseph Wheeler,
Simon Rice,
Daniel Bartlett, (2)
Mr. Holbrooks Saw Mill.
Gill Bartlett.
Deac. Jonas Bartlett,
Gill Bartlett.
Jacob Peirce.
Near the Icare House.
Near Asa Fay's House.
Asaph Rice.
Jonathan Bartlett.
Widow of the late Deac. Davis.
On Tomblin Hill.
Samuel Dalrymple.
On Ball's Hill.
Near Ephraim Barnard's.

None of the above, it is believed were heads of families in this town so late as 1744.

The following are the names of the fifteen persons who paid the highest taxes in 1749, taken from the Town Record, Vol. I. p. 27.

Lieut. Wm. Holloway,
James Eager, Jun.
Capt. James Eager,
Deac. Matthias Rice,
Peletiah Rice,
Samuel Gamwell,
Jacob Rice, (3)
Jotham Bartlett,
Timothy Fay,
Josiah Bowker,
Jesse Brigham, (4)
Bezaleel Eager, (5)
Stephen Williams, Esq.
John Fisk.
Do.
Windsor Stratton.
Ephraim Barnard.
Capt. Prentice Keyes.
Asaph Rice,
Gill Bartlett.
Capt. Henry Hastings.
Nathan Green.
Henry Brigham.
Col. Wm. Eager.

al proprietors of Marlborough. He lived on the farm now owned by Jonah Brigham. He died without children, Feb. 3, 1764, aged 58.

Peletiah Rice was a son of Peter Rice, of Marlborough, and lived on the farm now in the possession of Ephraim Barnard. He left no sons; his two daughters, Thankful and Sarah, were married respectively, to Thaddeus and Adam Fay, sons of Gershom Fay. He died April 7, 1775, aged 81.

Deac. Isaac Davis was born in Rutland, in this county. His father, Simon Davis, was a son of Simon Davis, who removed from Concord to Rutland. Rev. Joseph Davis, the first minister of Holden, was another son of Simon Davis, Sen. Deac. Davis removed to Northborough during the Revolutionary war, and has been, for a long succession of years, one of our most distinguished citizens. His first wife, the mother of his children, was a daughter of the late Dr. Samuel Brigham, of Marlborough, who was married to a daughter of Dr. Benjamin Gott, whose wife was Sarah, a daughter of Rev. Robert Breck, the second minister of Marlborough. Deac. Davis died April 27, 1826, aged 77. During his last sickness, he directed his family to procure at his expense new linen for the Communion Table, a direction with which they cheerfully complied.
Silas Fay,  
Thomas Billings,  
John Oakes,  

Capt. Henry Hastings.  
Col. John Crawford.  
Joel Gassett.  

The following twelve names were added, in 1752.  

†James Ball,  
Cornet Simeon Howard,  
† Nathan Ball,  
† Josiah Rice,  
† Gershom Fay,  
† Samuel Allen,  
John McAllester,  
Deac. Jonas Livermone,  
Thomas Goodenow,  
Seth Hudson,  
George Oakes,  
† Seth Rice, Sen:  

Edward B. Ball.  
Nahum Fay, Esq.  
Nathan Ball.  
William Maynard.  
Benjamin Rice.  
Samuel Allen.  
Hollon Maynard.  
David Dinsmore.  
Stephen Howe.  
Near Ephraim Barnard's.  
Luther Hawse.  
Calvin Hastings.  

To the above list the following names may be subjoined.  

John Martyn, Jun.  
Zephaniah Briggs,  
† Deac. Paul Newton,  
† Col. Levi Brigham, (6)  
† Samuel Wood, Sen. (7)  
† Thomas Warren, and his son †Eliphalet Warren, (8)  
Jonathan Hayward, and his son †Gideon Hayward, (8)  
†Jonathan Bruce,  
Joshua Townsend,  
† John Carruth,  
† William Babcock,  
Josiah Goodard,  
Solomon Goddard,  
Seth Rice,  
Samuel Gamwell, Jun.  
William Carruth,  
George Smith,  
Joshua Child,  
Warren,  
Capt. Timothy Brigham, (6)  
now living,  

Benjamin Munroe.  
Capt. Joseph Davis:  
Martyn Newton.  
Winslow Brigham.  
Samuel Sever.  
Abel Warren.  
Lowell Holbrook.  
Samuel Dalrymple.  
John F. Fay.  
Joseph Carruth.  
David Mahan.  
Silas Bailey.  
Jonas Babcock.  
Benjamin Flagg.  
Reuben Babcock.  
Daniel Smith.  
Do.  
On the South Road.  
Do.  
Oliver Eager.  

NOTES.  

Brief notices of several persons whose names are found in the foregoing list.  

1. Oliver ? Ward. I understand that a farmer of the name of Ward, was the first settler on the farm of Jonathan Bartlett, and I conclude that his name was Oliver from the circumstances that, in 1710, forty three acres of land were laid out to Thomas and Oliver Ward on Woody Hill, near the upper end of Cold Harbor, north side of the brook, next John Brigham's meadow.”  

2. Daniel Bartlett, was a son of Henry Bartlett, who emigrated from Wales and settled in Marlborough, in the latter part of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth Century. He was the common ancestor of all of that name in this town. His sons were Jotham, settled in this town, grandfather of Gill Bartlett; Daniel, settled in Rutland; Jonathan, father of
Jotham and Jonathan, in this town; John, in Princeton; Isaac, in Holden; and Jonas, father of Deac. Jonas B. in this town. A brother of Daniel settled in Western or Brookfield, probably the Benjamin Bartlett, whose daughter Mary, born 1701, was the first child born in Brookfield, whose birth was recorded. (1 Hist. Col. I, 267.)

3. Jacob Rice, son of Jacob Rice of Marlborough, first lived a little south of the dwelling house of Doct. Stephen Ball, afterwards removed to the house now owned by his grandson, Asaph Rice. He was the father of John Rice, of Shrewsbury; Jacob, minister of Brownfield, Maine; and Amos, now living in this town. The brothers of Jacob were Amos and Obadiah, of Brookfield, and Gershom, of Marlborough. Jacob Rice died, July 29, 1788, aged 81.

4. Capt. Jesse Brigham, son of Jonathan Brigham of Marlborough, was the father of Artemas, and Capt. Tim. Brigham, the latter of whom is now living in this town. Jesse Brigham died, Dec. 8, 1796, aged 87.

5. Capt. Bezaleel Eager, came from Marlborough to the place where his grandson, Col. Wm. Eager now lives. Two brothers, Abraham and Capt. Benjamin Eager, came about the same time to Shrewsbury, and were among the first settlers of that town. Their father or grandfather was from Concord; Bezaleel Eager, died Oct. 31, 1787, aged 74.

6. Col. Levi Brigham, son of David Brigham of Westborough, was the father of the late Judge Brigham, and of Winslow Brigham now living in this town. Col. Brigham was chosen July 10, 1775, to represent this town in the Assembly to be convened at the meeting house in Watertown, the 19th of that month. He died Feb. 1, 1787, aged 71.

7. Samuel Wood came from Sudbury, and set up the first fulling mill in this town. He was the father of the late Abraham and Capt. Samuel Wood, who lived together on the same farm now in the possession of Samuel Sever.

8. Thomas Warren, from Watertown, was the father of Eliphalet, who left many descendants in this town and in other places.

Appendix II. Referring to page 134. The Grants for house lots were made 26th November, 1660, and were in the following proportions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Rice</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Richard Ward</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ward</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>John Woods</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ruddock</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>John Maynard</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Goodenow</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Peter King</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Rice</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Benjamin Rice</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Rice</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>A Minister</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Bannister</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Peter Bent</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas King</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>John Beilows</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Kerley</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Abraham How</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Johnson</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Thomas Goodenow Jun.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Newton</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>John Rutter</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Howe, Sen.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>John Barrett</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Howe Jun.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>John Rediat</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Kerley</td>
<td>19½</td>
<td>A Smith</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Barnes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Joseph Holmes</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Rice</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Samuel How</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Belcher</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Henry Axtell</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obadiah Ward</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>John Newton</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Rice</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33 house lots, 992½ acres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

992½ acres
NOTES.

Brief notices of several persons whose names are found in the foregoing list.

Edmund Rice was probably the father of Edmund Rice, one of the first settlers of Westborough, whose children Silas and Timothy were taken by the Indians and carried into captivity. If so, he was the great grandfather of the late Deac. Seth Rice of this town. He was one of the selectmen of Marlborough, in 1661.

Wm. Ward was one of the first deacons of the Church at Marlborough, and had a house lot assigned him on the south side of the road opposite the Rev. Mr. Brinsmead's. He was one of the selectmen in 1661. He was the grandfather of the late Col. William Ward, of Southborough. He was probably also an ancestor of the late Maj. Gen. Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury. There were, however, three persons of the name of Ward, viz. William, Obadiah, and Richard, to whom house lots in Marlborough were granted at this time, (1662.) From the following inscription on a grave stone in the old burying ground in Marlborough, it would appear that the person to whom it belongs, was born before either of the New England colonies was planted.

"Here lies the body of Elizabeth Ward, the servant of the Lord, deceased in 87 year of her age, December the 9 in the year of our Lord 1700."

John Ruddock, was one of the selectmen of Marlborough, also a recorder or clerk in 1661, and a deacon of the church in 1689.

Of Thomas Goodenow, Richard Newton and John How, some account has already been given. Thomas Goodenow and John How, were selectmen in 1661, as also were Thomas King and Solomon Johnson, the latter of whom was afterwards a deacon of the church.

The name of Andrew Belcher, occurs in Dr. Holmes' History of Cambridge, (1. Hist. Col. Vol. VII. 28, 34,) who quotes from the Town Records the following: "The townsmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to sell beare and bread, for entertainment of strangers, and the good of the town." This was in 1652. Whether this is the same person whose name is found among the proprietors of Marlborough eight years afterwards, I am unable to say. A Capt. Andrew Belcher is said to have given to the first parish in Cambridge, the bell now in use, in the year 1700. I am informed too that the name of Andrew Belcher, Esq. frequently occurs in the records of the Gen. Court; that he was for some years an assistant, a member of the King's Council, and often a member of the Legislature; and that, in 1609, he was a messenger to treat with the Indians at Albany, &c. It is not improbable that he lived for a time at Marlborough, and that he afterwards returned to Cambridge, and sustained the several offices abovementioned.

Edward Rice was a deacon of the church in 1689; and was, as has been mentioned, the grandfather of the late Deac. Matthias Rice, of Simon Rice, and of Jacob Rice, of this town. It is not improbable, taking into view the connexion between Sudbury and Concord, that the Richard Rice, who is mentioned as one of the first settlers of Concord, in 1635, (1. Hist. Col. Vol. 1, 240.) was the common ancestor of all of that name in this part of the country, and the person, who, as tradition says, left eight sons, who all lived to a very great age. The Rice family has been remarkable for longevity.
Two of this name, Cyprian and Elisha Rice, who went from Marlborough, died at Brookfield in 1788, the one in the 98th, and the other in the 99th year of his age. Hist. Col. 1. 273.

Of the other persons mentioned in the foregoing list, I have no account to give. Maj. Peter Bulkley was mentioned, page 133, as one of the persons who assisted in procuring the Indian deed of Marlborough. This was undoubtedly a son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, who was the first minister and one of the first settlers of Concord, then called Musketaquid. Rev. Mr. Bulkley, had a number of children who were much distinguished in their day. One of his sons, Gershom, was married to a daughter of President Chauncey, and was the father of John Bulkley, minister of Colchester, Conn.

Maj. Peter Bulkley, was in 1678-9, an agent for the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, respecting the Narragansett country, (1 Hist. Col. V. 221) and in the first year of James II. was appointed by the King’s commission, one of the Council, of which Joseph Dudley, Esq. was President. 1. Hist. V. 245.

It appears from the State Records, that a grant of 1000 acres of land in the Nipmug or Kittituck country, was made to Maj. Bulkley, by the General Court, for some service he had performed for the public.

Appendix III.

MINISTERS OF MARLBOROUGH.—Rev. William Brimsmead, the first minister of Marlborough, was a native of Dorchester, a member of the class that graduated at Harvard College, in 1648, but who left with several others in the preceding year, without a degree, in consequence of dissatisfaction with the regulation then introduced of requiring a residence of four years instead of three. He was employed as a preacher, at Marlborough, as early as 1660; was afterwards, in 1665, after several months probation, invited to settle in Plymouth, with an offer of £70 salary and firewood, which he declined, and was ordained at Marlborough, October 3d, 1666.

John Cotton, Esq. of Plymouth, in his history of that town, (1760) speaks of him as “a well accomplished servant of Christ.”

He preached the Election Sermon, 1681, on Jer. 6. 8. which was printed. His salary in Marlborough was from 40 to £45 per annum.

It appears from the following record that he was unable to supply the pulpit during the latter part of his life. “May 6, 1700. Voted, to send to Cambridge for a candidate for the ministry.”

“July 12. Voted unanimously, by church and town, to invite Mr. Swift to help with our present pastor, if God shall raise him up.”

At the same time a committee was chosen “to procure a place to remove their minister to, and to provide him a nurse.” (Mr. Brimsmead had no family of his own to provide for him, having never been married.)
December 16, 1700, a committee was chosen to treat our Rev. pastor, with reference to the arrears yet in his account that concern the town, and to bring an account of all that is behind, from the beginning of the world to the end of November, 1699."

Mr. Swift having negatived the call, Mr. Joseph Morse was invited to settle as colleague with Mr. Brimsmead. Rev. Mr. Brimsmead died on Commencement morning, July 3d, 1701, and was buried in "the old grave yard," where a large unlettered stone was erected to his memory, which still remains, and is almost the only memorial that remains of "this venerable servant of Jesus Christ." Soon after the death of Mr. Brimsmead, Mr. John Emerson, afterwards settled in Portsmouth, N. H. was invited to be the minister of Marlborough, but declined the invitation.

At length, after a long controversy respecting Mr. Emerson, which was carried on with a good deal of asperity, June 1st, 1704, Mr. Robert Breck, son of Capt. John Breck, of Dorchester, graduated at Harvard College, in 1700, received an invitation to take the pastoral charge of the society, which he accepted, and was ordained, October 24th, 1704.

Rev. Mr. Breck remained pastor of the church at Marlborough

* The following inscription is placed over the remains of the first person who was buried in the old burying ground in Marlborough.

"Capt. Edward Hutchinson aged 67 years, was shot by treacherous Indians, August 2d, 1675, died, August 19th, 1675."

Capt. Edward Hutchinson was mortally wounded by the Indians, August 2d, at a place called Menimimisset, about four or five miles from Quaboag (Brookfield) to which place he had been sent with twenty horsemen by the Governor and Council, for the purpose of conciliating the Nipmucks, to many of whom he was personally known. It appears that they conducted themselves towards him with the basest treachery. The Sachems had signified their readiness to treat with the English, but it must be with Capt. Hutchinson himself. Having been conducted by a treacherous guide to the place where two or three hundred of the Indians lay in ambush, they suddenly issued from a swamp, fell upon Capt. Hutchinson, and his unsuspecting associates, shot down eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, among whom was Capt. H. himself. Capt. Hutchinson was a son of the celebrated Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, who occupies so conspicuous a place in the early history of New England. He was also the great grandfather of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of the Massachusetts colony and the historian of Massachusetts. Savage's Winthrop, I. 249.

†Rev. Mr. Brimsmead's house stood in a lot of land on the west side of Ockocsangansett hill, adjoining to said hill. Tradition says, that he uniformly refused baptism to children who were born on the Sabbath.

†Rev. John Emerson was first (1703) ordained as pastor of the church at Newcastle, New Hampshire, dismissed in 1712, and installed pastor of the South Parish in Portsmouth, March 23d, 1715, died June 21st, 1732, aged 62. Mr. Emerson was a native of Ipswich and was graduated at Harvard University, in 1663. Hist. Col. X. 53.
twenty seven years, and died, January 6, 1731, in the midst of his
days and usefulness, at the age of forty nine years, universally la-
mANTED.

A handsome monument was erected to his memory, near that
of his predecessor, containing the following inscription in Latin, to
which we subjoin, at the request of many, a translation into English.

INSCRIPTION.

Reliquiae terrestres theologi vere venerandi Roberti Breck sub
hoc tumulo conferuntur. Pars celestis ad coelum myriadum ange-
lorum et ad spiritus justorum qui perfecti sunt ubiit.

Ingenii penetrantis, quoad vites naturales, vir fuit amplissimæ
mentis et judicii solidi, una cum animi iortitudine singnari. Quo-
ad partes acquisitas spectat, in linguis quæ doctæ præsertim (audi-
unt ?) admodum peritus; literarum politarum mensura parum com-
muni instructus; et, quod aliis fuit difficile, ille, vix tute ingenii pro-
priœ et studii coerctis, fecit et subegit. In omnibus Theologiae par-
tibus versatissimus, et vere orthodoxus, Scriba ad regnum coelo-
rum usqueaque institutus. Officio pastorali in ecclesia Marlbur-
iensi, ubi Spiritus Sanctus illum constituit episcopum, per XXVII
annos, fideliter, sedulo, pacifice, multaque cum laude, functus est.

Doctrinae Revelatae, una cum cultu et regimen in Ecclesiis Nov-
Anglicanis instituto, assertor habilis et strenuus. Ad consilia danda
in rebus arduis, tum publicis tum privatis, integritate conspectus et
prudentia instructissimus. Sincere dilexit amicos, patriam, et uni-
versam Christi ecclesiam.

Denique pietatis, omnis virtutis socialis, et quoad res terrenas
moderatorinis, exemplar.

In doloribus asperis ægritudinis ultimæ patientia ejus opus per-
fec tum habuit; et, si non ovans, expectans tamen et placide discer-
sit.

Natus Decem.œ 7 m° 1632.
Denatus Januar. 6 to 1731.

Prophetæ ipsi non in seculum vivunt.

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

Beneath this stone are deposited the mortal remains of the tru-
ly reverend Robert Breck. His immortal part hath ascended to
heaven to join the innumerable company of angels and the spirits
of the just made perfect.

He was by nature a man of acute intellect, capacious mind and
solid judgment, together with singular mental resolution. As to his
attainments, he was eminently skilled in the learned languages, fa-
miliar beyond the common measure with polite literature; and,
what to others was difficult, he by the powers of his mind, and close application to study, accomplished with ease.

Thoroughly versed in every department of theology, and truly orthodox in sentiment, he was a scribe in every respect instructed unto the kingdom of heaven.

The duties of the pastoral office in the church at Marlborough, over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, he discharged faithfully and assiduously, in peace and with great reputation, for twenty seven years.

He was a skillful and able asserter of the doctrines of revelation and of the worship and discipline of the New England Churches.

He was a counsellor in cases of difficulty, both public and private, of distinguished uprightness and consummate prudence.

He was a sincere lover of his friends, his country, and the whole Church of Christ.

In a word, he was a model of piety, of every social virtue, and of moderation in regard to earthly things.

In the severe pains of his last sickness, his patience had its perfect work; and his departure, if not in triumph, was full of hope and peace. Born Dec. 7th, 1682—Died Jan. 6th, 1731.

"Even the prophets do not live forever."

Rev. Robert Breck was regarded as one of the eminent ministers of his day. He preached the Election Sermon in 1728, from Deut. v. 29, which was printed. Another of his printed sermons, which is still in existence, was preached in Shrewsbury, on the 15th of June, 1720, and was the first sermon preached in that town.* His only other publications, so far as they have come to our knowledge, were two excellent sermons, addressed particularly to young persons, and which were preached to his people in 1728, on occasion of a large accession to his church of about fifty persons. The former is on the danger of religious declension, from Luke ix. 61, 62: the latter was preparatory to the observance of the Lord’s Supper, from Leviticus, x. 3.

Three funeral discourses preached at Marlborough, on occasion of his death, one by Rev. John Swift of Framingham, another by Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster, and the third by Rev. Israel Loring of Sudbury, were published, and are now extant.

It appears, from a note to Mr. Prentice’s discourse, that during

*See the history of Shrewsbury, in the May Number of this Journal, p. 16, by Andrew H. Ward, Esq.

I am informed by Rev. Wm. B. Sprague, of West Springfield, that he has in his possession a copy of this discourse.
the sickness of Mr. Breck, October 15, 1730, a day of fasting and prayer was kept in Marlborough for his recovery; "several of the neighboring ministers being present and assisting on that solemn occasion."

A respectful and able notice of Rev. Robert Breck was given in the Weekly Journal, No. CC. for Jan. 18, 1731, which is subjoined to the discourse of Mr. Prentice; and another well written memoir was published in the Boston Weekly News Letter, No. 1408, for Jan. 21, 1731, which forms an appendix to Rev. Mr. Loring's discourse.

"His temper was grave and thoughtful, and yet cheerful at times, especially with his friends and acquaintance; and his conversation entertaining and agreeable.

"In his conduct, he was prudent and careful of his character, both as a minister and a christian; rather sparing of speech, and more inclined to hear and learn from others.

"His house was open to strangers, and his heart to his friends; and he took great delight in entertaining such, as he might any ways improve by, and treated them with good manners.

"The languishment and pains he went through before his death were very great; but God enabled him to bear the affliction with patience and submission.

"He was interred on the 12th with great respect and lamentation, and his affectionate people were at the charge of his funeral; and it is hoped they will continue their kindness to the sorrowful widow and orphans."

Rev. Robert Breck had a son of the same name, who was graduated at Harvard University, in 1730, was ordained as minister of Springfield, Jan. 26, 1736, and died April 23, 1784, in the 71st year of his age.

The father was married in Sept. 1707, to Miss Elizabeth Wainwright, of Haverhill, who died, June 8, 1736. They had six children, two of whom died before their father. Of those that survived him, Robert was minister of Springfield; Sarah was married to Dr. Benjamin Gott, of Marlborough; Hannah was married to Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough; Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, was married to Col. Abraham Williams, of Marlborough, and

* Rev. Mr. Breck lived on or near the same spot on which Rev. Mr. Packard's dwelling house was afterwards erected.

† See Rev. Wm. B. Sprague's Historical Discourse, delivered at West Springfield, Dec. 2, 1824, p. 78, 80.
died two years before her father, Jan. 1729. The name of the other child that survived the father was Samuel, who was a surgeon in the army during the French war. He married at Springfield, and died, 1764.

The following account of the successors of Rev. Mr. Breck, was furnished principally by Rev. Seth Alden, of Marlborough.

After an interval of nearly three years from the death of Mr. Breck, viz. Oct. 1733, Rev. Benjamin Kent was ordained as the minister of Marlborough, and on Feb. 4, 1735, was dismissed by mutual consent. After his dismissal, Mr. Kent brought an action against the town for the recovery of his settlement, which the court allowed him. The town appears to have suffered much about this time from intestine divisions, which prevented the settlement of a minister for the five years succeeding the dismissal of Mr. Kent.

At length, June 11, 1740, Rev. Aaron Smith received ordination, and was dismissed by reason of ill health, April 29, 1778. After his dismissal, Mr. Smith went to reside with Rev. Mr. Bridge of East Sudbury, who married his daughter, and died there.

Rev. Asa Packard, from Bridgewater, succeeded him, and was ordained, March 23, 1785, and April 10, 1806, was dismissed, in consequence of an unhappy division in the town relating to the location of a new church. This division led to an Ecclesiastical Council called by the Church, which resulted, Oct. 24, 1806, that in case the minority should obtain an act of incorporation as a distinct society, then, without breach of covenant, those members of the church who should unite themselves with such Incorporation, might become a regular and distinct church, by the name of the West Church in Marlborough.

After much opposition, such inhabitants did obtain an act of incorporation on the 23d of Feb. 1808, by the name of the second parish in Marlborough; and on the 5th of the following month, a church was duly ordained. Over this church and society, Rev. Asa Packard was installed, March 23, 1808, and remained their Pastor till May 12, 1819, when, by mutual consent, he was regularly dismissed. Mr. Packard now resides with his family in Lancaster.

Rev. Seth Alden, from Bridgewater, a graduate of Brown University, 1814, was ordained as the successor of Mr. Packard, Nov. 3, 1819, and still remains their Pastor.

Over the East Church and first parish, Rev. Sylvester F. Buck-
lin, from Rehoboth, now Seekonk, a graduate of Brown University, 1805, their present Pastor, was ordained, Nov. 2, 1808.

Besides the two Congregational Societies above mentioned, there is a society of Universalists in the town, without a stated Pastor, and a small society of Methodists. The person at present preaching with the former is Massena B. Ballou; with the latter, Jared Haskins.

The preceding sketches have been made up from materials collected from various sources. The aged fathers of this and some of the neighboring towns have been consulted as opportunity offered; and several of the descendants of the early settlers of Marlborough, have kindly furnished many valuable papers relating to the events of former days, and which have been handed down from father to son, for three or four successive generations. The writer would particularly acknowledge his obligations to Rev. Messrs. Bucklin and Alden, for the aid they have rendered him; as also to Mr. Silas Gates for the use of the copious and very valuable records in his possession, inherited through his wife (daughter of the late George Williams) from her grandfather Col. Abraham Williams, who, for many years, was the clerk of the proprietors of the English Plantation of Marlborough.

The writer has also had opportunity to consult the books of records of the proprietors of the Indian Plantation, now in the possession of Mr. John Weeks.

He has aimed at accuracy; but fears, where so much rests on mere tradition, or memory not less treacherous, that many errors besides those of the press, have become incorporated in the history. For these he craves the indulgence of his readers.

ERRATA.

Page 11, end of first paragraph—The new meeting house was erected in 1805, the old one taken down in 1809: page 15, 22d line from top, for Dorchester read Dorchester; page 25, 20th line from top, for Asa Goodenow read Thomas Goodenow; page 26, 9th line, for Pond read Road; page 27, 1st line, for Marlborough read Northborough; on the same page, the 2d paragraph of the note should be in the place of the first, and for Simon read Simeon; page 29, 1st line of the note, for persons read garrison; page 39, in 4th line of 2d note, for Simeon read Simon; page 43, in 3d note, read, James and John Eager were sons, and Cutler and Martyn sons-in-law of John Eager, Jr. and grandsons of Capt. John Eager.
In giving a sketch of the history of Lancaster, I labor under serious disadvantages. Those valuable sources of information, the records, are quite imperfect: the records of the Church till the time of Rev. Mr. Prentice in 1708, are lost; while those of the town extend no further back, than 1725; the first volume having unaccountably disappeared, more than forty years since. After much exertion, I have been able, only in part, to supply these deficiencies, from various and distant quarters; and from the books of the proprietors, in which are preserved some valuable materials: but even here there is a lamentable hiatus from 1671, to 1717, including King Williams' war, of eight, and Queen Ann's war, of eleven years.

After giving the topography, present state &c. of the town, I shall touch upon its civil and ecclesiastical history.

The town of Lancaster is situated in the north part of the County of Worcester, about 33 miles west from Boston,* and 15 miles nearly north from Worcester.

Boundaries.—The general boundaries of the town are as follows, viz. north by Shirley and Lunenburgh, west by Leominster and Sterling, south by Boylston and Berlin, and east by Berlin, Bolton and Harvard. The general direction of the town, in length, is northeast and southwest. The average length, is nine and eleven sixteenth miles; the greatest length nine and fifteen sixteenths, de-

* The distance was till the last year, 35 miles. The great alterations in the road, especially through Stow, and the new road from Watertown to Cambridge, make a difference of two miles.
duced from an accurate map.* It was originally laid out for ten miles, and this slight variation of one sixteenth of a mile, was probably owing to an error, in the original survey, which will be mentioned in the sequel; a less error it is supposed than was usual in such ancient measurements. The breadth, is very irregular; it varies from $\frac{43}{4}$ to $\frac{23}{4}$ miles.

R o a d s, M a i l s, & c.—The public roads extend over 600 acres of land. The principal road, is the one leading from Boston, through Leominster, to Greenfield and Brattleborough; and another branch of it through Sterling, to Barre, Greenfield, &c. The mail arrives and departs daily, excepting on Sunday: thirty two mails are opened and closed, and the various stage coaches pass and repass the same number of times, in the course of each week. There is a short turnpike road which begins in Bolton, and terminates in Lancaster, a mile north of the church.

S o i l, P r o d u c t i o n s, & c.—The town contains twenty thousand two hundred and eight acres of land. Of this three thousand acres, no inconsiderable part of the whole, are intervale, and about seventeen hundred, by estimate, are covered with water. Much of the soil is deep and rich. The light lands, produce large quantities of rye, barley, oats, &c. while the better part of the upland, and all the intervailes, are well adapted to Indian corn, the potatoe, grass, and indeed to every kind of cultivation, with but comparatively little labor. The intervale, in particular, yields largely, and rewards the husbandman, many fold, for the little care he is obliged to take of it.

Its fertility, is owing to the annual overflows of the river, when the ice and snow melt in the spring. The waters become turbid by the rapidity of the current, and the earth, that is washed into its bosom, is deposited on the land, and serves all the good purposes of every kind of manure. These freshes, undoubtedly, sometimes occasion much immediate injury: for by reason of the elevation of the country in which the river has its sources, and through which it passes, the stream rises rapidly, and is borne along to the valley of the Nashaway,† by an accelerated and furious cur-

* Made by order of the General Court in 1794. I have followed the advice of a valued friend, and have omitted the boundaries, by degrees, rods, stakes, stones, &c.

† It will be observed that I spell the word Nashaway; it is a better word than Nashua, the modern alteration, or refinement, as some may think it. The former, is the ancient reading, the true orthography; for which, I have the authority of Winthrop, Colony Records, Middlesex Records, proprietor's books, &c. from 1643, to a late period. The innovation should be rejected at once, as a corruption.
rent, filled with large cakes of ice, destroying mill dams, and sweep­
ing away bridges, in its destructive course.* In the spring of 1818, it was very busy in the work of ruin: most of the bridges were dashed in pieces by the ice, and none, I believe, escaped uninjured. Since that time, only two bridges have suffered; one in the spring of 1823, called the Centre Bridge, just below the confluence of the two branches of the river, and the other, during the last spring, (1826,) on the south branch, between the first mentioned bridge, and the late Dr. Atherton's residence. But, notwithstanding the numerous losses that have been sustained of old and of late years, they are far outweighed by the annual benefits, which the Nasha­way, bestows upon the land.† The principal trees on the uplands, are the ever-green, and oak of the different kinds, the chesnut, ma­ple, &c. on the intervales, the elm in all its beautiful variety and the walnut.‡ More attention is now paid to the cultivation of fruit trees, than formerly; but it is chiefly confined to the apple, and in fact, to the pear. A strange neglect has ever prevailed, with re­gard to the delicious summer fruits, as the cherry, peach, plum, apricot, nectarine, garden strawberry, &c. that might be cultivated with but little expense of time or money. No place, within my knowledge, in this state, is better adapted to these fruits, both as it respects the soil, exposure to the sun, and gardens ready made. Some few individuals are beginning to think of these things, and to set out trees: and probably in a few years, these articles of luxury that may be so cheaply obtained, will be more generally attended to. At present, excepting a few tolerable, and some intolerable cherries, and a few wild strawberries, &c. we have nothing, deserv­ing the name of summer fruit. A few sorry peaches, the growth of other places, perhaps I should mention, are occasionally sold in town.

Surface of the Country, &c.—The general surface is undulat­ing, with no very high or steep ascents. The principal eminence,

* The damage to bridges in 1813, amounted to $1639 71.

† Whitney says that "the river overflows the whole interval twice in a year, in the spring, and in autumn." However, this may have been in his day, it is not so in this nineteenth century.

‡ Of the Shagbark kind. Much attention was paid by some of the prin­cipal inhabitants, some seventy years since, in ornamenting different spots, with the elm, and we, of the present day, enjoy the beauty, and the shade. The present age is less considerate in this respect. Dumbiedikes' advice to his son is disregarded—"Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye're sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin', but I ne'er faud time to mind him."
is called George hill;* a fertile and delightful ridge, extending about
two miles from southwest to northeast, on the west side of the town.
Nearly parallel with this and rising gently from the river which
skirts it on all sides but the north, is what is frequently termed the
Neck. Not far from its extremity, towards the south west, is the
centre of the town. The prospect to the east, is confined by the
range of hills in Harvard and Bolton, beyond the intervale. To
the west, beyond the intervale on that side, appears the whole
length of George hill, and as the eye passes over its fine outlines,
and gentle ascent, it rests upon the Wachusett as the back ground
of the picture. The walnut tree, and the majestic elm† are scat­
tered in pleasing irregularity over the wide spreading intervale.
The variety of foliage, of light and shade, and the frequent chang­
es of tints, shadow out a landscape, that never fails to charm all
who are alive to natural beauties. The prospect is equally invit­
ing from George hill, and from the hill on the road to Sterling.

* The southern part of this hill, is the highest and in some points of
view, may pass for a distinct hill. Tradition says, it took its name from an
Indian, called by the English, George; who once had his wigwam there. The
name I first find in the proprietor's records, is under the date of Feb. 1671.
† There is a number of different species of the elm in Lancaster. One
kind is very tall, the branches high and spread but little. In another the
branches shoot out lower upon the trunk, and extend over a much larger
space. A third kind resembles in some measure the first, in form, excepting
that the trunk is entirely covered with twigs thickly set with leaves, and
forming a rich green covering to the rough bark, from the ground to the large
branches. Many of these elms are of great size: The following are the di­
mensions of a few of them, measured by Mr. George Carter and myself, in
July, 1826.

One on the Boston road, between the house of the late Dr. Atherton and
the last bridge on the south branch of the Nashaway, measured in circumfer­
ence twenty six feet at the roots. Another on the old common, so called, and
near the burying ground, twenty five feet five inches at the roots; eighteen
feet at two feet from the ground, and fourteen feet ten inches, at four feet from
the ground; the diameter of the circular area and of its branches, measur­
ed ninety eight feet. A third, southeast from center bridge, and near what was
formerly called the neck bridge, was twenty six feet six inches at the roots,
and twenty feet, at four feet from the ground. A fourth, a little to the south
west of the entrance to centre road, and some fifty rods south of the church,
twenty four feet at the roots, and fifteen feet, at four feet from the ground.
This tree, when very small was taken up and transplanted between ninety
and one hundred years ago by the late Col. Abijah Willard. We also meas­
ured a sycamore tree, a little to the southwest of centre bridge and found its
circumference at the ground, twenty five feet, and at four feet from the
ground, eighteen feet. The height of this tree, must be about one hundred
feet. There are also some large and beautiful elms in front and on one side
of the Rev. Dr. Thayer's house. They were all set out by his immediate pre­
decessor the Rev. Mr. Harrington. The two largest measure fifteen and
fourteen feet at the ground. On the farm of Mr. Jonathan Wilder, on the old
common so called, there is a beach tree which measures eleven feet. It is
upwards of a century old. A tree of this kind, and size, is very rare in this
part of the country.
There is an appearance, occasionally on a summer evening that struck me forcibly the first time I beheld it. When the vapours are condensed and the moon is up, the whole expanse of the valley, appears like one broad sheet of water just below you, and extending as far as the eye can reach, in distinct vision. The tops of the tall trees, as they appear above the mists, look like little islands, dotting the broad bay. The illusion is perfect, without borrowing largely from the imagination.

Minerals, &c.—More than seventy years ago, a large slate quarry was discovered, by a Mr. Flagg, near Cumberby pond, in the north part of the town. The slates were in use, as early as 1752 or 1753, and, after the revolutionary war, were sent in great numbers to Boston, and to the Atlantic states,* and formed quite an article of commerce. For many years past, however, the quarry has not been worked. The slates, I believe, though always considered as of an excellent quality, could not at least come in successful competition with those imported from Wales, &c, on account of the expense of transportation. The water is now quite deep in the quarry.

The minerals, according to Dr. Robinson, are the following.—viz. Andalusite, reddish brown, in a rolled mass of white quartz, and on George hill in transition mica slate. Macle, abundant on George hill and elsewhere. Earthy Marl, an extensive bed, in New Boston, so called. Pinite, in clay slate: also, green and purple pinite, fine specimens on George hill in granite. Spodumene, fine specimens, in various parts of the town. Fibrolite, abundant in mica slate. Phosphate of lime, on George hill, in small hexahedral prisms in a spodumene rock, of about two tons in weight. Peat in the swamps and low lands, in the south west part of the town.†

Streams and other bodies of water.—The largest stream that flows through the town, and indeed the largest, and most important

* Whitney says, "great numbers of them are used in Boston every year." This was in 1793.

† A Catalogue of American minerals, with their localities &c. by Samuel Robinson, M. D. Boston, 1825. The marl, mentioned above, is found in great abundance. It extends in strata, from the neighborhood, of Messrs. Poignand & Plant, through New Boston, almost to the middle of the town. Though very valuable as a manure it is but little used. Probably individuals are not fully sensible of its enriching qualities. Mr. John Low, who has made use of it for some years, on light soils, has assured me that it increases the product nearly one half. The few others who have tried it, are abundantly satisfied of its great service.
in the County, is the river Nashaway, formed by the junction of two branches.* The north branch rises from the springs in Ashburnham, and from Wachusett pond in Westminster, and passing through Fitchburg and Leominster, enters the town on the west. The south branch has two sources, one from Rocky pond on the east side of the Wachusett, the other from Quinepoxet pond, in Holden. These unite in West Boylston, and enter the town on the south. The two main branches, after pursuing a devious course for many miles, unite near the centre of the town, south east from the church. There are a few small streams that issue from oak hill, Mossy, and Sandy ponds, all of which find their way to the river. The streams fed by the two latter ponds unite, and between their junction and the river, are situated the works of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company.

Besides the rivers, there are ten ponds in Lancaster, viz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pond Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turner's pond</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak hill pond</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort do.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbery do.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of White's do.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clamshell do.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Spectacle do.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandy do.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little do. do.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mossy do.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whitney relates, that the "water in Cumberry pond is observed to rise as much as two feet, just before a storm," and that "Sandy pond, rises in a dry time." However pleasing it may be to believe these things true, and to have some phenomena of natural philosophy in one's own neighborhood, I cannot venture to confirm them, but contrarily, must set them down, after inquiry, as fabulous. There are various springs in town; from three of them on George hill, the village situated a mile south west from the church, is bountifully supplied with water, by means of an aqueduct consisting of leaden pipes that extend in different directions and branches, more than two miles.†

Bridges.—There are no less than seven bridges over the Nashaway supported by the town, besides one half of the bridge leading to Harvard. A bridge over the turnpike road, supported by the cor-

* The first Inhabitants early gave to the north branch, the name of north river, the south branch they called Nashaway, and the main river, after the junction of the two streams, which is now properly the Nashaway, they named Penecook. I find Penecook used in the town records as late as 1736, and north river, in a deed dated 1744.

† A company was organized last winter by virtue of Stat. 1798, chap. 59. The whole expense of the work, was not far from $2000.
poration, and one or more private bridges, complete the number. Great expenses, as will readily be supposed, have been hitherto incurred in maintaining so many bridges—greater, indeed, than were necessary. It has, till lately, been usual to build them with piers resting upon mud sills, inviting ruin in their very construction; for the ice freezing closely round the piers, the water upon the breaking up of the river in spring, works its way underneath the ice, which forms a compact body under the bridge, raises the whole fabric, which thus loosened from its foundations, is swept away by the accumulative force of the large cakes of ice that become irresistible by the power of a very rapid current. A better and by far more secure style of building has lately been adopted, and from its great superiority, will doubtless gain general favor and supersede the old method. Two bridges on the improved plan, each consisting of a single arch, have been constructed; one in June, 1823, near “the meeting of the waters,” and the other in June, 1826, just above, on the south branch of the river.* They are entirely out of the reach of the spring tide fury, and though more expensive at first, their durability will prove their true economy.

Mills, Trades, Manufactures, &c.—Lancaster contains five saw mills, three grist mills, two fulling and dressing mills, one carding machine, one nailfactory, two lathes, turned by water, and two brick yards. There are also four wheelwrights, two tanners, ten shoemakers, one saddle and harness maker, two cabinet makers, one clock and watch maker, six blacksmiths, three white smiths, one gunsmith, one baker, one bookseller, one apothecary, one stone cutter, one cooper and one hatter. The business of printing maps, is very extensively carried on by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter. About 250,000 are annually struck off, and supply a great number of the schools in every part of the United States. In the various departments of this business, viz. printing, coloring, binding &c. fifteen persons are usually employed. There are fifteen or sixteen establishments for making combs, in which fifty persons, at least, are employed. The annual sales of this article are from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. In consequence of the great im-

*The bridges vary in length from seventy to one hundred feet. The arched bridges were constructed on a plan furnished by Mr. Farnham Plummer, an ingenious mechanic of this town. The chords of the arches are ninety eight feet six inches and seventy feet respectively.
improvement in machinery,* within a few years, double the quantity
of this article is now manufactured, with a considerable deduction
in price.

The foundation of the Lancaster Cotton Factory, was begun in
the fall of 1809, on a small stream, which empties into the south
branch of the Nashaway. There are two large buildings, one for
carding and spinning, with eight hundred and ninety six spindles;
the other for weaving, with thirty two looms, which are equal to
delivering two hundred thousand yards of four fourths sheeting of
two qualities, viz. No. 13 and 25, in a year. The stream on which
the buildings are erected, is fed from swamps and powerful and nev­
er failing springs, which are supposed to have their sources in Moss­
sy and Sandy ponds. From the situation of the factories the fall in
the bed of the stream is secured, upwards of a mile. This fall in
the whole is about sixty two feet. The present improved mode of
spinning, by means of circular spindle boxes, was first put in opera­
tion in this establishment: and one of the managers was the inven­
tor of the picker for cleaning cotton, with two beaters, now in gen­
eral use in all well conducted establishments of the kind. The res­
ident managers are Messrs. Poignand and Plant, who are assiduous
in their business. Probably no establishment of the same kind and
extent, is under better regulations, or is managed to greater advan­
tage.

Pot and Pearlash.—The manufacture of pot and pearlashes was
undertaken in Lancaster, at an earlier period than in any other
part of America. I cannot state the precise time; but as early as
1755, these works were in operation.

In that year, Joseph Wilder, Jr. Esq. and Col. Caleb Wilder,
sent in a petition to the General Court, that they “have acquired
the art of making pot and pearlashes, and that they cannot ship
them, because no assay master has been appointed.” The business
was carried on quite extensively, for many years. Col. Wilder was
chiefly interested, and the quality of the article made by him was
so good, that after other similar works were established, his manu­
facture, was the most valued.

* The improved machine was an invention of Mr. Farnham Plummer of
this town. It will cut one hundred and twenty dozen side combs, in a day.
It cuts out two combs, from a square piece of horn, at the same time. The
circular saw which was previously used, cuts but one tooth at a time. Capt.
Asahel Harris, an intelligent man, who deals largely in this business, assures
me that the new machine, is a saving of nearly one half in point of time, that
it saves also a third part of the stock, besides much hard labor. It can be
so constructed as to cut combs of any size.
At one time the quantity sold annually, was as high as one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash, and eighty of potash. After his death his son Levi Wilder conducted the business, nearly to the time of his own decease, in 1793. Other individuals,* have at various times paid attention to this business, subsequent to Col. Wilder; but now it is only a matter of history in this place.

Stores, &c.—There are in Lancaster five public houses, six stores, containing English and fancy goods, &c. and in five of them the usual supply of West India goods.

Libraries.—The private libraries in this town are not very numerous. There are, in all of them, about three thousand volumes. The books in general, are well selected, there being but little trashy matter.

A social library now containing nearly four hundred volumes, most of them valuable, was established in the year 1790.

To supply a want that was felt by many, a number of subscribers joined together in the autumn of 1821, and established a Reading Room. The principal and primary object was, to procure the most valuable periodical publications, and such miscellaneous works of the day, as possessed a good reputation. It was supposed that in this way, a taste for reading might increase, and that whatever should be done to extend and elevate the love of letters, would equally tend to raise the tone of society. The original plan has of late been somewhat enlarged, as the establishment gained favor and began to promise to be permanent. Besides the class of works contemplated at first, books are now admitted from time to time, whose fame survives the day, books that have already a standard character. The success of the undertaking has probably surpassed general expectation. The annual increase of the library† of the Reading Room is not far from one hundred volumes. The whole number, at present, is about three hundred: and the increase has been greater during the last and present year, than at any earlier period, during the same length of time.

Schools and Academy.—For a few years subsequent to the Revolutionary war and occasionally, before, the Grammar School was kept the whole year, in the centre of the town.‡ This arrange-

*Dr. Wm. Dunsmoor, Dr. James Carter, Mr. Oliver Carter and others.
†It consists of Reviews, works of fiction, poetry, history, voyages, travels, biography, &c.
‡A few historical data, relating to schools, may not be without interest. In 1729, there were three schools, viz. on the Neck; (near the present town
ment did not last long: it was supposed that the requisitions of the
law could be answered in a way that would bring a fractional part
of this school, almost to every man's door. It was therefore soon

house) at Watтаquaduck, (now in Bolton,) and at Bear hill, (now in Har­
vard.) In 1731, these schools were kept as follows, viz. Bear hill 82 days,
Watтаquaduck, 104, Neck, 177. 1736, on petition of Ebenezer Beman and
others, it was voted, that the school should be kept at divers houses in the
north part of the town: so also in the southwest part of the town. In 1742,
three new school houses were built: this was after the incorporation of Har­
vard and Bolton. One of them was in Chocksett (Sterling) and the other

in Lancaster proper. The old school house on the Neck, above mention­
ed, was given to Rev. Mr. Prentice for a stable!! 1757, voted, that the
grammar school be kept in each precinct, (Lancaster and Sterling) " accor­
ding to what they pay." The reading and writing schools to be kept in the
extreme parts of the town, five months in the winter. 1762, voted to give
leave to Col. Abijah Willard and others, to build a school house on the town
land, below the Meeting house in the first parish. 1764, on petition of Levi
Willard, Esq. and others, voted, that the grammar school for the year ensu­
ing be kept in the middle of the town, provided they build a school house,
and support the school for the year, after the amount of their taxes has been
appropriated for that purpose.

In 1767, the grammar school was kept seven months in the first, and five
months, in the second precinct: in 1771-72-73-78, one half of the year in each.
In 1789, the grammar school was kept on nearly the same plan as in 1764; so
in 1789. In 1790 voted, to build a school house opposite to Gen. Greenleaf's.
Wm. Stedman, Esq. now occupies the Greenleaf house.

The following are some of the school masters. 1724, Edward Broughton,
1725, do.1726 Mr. Flagg, afterwards Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester, N. H.
graduated 1725; 1727, Henry Houghton, Jonathan Moore, Samuel Carter;
1729, Samuel Willard, Esq. (Judge C. C. Pleas,) Thomas Prentice, (who
graduated 1726, afterwards minister in Charlestown,) Mr. Bryant and Jabez
Fox. Josiah Swan was a veteran schoolmaster: I find him as early as 1733,
and through many intermediate years, beginning with 1751, to 1767 inclusive.
Mr. Swan was of Lancaster, and graduated at Cambridge, in 1733. In May
1755, he was admitted a member of Rev. Mr. Prentice's church, and it may
be, pursued his theological studies under the direction of Mr. P. He was set­
tled in Dunstable, N. H. 1739, dismissed in 1746, in consequence of a di­
vision of the town, by running the line between New Hampshire and Massa­
chusetts. He remained there a few years, then returned to this town; after­
wards went to Walpole, N. H. where he died. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. 55. 1736,
Josiah Brown and Thomas Prentice.

Mr. Brown was probably a graduate at Harvard University that year or
1755. He kept school for a number of subsequent years, and as late as 1765.
1744, Brown and Stephen Frost. There was a Stephen Frost, of the class of
1739, at Cambridge. 1746, Edward Bass of the class of 1744: afterwards
the first bishop of Massachusetts. 1747, Bass and Joseph Palmer, who was
afterwards a clergyman, graduated at Cambridge, 1747. 1749-50, Edward
Phelps. 1752, Abel Willard, Esq. of the class of 1752, at Cambridge. Sam­
uel Locke, Jr. afterwards Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D &c. President of Har­
vard University. He graduated at Cambridge, in 1755. The late President Ad­
ams graduated the same year. 1756, Hezekiah Gates, an inhabitant of Lan­
caster and a useful citizen. 1757-8-9 Moses Hemenway, afterwards Rev.
Moses Hemenway, S. T. D. class of 1755, and minister of Wells, in Maine.
1758, Mr. Warren, the celebrated General, who was killed at Bunker's Hill.
He graduated in 1759. 1762, Mr. Parker, a graduate at Cambridge. 1762,
Israel Atherton, of the class of that year, M. M. S. Soc. for many years
after a distinguished physician in Lancaster, and the first physician of liberal
voted, that it should be kept in different parts of the town, in the course of each year, for the convenience of those who lived in remote places. Both the spirit and the letter of the law, were misunderstood, and the most important advantages intended to be secured by it, were lost. The Latin Grammar School, after lingering some years in a doubtful state of existence, was discontinued a few years previous to the modification of the law. As much attention, however, it is believed, is paid here to education as in most other places, and we have caught something of the excitement, that is becoming prevalent on this subject. The school law of the last winter, of such manifest importance and usefulness, has already been productive of benefit, and has increased the interest, which every good citizen should take in education. There are twelve school districts in town. The following, is taken from the return of the school committee, to the General Court, in May last.

- Amount paid for public instruction, $1005
- Amount paid for private instruction, 50
- Tuition fees at the Academy, 600
- Time of keeping school in the year, six months in each district.
- Males of the various ages specified in the law, 351
- Females do. 349
- Total, 700

In this number the pupils at the Academy are not included.

Number of persons over 14 unable to read and write—None.

Number prevented by expenses of school books, None.

education in the County of Worcester. 1762, Joseph Willard, afterwards Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D. L. D. &c. and late President of Harvard University; graduated at Cambridge, 1765. 1764–65–66, Ensign Mann, a graduate at Cambridge, in 1764. 1765, Brown, probably a graduate at Cambridge, Joseph Bullard, Frederick Albert, Mr. Hutchinson, probably of the class of 1762, and Peter Green, now living in Concord, N. H. aged 91, and still active in his profession as a physician, class of 1766, M. M. S. Hon. 1766, John Warner, Robert Fletcher. 1767, Josiah Wilder, probably Dr. Wilder of Lancaster.

It seems that a large proportion of the instructors I have mentioned, received a public education. At the present day, it is far otherwise in this place.

I will close this long note, with the mention of the amount of money raised for schools for a number of years. 1726 to 30, £50. 1739, (after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated) to 1742, £80. 1755, £50 lawful money, 1764, and to 1769, £100. 1769, £104. 1778, and 9, £200 depreciated currency, 1781, £8000, old emission. 1782 and 3, £80. 1784, £100. 1804 and 1805, £400, for Latin and Grammar school the year through, in the centre of the town, £300, for English. 1810, £1056 in all. 1815, £1000, and for a number of years past, £1005. Regular school committees have been chosen annually since 1794.
Some years since, many of the inhabitants felt desirous of affording their children more abundant opportunities of instruction, than could be obtained at the public schools, which, it cannot be expected, will ever be kept the year through in the various districts. In order to secure a permanent school, a number of gentlemen from this and the neighboring towns, associated together, and established an Academy early in the summer of 1815. Few institutions of the kind have probably ever done more good. Many have already been taught there, who, but for its establishment, would have been much less favored, in their opportunities for learning. The building used for the school being inconveniently situated, at some distance from the centre of the town, an effort was made in April last, to obtain a subscription to erect a new building, in the centre of the town. A large and ample sum was obtained in town for this purpose, with but little difficulty. The land just south of the church was given by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter, who, with their brothers, have also subscribed most liberally, to the undertaking. A new and very tasteful building of brick, two stories in height, with a cupola and bell, is nearly completed. The situation is well chosen: a fine common in front is thrown open, and a beautiful view of the valley and rising grounds, particularly to the west, renders the spot delightful. It is intended to add to the present school, a distinct and permanent school for females, in the second story of the building. This indeed is a highly important part of the new plan; for it is believed, that if society is to make great advances in future, it must be by improving the means of female education; and that the progress of society in learning, refinement and virtue, is in proportion to the cultivation of the female mind. An act of incorporation has been applied for; a bill for that purpose passed the Senate at the last session of the General Court, and, without much question, will pass the House, next winter. The Academy thus far has had the advantage of able instructors: the following are their names, viz.

Silas Holman—M. D. Cambridge, 1816, now a physician in Gardiner, Maine. He kept but a few months in the summer of 1815.

* Mr. Frederick Wilder a graduate at Cambridge, in 1825, and son of Mr. Jonathan Wilder of this town, was educated at this academy. He died at Northampton, in the winter of 1826. He was full of promise; he possessed a mind of a high order and a heart filled with every good feeling and virtue. No one was ever more generally beloved; the highest rank seemed to await him, whatever path of study he might incline to pursue. Death has destroyed bright prospects and deprived the world of the good influences that a leading and pure mind ever exercise in society.
Jared Sparks, Tutor Harvard University, 1817 to 1819, afterwards clergyman in Baltimore. Now editor of the North American Review, in Boston. Graduated at Harvard University, 1815. He was the preceptor from the summer of 1815, one year.

John W. Proctor, Preceptor from summer of 1816, one year; graduated at Harvard University, 1816; now Attorney and Counselor at Law, in Danvers.

George B. Emerson, From summer of 1817, two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1817, and Tutor from 1819 to 1821; for some time Preceptor of the English Classical school, and now of a private school, in Boston.

Solomon P. Miles, from 1819 to 1821, August two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1819, and Tutor 1821 to 1823, now preceptor of the high (English Classical) school, in Boston.

Nathaniel Wood, from 1821 to 1823, two years; graduated at Harvard University 1821, Tutor 1823 to 1824, now a student at law, in Boston.

Levi Fletcher, from August 1823, to the fall of 1824; graduated at Harvard University, 1823, now Chaplain on board the United States frigate Macedonian.

Nathaniel Kingsbury, from the fall of 1824, of the class of 1821; left college during the third year and went to the island of Cuba. He is the preceptor at this time.

Under the present preceptor, the Academy sustains a high character for discipline and instruction. By the new arrangement, the inconveniences that are too apt to occur by the frequent change of teachers will be avoided. The situation of principal of the Academy, is to be a permanent one, as far as is practicable.

Poor.—The support of the poor, formed for some years no considerable part of the annual tax. They were dispersed in different families, in various parts of the town, among those who would support them at the least expense to the town. Too often, and as a natural effect of this wretched system, the lot of these unfortunate persons was cast among individuals, themselves but little removed from absolute poverty. The system too, if such it could be called, was clumsy extravagance; the highest price was paid for the support of the poor, and the treatment of poverty appeared like the punishment of crime.* In view of these things,

* Various attempts, from the year 1763, to the present century, have been made, to establish a work-house, but without success, till the late effort.
the town purchased two years since, a large farm, as an establishment for all whose circumstances compelled them to seek public support. It is under the care of an attentive overseer. Each individual able to work has his appropriate duties suited to his age and capacity. Comfort, economy, and humanity are there united. Religious services are performed at stated times, and the children who never before received any instruction, are now regularly sent to school. In a moral point of view, this establishment is a public blessing—it prevents much immediate suffering, and much prospective ignorance and vice.* The actual expense for the support of the poor, which formerly was as high as $1200, will not, in future, exceed $500.

Population.—What little I can gather of the number of Inhabitants, at certain periods, in the seventeenth century, will be mentioned, subsequently, in the civil history of this plantation. Excepting this, there is no way of ascertaining the population earlier than 1764.

Census.—1764—1862 Inhabitants, 328 families. This was after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated.

1790—1460 Inhabitants, 214 houses. This was after Sterling was incorporated; which contained by the census of the same year 1428 inhabitants, making the population of both places 2888, an increase of 1062, in 26 years, viz. from 1764 to 1790.

During the period of commercial restrictions, and the last war, and for a few years subsequent, the population it appears increased but little. Many persons emigrated to the state of New York, to the west of the Alleghany mountains, and to other parts of the country, in search of the promised land. The business of the town, much effected by this state of things, has of late, materially increased, and is now greater than at any former period. The population at the present time, may be estimated at 2100. The number of rata-

* It is chiefly to the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Packard, that the town is indebted for this establishment. He first suggested the plan in this place, and labored diligently to have it adopted. It is no slight praise, to have served with effect the cause of humanity.

In 1786, the selectmen were ordered to bind out poor children, to the end, that the rising generation, may not be brought up in idleness, ignorance, and vice.
ble poles, at this time, is 422. The militia is composed of three companies, viz. the standing company, one of Light Infantry, raised at large, and one of Artillery. There is besides a part of a company of Cavalry within the limits of the town. The whole number of soldiers, is somewhat over two hundred.

**Births and Deaths.**—The progress of population, compared with the losses might be very satisfactorily ascertained by accurate lists of births and deaths, for any given period. Some negligence prevails here, as well as elsewhere, in furnishing the Town Clerk with information on the subject. The following list, however, may be considered as nearly correct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Births</th>
<th></th>
<th>Death</th>
<th></th>
<th>Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deaths in the Congregational Society since the settlement of Rev. Dr. Thayer, October 9, 1793, to August 1, 1826, six hundred and fifty six. Of this number one hundred forty were over seventy; and sixty six of the one hundred and forty four, over eighty years of age. The family of Osgoods, shows remarkable ages.

Joseph Osgood died, aged 77
his wife 92
Jerusha 96
Martha 92
Joel 75

Making an average, each, of eighty six years and nearly five months.

The following is a list of the ages of Deacon Josiah White and his family.

Josiah the father, 90. His wife, 84.

*Their Children.*

Mary, 86 Martha, 94

*The statement of deaths is taken from a comparison of the Church and town records, and is perhaps quite correct. The births are only in the town records, and making a reasonable addition, for names omitted, the number may be estimated at more than five hundred.*
Making an average of eighty years, seven months and six days.

A few other remarkable ages may gratify the curious.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Age at Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams Sarah</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atherton Israel Dr.</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldwin Keziah</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divoll Manassah</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ Ephraim</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divoll Elizabeth</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher Mary</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher Joshua</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher Rebecca</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller Edward</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houghton Elij. Capt.</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ Alice</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joslyn Mary</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ Samuel</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones Mary</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leach Mary</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nichols Joseph</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phelps Asahel</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest John</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phelps Joshua</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Civil History.**—The first settlement of Lancaster goes far back in the early history of Massachusetts. It was the tenth town, incorporated in the County of Middlesex, and precedes, by many years, every town now within the limits of the County of Worcester. Indeed, no town, so far from the sea coast, was incorporated so early, excepting Springfield; Northampton was in 1654: Chelmsford, Billerica and Groton, in 1655, Marlborough, in 1660, and Mendon, in 1667.

According to Winthrop, an incontrovertible authority in these things, the plantation at Nashaway was undertaken sometime in
1643.* The whole territory around, was in subjection to Sholan, or Shaumaw, Sachem of the Nashaways, and whose residence was at Waushacum,† now Sterling. Sholan occasionally visited Watertown, for the purpose of trading with Mr. Thomas King, who resided there. He recommended Nashawogg to King, as a place well suited for a plantation, and invited the English to come and dwell near him.

From this representation, or from personal observation, that nature had been bountiful to the place, King united with a number of others,† and purchased the land of Sholan, viz. ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; stipulating not to molest the Indians in their

*Gov. Winthrop's history of New England, date, 3d month, (May) 1644, and relating events that preceded that time. I have cited the passage, see post—Rev. Mr. Harrington states the purchase to have been made in 1645; but the authority of Winthrop is not to be questioned. Rev. Dr. Holmes gives the same year as Gov. Winthrop.

† The orthography of this word is very various. Harrington spells it as in the text; in other parts of Worcester Magazine, it is different: Gookin in his historical collections of the Indians, writes "Weshakim." 1 Mass. Hist. Col. 1 Vol. "Wechecum" says Roger Williams, is the Indian for sea. Key to Indian languages, Chap. 18.

A. D. 1643. Winthrop says that "Nashacowam and Wassamagoin two Sachems, near the great hill to the west called Warehasset, (Wachusett,) came into the court, and according to their former tender to the Governor, desired to be received under our protection and government, &c. so we causing them to understand the ten commandments of God and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received and then presented by the court with twenty fathoms more of Wampum, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took their leave and went away very joyful." Coats and dinners and sack, were wonderful persuasives with the Indians. Was not "Nashacowam," the same with Sholan?

‡ John Prescott, Harmon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Mr. Stephen Day, Mr. Symonds, &c. Here Mr. Harrington in his century sermon stops. Who are meant by &c. it is impossible to ascertain; perhaps, they may be Gill, Davies and others, mentioned subsequently in the text. Of those first mentioned, a few gleanings may not be without interest. Prescott came from Watertown: Garrett probably from Charlestown. He never moved to Lancaster. Two thousand acres of land, were mortgaged to him by Jethro the Christian Indian, and laid out to Garrett, near Assabeth river, in 1651. There were two or more of the name of Garrett at this time in New England. Where Harmon lived, I do not discover. An Indian of the same name, lived in Rhode Island. 3 Mass. Hist. Col. 1. 221. Skidmore is mentioned in Boston Records, as of Cambridge, in 1643. Day was of Cambridge, and the first Printer in America. In 1639, he set up a printing press at Cambridge, at the charge of Rev. Joseph Glover, who died on his passage to this country. The press was soon after, under the management of Samuel Greene. Day occasionally visited the plantation at Nashaway. He was of Cambridge in 1652-53, and in '57. In the last, year the General Court, on his complaint that he had not been compensated for his printing press, granted him three hundred acres of land. Also, in 1667, they allowed him to procure of the Sagamore of Nashaway, one hundred and fifty acres of upland, and twenty of meadow. If he ever lived at Nashaway, he probably came in 1665. The
hunting, fishing, or planting places. This deed was sanctioned by the General Court.* It was probably not a common thing for towns to be settled under such favorable circumstances; not only was there a fair contract made, satisfactory on all sides; but a previous invitation, in the feeling of friendship, was given to induce the English, to extend their population, to the valley of the Nashaway. The precise time of the removal to Lancaster, cannot be ascertained. The first building was a trucking house, erected by Symonds and King, about a mile southwest of the church, and a little to the north west of the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. King never moved up, but sold his interest to the other proprietors, who covenanted with each other, to begin the plantation at a certain time. To secure their purchase, they directed certain individuals,† to whom lots were given, to commence the settlement immediately, and make preparations for the general coming of the proprietors. Winthrop gives the following marked account of the first settlement. "3d mo. (May) 1644. Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway; and having called a young man, a universal scholar, one Mr. Nocroff (quer Norcross?) to be their minister, seven§ of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders, advised them first to go and build them habitations, &c. (for there was yet no house there,) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as had formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very town, in Feb. 1654, O. S.—1655, N. S. granted "Master Day" one hundred acres of upland, twenty of it for a house lot. Symonds never resided here. He was, perhaps, Mr. Samuel Symonds, for some years an assistant; the title "Mr." not then universal, but confined to particular persons, somewhat strengthens this suggestion. King was a proprietor of Marlborough, in 1660.

* This deed, I believe is not, in rebus existentibus. I have diligently searched in Middlesex, and Suffolk records, and in the office of the Secretary of State, without success.

† Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters and John Ball.

‡ This spelling is taken from the old edition of Winthrop; the new edition with its corrected text, and learned notes, by Mr. Savage, does not extend so far. The second volume, however, which will be published in a few months, will reach nearly to the time of Gov. Winthrop's death. Norcross, is an early name in Watertown. "Nocroff," I have never met with.

Mr. Savage says the conjecture is right; he also says, that in the same paragraph of Winthrop; "Universal scholar" should be "University scholar."

§ This number was necessary, according to Johnson's wonder working providence, to constitute a church, in the colony. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 71.
slowly, so that in two years, they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays.*

It appears further by the records of the General Court 1. 8. 45 (Oct. 1645,) that "upon the petition of the undertakers for the plantation at Nashaway, the Court is willing, that John Gill, Sergeant John Davies; John Chandler, Isaiah Walker and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far asunder; and the great lots to be proportionable to men's estates and charges; and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he has taken the oath of fidelity." These men, however, did nothing to forward the plantation. The General Court felt still unwilling to give up all effort to advance the growth of the place, as appears by the record of a subsequent session: I will recite it, trusting that I shall not be thought too minute in the early, and most interesting portion of the history of the town. It is as follows, viz:

"27, 8, 1647" (Nov. 7, 1647, N. S.) "Whereas the Court hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto Jonathan Chandler, &c. and that Gill is dead, Chandler, Walker, and Davies§ have signified unto the Court, that since the same grant, they have acted nothing as undertakers there, nor laid out any lands, and further have made request to the Court to take in the said grant, manifesting their utter unwillingness to be engaged therein, the Court doth not think fit to destroy the said plantation, but rather to encourage it; only in regard the persons now upon it are so few, and unmeet for such a work, and are to be taken to procure others, and in the

* This does away the imputation in Rev. Mr. Harrington's century sermon, that the minister left them by the instigation of such of the proprietors as disliked removing, or else by his own aversion to the place. Winthrop noted down events day by day, as they occurred. He is distinguished for his accuracy. Mr. Harrington's relation probably was derived from tradition in town. Winthrop's Journal remained in manuscript, till 1790, I believe; of course Mr. Harrington had not access to a correct account of the matter, as his discourse was preached in 1753.

† The same probably who distinguished himself in the Pequot war, 1637. 2. Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII. 147; and went against the Nianticks, Hubbard 465, and was sent as one of the commissioners to the Dutch in New York. Ibid, 547.

‡ To speak with more accuracy, the present difference between the Julian and Gregorian year, is twelve days. Before the year 1800, it was eleven days. That year by the calendar of Gregory XIII, the intercalary day was omitted, making the difference twelve days as above stated. Before the calendar was reformed, the year began on the 25th of March, Lady Day, or Annunciation.

§ These names I have not met with, excepting in the above extract from
mean time to remain in the Court's power to dispose of the planting and ordering of it."

It appears, by what has been related, that many circumstances combined to retard the growth of the plantation. All the associates, excepting Prescott, refused to fulfil their contract, though they chose to retain their interest. Linton and Waters* returned to Watertown, where I trace them in 1646, and again to Lancaster in the spring of 1647. Prescott preceded them, and must be recorded as the first permanent inhabitant in Lancaster. This is a clear inference from Mr. Harrington, (p. 11.) *John Cowdall of Boston, in his deed, 5. 8 mo. 1647, of a house and twenty acres of land, at Nashaway, made to Jonathan Prescott, calls him late of Watertown. Others soon followed, viz. Sawyer, Atherton, Linton, Waters, &c.

This is as full a sketch of the history of the plantation, previous to 1653, as can be obtained after employing no little diligence.

At that time, the number of families had increased to nine, and on the eighteenth of May of the same year, the town was incorporated by the name of Lancaster.† As this was the first town in the County, in the order of time, it may not be improper to recite some of the provisions of the act of the General Court. They say, "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the Court find, according to a former order of the General Court, in 1647, that the ordering of the plantation at Nashaway is wholly in the Court's power."

"Considering that there are already at Nashaway, about nine families; and that several, both freemen and others, intend to go and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition, the Court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order that henceforth, it shall be called Lancaster, and shall be in the County of Middlesex."

The next provision is to "fix the bounds of the town according the records of the General Court. I do not feel sure that they belong to Lancaster, and on the other hand, have no evidence that they belong to any other plantation. James Savage, Esq. the learned editor of Winthrop, informs me, that this notice in the records is claimed for Weston.

* Lawrence Waters dwelt in Watertown, as far back as 1635.

† At this early period there were no formal acts of incorporation: the course was as in this instance to grant a plantation the liberty of a township, on certain conditions; as making suitable provision for public worship, &c. and when these conditions were complied with, "full liberty of a township according to law," was granted. It is sufficiently correct, for common purposes, to say, that Lancaster was incorporated May 18, 1653, O. S.

‡ This petition, and the names, are, probably, not in existence.
to Sholan's deed, beginning at the wading place, Nashaway river, at the passing over to be the centre; thence running five miles north, five miles south, five miles east, and three miles west, to be surveyed and marked, by a commissioner. Six of the inhabitants, viz. Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, and Ralph Houghton, or any four of them whereof the major part are freemen, to be prudential managers of said town, both to see to the allotments of land for planters, in proportion to their estates, and to manage their prudential affairs, till the General Court are satisfied that they have able men, sufficient to conduct the affairs of the plantation; then, to have full liberty of a township according to law." And further, it was permitted all the old possessors, to remain, provided they took the oath of fidelity.

The inhabitants were ordered to take care, that a Godly minister be maintained amongst them, that no evil persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants, and none to have lots confirmed to them, but such as take the oath of fidelity.

A similar provision to this last, was common in the incorporation of other towns, and shows the great importance that was placed upon religion, and habits of order; that these were conceived to lie at the foundation of all good government, that they reached the highest, mingled with the humblest, and exercised a controlling influence over the whole character of society. The effect of these things in past and present times, is a fruitful subject of discussion,—the effect upon remote generations, permits wide speculation; not however to be indulged in, on the present occasion.

The act of incorporation concludes, with ordering, that the inhabitants remunerate such of the first undertakers, as had been at any expense in the plantation, "provided they make demand in twelve months; and that the interest of Harmon Garrett, and such others of them, who had been at great charge, should be made good in allotments of lands; provided they improve the same, by building and planting within three years after their land is laid out to them. Also that the bounds of the town be laid out, in proportion to eight miles square." In the fall of 1653, (Nov. 30, O. S.) the Committee or selectmen, as they may be called, proceeded in their duties of laying out land, and managing the affairs of the town. The first division of lands, was between the two branches of the Nashaway to the west; and to the east, on what is called the Neck, lying between the north branch of the river, and the principal stream. To
the north branch, they gave the name of North river; the south branch only, they called the Nashaway; and the main river, after the confluence of the two streams, which is now the Nashaway, they named the Penecook. Each portion contained twenty acres of upland, besides intervale. On the west, the first lot by which all the others on that side were bounded, was laid out to John Prescott, at the place I have before mentioned, where Simonds and King some years before, built the trucking or trading house; about a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. Then in regular order towards the north, followed John Moore, John Johnson, Henry Kerley, William Kerley, (his own, and one purchased of Richard Smith,) and John Smith. Next, south of Prescott, was the land of Thomas Sawyer. The land on the Neck was divided as follows—first, Edward Breck, on the south east corner of the neck, and very near the house of Mr. Davis Whitman. Then followed in order, towards the north, on the same side of the way, Richard Linton, Ralph Houghton, (his own and one purchased of Prescott,) James Atherton, John White, William Lewis, John Lewis, son of William, Thomas James, and Edmund Parker. Richard Smith's land was a triangular piece, apart from the rest, between the present church and Sprague bridge. Robert Breck's* land was on the west side of the Neck, and from the description, must have been in the middle of the town, by the church.

As soon as the first division of lands was completed, the Inhabitants and others entered into a covenant for themselves, their heirs, executors, and assigns, in substance as follows, viz: after sundry orders touching the ministry, &c. which will be mentioned in the context, they agreed that such of them as were not inhabitants, and who were yet to come up, "to build, improve, and inhabit, would by the will of God, come up, to build, plant, and inhabit," within a year, otherwise to forfeit all they had expended, forfeit also their land and pay five pounds for the use of the plantation.

To keep out all heresies, and discourage the spirit of litigation, they inserted the following article, which I will recite, viz: "For the better preserving of the purity of religion and ourselves from infection of error, we covenant not to distribute allotments, or receive into the plantation, as inhabitants any Excommunicant, or otherwise profane and scandalous, (known so to be) nor any one notoriously erring against the doctrine and discipline of the churches, and the state and Government of this Commonwealth. And for

* Edward Breck dwelt in Lancaster awhile. Robert never moved up.
the better preserving of peace and love, and yet to keep the rules of justice and equity, amongst ourselves, we covenant not to go to law* one with another, in actions of debt, or damage, one towards another, in name or estate; but to end all such controversies, amongst ourselves, by arbitration, or otherwise, except in cases capital or criminal, that some may not go unpunished; or that the matter be above our ability to judge of, and that it be with the consent of the Plantation, or selectmen thereof.

Each subscriber engaged to pay ten shillings towards the purchase money, due to the Indians, &c. That the population might not be too much scattered, the first division of land was made on the principle of equality to rich and poor: but the second, and subsequent divisions, were according to the value of each man's property. Every person was put down at ten pounds, and his estate estimated according to its value. They reserved to the plantation the right of conferring gifts of land on such individuals as they might see fit, as occasion might offer. These covenants were subscribed at different times during the few first years, as follows, viz:

Edward Breck, (a) "I subscribe to this for myself, and for my son Robert, save that it is agreed, we are not bound to come up to inhabit within a years time, in our own persons."

Robert Breck,

John Prescott,
William Kerley, (b)
Thomas Sawyer, (c)
Ralph Houghton, (d)

Subscribed first.

John Whitcomb (e) 20, 9 mo. 1652.
Jno. Whitcomb, Jr. 4, 9 mo. 1654.

Richard Linton, (f)
John Johnson, (g)
Jeremiah Rogers,

John Moore, (h) 11, 1 mo. 1653.

* Thomas Lechford, the earliest Lawyer in New England, came to Boston, and resided there from 1637 to 1641. Though he wrote himself of "Clement's Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman," he had but little professional business. He seemed to be looked upon as rather a useless appendage to society, under the Theocracy. In his "Plain dealing," a rare, and curious pamphlet, he observes, that he had but little to do for a livelihood except "to write petty things." He fell under some censure, returned to England, irritated with the colonists, and published his pamphlet, containing, I sincerely believe, many truths. Certainly it is far from deserving the bad character, that was attributed to it by our ancestors. There were some of the profession in N. E. when this town was incorporated, but they were probably not men of much talent or acquirements; else, their names, at least, would have reached this day. In 1654, a law was passed, prohibiting any usual or common attorney, in any inferior court, from sitting as a deputy, in the general court.
William Lewis, (i) 1, 31 mo. 1653.
John Lewis,

Thomas James, 21, 3 mo. 1653.

Edmund Parker,
Benjamin Twitchell, 1, 8 mo. 1652.
Anthony Newton, (j)

Stephen Day, (k)
James Atherton, (l)
Henry Kerley, (m)
Richard Smith, (n)
William Kerley, Jr. (o)
John Smith, (p)

Lawrence Waters, (q) Between March and May, 1653, probably.

John White, (r) 1 May 1653.
John Farrar, (s) 24 Sept. 1653.
Jacob Farrar,

John Houghton,
Samuel Dean,

James Draper,
Stephen Gates, sen'r. April 3, 1654.

James Whiting or Witton, April 7, 1654.

Jno. Moore,
Edward Rigby, (t) April 13, 1654.
John Mansfield,

John Towers,
Richard Dwelley, (u) April 18, 1654.
Henry Ward,

John Pierce,
William Billings, 4, 7 mo. 1654.

Richard Sutton, April, 1653.

Thomas Joslin,
Nathaniel Joslin, (i) 12, 9 mo. 1654.

John Rugg, 12, 12 mo. 1654.

Joseph Rowlandson, (u) 12, 12 mo. 1654.—
And it is agreed by the town, that he shall have 20 acres of upland, and 40 acres of intervale, in the Knight Pasture.

John Rigby, 12, 12 mo. 1654.

John Roper, (v) 22, 1 mo. 1656.

John Tinker, (w) Feb. 1, 1657.

Mordecai McLoad, (x) March 1, 1658.
Jonas Fairbanks, (y) March 7, 1659.
Roger Sumner, (z) April 11, 1659.

Gamaliel Beman, May 31, 1659.

Thomas Wilder, (aa) July 1, 1659.
Daniel Gaines, (bb) March 10, 1660.
1654. By the following spring, there were twenty families in the place; and the inhabitants feeling competent to manage their own affairs, presented a petition to the General Court, that

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING LIST OF NAMES.

(a) The Brecks were probably of Dorchester. The Rev. Robert Breck of Marlborough, a distinguished clergymen, who died Jan. 7, 1731, may have been of this race. There were Brecks, early in Boston. John Dunton in his "Life and errors" 1686, speaks of Madam Brick (Breck) as the "flower of Boston," for beauty. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 108.

(b) William Kerley, senior, was from Sudbury; I find him there, in Nov. 1652. After the death of his wife, Ann, in March, 1658, he married Bridget Rowlandson, the mother, I think, of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, in May, 1659. She died in June, 1662. He or his son William, probably the former, married Rebecca Joslin, widow of Thomas Joslin, May, 1664. He died in July, 1670. He was one of the proprietors of Marlboro' in 1660. I find many years after, this name spelt Carley.

(c) Thomas and Mary Sawyer, had divers children, viz:—Thomas born July, 1649, and was married to Sarah, his wife, Oct. 1670.—Mary, their daughter, born Jan. 7, 1672 (N.S.)—Ephraim, born Jan. 7, 1651, (N.S.) killed by the Indians, at Frescots' garrison, Feb. 1676.—Mary, born Jan. 7, 1653, (N.S.)—Elizabeth, born Jan. 7, 1654, (N.S.)—Joshua, born March, 1655, (N.S.)—James, born March, 1657, (N.S.)—Caleb, born April, 1659, (N.S.)—John, born April, 1661, (N.S.)—Nathaniel, born Nov. 1670, (N.S.)— Thomas, I think the father, was again married Nov. 1672.

From this stock there are numerous descendants, in Lancaster, Sterling, Bolton, &c.

(d) Ralph Houghton came to this country not long before the town was incorporated, in company with his cousin, John Houghton, father of John Houghton Esq. usually called Justice Houghton, who will be mentioned more particularly by and by. Ralph, and John, senior, first lived in Watertown; Ralph early moved to Lancaster. John probably came up at the same time. When the town was destroyed, in 1676, they went to Woburn, where they lived till the town was rebuilt. Ralph was clerk or recorder as early as 1656 and for many years, and was quite a skillful penman. A single leaf of the original volume of Records in his hand writing, is in existence. It was found amongst the papers of the late Hezekiah Gates.

(e) Died, Sept. 1662.

(f) Linton was of Watertown in 1646. He died, March, 1665. George Bennett, who was killed by the Indians, Aug. 22, 1675, was his grandson.

(g) One of the same name is mentioned as one of the proprietors of Marlborough, 1657.

(h) John Moore was of Sudbury in 1649. Married John Smith's daughter, Anna, Nov. 1654, and left a son, John, born April, 1662, and other children.

(i) Wm. Lewis, was probably of Cambridge. He died, Dec. 1671.

(j) One of that name, and I suppose the same person, was a member of Dorchester Church, in April, 1678, and was dismissed with others, to form a church in Milton. This was while Lancaster remained uninhabited, after its destruction, by the Indians. 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 194.

(k) An account of Day will be found in a preceding note.

(l) Of his children, were James, born 13 May, 1654.—Joshua, 13 May, 1656.—His wife's name was Hannah.

(m) Henry Kerley must have been the son of William Kerley, senior. He married Elizabeth White, sister to Mrs. Rowlandson, Nov. 1654. His children were, Henry, born Jan. 1656, (N.S.)—William, Jan. 1659, (N.S.) and killed by the Indians at the destruction of the town.—Hannah, July,
the power, which was given to the six individuals, the year before, to manage the affairs of the town, might be transferred to the town, and the inhabitants in general; one of the six being dead, another having removed, and some of the remainder being desirous to re-

NOTES TO PAGE 280.

1663—Mary, Oct. 1666.—Joseph, March, 1669, and killed with William.—Martha, Dec. 1672.—Henry, the son, married Elizabeth How, in Charlestown, April, 1676, where they probably retreated, after the town was laid waste.—The Kerleys did not return after their settlement, it would seem; but went to Marlborough where Capt. Kerley owned land. In the pamphlet entitled “Revolution in New England justified,” printed 1691, he gives his deposition relating to Sir Edmund Andross’ passing through that town in 1688, who demanded of Kerley “by what order they garrisoned and fortified their houses.” Kerley was then 57 years old. The one mentioned by Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, (ante p. 154) was probably Henry, the son.—There is a tradition of Capt. Kerley, who married Mrs. Rowlandson’s sister; that he had sundry little passages with a damsel, in the way of differences. On one of these occasions, after they were published, he pulled up the post, on which the publishment, as it is called, was placed, and cast it into the river; but, like all true lovers, they soon healed up their quarrels, and were married.

(n) The name of Smith was early, so common that I cannot trace individuals of the name.

(o) A son, I think, of Wm. Kerley, Senr. He was of Sudbury, in 1652. One of the same name was of Sudbury, in 1672, and of Cambridge, in 1683.

(p) John Smith died, July, 1669.

(q) Waters was of Watertown, 1635-1638-1646, married Anna, daughter of Richard Linton. His children were, Joseph, Jacob, Rachel and Ephraim.

(r) There were some three or four of this name, early in New England. This one probably came from Weymouth. In March, 1658, at a meeting of the town, all the orders of the Selectmen passed, except that of Goodman White, which was rejected “because he feared not to speak in his own cause.”

(s) Killed by the Indians, August 22, 1675. His grandchildren, Jacob, George, John and Henry, lived in Concord. They sold all their grandfather’s land in Lancaster, to their uncle, John Houghton, Esq. Oct. 1697.

(t) He had a son Nathaniel, born June, 1658.

(u) What is known of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson and family, will be related in the sequel.

(v) Roper was killed by the Indians, six weeks after the attack of Feb. 1676, and the very day that the inhabitants withdrew from town.

(w) I find master John Tinker’s name in Boston records, in 1652. He was Clerk and Selectman for sometime, and his chirography was very neat. In 1659, he moved to “Pequid.”

(x) He was killed, with his wife, and two children, Aug. 22, 1675, by the Indians.

(y) Jonas Fairbanks was killed by the Indians, when they destroyed the town, in Feb. 1676. His son Joshua, born April, 1661, was killed at the same time.

(z) “1660, Aug. 26. Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other christians, at Lancaster, a Church might be begun there.” Church records of Dorchester, 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 192. He married a daughter of Thomas Joslin; as I find he is called son-in-law to the widow Rebecca Joslin, who was wife to Thomas.

(aa) He spelt his name, “Wyelder.” Further accounts of this family, will be found in the sequel.

(bb) Killed by the Indians, Feb. 1676.
linquish their power.* They further requested, that the Court
would appoint some one or more to lay out the bounds of the town.
They say, they shall be well satisfied, if the Court will grant seven
men out of ten, whose names they mention, to order their munici-
pal concerns; and that afterwards, it shall be lawful to make their
own elections, &c. This petition was signed by the townsmen, to
whom the General Court on the 10th of May, 1654, returned a fa-
vourable answer, granting them the full liberties of a township,
and appointed Lieut. Goodnough,† and Thomas Danforth, a com-
mittee to lay out the bounds. I cannot find that any survey was
made in pursuance of this order, nor, at any time, till 1659, as will
be mentioned below.

The first town meeting on record, was held, in the summer of
1654, probably soon after the petition, I have just mentioned, was
granted. The doings of the Committee were then confirmed and
at a subsequent meeting, which is not dated, but must have been
early in 1655, it was voted not to take into the town above thirty
five families: and the names of twenty five individuals are signed,
who are to be considered as townsmen. They are as follows, viz.
Edward Breck, Master Joseph Rowlandson, John Prescott, William
Kerley, senior, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitcomb,
and John Whitcomb, Jr. Richard Linton, John Johnson, John
Moore, William, and John Lewis, Thomas James, Edmund Parker,
John Smith, Lawrence Waters, John White, John, and Jacob Far-
rar, John Rugg. Many of these names still abound in Lancaster and
the vicinity.

The first highway, out of town, was probably laid out in 1653,
according to the direction of the General Court, from Lancaster to
Sudbury; and for many years this was the principal route to Bos-
ton.

A highway to Concord, was laid out in the spring of 1656. It
commenced near Prescott's', in what is now called New Boston,
thence by the then parsonage, which was a little N. E. of Rev. Dr.
Thayer's, and over the river some 15 or 20 rods above the present
bridge, then passing over the south end of the neck, and crossing
Penecook river,† in the general direction of the travelled road, till

* Nathaniel Hadock and Edwin Breck. Hadlock was the one that died.
† Goodinow, as Johnson spells it, was of Sudbury. 2. Mass. Hist. Col.
VII. 55. For Danforth, see note, post.
‡ It crossed at the wading place of the Penecook, to the east of what was
afterwards called the Neck bridge.
within a few years, and extending over Wataquodoc hill in Bolton. This road, I find afterwards in the proprietor’s books as beginning at Wataquodoc hill, passing the Penecook, and North Rivers, by "Master Rowlandson’s house, and fenced, marked, and staked up to Goodman Prescott’s rye field; and so between John Moore’s lot and across the brook, &c.—and so beyond all the lots into the woods." The present roads on the east and west side of the neck, were probably laid out as early as 1654. The latter extended as far to the N. W. as Quassaponiken.

In 1657, the good people of Nashaway, found that they were unable to manage their town affairs satisfactorily to themselves, in public town meetings, "by reason," they say, "of many inconveniences, and incumbrances, which we find that way; nor by select men by reason of the scarcity of freemen,* being but three in number." It therefore repented them of the former petition, which I have mentioned, and they besought the General Court, to appoint a committee, (to use the language of the request) "to put us into such a way of order, as we are capable of, or any other way which the Honored Court may judge safest and best, &c. till the committee make return that the town is able to manage its own affairs." This request was granted, May 6th, of the same year, and Messrs. Simon Willard,† Edward Johnson,‡ and Thomas Danforth§ were appointed commissioners.

* At the first session of the General Court, in the colony of Massachusetts, May, 1631, it was ordered "that no man should be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches, within the limits of this jurisdiction." And this was the law till 1664. None but freemen were allowed to hold any office.

† Major Willard came to this country from the County of Kent, in 1635, at the same time, I think, with the Rev. Peter Bulkley, a distinguished clergyman of Concord. He was one of the original purchasers from the Indians of Musketaquid, afterwards called Concord. He resided there many years. The town was incorporated, Sept. 1635, and he was the deputy or Representative from the spring following, till 1654, with the omission only of one year. In 1654, he was chosen one of the Court of Assistants, and was annually re-chosen till the time of his death. He died in Charlestown, April 24, (O. S.) 1676. This Court was the upper branch of the General Court, the Court of Probate, a Court for Capital and other trials of importance; and with power to hear petitions, decree divorces, &c. The members, were magistrates throughout the Colony, and held the County Courts, the powers of which extended to all civil causes, and criminal, excepting life, member, banishment and divorces.

‡ Johnson was of Woburn, and came from the County of Kent. He was the author of "Wonder working Providence of Zion’s Savior, in New England;" a very singular, curious, and enthusiastic work.

§ Danforth lived in Cambridge. He was distinguished in the early history of Massachusetts; some time one of the assistants, and Deputy Governor.
These Commissioners were instructed to hear and determine the several differences and grievances which “obstruct the present and future good of the town” &c. and were to continue in office till they could report the town to be of sufficient ability to manage its own affairs.

The Commissioners appointed in September of the same year, were, master John Tinker, Wm. Kerley, sen'r, Jno. Prescott, Ralph Houghton, and Thomas Sawyer, to superintend the municipal concerns with power to make all necessary rates and levies, to erect “a meeting house, pound and stocks,” three things that were then as necessary to constitute a village, as, according to Knickerbocker, a “meeting house, tavern and blacksmith’s shop” are, at the present day. None were to be permitted to take up their residence in town, or be entertained therein, unless by consent of the selectmen, and any coming without such consent, on record, and persons entertaining them, were each subject to a penalty of twenty shillings per month. However much we may be inclined to smile at the last regulation, something of the kind probably was necessary in the early state of society, and especially in so remote a plantation as that of Nashaway, to exclude the idle and unprincipled; not only strong hands but stout hearts, sobriety of character, and patriotism, properly so called, were needed to sustain and advance the interest of the town. Vicious persons would be disorderly; the situation was critical, the danger of giving provocation to the Indians would be increased, and it would require but a slight matter to destroy the settlement. The commissioners directed further, that lands should be reserved for “the accommodation and encouragement of five or six able men, to take up their residence in the town.”

Early attention was paid by the town to its water privileges. In Nov. 1653, John Prescott received a grant of land of the inhabitants, on condition that he would build a “corn mill.” By a memorandum in Middlesex Records, it appears, that he finished the mill and began to grind corn, the following spring, 23. 3 mo. 1654. A saw mill followed in a few years, according to the records of the proprietaries; where I find that “in November 1658, at a training, a motion was made by Goodman Prescott, about setting up a saw

He was one of the few who dared to oppose openly, the witchcraft delusion. Gov. Bradstreet, President Increase Mather, and Samuel Willard, son of Major W. minister in Boston, and afterwards V. Pres. of the College, were almost the only leading men who withstood the mighty torrent.
mill; and the town voted that if he should erect one, he should have the grant of certain privileges, and a large tract of land lying near his mill for him and his posterity forever; and to be more exactly recorded, when exactly known."

In consideration of these provisions, Goodman Prescott forthwith erected his mill. This was on the spot, where the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company have extensive and profitable works under the superintendence of Messrs. Poignand & Plant. I mention these mills, the more particularly, as they were many years before any of the kind in the present County of Worcester. People came from Sudbury to Prescott's grist mill. The stone of this mill was brought from England, and is now in the vicinity of the Factory*, in fragments.

There were no bridges in town till 1659. In January of that year (3. 11 mo. 1658) it is recorded that "the Selectmen ordered for the bridges over Nashaway and North river, that they that are on the neck of land do make a cart bridge over the north river by Goodman Water's, and they on the south end, do make a cart bridge over Nashaway about the wading place at their own expense."

These two bridges were supported in this way, eleven years. In February 1670, it was voted, that the bridges should be a town charge from the second day of that month, (1669, O. S.) only, it was ordered, that if the town should think it "for the safety of north bridge, that the cages be put down, that then they shall be set down upon the Neck's charge, the first convenient opportunity." There is reason to believe that no bridge was built over the Penecook, or Main river, till after the re-settlement of the town in 1679 and 80.§ The "Great bridge by the Knight pasture," (the same as the Neck bridge,) a little to the east of the present centre bridge is spoken of in 1729, and a vote was passed in 1736, to repair this bridge. The road that I have before mentioned from Bolton, across the Penecook, and "staked up to Goodman Prescott's rye field," was laid out in the spring of 1656. But I assert with confidence, that no bridge was there as early as 1671. From 1671 to 1675, it is by no means probable that the inhabitants were in a situation to

* This rests on information received from Mr. Jonathan Wilder, of this town, a high authority in traditionary lore. Mrs. Wilder is a descendant, in direct line from John Prescott.
† This was near the residence of the late Judge Sprague.
‡ This was on the south branch, near the present mill bridge.
§ The remark, relative to the bridge in the first volume of Worcester Magazine, p. 284, in note, is incorrect.
support three bridges,* and after that time, Metacomet’s war left neither opportunity nor means, to pay attention to any thing but self-defence.†

1658. The Selectmen met in January following their appointment, and ordered the inhabitants to bring in a perfect list of their lands—the quality, quantity, bounds, &c. that they might be recorded, to prevent future differences, by reason of mistake or forgetfulness. In the course of the year, finding their authority insufficient to manage the municipal concerns of the town, they presented a petition to the commissioners, in which they say “the Lord has succeeded our endeavors to the “settling,” we hope, of Master Rowlandson amongst us, and the town is, in some sort, at last, in a good preparative to after peace; yet it is hard to repel the “boilings and breakings forth” of some persons, difficult to please, and some petty differences will arise amongst us, provide what we can to the contrary,” and that unless they have further power given them, what they possess is a “sword tool, and no edge.”

The Commissioners, then in Boston, explained to the Selectmen the extent of their powers, and authorized them to impose penalties in certain cases, for breach of orders, to make divisions of land, to appoint persons to hear and end small causes, under forty shillings, and present them to the County Court for allowance, &c. This increase of power, probably answered the purpose, so long as the management of affairs pertained to the Commissioners, and till it returned to the inhabitants of the town, at their general meetings.

As was before observed, although a committee had been appointed for that purpose some years before, it does not appear that the boundaries of the town were surveyed and marked before 1659. At that time, Thomas Noyes was appointed to that service, by the General Court, and the selectmen voted that when “Ensign Noyes comes to lay out the bounds, Goodman Prescott do go with him to mark the bounds, and Job Whitcomb, and young Jacob Farrar, to carry the chain,” &c. provided “that a bargain be first made between him and the selectmen, in behalf of the town, for his art and pains.” Noyes made his return 7th April, of that year.

* There was a wading place over the Penecook.—See note ante.
† Since the above was written, I have ascertained satisfactorily, that the Neck bridge was built, 1718. The vote to build, was March 10, 1718—and to be finished by the first of August following. In the vote, it was ordered, “that the bridge have five trussells, and to be a foot higher than before.” It would seem then, that this was not the first bridge over the principal stream.
as follows, viz.: beginning at the wading place of Nashaway* river, thence running a line three miles in length, N. W. one degree West, and from that point drawing a perpendicular line five miles, N. N. East, one degree North, and another S. S. West, one degree South. At the end of the ten miles, making eight angles, and running at the north end, a line of eight miles, and at the south, six miles and a half, in the direction E. S. East, one degree East, then connecting the extremes of these two lines, finished the fourth side, making in shape a trapezoid. Four miles of the S. East part of the line, bounded on Whipsufferage† plantation, that was granted to Sudbury, now included in Berlin, Bolton and Marlborough. The return of Mr. Noyes was accepted by the Court, provided a farm of six hundred and forty acres be laid out within the bounds, for the Country’s use, in some place not already appropriated.‡

The town, which for a number of years, had labored under the many disadvantages incident to new plantations, increased, perhaps, by being quite remote from other settlements, now began to acquire somewhat of municipal weight and importance. It was becoming a place, to which the enterprising colonists were attracted by its natural beauties, its uncommon facility of cultivation, and by the mild and friendly character of the natives in the vicinity. The selectmen, therefore, in July, 1659, found it necessary to repeal the foolish order of 1654, by which the number of Inhabitants was limited to 35. Their eyes being opened, they conceived it to be most for the good of the town, “that so many Inhabitants be admitted, as may be meetly accommodated, provided they are such, as are acceptable; and that admittance be granted to so many, as shall stand with the description of the selectmen, and are worthy of acceptance according to the Commissionary acceptance.”

1663, the town also began to feel sufficient strength to regulate the affairs of the Corporation by regular town meetings. The selectmen were willing, and in a letter expressed to the town “that there was not such a loving concurrence as they could desire,” in their proceedings, and go on to observe, that if their labors in endeavoring to procure the town liberty to choose its own officers be

*This it will be recollected was the South branch, and near the present mill bridge by Samuel Carter’s mills. The main stream was invariably called Penecook.

† This is the English name. Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, in which he discovers the true spirit of the antiquary, says, that the Indian word is Whippusuppenike. See Worcester Magazine for July, 1856, p. 134.

‡ The tradition is, that it was laid out in the south part of the town, and included a very poor tract of land.
of use they desire to bless God for it; but if not, they desire not to create trouble to themselves, and grief for their loving brethren and neighbors," &c. &c. The town confirmed the doings of the selectmen, and petitioned the Commissioners early in the year 1665, to restore the full privileges to the town. The answer of the Commissioners is, in part, as follows—

"Gentlemen and loving friends,

"We do with much thankfulness to the Lord acknowledge his favor to yourselves, and not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people, and children, in your loving compliance together; that this may be continued is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayer to God. And wherein we may in our capacity, contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord, and to you, and for that end, do fully concur, and consent to your proposals, for the ratifying of what is, and for liberty among yourselves, observing the laws and the directions of the General Court, for the election of your selectmen for the future."

Simon Willard,
Thomas Danforth,
Edward Johnson.

Dated, 8th mo. 1664."

The town was soon after relieved from the inconveniences and embarrassments of having its affairs directed by gentlemen residing at a distance, and, in future, sustained its new duties, without further assistance from the General Court.

A highway was soon after laid out to Groton, passing over the intervale to Still river hill, in Harvard, thence to Groton in a very circuitous course.

In 1669, an order was passed establishing the first Monday in February, at ten o'clock A. M. for the annual town meetings, and obliging every inhabitant, to attend, under penalty of two shillings unless having a good excuse. The limited population, rendered necessary the sanction of all qualified persons, to the municipal proceedings.

The affairs of the town seem to have proceeded with tolerable quiet for more than twenty years from the first settlement, till 1674. The population had increased quite rapidly and was spread over a large part of the township. The Indians were inclined to peace, and, in various ways, were of service to the Inhabitants. But this happy state of things was not destined to continue. The day of deep and long continued distress was at hand. The natives with
whom they had lived on terms of mutual good will, were soon to become their bitter enemies: desolation was to spread over the fair inheritance: fire and the tomahawk, torture and death, were soon to be busy in annihilating all the comforts of domestic life.

The tribe of the Nashaways, when the country was first settled, was under the chief Sachem of the Massachusetts. Gookin, who wrote in 1674, says, "they have been a great people in former times; but of late years have been consumed by the Maquas* wars, and other ways, and are now not above fifteen or sixteen families." He probably referred to the settlement at Washacum alone.—There were Indians in various parts of the town at that time; in fact so large a part of the tribe, as would, perhaps, swell the whole number to twenty five or thirty families, or from one hundred and fifty, to one hundred and eighty persons. This miserable remnant, that was rapidly wasting way by intemperance, which, at this day, destroys its thousands, was under the influence of the master spirit, Philip. Whilst Gookin, with Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmucks, was at Pakachoog, in Sept. 1674, he sent Jethro† of Natick, one of the most distinguished of the converted Indians, who, in general, made but sorry christians, to Nashaway, to preach to his countrymen, whom Eliot had never visited. One of the tribe happened to be present at the Court, and declared "that he was desirously willing as well as some other of his people to pray to God: but that there were sundry of that people very wicked, and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed amongst them;" and he intreated Gookin to put forth his power, to suppress this vice. He was asked, "whether he would take upon him the office of constable, and receive power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strength from them, and bring the delinquents before the court to receive punishment." Probably apprehending some difficulty from his brethren, if he should accept the appointment at the time, he answered, "that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, he would come for a black staff and power."

It is not known that Jethro's exhortations produced any effect. 

* A fierce tribe residing about fifty miles beyond Albany and towards the lakes.


‡ Gookin gave Jethro a letter directed to the Indians, exhorting them to keep the sabbath and to abstain from drunkenness, powowing, &c. At this time and for many years after Gookin was superintendent of all the Indians under the government of Massachusetts.
The conspiracy that in the following summer lighted up the flames of war, was secretly spreading, and but little opportunity existed, to improve the condition of the Nashaways. At this time, Sagamore Shoshanim* was at the head of the tribe. He possessed, it appears, a hostile feeling, and a vindictive spirit against the English. He joined heart and hand in the measures of Philip. He probably engaged early in the war, and took an active part in the attack upon his former friends. James Quanapaug, who was sent out by the English, as a spy, in Jan. 1676, (N. S.) relates that Shoshanim was out with the hostile Indians in the neighborhood of Mennimesseg, about 20 miles north of the Connecticut path. Robert Pepper was his prisoner. Philip was in the neighborhood of Fort Aurania, (Albany) and was probably on his return to Mennimesseg. This circumstance, taken in connection with the positive declaration of Rev. Mr. Harrington, in his Century Sermon, and the frequent mention made of him by Mrs. Rowlandson, shows pretty conclusively that he had the powerful force that overwhelmed Lancaster. I find in a scarce pamphlet, entitled a "Brief and true Narrative of the late wars risen in New England," printed late in 1675, that the report was current, that Philip had "fled to the French at Canada for succor." And Cotton Mather says, that the French from Canada sent recruits to aid in the war. Philip probably returned early in the winter with the recruits. Whilst Quanapaug was at Mennimesseg, one eyed John,† (an Indian every whit,) told him that in about twenty days from the Wednesday preceding, "they were to fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, and that the first thing they would do, would be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so as to hinder the flight of the Inhabitants, and prevent assistance from coming to them."‡ The war broke out in June, 1675, by an attack upon Swansey, as I should have stated before. On the 22nd day of August, the same summer, eight persons were killed in Lancaster.§ On the 10th (O. S.) of February following, early in the morning, the Wamponoags, led by Philip, accompanied by theNarragansetts, his allies, and also by the Nip-

* Sam was his name in the vernacular. He succeeded Matthew, who, as Mr. Harrington relates, always conducted himself well towards the English, as did his predecessor, Sholan. Shoshamin, after the war, was executed at Boston. See post.
† Or John Monoco.
§ George Bennett, a grandson of Richard Linton; William Flagg; Jacob Farrar; Joseph Wheeler; Mordacai McLeod, his wife, and two children.
mucs and Nashaways, whom his artful eloquence had persuaded to join with him, made a desperate attack upon Lancaster. His forces consisted of 1500* men, who invested the town "in five distinct bodies and places."† There were at that time more than fifty families in Lancaster. After killing a number of persons in different parts of the town, they directed their course to the house‡ of Mr. Rowlandson, the clergyman of the place. The house was pleasantly situated on the brow of a small hill, commanding a fine view of the valley of the north branch of the river, and the amphitheatre of hills to the west, north and east. It was filled with soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty two, and was guarded only in front, not like the other garrisons, with flankers at the opposite angles.§—"Quickly" says Mrs. Rowlandson "it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." The house was defended with determined bravery upwards of two hours. The enemy, after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustible matter, and approached in the rear, where there was no fortification. In this way, the house was soon enveloped in flames. The inhabitants finding further resistance useless were compelled at length to surrender, to avoid perishing in the ruins of the building.|| No other garrison was destroyed but that of Mr. Rowlandson. One man only escaped.* The rest twelve in number,† were either put to death on the spot, or were reserved for torture. Of

* Hutchinson says several hundred. I have taken the number given by Mr. Harrington, who says it was confessed by the Indians themselves after the peace.

† I can ascertain but three of these places, viz. Wheeler’s garrison, at Wataquodoc hill, now S. West part of Bolton. Here they killed Jonas and Joshua Fairbanks and Richard Wheeler. Wheeler had been in town about 15 years. The second was Prescott’s garrison, near Poignard & Plant’s Manufactory. Ephraim Sawyer was killed here; and Henry Farrar and (John?) Bail and his wife in other places. The third was Mr. Rowlandson’s.

‡ This house was about one third of a mile south west of the Church.—The cellar was filled up only a few years since. Where the garden was, are a number of very aged trees, more or less decayed. These, I doubt not, date back to the time of Mr. Rowlandson.

§ So says Harrington. But Hubbard relates that the "fortification was on the back side of the building, but covered up with fire wood, and the Indians got near and burnt a leanto." Edition 1677.

|| On the authority of Hubbard, I state, that the Indians destroyed about one half of the buildings.

* Ephraim Roper.

† Ensign Divoll, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William and Joseph Kerley, John McLoad, John Kettle and two sons, Josiah Divoll. Instead of giving the twelfth name, Mr. Harrington puts down "&c." The name therefore must rest, in nubibus.
the slain, Thomas Rowlandson was brother to the clergyman; Mrs. Kerley was wife of Capt. Henry Kerley, and sister to Mrs. Rowlandson;* Wm. Kerley, Jr. I think, may have been Henry’s brother, and Joseph his child: I do not venture, however, to give this as a historical fact. Mrs. Drew,† another sister, was of the captives. Mrs. Kerley, and Ephraim Roper’s wife were killed in attempting to escape.

Different accounts vary in the number of the slain, and the captives. At least there were fifty persons, and one writer says, fifty five.‡ Nearly half of these suffered death.§ No less than seventeen of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson’s family, and connexions, were put to death or taken prisoners. He, at that time, with Capt. Kerley, and Mr. Drew, was at Boston soliciting military aid from Gov. Leverett and the council. The anguish they felt on their return, is not to be described. Their dwellings had been destroyed: the wife of one was buried in the ruins, the wives of the two others, were in the power of the savages, threading their way, through the trackless forest in the midst of winter; with no comforts to supply their necessities, no friends to cheer them, and nothing but the unmingled dread of a hopeless captivity in prospect. Mrs. Rowlandson was taken by a Narragansett Indian, and sold to Quannopin, a Sagamore, and connected with Philip by marriage; their squaws being sisters. Mrs. Rowlandson’s sister, was taken, it would seem by Shoshanim.||

* Mrs. Rowlandson was Mary, daughter of Mr. White, probably John White, who was the richest man in town in 1653. Henry Kerley married Elizabeth.

† This name is inserted on the authority of “News from New-England;” a pamphlet relating to Philip’s war, published in 1676. I have not met with the name elsewhere.

‡ “News from New England.”

† Abraham Joslin’s wife was a captive. In the neighborhood of Payquaoge (Miller’s river,) being near the time of her confinement, the Indians became enraged at her frequent solicitations for liberty to return home, and cast her into the flames with a young child in her arms, two years old. Of those of the Nashaway tribe of Indians who survived the war, a part moved to Albany, and the rest to Penecook, one of the New Hampshire tribes; with this tribe they incorporated. There have been Indians residing in town, within the memory of some of the present inhabitants; they were wanderers from other places, and not descendents of the Nashaways.

|| Mrs. Rowlandson during her captivity was separated from her sister.— At one time when they were near, the Indian, Mrs. Drew’s master, would not suffer her to visit Mrs. Rowlandson, and the latter in her “removes” remarks with much apparent comfort, that “the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian was hanged afterwards at Boston.” This was Sept. 26, 1676. The Sagamore of Quoboag, and old Jethro, were executed at the same time, at the town’s end. Hubbard, Edition 1677.
The Indians made great plunder in various parts of the town. They were forced, however, to retreat on the appearance of Capt. Wadsworth,* who, hearing of the distressed situation of the town, immediately marched from Marlborough, where he was stationed, with forty men. The Indians had removed the planks from the bridge to prevent the passage of horsemen, the river at the time being much swollen, and had prepared an ambush for the foot soldiers, but fortunately withdrew from that spot, before the arrival of the soldiers. Wadsworth stationed his men in different parts of the town, and remained there for some days. Before his departure, he lost one of his men, George Harrington, by the Indians.

But the alarm of the Inhabitants was so great, and such was the general insecurity of the border towns, in the then unsettled state of the Country, that when the troops withdrew, about six weeks afterwards, the rest of the inhabitants left under their protection, after destroying all the houses, but two.† The return of peace on the death of Philip, in August, 1676, did not restore their courage and confidence. For more than three years, Lancaster remained without an inhabitant. In Oct. 1679, a committee was appointed by the County Court, under a law then in force, to rebuild the town.‡ It is probable that the resettlement took place in the spring of 1680.§ No record exists by which the precise time or mode can be discovered. Some interest naturally attaches to this era, as the whole work of building up the town was to be again undertaken. Some of the first planters, or their children, who were still living, returned accompanied by others. Of the former, were the Prescotts, Houghtons, Sawyers, Wilders, &c. The Carters, a name now

* Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, a brave soldier and valuable man. He was killed on the 18th of April following, in a severe battle with the Indians at Sudbury. A monument over his grave, on the spot where he fell, was erected by his son, Rev. President Wadsworth of Harvard College.

† The house of public worship, was not destroyed by the Indians at this time. The French, according to James Quanapaug, before the commencement of the winter campaign “bid them that they should not destroy meeting houses, for there, God was worshipped.” John Roper was killed the very day that the Inhabitants withdrew.


§ To avoid the charge of plagiarism, perhaps it should be stated, that the account of the destruction of Lancaster, excepting what was taken from Mr. Harrington, was extracted principally from an anonymous article, written by the compiler, and published in the New Hampshire Historical and Miscellaneous Collections for April and May, 1824; and another, in the Worcester Magazine, for Feb. 1826. Harrington took most of his account from Hubbard.
HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

295

quite prevalent, came in soon after the restoration. A number of brothers of that family, came from Woburn,* and took up their residence on George hill, where, and in other parts of the town, many of their descendants still live.

Under the numerous inconveniences, hardships and dangers of a new settlement, it is not to be supposed that the wealth or population of the town, for some years, increased with much rapidity. In 1681 and 1682, in consequence of these things, and of the exposed situation of the town, on the confines of civilization, an exemption was granted from the County rates. In 1694, 20 pounds of the public taxes were allowed to the town, in consideration of its "frontier situation."

The civil history of Lancaster from 1680 to 1724, excepting what is preserved by Mr. Harrington, is, I fear, irretrievably lost. I regret this the more, from the circumstance stated above; and in common with others, have to lament, that Mr. Harrington, who preserved so much, did not preserve much more. Private documents of various kinds, and important in this respect, which were then doubtless numerous, have since been lost by lapse of time, or destroyed through ignorance of their value. Tradition was then fresh and distinct; and, more than all, the original volume of records containing a complete sequence of events from the first settlement in the valley of the Nashaway to the year 1724, was then in existence. What progress therefore the town made in popula

* Thomas Carter, first minister of Woburn, came to this country in 1635. I find also one of that name, the same person, there is reason to suppose, who took the freeman's oath on the 2nd 3 mo. 1638. In 1642, Woburn was taken from Charlestown, and made a distinct town. There were no officers or members of the Church, capable of ordaining Mr. Carter, and they feared to invite the elders of the other churches to perform the service, as it might savour of dependency, and Presbytery; so that at last it was performed by two of their own members. "We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor unto this church and people." Hubbard says "it was not to the satisfaction of the magistrates, and ministers present."

In consequence, it soon became common to invite the neighboring elders to perform the services of ordination. Hubbard, 408.

Johnson remarks that the people of Woburn, "after some search, met with a young man named Mr. Thomas Carter, then belonging to the church of Christ at Watertown; a reverend, godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ." &c. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 40-42.

Mr. Carter was one of those mentioned by Colton Mather, "young scholars whose education for their designed ministry, not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the College was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels." Magnalia, B. III.

This Thomas Carter was the ancestor of all of the name of Carter now in Lancaster. They probably migrated to Nashaway soon after the town was rebuilt.
tion and wealth for thirty years after its resettlement is unknown. For the remainder of the seventeenth century, however, it is fair to suppose, from the assistance afforded by the General Court, and from the long continuance of the Indian wars, that its progress was slow and interrupted. In the mean time the measure of the sufferings of Lancaster was not yet full. The war that was rekindled between France and England on the accession of William, of Orange, to the throne, extended to his transatlantic provinces. In the 18th (O.S.) July, 1692, a party of the Indians attacked the house of Peter Joslin, and murdered his wife, three children, and a widow by the name of Whitcomb, who resided in the family. Joslin himself, at the time, was at work in the field, and knew nothing of the terrible calamity that had befallen him, till his return home. Elizabeth, How, his wife's sister was taken captive, but was afterwards returned. Another child of his was put to death by the enemy in the wilderness. In 1695, on a Sunday morning, Abraham Wheeler returning from garrison to his own house, was shot by the enemy lying in ambush. No further injury was done till 1697, when they entered the town under five leaders, with an intention, after ascertaining the situation of affairs, to commence their attack on Thomas Sawyer's* garrison. It was by the merest accident, that they were deterred from their plan. The gates of Sawyer's garrison were open. A Mr. Jabez Fairbanks, who lived at some distance, mounted his horse, that came running towards him much frightened, rode rapidly to the garrison, though without suspicion, for the purpose of carrying away his son, who was there.—— The enemy supposing they were discovered, being just ready to rush into the garrison, relinquished their design, and on retreating, fired upon the inhabitants at work in the fields. At no time, however, excepting when the town was destroyed, was ever so much injury perpetrated, or so many lives lost. They met with the minister, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting,† at a distance from his garrison, and offered him quarter, which he rejected with boldness, and fought to the last against the cruel foe. After this they killed twenty others;‡ wounded two more, who afterwards recovered, and took

* This was the first planter, or his eldest son; probably the latter.
† A more particular notice will be taken of Mr. Whiting, in the Ecclesiastical sketches.
‡ Daniel Hudson, his wife and two daughters. Hudson, first moved to Lancaster, in 1664. He was originally of Watertown. Ephraim Roper, his wife and daughter, John Skait, and wife, Joseph Rugg, wife and three children, Widow Rugg, Jonathan Fairbanks and two children, and two children of Nathaniel Hudson. Harrington's Sermon.
six captives,* five of whom in the end, returned to Lancaster. This sad calamity sweeping off so large a part of their population called for some religious observance, and a day of fasting and prayer was set apart for the purpose. The restoration of peace, in Europe, brought a season of repose, to the afflicted inhabitants of Lancaster. In 1702, the war between England and France was renewed. With slow, but steady progress, it reached the Colonies. In July 1704, seven hundred French and Indians proceeded against Northampton. Finding that the inhabitants were prepared for an attack, they turned their course towards Lancaster, excepting two hundred of them, who returned home, in consequence of a quarrel with their fellow soldiers about the division of spoil. On the thirty first of July, they commenced a violent and sudden attack early in the morning, in the west part of the town, and killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own garrison.† Near the same place, during the day, they killed three other persons.‡ Nor was this the only injury committed by them on that day. The inhabitants were much inferior to the French and Indians in number. Capt. Tyng happened, at this time, to be in Lancaster with a party of soldiers, and Capt. How gathered in haste what men he was able, and marched with them, from Marlborough, to the relief of the town. They fought with great bravery, but the great number of the enemy forced the inhabitants to retreat into garrison. This gave the enemy opportunity of doing further mischief. They burnt the Church, besides six other buildings, and destroyed no small part of the live stock of the town.

What losses the Indians sustained in their various encounters was never known. They were always quite careful to remove and conceal their slain. In this last conflict, Mr. Harrington observes, it was thought that their loss was considerable, and that a "French officer of some distinction, was mortally wounded," which excited them probably to prolong the battle. Towards evening, many flocked in to the relief of the town, and the enemy made good their retreat, with such success, that they were not overtaken by our soldiers. On the 26th of October following, a party of

* Jonathan Fairbanks' wife, widow Wheeler and Mary Glazer, and son of Ephraim Roper, John Skait and of Joseph Rugg.
† This Nathaniel Wilder was youngest son of Thomas, the first inhabitant of the name of Wilder. The garrison was on the farm now owned by Mr. Soombes, and from the early settlement, till lately, owned by the Wilders.
‡ Abraham How, John Spaulding, and Benjamin Hutchins. How and Hutchins were Marlborough men. Worcester Magazine, II. 156.
the enemy was discovered at Still river, (Harvard.) Some of the soldiers and inhabitants went in pursuit of them: returning much fatigued, Rev. Mr. Gardner the minister, took upon himself the watch for the night. In the course of the night, coming out of the sentry's box, the noise was heard by one in the house, a Mr. Samuel Prescott. As Indians were in the neighborhood, Prescott fired upon Mr. Gardner, supposing him to be an enemy, and shot him through the body. Mr. Gardner freely forgave the innocent, but unfortunate, cause of his death, and breathed his last, in an hour or two after. This closed hostilities for the melancholy year of 1704.

On the 15th October, 1705, Thomas Sawyer, his son Elias Sawyer, and John Biglo, were taken captive and carried to Canada. Thomas Sawyer was a man of great bravery. On the arrival of the party at Montreal, says Whitney, Sawyer offered to erect a saw mill on the Chamblee provided the French Governor would obtain a release of all the captives. This he promised, if possible, to do. The son and Biglo were easily ransomed, but the father the Indians determined to put to death, by lingering torture. His deliverance was effected by the sudden appearance of a Friar, who told them that he held the key of Purgatory in his hand, and, unless they immediately released their prisoner, he would unlock the gates and cast them in headlong. Their superstitious fears, which the Catholics could so easily excite in the breast of the savage, prevailed. They unbound Sawyer from the stake, and delivered him to the Governor. He finished the mill* in a year, and was sent home with Biglo. His son Elias, was detained a while to instruct the Canadians in the art of "sawing and keeping the mill in order, and then was dismissed with rich presents."† The town suffered no further violence from the Indians till July 16, 1707, when Jonathan White was killed. On the 18th of August following, Jonathan Wilder,‡ a native of Lancaster, was taken captive. The party consisting of twenty four men was pursued, the next day, by about thirty of the inhabitants of the two towns, and was overtaken in a remote part of the town, now included in Sterling,

* Whitney from whom the above relation is taken, says, that this was "the first saw mill in Canada, and that there was no artificer there capable of building one." pp. 43, 44.

† A grandson of Elias (Jotham Sawyer) is now living in Templeton, aged eighty six. He recollects riding horseback, behind his mother, to church, to hear Mr. Harrington's century sermon, May 28, 1753.

‡ He was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, who was killed in 1704, as mentioned above. Jonathan was born April 20, 1682.
and known by the name of the "Indian fight." The day being quite damp, and having cases on their guns, and their packs secured from the weather, the Indians were wholly unprepared for combat. However, as only ten of the English rushed upon them and engaged in the action, they determined not to surrender.—Having killed their captive, they fought bravely till they lost nine of their number. On the other side two* were killed and two† wounded. After a lapse of three years, on the 5th of August 1710, a number of the enemy fired upon Nathaniel and Oliver Wilder, who, with an Indian servant, were at work in the fields.† The Indian boy was killed, but the others made their escape and reached the garrison. From this time till peace was concluded at Utrecht in 1713, the inhabitants were doubtless in a continual state of alarm, from expectations of secret and sudden attacks, to which they had been trained by long and bitter experience.

But this was the last hostile measure of the Indians, against Nashaway, and it may be considered, as worthy of remark, that the last person killed by the Indians, in this place, was himself an Indian.

The following is a list of the houses fortified, at various times from the year, 1670, to 1710, &c.

Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's Garrison, before described.

Wheeler's Garrison.—Now in the south part of Bolton, where Asa Houghton lives.

Fortified House.—Now the farm house of Mr. Richard J. Cleve­land. This is where the first Judge Wilder lived.

White's Garrison.—On the spot where Mrs. White now lives, on the east side of the Neck—and opposite to the house of Major Jon­athan Locke.

Joslin's Garrison.—West side of the Neck, one fourth of a mile north of the church, and near the house successively occupied by Peter Green, Dr. Manning and Dr. Peabody.

James Wilder's Garrison.—A large house, twenty rods back of the house of late Thomas Safford. This was the chief garrison. The house is not now standing.

† Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Mr. Samuel Stevens. Ephraim was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, and died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94.
‡ Their guns were resting against a fence at some distance, and the In­dians succeeded in getting between the men and their guns before firing. Nathaniel was son of Lieut. Nathaniel, Oliver another son afterwards Colonel, appointed Justice Peace, January 28, 1762.
HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

Minister's Garrison.—Nearly opposite the house of Samuel Ward, Esq. It was erected in 1688, and successively occupied by Rev. Messrs. Whiting, Gardner and Prentice.*

Thomas Sawyer's Garrison.—To the west of the last, and probably a little north of the house of Samuel Flagg, Esq.

Nathaniel Wilder's Garrison.—North of the last, on Mr. Toomb's farm, between his house and the house of Samuel Wilder.


Cyprian Steven's House.—A little to the south of the church, and near the house of William Stedman, Esq. on the Boston road, was probably a garrison.

There were Indian settlements, besides the one at Washacum, at the following places, viz. near the house of Samuel Jones, not far from the road to Leominster; one on a neck of land running into Fort pond; a third, east of Clam Shell pond, and north of John Larkin's, near Berlin; a fourth, above Pitt's mills in the south part of the town.

Hannah Woonsamug, an Indian woman, owned the covenant, and was baptised October, 1710.

In November, 1702, on the petition of Lancaster for leave to purchase of George Tahanto, an Indian Sagamore, and nephew of Sholan, a tract of land adjoining the west end of the township towards the Wachusett, a committee was chosen by the General Court to examine the land.

The purchase was in 1701,† but was not confirmed by the General Court, owing to the distressed situation of the country, till some years after.‡ The committee made their return in 1711. The whole of this grant is now included in other towns; and it will be sufficient, on this matter, to refer to the first vol. of Worcester Mag-

* Soon after the death of Mr. Prentice, the proprietors voted to sell the Church lands in Lancaster.

† June 26, 1701, as appears by a copy in my possession in the hand writing of John Houghton, Esq. who was proprietors clerk.

‡ It is proper here to correct an inaccuracy in the sermon of Rev. Mr. Conant of Leominster, delivered Oct. 12, 1823. He says that "the Lancaster New, or additional grant," was made to induce the return of the inhabitants, (of Lancaster, after its destruction by the Indians,) and that consequently the first grant of Leominster must have been prior to the year 1690." This grant included what is now Leominster and was not made till the eighteenth century, (1713,) as stated in the text. The purchase was made by the inhabitants of Lancaster, the confirmation was by the General Court. See I. Worcester Magazine, 272-3-4-5.
HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

azine, p. 272-3-4. It was settled as early as 1720, especially the part which is now included in Sterling. Gamaliel Beman, Samuel Sawyer, Benjamin Houghton, David Osgood, and Jonathan Osgood, removed to that place, from other parts of Lancaster.*

From the close of the last Indian war the population began to increase rapidly. The descendants of the original planters, and the new comers, were spread over a broad surface in every part of the town. Uninterrupted industry produced an improved state of the social system, and the character of the place at this time, and for many succeeding years, ranked high for general intelligence, good habits, union and prosperity.†

In 1730, sundry people living on the east side of the Penecook petitioned for a new town. Afterwards, in the same year, the inhabitants were willing to give their consent, if the "General Court should see cause." An act of incorporation was granted, June, 1732, by the name of Harvard; at which time, there were fifty families in the place.‡

Stimulated by this success of their neighbors, and subjected to great inconveniences by their distance from church, the inhabitants living south of Harvard, and within the limits of Lancaster, in 1733, petitioned for a new town. This was refused at the time, but was granted, as far as was in the power of Lancaster, in 1736, and in June, 1738, was incorporated by the name of Bolton. Gamaliel Beman and others in Chocksett,§ stating the same grievances as the Bolton men, urged the same suit in 1733, in their own behalf. This petition was rejected for a number of years, till, in 1741, a conditional permission to form a separate town, was granted to

* A minute and valuable history of Sterling having been published by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. it will not be expected, that I shall touch upon the same subject, any further than, as incidentally, it becomes necessary, in describing Lancaster.

† In May, 1721, Gershom and Jonas Rice, two inhabitants of Worcester, sent a letter to John Houghton, Esq. of this town; and Peter Rice of Marlborough, requesting them to present a certain petition to the General Court, in behalf of Worcester, and closed with saying; "so craving your serious thoughtfulness for the poor, distressed town of Worcester, we subscribe ourselves," &c.

‡ Feb. 5th, 1732. The proprietors of Lancaster granted to the town of Harvard thirty acres of land, where the inhabitants of Harvard "have built a house for public worship—also for a training field, and for a burying place, and other public uses." Feb. 1734. They gave Mr. Secomb, the first minister of Harvard, the two islands in Bear (or Bare) hill pond.

§ This word is a corruption of Woonksechauxit, or Woonksechauckset, now Sterling.
them. To these conditions, they did not assent. They, however, were made a separate precinct.

Next came forward those of the northwest, in 1737. They were incorporated June, 1740, by the name of Leominster. Notwithstanding these successive diminutions in territory, which included a part of Harvard and Bolton, and the whole of Leominster, the population and wealth of the town still ranked high, and went on increasing by the accession of new inhabitants, in the east and west precincts.

The town, however, suffered in proportion to its means, all the evils that attended the state of the currency at that period. The general evil extended as far back, as the seventeenth century; when, to meet the expenses attending the expedition against Canada in 1690, bills of credit were issued anticipating the taxes of the year. This system was continued for some years, and till 1704, the bills were in good credit and answered the purpose of specie. But draughts, beyond the means of the province to bear, being made to defray the heavy expenses incurred in subsequent expeditions, the evil at length became intolerable, and, after the peace of 1713, the public mind was turned towards finding a remedy. There was not sufficient silver and gold in the country to redeem the bills, and the very currency caused these metals to disappear. A public bank, loaning bills on land security, was, after much debate, established in 1714. The few, who at that day seemed to understand what are now deemed first principles in banking, were out voted. These bills, from the operation of the cause I have mentioned above, sunk continually in value, and to an equal extent occasioned a loss to the community. The system was continued many years, and produced a continual sacrifice of property to artificial and imaginary wealth. The bills were loaned by trustees, in every part of the province, on mortgage, with interest and one fifth of the principal payable annually. And when the time of payment arrived, the paper having sunk much below its nominal value, the debtors would be obliged to pay a much larger amount in this trash, or sacrifice their estates in payment of the mortgages. To avoid this, laws were passed from time to time, extending the limit of payment, but prolonging only a lingering state of affairs, that must, in the nature of things, have its crisis, and shake the province to the centre. So infatuated were the people, that they supposed paper emissions would one day work out their redemption from distress and poverty.

Lancaster, I find, instructed her Representative in 1731, "to pay such a regard to his majesty's Governor, as becomes the Rep-
resentative of a loyal people, and that he also use his utmost vigilance that no infringements be made on the royal prerogative, nor on any of the privileges of the people; and especially by supplying the treasury, without appropriations, unless of some small quantities that may be necessary to defray unforeseen charges that may require prompt payment." This probably related to the Governor's salary. Hutchinson observes that "the major part of the house were very desirous of giving satisfaction to the Governor, and to their constituents both." Lancaster had its proportion of the various issues of paper from time to time, and appointed trustees among the inhabitants to distribute it upon mortgage.* The land bank company of 1741, established for the same purposes as the bank of 1714, loaned bills of credit on security of real estate, but possessed no funds for redeeming them. The evil at length, after long and indiscrivable distress was removed in a great measure, in 1749, by the introduction of specie, from England, in payment of the provincial expenses of the expedition against Cape Breton.

At this time, and for many years previous, Lancaster was in the County of Worcester. In 1728, a petition by Capt. William Jennison, for a new County, was forwarded to Lancaster; and the town instructed its Representative,† "that in case the Superior Court be holden at Marlborough, and two inferior Courts at Lancaster, annually, then to accede to the proposal. But in case the Courts cannot be so stated, then to offer such objections as the selectmen shall furnish him with." At a subsequent meeting, Feb. 1729, this vote was reconsidered, "as the westerly part of the County of Middlesex will be broken in pieces, in case that the towns petitioned for by Capt. Jennison, be joined with Suffolk." It was also voted to "petition for a new County in the westerly part of Middlesex."‡ This was afterwards granted and an act of incorporation was obtained in 1731.

In the wars subsequent to this period many of the inhabitants were called into service. War was declared against Spain, in October, 1739, and some of the soldiers from Lancaster perished at

*In 1728, the proportion of the £60,000 issued in bills of credit, to which Lancaster was entitled, was £471 05.

† Josiah White.

‡ James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton were chosen agents. Judge Joseph Wilder, a man of extensive influence in the depths of his wisdom, prevented Lancaster from being made a half shire town, lest it should be the means of corrupting the morals of the inhabitants. In 1743, an attempt, it seems was made to divide the County. Lancaster chose Wm. Richardson, Joseph Wilder and David Wilder, to oppose a division, before the General Court.
Jamaica in the sickly season of the year.* At the siege of Louisbourg there were present 3250 soldiers from Massachusetts, not including commissioned officers. In this number, there were many from Lancaster, both officers and men. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, by which Cape Breton was restored to the French, was not of long continuance. The contest was renewed in 1755, under a much wider range of operations, and continued with mighty efforts, and unabated zeal, till the French were finally driven from the American continent in 1762. During this war a large proportion of the able bodied men, both cavalry and infantry, in town, were actively engaged in the service.† These troops were not merely “food for powder” men, but the substantial yeomanry of the country. New England poured forth her best blood freely, like water, and gained the military experience that afterwards proved so useful in the war of ’75.

The year previous to the French war, an effort was made to unite the colonies for all measures of common protection and safety. But the plan that was projected, was far from satisfactory, either to the King or the colonies, though for opposite reasons. In reference to this scheme, the representative of the town was instructed “to oppose all plans of a general or partial union, that shall anywise encroach upon the rights and liberties of the people.”

An addition was made to the town in February, 1768, by taking from Shrewsbury a strip of land belonging to that town, and usually called the Leg. Those who lived at this place, sought to be united to Lancaster as early as 1748, but did not obtain permission from the General Court.

The minds of men were now generally intent upon the great question of right, that was at this time in full discussion. The whole bias of this town was towards liberty. The attempts of Parliament to bind us in all cases were received with indignation. Here, as well as elsewhere, though the stamp act was disliked, it was thought that reparation should be made to those who suffered by the mobs that law occasioned. “The cause of liberty” it was believed, “was a cause of too much dignity, to be sullied by turbulence and tumult.‖

* Jacob Wilder in a letter written at Jamaica, Dec. 1740, after mentioning a number of his acquaintance who had died, says, “through the providence of God, I am in nomination for an Ensign, and I hope that I may be fitted for it.” There were eighteen or nineteen in this expedition, who belonged to Lancaster; none of them lived to return.

† The whole company of cavalry, excepting five privates, was out during the war.

‖ See the whole of the fine passage in Farmer Dickinson’s third letter.
No event of much local importance occurred in town for many years preceding the revolution. The whole current of thought was turned into this one channel, the arbitrary exactions of parliament. All men were looking forward beyond their immediate anxiety, to the darker prospect that clouded the future. The principle of resistance was at work in every village. It is quite important to dwell somewhat at large upon the transactions of the town at this period, and till the termination of the war. Possibly all are not aware how much was accomplished by towns, as such; how many sacrifices were made in every way, to help on the cherished undertaking. New England contributed more, both in men and money, to the success of the great struggle, than all the other provinces; and those miniature republics, the towns, so singular a feature in the body politic, gave to New England, weight and importance.

At a town meeting, in January, 1773, "The dangerous condition of public affairs, in particular the independency of the Superior Judges, came into discussion, as a subject of great interest. The representative received particular instructions, herein, and also as to the right claimed by the mother country, to transport persons to England for trial. He was directed to use his utmost endeavours to obtain a radical redress of grievances.

A committee* was chosen, and reported the following resolves:

"That this and every other town in the Province, has an undoubted right to meet together and consult upon all matters interesting to them, when, and so often, as they shall judge fit. And it is more especially their duty so to do, when any infringement is made upon their civil or religious liberties.

"That the raising a revenue in the colonies, without their consent, either by themselves or their representatives, is an infringement of that right, which every freeman has to dispose of his own property.

"That the granting a salary to His Excellency the Governor of this province, out of the revenue unconstitutionally raised from us, is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

"That it is of the highest importance to the security of liberty, life an property, that the public administration of justice, should be pure and impartial, and that the Judges should be free from every bias, either in favour of the crown or the subject.

"That the absolute dependence of the Judges of the superior

* Dr. William Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Josiah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman and Ebenezer Allen.

VOL. II.

38
Court of this province upon the crown for their support, would if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendency to bias the minds of the Judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

"That the extension of the power of the Court of Vice Admiralty to its present enormous degree, is a great grievance and deprives the subject, in many instances, of the noble privilege of Englishmen, trial by jury.*

In Sept. 1774, William Dunsmoor, David Wilder,† Aaron Sawyer, Asa Whitcomb, Hezekiah Gates, John Prescott and Ephraim Sawyer, were chosen as a committee of correspondence; £50 were voted to buy ammunition; two field pieces were purchased, and one hundred men were raised as volunteers, to be ready, at a minute's warning, to turn out upon any emergency; to be formed into two companies and choose their own officers."

Committees were also chosen to draw up "a covenant and for non-consumption of certain articles, and to be signed by the inhabitants." Also, "to post up such persons as continue to buy, sell or consume any East India Teas, in some public place in town;" and, in January, 1775, to "receive subscriptions for the suffering poor of the town of Boston," cruelly oppressed by the port bill.

On the alarm of the commencement of hostilities, on the 19th of April, 1775, the company of minute men marched directly to Lexington, and the company of Cavalry,§ under the command of Capt. Thomas Gates, proceeded to Cambridge, to aid in driving the British troops to Boston. The cavalry remained in Cambridge while their aid was considered necessary. Ten of their number enlisted into the service of their country in the Massachusetts line.

I have no data at hand, by which to ascertain the number of men from this town, who joined the army during the war. The demands from head quarters for soldiers were numerous and were

* In 1774, the town instructed the representative, Col. Asa Whitcomb, "not to vote for compensation to the owners of the tea destroyed, neither by tax nor by assessment on the people."

† Mr. Wilder was foreman of the grand jury that voted, April, 1774, "that should Peter Oliver, Esq. appear and act as Judge at this present Court, (Supreme Court at Worcester,) they would not proceed to business, but would utterly refuse."

‡ The committee of correspondence and safety in 1777, consisted of Col. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Thomas Gates, Joshua Fletcher, Elisha Allen and Jabez Fairbanks.

§ Of this company James Goodwin, the oldest man in Lancaster, Moses Burpee, Samuel Sawyer, John Hawkes, Phineas Fletcher and Joseph Blood, are living. The company of minute men was commanded by Capt. Benjamin Houghton. In June following, Andrew Haskell was the Captain,
all answered by the town with great cheerfulness. Indeed, I have no reason to doubt, that at different periods of the long conflict, all the able bodied inhabitants either in person or by substitute, were in the field, in defence of their country.* Large sums of money were voted at various times, to encourage those who were drafted. Clothing for the troops and great quantities of provision were often purchased; committees were chosen to furnish the families of those who had enlisted with the necessaries and conveniences of life, and in short, great and unwearied efforts were made by the town to help on the struggle to a successful termination.† In one instance only was there any hesitation. In June, 1780, an order came from Government for a draft of forty men, for six months. When the subject was brought before the town, Josiah Kendall, a leading and flaming patriot, addressed himself to the question, and declared that the town could not furnish the supply, being exhausted by repeated efforts. Samuel Ward, Esq. seeing the course that was likely to be taken, urged a compliance with the order, and was persuaded that a course which he suggested, might be adopted, that would satisfy the men to be drafted. On his motion, a Committee§ was

* About forty were engaged in the service over nine months; the rest were out for less terms of time, from one to nine months. Messrs. Jonathan Wilder, Silas Thurston and Jacob Z. Weares were at the taking of Burgoyne,

† Prices were annually set to every article of life. In the summer of 1777, farming labor was 3s per day, wheat 6s 6d. rye 4s 6d. per bushel—Physician fees—emetic 1s, cathartic 1s, travel 8d. per mile, visit 8d. pulling tooth do.

‡ This gentleman died August 14, 1826, aged 87. He was born in Worcester. At the age of sixteen, he entered the army, early in the French war. He was first out as a private in 1756, and rose before 1760 to be Adjutant in Col. Abijah Willard’s regiment. He was at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by Gen. Amherst, in 1759, and of Isle aux Noix and Montreal, in 1760. Towards the close of the war, he commenced business in Groton, and moved to Lancaster, in 1767. He represented the town in the General Court in 1800 and 1801, and for a great number of years served in various offices in the town.

Few individuals, who have not been extensively engaged in public life, have been so widely known. His acquaintance was sought by all. No one who ever knew him, though but slightly, could forget him. His powers of entertainment were never exhausted: his hospitality was inexhaustible. His knowledge was eminently practical, and had he enjoyed the advantages of a public education, he would have been distinguished as a Statesman. A mind of uncommon acuteness, a quick and keen perception of character, wide views of men and things, belonged to Mr. Ward, and enabled him to be highly useful as a citizen. In the daily charities of life, in giving aid to objects of public benevolence and usefulness, in distributions to the poor, he was ever active and ready. The indigent in this town have lost a valuable friend; one who for many years, week by week, ministered to their necessities, and whose good deeds will cause him to be long remembered in future years.

§ Nathaniel Balch, so celebrated for his powers of entertainment, so "merry and facete," the life of Gov. Hancock, and the great wit of his day,
mediately chosen of which he was chairman, and they proceeded to take measures to pay the men. The bounty in addition to the wages, was sometimes paid in continental money, and, at others, in corn, beef, live stock, land, &c. At this time, the old emission compared with gold and silver, was as 68 to 1,* and as compared with the new emission, as 40 to 1. The men received their bounties, in different ways. One of them, named Dunsmoor, was asked in what he would receive his bounty. He answered that Deacon Moore, (one of the committee,) had a piece of land adjoining his own farm, and he wished to own it. “Take it,” cried Moore, “take it; I’d rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than loose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my country.” The effort succeeded: the forty men were drafted, paid off, and commenced their march within twelve days.

In June, 1777, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, Col. Asa Whitcomb was chosen “to collect evidence against such persons as shall be deemed internal enemies to the state.” Soon after, the names of a number of citizens† were placed on the list in town meeting, as being included in the above description. Most of them were afterwards stricken off. It is related of Rev. Mr. Harrington, one of the number, that when his name was added to the list, on the foolish motion of some individual, the venerable and truly excellent man, bared his breast before his people and exclaimed, “strike, strike here, with your daggers; I am a true friend to my country.” The passion for proscribing innocent persons, soon subsided in a measure, and a new mode of managing the was one of the committee. He was quite a whig, without a persecuting spirit; but not liking “guns and drums,” he left Boston and resided in Lancaster, during the war. Here he was of much service in moderating the violence, oftentimes so unnecessary, but to which the feelings of patriotism frequently urged the patriots. He lived a little to the north of the church, on the Wiford place.

* That is, on 16th June, 1780, one Spanish milled dollar was equal to sixty eight dollars of the old emission. On the first of April previous, the proportion was 40 to 1.

† Moses Gerrish, Daniel Allen, Ezra Houghton, Joseph Moore, Solomon Houghton, James Carter and Rev. Timothy Harrington. At the commencement of hostilities, Col. Abijah Williard, a mandamus counsellor, and his brother, Abel Williard, Esq. went to Boston, and remained there during the siege. They left the country before the war terminated. They were both very much beloved, particularly the latter, and their departure was a cause of regret to the inhabitants. Indeed, they might have remained without being molested. Like many others, believing that the contest was hopeless, and that inevitable defeat would place the country in a state of servitude, they left their homes, and when convinced that their course was not well chosen, it was too late to remedy the error.
business was devised. The examinations of the suspected were afterwards conducted by the committee of safety, where less excitement, and somewhat of a calm and dispassionate way of proceeding was introduced. No great violence however, no mobs, no riotous conduct disturbed the general state of the town. The spirit of liberty was deeply rooted and widely extended; indeed, so general was it, that it did not demand the moral refreshing of a mob to impart an active principle.

A number of the citizens who joined the army, were killed in battle, or died of their wounds. Of these, David Robins was killed at Bunker Hill. Robert Phelps, wounded there, died in August, 1775: John Ballard, Abel Wyman and John Bennett, died in 1776: Jonathan Sawyer, killed in 1777: Joseph Phelps died of his wounds in 1778: he was on board an armed vessel: Joseph Wilder died on board the same vessel. There were but few officers from this town in the continental service. Col. Henry Haskell, was a native of this town, lived here most of his life and died here. The other officers were Capt. Andrew Haskell, Lieuts. John Hewitt, Winslow Phelps, Philip Corey, and Jeremeel Haskell. Andrew Haskell was a brave soldier, and deserves a passing notice. When the appeal was made to arms, he marched to Lexington as Lieutenant of the company of minute men. He joined the army soon after. He was subsequently promoted to be a Captain in the Massachusetts line, and afterwards in the continental army. He possessed but little education, and of course but little refinement, and though a candidate for higher rank, was kept from promotion by his want of proper dignity and self respect. Irritated with this treatment, he suddenly left the service. But his love of country was too powerful, to suffer him to remain idle. In the course of a few weeks, he again enlisted, and served as a common soldier in the continental army, till the peace of 1783. After this period, he lived in Lancaster till 1791, when he joined the army led by the unfortunate Major Gen. Arthur St. Clair, against the Indians northwest of the Ohio, and was killed in the memorable battle near the Miamies' villages, Nov. 3, 1791, when the American forces suffered a sad overthrow.

In Feb. 1778, the “articles of confederation and perpetual union between the colonies, were accepted on the part of the town. The various temporary constitutions for a state government, were agreed to, and the Constitution of this Commonwealth as it stood till 1821, received the assent of the town by a vote of one hundred and three, to seven, in May, 1780. In the choice of Governor the
first year, the votes were sixty nine for John Hancock, and nine for James Bowdoin.*

In April, 1781, the second precinct, formerly called Chocksett,† was incorporated into a town, by the name of Sterling. This measure was, at first, not well pleasing to the inhabitants of the old parish, because the former were unwilling to aid in the support of the French neutrals, the bridges, and poor, to which the whole town was liable. However, they of Woonseckaukset, at last, obtained the majority, turned out the town officers in the old parish, and held the town meetings in their own precinct. This was in 1780. This state of things not being a very agreeable one, and the town records having suffered somewhat in chirography and autography by the change of clerk, the "Pharaohs" were willing after one year's experience, "to let the people go."‡ All former causes of difference, having been done away, the inhabitants of both towns indulged towards each other, feelings of good will and kindness.

The war, as is well known, left the country in an impoverished and exhausted condition. Industry had been abandoned; the old sources of trade were for a time closed; the pursuits of peace, were in strong contrast to the excitement of a protracted contest. A disbanded army, with victory for its portion, spread its influence on every side; an influence in no degree favorable to habits of peace, and the restraints of virtuous principle. Poverty was everywhere. A sound circulating medium, which industry alone could restore, was still wanting.

In this state of things, the town chose John Sprague, Timothy Whiting, sen'r,§ and Samuel Ward, a committee to petition for a lottery, to enable the town to repair the numerous and expensive bridges it was obliged to support. Permission for a lottery was accordingly obtained, in 1782. There were, it appears, fourteen classes drawn between that time and 1790. In the few first classes, the town was in debt to the managers; afterwards some money was obtained for the repair of bridges. No scheme of taxation could

*The highest number of votes in this town, was A. D. 1809, two hundred and ninety five. In the year 1814, two hundred and ninety four, viz: Caleb Strong had two hundred and twenty six, and Samuel Dexter had sixty eight. In 1815, two hundred and ninety two, viz: two hundred thirty nine and fifty three. The present number of voters, is more than three hundred.

† Woonseckaukset.

‡ See Worcester Magazine, vol. II. p. 44.

§ Father of the late Timothy Whiting, Esq. and General John Whiting, of this town.
have been devised more injurious and extravagant. It was paying under a fascinating prospect of gain, a much larger sum, than the citizens would have been obliged to contribute by regular rates. Nor was this all. Many will recollect the time consumed in drawing the numerous classes of this lottery, the idleness and consequent dissipation it induced, to say nothing of its natural tendency to beget a love of gaming.

1786. During the rebellion of Shays, the town was quite loyal to government, and a number of the citizens joined General Lincoln's army and continued with him till the rebels were dispersed. A delegate was sent to the county convention at Leicester, in August, 1786; and some of the proceedings of that body were accepted by the town: the articles relating to a change of the Constitution and to an issue of paper money were rejected without hesitation.

From 1790, to 1794, a hospital was kept open in town, under the direction of Dr. Israel Atherton, for the purpose of inoculating for the small pox; and in 1801, he was directed to ascertain the efficacy of the kine pock.

In 1798. a proposition to divide the County, was negatived, but three votes being cast in favor and one hundred and seven against it.

On the death of Washington, an Eulogy was delivered by Rev. Dr. Thayer; the pulpit was shrowded in black, and the audience wore emblems of mourning.

One family of the society of Shakers, a branch of the society in Shirley, resides in this town. Their reputation for good order, and industry, and consequent thrift, makes them useful citizens. With the peculiarities of their religious worship the public must be well acquainted. With due credit for their sincerity, their diligence renders them a good example in the neighborhood in which they live.

During the violence of party conflict, a greater degree of union and good fellowship was preserved here, than in many other places, and did not give rise, as, in some instances elsewhere to religious dissensions and lasting bitterness. Quiet and harmony now reign in the midst of us; the population and wealth of the town are increasing more rapidly than at any period, within the memory of our aged people. The local situation combines advantages, as a place of retirement for the man of leisure and fortune, whilst an abundance of highly productive soil renders it favorable for the pursuits of agriculture.
In 1323, the old meeting house was taken down, and a neat building, with a portico in front, was erected in its place. In this, the meetings of the town are held for all municipal purposes.

Ecclesiastical History.—In the act of incorporation of the town, the General Court ordered the inhabitants "to take care that a Godly minister be maintained among them." In the fall of the same year, (Nov. 1653,) when the allotments of land were completed, the planters entered into mutual covenants for themselves, their heirs, &c. and set apart "thirty acres of upland, forty of intervale, and twelve of meadow, forever as church lands for the use of, and towards the maintenance of the minister, pastor or teacher for the time being; or whomsoever may be stated to preach the word of God," permitting the minister "to improve* the lands himself if he should so choose." They further covenanted "to build a meeting house for the public assembly of the church and people of God, to worship God according to his holy ordinances;" the building to be erected "as near to the church lands and to the neck of land as can be without any notable inconvenience." Also "to build a house for the minister on the church lands." Each one agreed to pay ten shillings annually for his home lot towards the support of the minister, and to make up the deficiency, if any, in the salary, by an equal rate. To exclude heresy, as we have before seen, "and for the better preserving of the purity of religion, and themselves from infection of error," they agreed "not to distribute allotments of land, nor to receive into the plantation as inhabitants, any excommunicante, or otherwise profane and scandalous, one so to be; nor any notoriously erring against the doctrine† and discipline of the churches, and the state and government of the Commonwealth."

* The word in this sense, (occupy) was in use in New England soon after the first settlement of the country. I have met with it earlier than 1658, in a number of instances. Dr. Franklin is in error, in supposing that this corruption was not till the eighteenth century.

† Toleration was considered a high crime, both by the clergy and laity, in the seventeenth century. Our early writers discover great indignation and bitterness when they touch upon the subject. Ward, in his simple Cobbler of Agawam, says, "The state that will give liberty of conscience in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws, or else the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack." "It is likewise said that men ought to have liberty of their conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this; it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such wilful ignorance. Let all the wits under the heavens, lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this,(one excepted,)and I will petition to be chosen the universal idiot of the world." pp. 8, 12, Ed. 1647.
"Master Joseph Rowlandson," the first minister of Lancaster, commenced bachelor at Cambridge in 1652, with all the honors of his class, as he appears to have constituted the whole of the class of that year. Of his ancestry* or the time or place of his birth, I know nothing. Cotton Mather calls him an author of "lesser composures."† What these were, I venture to say, after diligent inquiry, is not to be discovered. Mr. Rowlandson began to preach in Lancaster as early as the summer or fall of 1654. In February following, (12, 12 mo. 1654,) he subscribed the town covenant, which I have before mentioned, and received his allotment of land. The commissioners, at their meeting, April 25, 1656, directed the town to pay Mr. Rowlandson "fifty pounds by the year," taking "wheat at six pence per bushel," under the usual price, "and as God shall enlarge their estates, so shall they enlarge therein answerably," &c. In September, 1657, the Commissioners ordered the selectmen "to take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, and also for the erecting a meeting house," &c. In compliance with these orders, a house for worship was erected soon after. A town meeting was held in it in June, 1658. It was situated on the north east side of what is now the new burying ground, on the brow of the hill, opposite to Mr. Rowlandson's house, and about one third of a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. In August, 1657, the town conveyed to Mr. Rowlandson "by deed of gift," the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry. After preaching in town nearly four years, he probably became discouraged as to the prospect of being invited to settle, and gave out his intention of removing from town. Whether this was done in sober earnest, or was merely to bring the town to terms, is only a matter of conjecture at this late day. The following extract from the records has some point, and perhaps will bear being quoted.

"Monday 3, 3 mo. 1658. On the certain intelligence of Master

* I may qualify this remark in a measure. Thomas Rowlandson, who, I think, was his father, died in Lancaster, Nov. 17, 1657. At the County Court in Middlesex, April, 1658, "Mr. Joseph Rowlandson brought into Court the inventory of his father's estate, and had Administration granted to him." By another entry in April Term, 1659, it appears that "the return of Mr. Rowlandson and his brethren concerning their father's estate, was accepted." His brother Thomas was killed, as we have seen, when the town was destroyed.

† "Not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathaniel Mather, a Hoar, a Rowlandson, &c. the authors of lesser composures out of their modest studies, even as with a Cesarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chauncey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures." Magnalia, book 4, part I.
Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to
know what his mind was, and his answer was, his apprehensions
were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they
feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to
know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his
apprehensions, for ought he knew. Then the selectmen, consider­
ing it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other sup­ply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves
as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after
some other; so discharging him.

"Friday 14, 3 mo. 1658.* A messenger came from Billerica to
fetch Master Rowlandson away; upon which, the town having no­
tice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and
settle amongst us: and, after some debate, it was voted as follows:

"1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master
Rowlandson to abide and settle amongst them in the work of the
ministry. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"2. Whether it was their mind to allow him for maintenance
fifty pounds a year, one half in wheat, six pence in the bushel un­
der the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in
other good current pay, in like proportions; or, otherwise, fifty
five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn
are set every year by the Court. The vote was affirmative by
the hands of all held up.

"3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should
have the dwelling house which he lived in as his own proper right
according to the deed made by the town and confirmed by the
committee; with the point of land westward, and some land west,
and some north, of his house, for an orchard, garden, yards, pasture
and the like.

"This was put to the vote and granted by the major part, (and
opposed by none but old Goodman Kerley,† only there was a neuter

* Mr. Harrington says this was April 14, 1658. This is a mistake: the
original record, in Ralph Houghton's hand writing, is distinct, 14, 3 mo.
(May) 1658.

† The meaning is, that he was invited to preach in Billerica. After­
wards, in the same year, Rev. Samuel Whiting began to preach there, and
was ordained in April, 1663. "Hist. Memoir of Billerica," by John Farmer

‡ Goodman Kerley (William Kerley, senior,) seems to have continued
in a wrathful state of mind for some time; for though one of the number
appointed to manage the municipal concerns of the town, he did not attend the
meetings of his brethren; it being a usual entry in the records that the Se­
lectmen met at such a time and place, all excepting Goodman Kerley.
or two) with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land intended to be for the next minister, &c.

“And upon this, Master Rowlandson accepted of the towns invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion, concerning his maintenance, and promised to abide with us in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry.”

Mr. Rowlandson was, there is reason to believe, a man of good talents and a faithful minister. Cotton Mather and all traditions are in his favor. I can gather no particulars relative to his ministry: the early records of the town being lost, and those of the church probably consumed, when the town was destroyed. Nothing can be found relative to his ordination.

Mr. Harrington supposes that Mr. Rowlandson was ordained the same year that he accepted the invitation of the town. But there is reason to believe that this did not take place till September, 1660, more than two years after. The church, it seems, was not organized till that time. This is a fair inference from the entry in the records of Dorchester, that on the “26th August, 1660, Roger Sumner was dismissed” from the church in Dorchester, “that with other christians, at Lancaster, a church might be formed there.” Church is here spoken of as distinct from congregation. At that period, the law of 1641 was in force, which first established the right to gather churches, vesting in them the power of electing the pastor, &c.—and according to the Cambridge platform, chap. ix. s. 3, 4, 5, Ordination, which was by imposition of hands, was to be performed by the elders of the church; and if there were no elders, then by some of the brethren selected for that purpose, or, if the church desire it, by the elders of other churches.

No instance under the law of 1641 occurs to me, in which a minister was ordained without the intervention of the church; the strictness that was then introduced continued many years, and was kept in full vigor by an explanatory statute in 1668. It is then a reasonable supposition in the absence of all opposing testimony,

* This probably was the land opposite to the residence of the late Samuel Ward Esq. and extending towards the north east, and next to John Prescott’s estate.

† Mary Gates, daughter of Stephen Gates, of Lancaster, “for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assemblies, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister of God’s word there,” upon evidence of John Prescott and others, was convicted. She acknowledged the offence and was discharged on paying for the attendance of the witnesses. Middlesex County Court Records, 1658.

‡ 1 Mass. Hist. Col. ix. 192
that the ordination did not take place earlier than September, 1660.

Mr. Rowlandson was the minister of the town till it was destroyed in Philip's war, as has been already related. His wife, after being a prisoner eleven weeks and five days, was ransomed early in May, 1676, and lived in Charlestown and Boston, with her husband about a year. Probably in May, 1677, they moved to Weathersfield, in Connecticut. Mr. Rowlandson preached there a while, and died before Lancaster was resettled.* The name of Rowlandson is not common; and I am not able to say whether there are any descendants of the worthy minister living.†

After the town was re-settled, and for seven years, the pulpit was supplied by Mr. Carter (probably Samuel Carter, Harvard University, 1660) William Woodrop,‡ and Mr. Oakes.§ Mr. Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices under the act of conformity, on St. Bartholemew's day, 1662. He came over to New England, says Cotton Mather, “after the persecution which then hurricanoed such as were non-conformists.” He was never settled in this town, although from Mather and Neal, it would seem otherwise.

In Feb. 1683, Mr. John Whiting was invited to preach as a candidate; he continued to supply the pulpit till Nov. 1690, when he was invited to settle, and undoubtedly was ordained soon after.§

* The following is a list of his children, as far as I can ascertain. I cannot assert that it is complete.


Mary born 12, 6 mo. (August) 1665. She was taken captive, at the same time with her mother, and made her escape in May, 1676.

Joseph, born 7, 1, (March) 1661. In a deed of his, July 1, 1686, to John Wilder, ancestor of the present Mr. Jonathan Wilder, he calls himself “of Lancaster yeoman.” This proves nothing. He is not mentioned in any of the rates at that period, and I doubt whether he resided here, after the restoration in the spring of 1680. It appears by Whitney that he was one of the original purchasers of Rutland, 22d December, 1686. That town, however, was not settled till thirty years, or more, afterwards.

Sarah, born Sept. 15, 1669. Wounded by the Indians when her mother was taken captive, she died at New Braintree, on the ninth day afterwards.

† One of the name bit off a man's ear last June in Belfast, Maine. I trust, however, that no one from the stock of Master Joseph Rowlandson, could be so mordacious.

‡ Magnalia B. III. Neal's New England, Chap. VIII. Harrington spells the name, Wooddrofe.

§ This may have been Edward Oakes, Harvard University, 1679.

|| It was not usual during the first age of the New England Church, or indeed through the seventeenth century, to have a discourse preached at ordination. And when the practice was introduced, the minister elect preached it himself.
The town voted, in Feb. 1688, to build a house for their minister, payment to be made "one eighth in money; the rest, one half in work, and one half in corn, viz. Indian, one third, and English two thirds, at country price, or other merchantable pay." When the building was finished, the town gave Mr. Whiting possession in this way, viz. "at a town meeting Jan 3, 1690, agreed to make conveyance to Mr. Whiting of the house and land formerly granted by the town. And the town the same time went out of the house, and gave Mr. John Whiting possession thereof in behalf of the whole above written, formerly granted by the town."* After serving faithfully more than nine years, he was killed as has been before related, by the Indians, Sept. 11, 1697, aged thirty three. I can give no particulars touching his ministry; the records of town, church and propriety, being wanting during this period.†

Mr. Whiting was the second son of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Billerica, and was born in that town, August or Sept. 1, 1664, and graduated at Harvard University, 1685. He probably received his name from that of his grandmother, Elizabeth St. John, wife of Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn. It was necessary to sink the St. lest it should seem an acknowledgment of the authority of the Pope and his power of canonization. Our fathers even when they spoke of the Apostles, and the holy fathers of the early church, did not use the adition of "Saint."‡

On the death of Mr. Whiting, the pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Robinson, Jones and Whitman, till the year 1701. The first of these, Mr. John Robinson, was afterwards settled at Duxbury, in Nov. 1702, and continued there till his death, in 1731.§ "Mr. Jones," says Mr. Harrington, "was invited to settle,|| but, difficulties arising, his ordination was prevented and he removed." Mr. Samuel Whitman was of the class of 1696, Harvard University, and

* This house was pleasantly situated opposite to the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. It was taken down a few years ago. Those who paid the highest rates towards this building, were John Moore, Jr. John Houghton, Henry Kerley, Thomas Wilder, Deac. Roger Sumner, Josiah Whitcomb, Ephraim Roper, &c.

† Oliver Whiting, Esq. his brother, in January, 1717, petitioned the proprietors to have a record made of Rev. Mr. Whiting's land at Rock Meadow, and, also, to do what further was necessary for ratifying the bargain between his sister Alice and the town. A committee was chosen who gave him a deed in February following.

‡ Hutchinson, and J. Farmer.


|| May not this have been John Jones, Harvard University, 1690? What the difficulties were, is not known.
in 1699, was a school master in Salem. He was afterwards settled in the ministry.

In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner was invited to preach, and in the following September received an invitation to be the minister of the town. He preached in town, to great acceptance, for a number of years. Mr. Gardner was unfortunately killed by one of his society, Oct. 26, 1704, as has been already mentioned. He was soon to be ordained when this unfortunate occurrence brought sorrow upon the town. Why his ordination was so long deferred does not appear. It was indeed not customary to have this ceremony follow so soon after the invitation, as at the present day: but the delay was unusual even for that period. Tradition speaks in praise of Mr. Gardner; and Mr. Harrington remarks that he died, "to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him." The late Wm. Winthrop, in his manuscript catalogue, says that Mr. Gardner "was the son of Capt. Andrew Gardner who was killed in Canada." Mr. Hancock also, in his sermon preached at the installation of Mr. Harrington, speaks of him as "son of the worthy Capt. Andrew Gardner, who miscarried in an expedition to Canada, under Sir William Phips." Mr. Gardner was but thirty years of age when he died. He was born, I have reason to believe, in that part of Cambridge, which is now Brighton, and graduated at Harvard University, 1696, in the same class with Samuel Whitman. He is not in italicks in the catalogue of the University, because he never received ordination.

On the 31st July, 1704, a short time before Mr Gardner's death, the meeting house was burnt by the Indians. This as I have already mentioned, escaped destruction in Philip's war and was the first house of public worship in town.

From the records of the General Court, it appears that some difficulty attended the erection of a second building. For, on the 28th December, 1704, the Court voted to allow the town forty pounds towards a new building, as soon as the inhabitants should erect a frame. And on petition of sundry of the inhabitants, referring to the place of setting the building, a committee was chosen "to hear..."
the parties, and report." In May, 1706, John Houghton, Esq. the Representative of the town for that year, petitioned that "the restriction might be taken off against the said town's proceeding in the finishing of their meeting house in the place where they had raised a frame for that use." The request was granted, and the building was probably completed that year. It was situated on the Old Common, so called, opposite to the second burying ground.*

In May following Mr. Gardner's death, Mr. John Prentice commenced preaching in Lancaster. He continued to supply the pulpit until February, 1707, when he was invited to become the minister of the town. The invitation he accepted, and was ordained March 29, 1703. On the same day, previous to the ordination, a covenant was signed by the members of the church, general in its nature, binding those who professed it, to holy lives, with watchfulness of each other's conduct, acknowledging the equality of the churches, and the sufficiency of holy scripture, and refraining from the injunction of particular doctrines as necessary to enable one to participate in the ordinances. It is reasonable to suppose that the earlier covenants were not more technical and precise, and that, while due regard was paid to Orthodox faith,† Christian liberty was regarded as a sacred right.‡

In 1726 and 1727, motions to build a new house of worship were negatived. Another attempt for a new building where the first meeting house stood, or on School House hill, where the town house now stands, was made without success, in 1733, and 1737. A motion for one on the west side of the Neck, and another on the east side of the river, was negatived in 1734. A new petition in 1741, for two buildings, one for the accommodation of the mile and the south part of the town, and another for the remaining inhabi-

* This burying field was given by Capt. Thomas Wilder, who died in 1717. He was the eldest son of Thomas Wilder, the first settler of the name. The old burying ground, was probably separated for that use as early as 1653. The third, was purchased of Rev. Dr. Thayer and Hon. John Sprague, in 1798.

† March, 1731—Town voted to buy Rev. Pres. Samuel Willard's "Body of Divinity, to be kept in the meeting house for the town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause, and said book is not to be carried out of the meeting house, at any time, except by order of the selectmen or the town." This divine was son of Major Willard before named, one of the original purchasers of Concord, and great grand father of the late President Willard, of Harvard University.

‡ Nov. 1734—voted, that any desirous of admission to full communion, and declining to make a relation of his or her experiences, may be admitted by making a written confession of their faith. Church Records.
tants, met with the same fate. However, in January, 1742, at a town meeting called by a magistrate, it was voted, to build two houses, according to the petition of 1741, viz. one of them for the new precinct near Ridge hill in Woonsechauckset, and the other, on School House hill.

March 8, 1742, the old or first parish formed itself into a precinct, and chose officers. The new building in the first parish was completed in 1743.* It contained thirty three pews on the lower floor, with many long seats, as was usual at that day.

The church and town were in great harmony during the ministry of Mr. Prentice. In 1746, his health began to fail, and, from that period to the time of his death, his pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Benjamin Stevens, William Lawrence, Cotton Brown, and Stephen Frost.† He died much lamented, January 6, 1746, aged 66, "after a life of much service and faithfulness."‡ He is said to have possessed great dignity and severity of manners, and to have been bold, direct, and pointed in his style of preaching.§ "God gave him the tongue of the learned" said Mr. Hancock, "so he knew how to speak a word unto him that was weary; the God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how

* The committee consisted of Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, Josiah White, Oliver Wilder and William Richardson. The parish granted £1945, 5s. 8d. old tenor, to build the church; the actual cost was £863, 3s. 7d.

† Benjamin Stevens, S. T. D. was a native of Charlestown, and minister of Kittery, in Maine. Graduated Harvard University, 1740. Mr. Lawrence Harvard University, 1743. Mr. Brown, Harvard University, 1743, born in Haverhill, and minister in Brookline. Mr. Frost, Harvard University, 1739. The same who is mentioned ante in note p. He was a member of Mr. Prentice's church.

‡ Mr. Prentice was twice married. His first wife was Mrs. Mary Gardner, widow of his predecessor. Their sons were Staunton, Thomas and John. Mary, the eldest daughter, married Rev. Job Cushing, minister of Shrewsbury, March, 1727; Elizabeth, Mr. Daniel Robbins, of the west parish, and after his death, Capt. Curtis, of Worcester; Sarah, Dr. Smith, and afterwards Col. Brigham of Southborough. The second wife was Mrs. Prudence Swan, mother of Rev. Josiah Swan, before mentioned. She was born in Charlestown, and her maiden name was Foster. Prudence, a daughter, married Josiah Brown, of the west parish, a graduate at Cambridge. Relief, married Rev. John Rogers, minister of Leominster, March, 1750. Rebecca, married Rev. John Mellen, of the west parish.

§ He preached a number of occasional sermons, viz. an Election sermon, May 28, 1735, from 2 Chron. III. 4,5 and part of 6th verses, which was printed. A sermon at the opening of the first Court in the County of Worcester, Aug. 10, 1731, from 2 Chron. XIX. 6, 7. A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Oct. 28, 1724, from 2 Cor. XII. 15. A funeral discourse, at Marlborough, on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, Jan. 1731.
he ought to behave himself in the house of God. They that knew him esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peaceableness, and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. He was a practical, scriptural, profitable preacher. As to his secular affairs, with the help of that Prudence,* God gave him, he managed them with discretion." Mr. Prentice was a native of Newton. He graduated at Cambridge in the class of 1700, which contains the names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Hooker, Whiting, Robert Breck, &c. His father was Mr. Thomas Prentice of Newton, who married Mary Staunton. Thomas Prentice, a brave and distinguished commander of a corps of cavalry in Philip's war, was a relation. Thomas, the father, died Nov. 6th, 1722, aged 93. He had been, according to tradition, together with Captain Prentice and another relation of the same name, one of Oliver Cromwell's Body Guard. By an ancient manuscript, in the possession of Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, it appears that Mr. Prentice (without doubt Rev. John Prentice) was admitted to the church in Newton, March 14, 1708, and taken out the same day. His relation was then, I presume, transferred to the church in Lancaster, over which he was ordained Monday, March 29, 1708.†

On the fourth of January, 1748, a few days before the death of Mr. Prentice, it was voted to settle a colleague "if God should spare their minister's life." Thursday the 21st was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, and the neighboring ministers, Messrs. Gardner, Secomb, Rogers, Goss, and Mellen, were desired to assist on the occasion. Feb. 28, 1748, the society united with the church in inviting Mr. Cotton Brown to be their minister; and voted to give him £2000 old tenor, to enable him to purchase a parsonage, and £480 old tenor for his annual salary. Mr. Brown probably declined the offer;‡ for, on the 8th August following, they voted to hear no more candidates till they came to a choice, and desired the church to select one from those who had already preached. Accordingly, on the same day, the church made choice of the Rev. Timothy Harrington, with but two dissenting votes, and the society immediately concurred in the choice. They offered him £1000,

* His second wife. She died, July, 1765.
† For what relates to the parentage of Mr. Prentice, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, and John Mellen Esq. of Cambridge.
‡ Mr. Prentice's salary in 1717, was £70; 1718, £85; 1726, £100; 1731, £130; 1737, £210, old tenor: the same in 1744, 5 and 6, "in the present currency."
‡ He was ordained at Brookline, Oct. 6, 1748, died, April 13, 1751.
old tenor, as a settlement, or £2000 for the purchase of a parsonage, and the same salary* that was offered to Mr. Brown. Mr. Harrington accepted the invitation, and was installed Nov. 16, 1748. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington.† Thirteen churches were represented by their "Elders and delegates, viz: Mr. Loring’s of Sudbury, Mr. Gardner’s of Stow, Mr. Stone’s of Southborough, Mr. Parkman’s of Westborough, Mr. Secomb’s of Harvard, Mr. Goss’ of Bolton, Mr. Rogers’ of Leominster, Mr. Mellen’s of the west parish, (Sterling,) Rev. Dr. Appleton’s of Cambridge, Mr. Hancock’s of Lexington, Mr. Williams’ of Waltham, Mr. Storer’s of Watertown, and Mr. Stearn’s of Lunenburg.”

Mr. Harrington had been the minister at Lower Ashuelot or Swansey, in New Hampshire. That town was destroyed, April 2, 1747, and the inhabitants were scattered. Monday, Oct. 4, 1748, his church met at Rutland, Mass. and gave their former pastor a dismissal and warm recommendation to the first church in Lancaster. The letter was signed by Nathaniel Hammond, Timothy Brown, and Jonathan Hammond, and was highly acceptable to the church in this town.

During the ministry of Mr. Harrington, great changes took place in the state of society in New England. No period of our history is fraught with greater interest and instruction. Ancient simplicity was yielding to the alterations, if not the refinements, in manners, induced by a widening intercourse with the world, the increase of general intelligence, and the number of well educated men. The profession of law had acquired weight and influence, and its members were taking the lead in all that related to the political existence and improvement of the provinces. An inquisitive spirit began to stir in the church, which is still active and busy, under a change of the points of discussion.

I do not find that the introduction of instrumental music as a part of public worship, or the change in the mode of singing, gave rise to any uneasiness in the parish.‡ Not so however with the intro-

* The salary was annually settled by the price of the principal articles of life, £480 old tenor, equal to £64 lawful money, or $213 33. For a few years the salary was as high as $300.

† This sermon was printed. The text was from 1. Cor. IX. 19. Mr. Hancock was father of Rev. John Hancock of Braintree, and Grandfather of Gov. Hancock.

‡ Except Mr. Wheelock used to shake his head, when the pitch pipe was sounded, and Thomas Holt would leave the house at the sound of the pitch pipe, or when “funeral thought” was sung.
duction of the "New Version." Many were grieved because of the change, and two individuals proceeded further. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins,* the first metrical version of the Psalms, in English, was never used in this town. This was not in high repute; Eliot, Welde, and Richard Mather, in 1639, attempted a translation, but their labors were not valued; and President Dunster, the following year, was called upon to revise the collection. His improved version was the one in use in most of the New England Churches for many years—and, in Lancaster, till the time of Mr. Harrington. Probably about the year 1763, the collection by Tate and Brady was introduced. Early in 1665, a complaint was made that one of the members of the church, Moses Osgood, with his wife, Martha, had been absent from the communion service more than a year. On being inquired of by the church, why they absented themselves from the Supper, they sent a written reply, in which they say that the reason is, "the bringing in of the New Version, as we think, not in a prudent and regular way. Also we find, in said Version, such words and expressions as are unknown by us, so that we cannot sing with the understanding also. The composers of the said version, we find, have taken too great a liberty to themselves, as we think, to depart from the scriptures. And as for the hymns taken from the other parts of the bible, we know of no warrant in the bible for them, and shall humbly wait on such as are the maintainers of them to produce and demonstrate the warrantableness for them from the word of God. We are therefore waiting the removing or in some way or other the satisfying the above said doubts; for they are a matter of grievance to us, and we think we are wronged in our highest interest, &c." Further complaint was made against them, that they had declared "the church had broken their covenant with them, in bringing in the New Version of the Psalms, which they affirmed to be made for Papists and Arminians, to be full of heresy, and in an unknown tongue." Also, that "Mr. Harrington asserted at the conference meeting, that he was one half the church, and that he would disannul the meeting."

For this second charge, the offenders made satisfaction; but on the first, the evidence that was adduced to exculpate, being consid-

*Thomas Sternhold, a Court poet, translated 51 psalms. John Hopkins, a clergyman, 58. The other contributors were, principally, William Whyttingham, Dean of Durham, and Thomas Norton, a Barrister. See 3 Ellis' specimens of the early English Poets, p. 116.
ered insufficient, and no excuse being offered, the church voted an admonition and "suspension." The wife afterwards (1700, May,) came forward, made explanations that were deemed satisfactory, and was restored. The husband probably continued steadfast in adhering to the old version by President Dunster. I do not find that he forsook his first love, or that his suspension was broken off.*

Many of the clergy, of Mr. Harrington's time, had departed from the standard of faith professed by the churches in general, from the first settlement of New England. The prevailing doctrines from the beginning were those of Calvin, and it required no ordinary moral courage, seventy years ago, for any one to break asunder the shackles of religious dogmas that had encompassed all, and come out in the independent and conscientious avowal of a new system of doctrine. The people were not prepared for a sudden change of the faith which had been handed down from parent to child, for many generations, and which had collected veneration in its progress and by its long continuance. Most of the clergy, in this vicinity, who embraced the tenets of Arminius, soon found that the age was not arrived that would tolerate a departure from the metaphysical speculations of the old school. They were obliged, therefore, as honest men, to avow their sentiments, at whatever hazard, and in consequence, to relinquish their pastoral relations to their persuasion of the truth. Mr. Harrington however, who was of this class of believers, was regarded with singular affection by his people, and in that way probably, escaped the fate of his brethren.†

A history of this period in our Ecclesiastical affairs, impartially and faithfully written, would be a work of great interest to exhibit the spirit of inquiry and speculation, then just starting into existence, tracing it from its beginning, and shewing how the excitement of political discussion that was preparing the way for national independence, opened the mind to general inquiry in other subjects, especially to those relating to the true interests of man.

* He died, March 10, 1776. Rev. Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg, in 1771, delivered a discourse in Lancaster, "on the nature, pleasures and advantages of Church Music." This was probably about the time of the change introduced in the mode of singing, &c. See page 87, Note. The discourse was printed. Watt's superseded Tate and Brady, and Belknap, Watts in Lancaster.

† In justice however, it should be stated, that his conduct at this time was not decided and manly. Although fully an Arminian, he displeased many, at the time, by the temporising course he adopted. He was of the council assembled to decide upon the difficulties at Leominster, and voted for the dismissal of Mr. Rogers, a theologian of the same persuasion.
The difficulties in Bolton resulted in the dismission of Rev. Mr. Goss, the minister, by a majority of the church in that place. To this cause they seem to have been driven by the course pursued by the Ecclesiastical council, which acquitted Mr. Goss of the charges brought against him—charges which, it seems, were true—at least sufficiently so to disqualify him for the duties of his holy office. The Council, besides, passed a censure on those who had dismissed Mr. Goss, and attempted to exclude them from partaking of christian privileges in other churches. The ground work of the whole difficulty was an effort, on the part of the clergy, to assume an arbitrary and irresponsible power over the laity, which led to a proper resistance on the part of the latter. In June, 1772, Samuel Baker, Ephraim Fairbanks, and Nathaniel Longley, a Committee in behalf of the Church in Bolton, sent a letter to the first Church in Lancaster, containing a clear and satisfactory defence of their proceedings, as "not being a usurped authority, but as being the practice of the primitive churches—as being allowed by their own platform,—but still, a power they were unwilling to exercise, unless reduced to real necessity." They then inquire whether they are to be excluded from communion with other churches, and to be condemned without being heard. This letter was laid by Mr. Harrington, before his church, and the following is a copy of the proceedings. "At a meeting of the first Church in Lancaster, by adjournment, on July 21, 1772, voted as follows—Whether this church be so far in charity with the brethren of Bolton, whose letter is before them, as to be willing to receive them to communion with them in special ordinances occasionally."

Passed in the affirmative. Which vote was nonconcurred by the Pastor as follows:—"Brethren, I think myself bound in duty to God, to the Congregational churches in general, to this church, in particular and to my own conscience, to declare, which I now do before you, that I cannot concur with this vote. "This vote shall be recorded, but my nonconcurrence must be recorded with it. And as the brethren from Bolton now see your charitable sentiments towards them, I hope they will be so far satisfied. But as the church act in their favor is not perfected, I hope they will not offer themselves to communion with us, till their society is in a more regular state."

Mr. Harrington continued to live in harmony with his people, during a long and useful ministry: no lasting disturbance injured his good influence; no root of bitterness sprang up between him
and his people. He is represented as having possessed respectable powers of mind, with great mildness and simplicity of character. Liberal in his feelings, he practised charity in its extended, as well as its narrow sense. True piety and an habitual exercise of the moral and social virtues, rendered him highly useful in his sacred office, and an interesting and instructive companion in the common walks of life.

In 1787, Mr. Harrington, being quite advanced in life, received some aid from the town, in the discharge of his duties. From March, 1791, till the following spring, the gentlemen, who, in part, supplied the pulpit, were Messrs. Alden Bradford, H. U. 1786, afterwards settled at Wiscasset—now residing in Boston, and late Secretary of State; Thaddeus M. Harris, H. U. 1787, S. T. D. now a minister in Dorchester; Daniel C. Saunders, H. U. 1788, President of Burlington College, now minister in Medfield; and Rev. Joseph Davis.

In March, 1792, it was voted to settle a colleague with Rev. Mr. Harrington, and a committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Harrington, touching his inclination respecting a colleague, &c. and to supply the desk for twelve weeks.* In July, 1792, "voted that the town will hear Mr. Thayer† a further time. June 3, 1792, the town voted unanimously to concur with the church, in giving him an invitation to be their minister, with a settlement of £200, and a salary of £90, during Mr. Harrington's life time, and £120 (£400‡) after his decease. The invitation was accepted in a letter dated Cambridge, July 11, 1793. The ordination was Oct. 9, 1793.§ The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford, from Acts xx. 27. The other services were as follows, viz: Introductory prayer by Rev. Dr. Belknap; consecrating prayer, by Rev. Mr. Whitney; Charge, by Rev. Mr. Jackson; Right hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Emerson; Concluding prayer, by Rev. Dr. Clark. The following were the churches present: Leominster,

*The other gentlemen who preached here before the invitation given to the present minister, were Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D. of Roxbury, Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D. D. of Wiscasset, Maine, Rev. Aaron Green, of Malden, Rev. Hezekiah Goodrich, of Rutland, Rev. Thomas C. Thatcher, formerly of Lynn.

† H. U. 1789. Tutor, S. T. D.

‡ In 1804, $510; 1805, $400; 1811, raised permanently to $525.

§ Messrs. Joseph Wales, Oliver Carter, and Eli Stearns, were thanked by the town "for their timely and useful exertions in preparing suitable provision, &c. for the ordaining council, and for the polite manner in which they conducted the business of attending upon them, and it was voted, that their freely rendering this service be recorded in grateful remembrance of their generosity."

Mr. Harrington, preached but little during the last five years of his life. After being in an infirm state of health for some time, he died, December 18, 1795, in the 80th year of his age. A sermon was preached by his colleague and successor, at the funeral, Dec. 23, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, and was afterwards printed.*

Mr. Harrington was born in Waltham, Feb. 10, 1716, and graduated, Harvard University, 1737, in a distinguished class. He was first ordained, as we have already seen, at Swansey, in New Hampshire. After leaving Swansey, he preached in this town and other places as a candidate, till his settlement here, in Nov. 1648.

The building that had been used as a house for public worship from 1743, being old, and inconvenient, the town voted, Dec. 4, 1815, to erect a new building of brick. A farm a little to the northeast of the old house was purchased of Benjamin Lee, Esq. by a number of individuals, and two acres were conveyed by them to the town for the sum of $633 33, as apprised by Messrs. James Wilder, Moses Thomas and Thomas H. Blood, of Sterling. Messrs. Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher, and William Cleaveland, were chosen a

* Further, as to his character, see the above sermon, also two others from the same hand, printed Feb. 1817. Mr. Harrington's printed discourses, besides his Century Sermon, May 28, 1753, Psalm CXIX. 1, 2, were, "Prevaling wickedness, and distressing judgments, ill-boding symptoms on a stupid people." Hosea, vii. 9. Also, one at Princeton, Dec. 23, 1759, from 1 Cor. vii. 15.

Mr. Harrington was twice married. His first wife was Anna Harrington, of Lexington, a cousin, born June 2, 1716, and died, May 19, 1773. Their children were Henrietta, born at Lexington, 1744, and married John Locke, of Templeton, brother to President Locke, of the University; Arethusa born at Lexington, 1747. Eusebia, born at Lancaster, May 1751—married Paul Richardson, sometime of this place; afterwards of Winchester, N. H. Timothy, born Sept. 1753. H. U. 1776, a physician in Chelmsford, died, Feb. 29, 1804. His only son, Rufus, died in Boston, eighteen or nineteen years since. Dea. Thomas Harrington, born Nov. 1753, now living in Heath. Anna, born July, 1753, married Dr. Bridge, a physician in Petersham, son of Rev. Mr. Bridge of Framingham. After his death, she was married to Joshua Fisher, M. D. M. M. S. &c. of Beverly. They are both living. Mr. Harrington had other children who died in infancy. His second wife was widow of Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Framingham.
building committee. In January, 1816, it was voted, that the new church should contain not more than 4,400, nor less than 4,200 square feet, and that there should be a porch and portico, of such size as the committee should approve.

After the spot for the new church was selected, difficulties occurred in deciding whether the front of the building should be towards the west, or south. After much discussion, and various votes on the subject, at a number of different meetings, the parties agreed to abide by the decision of certain gentlemen from other towns mutually selected for the purpose.

The opinion of these gentlemen was in favor of a south entrance, and their decision being final, was acquiesced in after a short time.

The corner stone was laid July 9, 1816. A silver plate with this inscription was deposited beneath—"Fourth house built in Lancaster for the worship of God. Corner stone laid, July 9, 1816. May God make our ways prosperous, and give us good success. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, pastor of our Church." A previous address was made by the pastor: 87th psalm, Belknap's collection, was sung, and prayer by the pastor concluded the exercises. The building was dedicated on the first day of January, A. D. 1817. Introductory prayer by Rev. Mr. Capen, of Sterling, "who also read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple." Dedication prayer, by Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester. Sermon, by the pastor of the Society, from Ephesians, ii. 19, 20, 21, 22. Concluding prayer, by Rev. Mr. Allen, of Bolton.

From a description of the building published at the time, I extract the following:—

The design of the edifice was by Charles Bulfinch, Esq.* of Boston. The body of the building is 74 by 66 feet, with a porch, portico, tower and cupola. The portico is 48 by 17 feet, of square brick columns, arched with pilasters, entablature, and pediment of the Doric order; the vestibule, or porch, is 48 by 19 feet and contains the gallery stairs; the tower is 21 feet square; the cupola is circular, and of singular beauty;—it is surrounded with a colonade of 12 fluted pillars, with entablature, and cornice, of the Ionic order; above which is an Attic encircled with a festoon drapery, the whole surmounted by a dome, balls, and vane. The height from the ground is about 120 feet. Inside, the front of the gallery is of ballustrade work, and is supported by ten fluted pillars of the Doric order, and has a clock in front, presented by a gentle-

man of the society.* The pulpit rests on eight fluted columns, and four pilasters of the Ionic order: the upper section is supported by six Corinthian columns also fluted, and is lighted by a circular headed window, ornamented with double pilasters fluted; entablature and cornice of the Corinthian order; this is decorated with a curtain and drapery from a Parisian model, which, with the materials, were presented by a friend;† they are of rich green figured satin. A handsome Pulpit Bible was presented also by a friend,‡ and a bell, weighing 1300 lbs. was given by gentlemen of the town.

The following is a complete list of baptisms and admissions to full communion from March 29, 1708, to the present time.

Baptisms during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry, 1593
From his death, Jan. 1749, to settlement of Rev. Mr. Harrington, Nov. 16, 1746. 33
During Rev. Mr. Harrington’s ministry, 1531
From the ordination of Rev. Dr. Thayer, to the present time, 862
Total, 4024

Admissions during Rev. Mr. Prentice’s ministry, 331
“ “ Rev. Mr. Harrington’s, “ 478
“ “ Rev. Dr. Thayer’s “ 307
Total, 1116

The town of Lancaster has ever enjoyed singular peace and harmony in its religious affairs. No Ecclesiastical council, so often the cause of bitterness at the present day, has ever been held within our limits, except for the purpose of assisting at ordinations. Within the present bounds of the town, there is, and never has been but one regular and incorporated religious society, and that of the Congregational denomination.

Individuals here, as well as in other towns, make use of the facilities which the law affords them and join themselves to other persuasions. In many instances, it is not to be doubted, this is done from conscientious motives—in others, a certificate proves a cheap and expeditious riddance of the expense of supporting the institutions of our holy faith, and a general indifference to their prosperity may be concealed under the appearance of scruples of conscience.

* Jacob Fisher, Esq.
† S. V. S. Wilder, Esq.
‡ Mr. Abel Wrisford.
MEMOIR OF JUDGE SPRAGUE.

The Hon. John Sprague was a citizen of Lancaster from Sept. 1, 1770, to the 21st of Sept. 1800, the time of his death. The town was much indebted to him for the correctness of their municipal proceedings, and the unanimity with which their affairs were conducted. He was born at Rochester, in the county of Plymouth, then Province of the Massachusetts Bay, on the 21st of June A. D. 1740, O. S. corresponding to the 2d of July, N. S. He was the son of Noah Sprague, Esq. by Sarah, his wife, who was a lineal descendant of Elizabeth Penn, the sister of Sir William Penn, who was an Admiral under Cromwell, and the father of William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania; her husband was William Hammond, of London. Benjamin Hammond, their son, removed from London to Sandwich, in the colony of Plymouth, married there in 1650, and thence removed to Rochester. John Hammond the second son by this marriage, married Mary Arnold, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Arnold, the first minister of Rochester, and Sarah, a daughter, by this marriage was Mr. Sprague's mother. Judge Sprague began to prepare for College in Dec. 1760, and entered therein at Cambridge at the end of the summer vacation after, viz. A. D. 1761. Having pursued his collegiate studies with reputation, he graduated in 1765, and soon after took charge of the grammar school in Roxbury; commenced the study of physic there, and pursued it under the instruction of the late Doct. Thomas Williams for a short time, viz. until May, 1766. In that month he removed to Worcester, abandoned the study of physic, and entered as a clerk in the office of Col. James Putnam, an eminent Barrister at Law, and kept a private grammar school there. At the May term of the Court of Common Pleas, 1768, he was admitted an Attorney of that Court, removed from thence to Rhode Island, and in the following Sept. was admitted an Attorney in the Superior Court in the county of Providence, colony of Rhode Island, &c. and opened his office in Newport; there he remained without the prospect of much business, in the diligent pursuit of his professional studies, until May, 1769, when he removed to Keene, in the county of Cheshire, then province of New Hampshire, where he pursued the practice of Law until Sept. 1, 1770, made himself acquainted with the people, and the business of the Courts there, and by his talents, industry and fidelity, acquired a reputation which long afterward afforded him extensive professional employment in the interior counties of that province. Inclined to take up his permanent abode in his na-
In the province, he then removed from Keene to Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, and opened an office in partnership with Abel Willard, Esq. a respectable Counsellor at Law, for the term of ten years, beginning the 21st of the same month. This partnership was interrupted by the war with Great Britain. Mr. Willard adhering to the King, left Lancaster in March, 1775, and never returned. In April, 1772, he was admitted an Attorney of the Superior Court at Worcester. In Dec. 1772, he married Catherine Foster, of Charlestown, the twelfth child and ninth daughter of Richard Foster, Esq. Sheriff of Middlesex; by this marriage, he had one son and two daughters. He was occupied in extensive professional employment, till arms silenced the laws; then he shared in the burdens and privations common to his neighbors and fellow citizens in the eventful period of the revolution. Having purchased a small farm in the centre of the town, he labored upon it as a farmer; dismantled himself of his linen and ruffles and other appropriate habiliments, and assumed the garments of labor, which were then the checkered shirt and trousers. He was resorted to for counsel in all cases of difficulty which occurred, and toward the close of the revolution, when our government was formed, and business revived, he was one of the principal counsellors and advocates in our Courts of Justice. His legal learning was so well combined with and aided by common sense, and a sound discretion, that he was considered one of the most safe, discerning and upright counsellors in the Commonwealth. As an advocate, he was not the most eloquent, but such was the fairness of his statements and force of his arguments, that conviction seemed their natural result. He was cotemporary with the two Strongs, the late Governor, and the late Judge, both of the county of Hampshire, and the late Hon. Levi Lincoln, of Worcester, and divided with them the multiplied business of advocating causes and collecting debts in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and Middlesex, and in the counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire, in New Hampshire. In May, 1782, he was elected a representative of the town to the General Court, and in the January session following, a vacancy in the Senate occurring, being a candidate, voted for by the people, was elected by the Legislature to fill that vacancy, and was again elected to the Senate by the people in 1785. In February, 1783, he was first commissioned a Justice of the Peace and quorum, for the county of Worcester. So high was he held in the estimation of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, as a Lawyer, that at the February term of that
Court in Suffolk, 1784, he was made a Barrister at Law, and was called to that distinction by the first writ that issued for Barrister in the Commonwealth; the mode of admission preceding the revolution having been without writ. He was to have been admitted before the revolution, but the tumults in the country interrupted the Courts. He was elected to represent the town in the General Court in 1784 and 1785.

In 1786, Mr. Sprague was selected by the Government as the law adviser of Maj. Gen. Lincoln, to attend him in his expedition against Daniel Shays and his adherents, who had excited a rebellion in the Commonwealth.

May 5, 1787, he was bereaved of his wife, and in the latter part of the same year, he married Mary Ivers, the widow of Thomas Ivers, Esq. late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, and eldest child of Mr. John Cutler and Mary, his wife, of Boston, who survived him. In 1788, he was elected a member of the convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The town was opposed to the ratification, and by a committee of seven gave him instructions to vote against it. Having confidence, however, in the intelligence and rectitude of their delegate, they so qualified the instructions as to leave him to vote as he should think proper. He was one of seven out of fifty members from the county, who voted in the affirmative. In the winter of the same year, he was appointed Sheriff of the county of Worcester, in the place of William Greenleaf, Esq. who was removed from that office. He was punctual and faithful in the performance of his official duties, reduced the former irregularities in the administration of the office to order and system, and resigned it in 1792.

He returned to the practice of law, and continued in it until 1798. He represented the town in the General Court from the year 1795 to 1799 inclusive. In 1798, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Worcester. It was a new and valuable acquisition to have a learned lawyer at the head of the Judicial administration of the County, whose integrity and talents fitted him for the station, and whose justice and impartiality would ensure the confidence of all engaged in the business of the Court. In this office he continued until his death. His historical and legal knowledge, the accuracy of his mind, and its adaptation in the choice of language to express it on all subjects, rendered him a very useful member of the legislature, and he was looked to as a safe adviser and guide in the political and local concerns of the Commonwealth.
He was a lover of peace, and possessed a happy talent at reconciling jarring interests and harmonizing discordant feelings. Such were his mental qualities, so strong his sense of justice and honorable dealing, that he was selected, before he was on the bench, a commissioner or referee to adjust the numerous controversies which prevailed to an alarming degree in the then District of Maine, between those who, without title, had settled on the lands of the Commonwealth, of the Waldo Patent and Plymouth Company on the one part, and the lawful proprietors of them on the other. By his co-operating agency, together with the enactments thereon by the legislature, such a settlement of the contending claims was effected as restored peace and contentment to the parties.

In the course of his professional career, many young gentlemen of liberal education, entered his office as students in law, and derived from him the requisite instruction. Of the distinguished men now living who were his pupils, are the Honorable Edward H. Robbins, late Lieut. Governor of the Commonwealth, now Judge of Probate for the county of Norfolk.—The Honorable Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester.—The Honorable Artemas Ward, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,—and John M. Forbes, Esq. now Charge d'Affairs, at Buenos Ayres.

In his domestic relations he was faithful and affectionate; a good neighbor, unostentatious in his professions of friendship, but manifested his sincerity by kindness and beneficence and untiring efforts to do good. He was a lover of order, and ready at all times to promote the interest and honor of the town. His charities, hospitality and benevolence are by many still remembered. The writer of this memoir, who was his neighbor, and at his desire by his bedside the last twenty four hours of his life, witnessed his calmness and resignation at the approach of death, and his faith in Him who giveth the victory.

His tombstone, it is hoped, justly repeats the benediction of the Saviour,—"Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God."
## APPENDIX.

**LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT, FROM THE FIRST ON RECORD, TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1671</td>
<td>Thomas Beattie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1672</td>
<td>Thomas Beattie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>(Ralph?) Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Ralph Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>Thomas Sawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Josiah Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Jabez Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721</td>
<td>Jabez Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>Jabez Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>Jabez Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>John Houghton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1725</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>Samuel Willard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Josiah White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>Josiah White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Josiah White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>Josiah White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>James Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>James Keyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>Ephraim Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>Ephraim Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Ephraim Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>Jabez Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>Jabez Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>Ebenezer Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>Samuel Willard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>Samuel Willard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>Ephraim Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>Joseph Wilder, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761</td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>David Wilder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>Asa Whitcomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Ebenezer Allen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX.

1775 Hezekiah Gates, 1778 William Dunsmoor,
1776 William Dunsmoor, 1779 Samuel Thurston,
1777 William Dunsmoor, 1781 Joseph Reed.

UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION.

1780 William Putnam, 1807 Eli Stearns,
1781 William Dunsmoor, 1808 Eli Stearns,
1782 John Sprague, 1809 Eli Stearns,
1783 John Sprague, 1810 Eli Stearns,
1784 John Sprague, 1811 Jonas Lane,
1785 John Sprague, 1812 Jacob Fisher,
1786 Ephraim Carter, Jr. 1813 William Cleaveland,
1787 Michael Newhall, 1814 William Cleaveland,
1788 Michael Newhall, 1815 John Thurston,
1789 Michael Newhall, 1816 John Thurston,
1790 Ephraim Carter, 1817 Edward Goodwin,
1791 Ephraim Carter, Jr. 1818 John Thurston,
1792 Ephraim Carter, Jr. 1819 Solomon Carter,
1793 John Whiting, 1820 Benjamin Wyman,
1794 John Sprague, 1821 Jacob Fisher,
1795 John Sprague, 1822 Jacob Fisher,
1796 John Sprague, 1823 John Thurston,
1797 John Sprague, 1824 John Thurston,
1798 John Sprague, 1825 Edward Goodwin,
1799 John Sprague, 1826 John Thurston.
1800 Samuel Ward, 1827 John Thurston,
1801 Samuel Ward, 1828 Solomon Carter,
1802 William Stedman, 1829 Benjamin Wyman,
1803 Jonathan Wilder, 1830 Jacob Fisher,
1804 Jonathan Wilder, 1831 Jacob Fisher,
1805 Jonathan Wilder, 1832 John Thurston,
1806 Eli Stearns,
1807 Benjamin Wyman,
1808 Jonas Lane,
1809 Edward Goodwin,
1810 John Thurston,
1811 Solomon Carter,
1812 Benjamin Wyman,
1813 Jacob Fisher,
1814 John Thurston,
1815 Edward Goodwin,
1816 John Thurston,
1817 Benjamin Wyman,
1818 John Thurston,
1819 Solomon Carter,
1820 Benjamin Wyman,
1821 Jacob Fisher,
1822 Jacob Fisher,
1823 John Thurston.

Where any year is omitted the town was not represented.

Beattie was afterwards one of the deputies from Concord. I do not know that he ever lived here. Thomas Sawyer was the one who was taken captive in 1705. Col. Asa Whitcomb, the revolutionary patriot who represented the town many years in the Legislature, is particularly mentioned in Mr. Goodwin's history of Sterling.

October, 1774, William Dunsmoor was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Convention at Concord.

Dunsmoor and Asa Whitcomb were delegates to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, February 1, 1775.
Joseph Reed and Ebenezer Allen, delegates to the State Convention in Concord, July 14, 1779, to the County Convention at Worcester on the second Tuesday of August, 1779, and to attend at Concord first Wednesday in October, 1779.

William Dunsmoor, Ephraim Wilder and William Putnam, delegates to the Convention in Cambridge, September, 1779. This was the Convention that formed our present Constitution of State Government.

Timothy Whiting and Ephraim Carter, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, April, 1782.

Ebenezer Allen, delegate to the County Convention at Leicester, August 1786.

John Sprague, delegate to the Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution. It is worthy of remark that out of the whole County of Worcester on the question for adopting the Constitution, there were forty three nays and but seven yeas. The latter were Messrs. Sprague of this town, Seth Newton of Southborough, Samuel Baker of Bolton, David Wilder of Leominster, Matthew Patrick of Western, Josiah Goddard of Athol, and Ephraim Wilder of Sterling.

John Maynard, Jonathan Wilder, and William Cleveland, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, August, 1812.

Jacob Fisher and Davis Whitman, delegates to the Convention in Boston, November, 1820, for revising the Constitution of the State.

**PUBLIC OFFICERS.**

*County Treasurer,* Jonathan Houghton, 1731 to 1733.

*Judge of Court of Common Pleas and Chief Justice,* Joseph Wilder, 1731 to 1757.


*Clerk of the Courts,* William Stedman, 1810 to 1811. 1812 to 1816.

*Sheriff,* William Greenleaf, 1778 to 1788. John Sprague, 1788 to 1792.

*Judge of Probate,* Joseph Wilder, 1739 to 1757.

*Assistant Justices of the Court of Sessions,* John Whiting, March 1, 1808 to April 20, 1809. Timothy Whiting, November 14, 1811.

*Senators,* John Sprague, 1785 to 1786. Moses Smith, 1814 to 1816.
Representatives to Congress. William Stedman, 1803 to 1810.

Justices of the Peace. I have no means of being accurate prior to 1788. Soon after the settlement of the town, Major Willard, who resided here for a short time, was a magistrate by virtue of his office, as one of the Court of Assistants. After the town was rebuilt, came John Houghton, and probably, he was the only magistrate for some years. Then followed Judge Joseph Wilder, father and son, Col. Oliver Wilder, Col. Samuel Willard, father and son, Col. Abijah Willard, and Abel Willard, William Richardson, Joseph Reed, — Osgood, &c. After the peace, William Duns­moor, and John Sprague.

Since 1788, they are as follows,* viz:

Appointed
March 14, 1788, Josiah Wilder.
Jan. 23, 1789, Israel Atherton.
Sept. 18, 1790, William Stedman, quorum, Jan. 21, 1801.
June 24, 1799, Samuel Ward, quorum, Jan. 28, 1806.
Feb. 1, 1803, Josiah Flagg.
June 14, 1803, Benjamin Wyman.
May 26, 1806, Joseph Wales.
May 13, 1808, Merrick Rice.
Oct. 18, 1809, Moses Smith, jr. quorum, July 3, 1816.
Dec. 17, 1811, Paul Willard.
June 16, 1812, Jacob Fisher.
Jan. 20, 1814, Ebenezer Torrey.
Dec. 3, 1816, Edward Goodwin.
June 9, 1821, John Stuart.
Jan. 24, 1822, Jonas Lane.
Aug. 26, 1823, Levi Lewis.
Jan. 7, 1825, Joseph Willard.
"  " William Willard.

Those in Italics are now in commission.

ATTORNEYS AND COUNCILLORS AT LAW.
Admitted to practice,
Worcester C. C. P. Nov. Term, 1755, Abel Willard, to 1775.—Removed.
Worcester, C. C. P. March Term, 1768, John Sprague, 1770 to 1800.—Died.

This list was furnished by Edward D. Bangs, Esq. Secretary of State.

VOL. II. 42
Essex, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1787, William Stedman, to 1810 and from 1821.

Worcester, March Term, 1789, Merrick Rice to 1815.—Removed to Harvard—Died.

Worcester, Dec. Term, 1802, Moses Smith to 1825.—Relinquished the practice.

Worcester, March Term, 1803, Samuel John Sprague to 1805—Died.

In Middlesex, John Stuart, here from 1821 to 1822.—Removed to Boston.

Worcester, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1811, John Davis, Jr. to 1821.—Removed to Charlton.

Middlesex, Dec. Term, C. C. P. 1819, Joseph Willard from 1821, July; at Waltham from March 1820, to July 1821.

Middlesex, June Term, C. C. P. 1824, Solon Whiting, Attorney at Law.

Those in Italicks are now in practice in this town. Abel Willard, son of Col. Samuel Willard, who was representative of the town some years, was held in great esteem, and was the instrument of healing many differences without litigation. He went to London in 1775, earlier than was stated in a former note, and died there before the termination of the war. Samuel J. Sprague, Harvard University, 1799, was son of Judge Sprague, Harvard University, 1765, A. A. S. died Sept. 10, 1805, of an injury received by a fall. Levi Willard, Harvard University, 1775, born 1756. After leaving college he resided for some time in England, on his return he studied law with Judge Sprague. He opened an office in Lancaster, and practised there for a short time in 1786, and till his death. William Stedman, Harvard University, 1784. Merrick Rice, Harvard University, 1785. Joseph Willard, Harvard University, 1816, L. L. E. Solon Whiting, son of the late General John Whiting.

Daniel Greenleaf, died in Bolton.
John Dunsmoor, died Dec. 7, 1747, aged 45.
Staunton Prentice, died Dec. 1, 1769, aged 58.
Phineas Phelps, died Aug. 12, 1770, aged 37.
William Dunsmoor, died May 26, 1784, aged 50.
Israel Atherton, Harvard University, 1662, M. M. S. Soc. died July, 1822, aged 82.
Josiah Wilder, Y. C. died Dec. 20, 1788, aged 45.
James Carter, died 1817.
Samuel Manning, Harvard University, 1797, M. D. M. M. S. Soc. moved to Cambridge in 1821, died 1822.
Nathaniel Peabody, M. D. Dart. M. M. S. Soc. 1821 to 1822.

Calvin Carter, Licentiate.

George Baker, Harvard University, 1816, M. D. M. M. S. Soc.

Right Cummings, Licentiate.

The three last are now in practice here. Greenleaf from Newbury, I find first mentioned in 1734, and as late as 1760. John Dunsmoor, was probably born in Ireland. "Old father Dunsmoor," probably John's father, a member of the Church in Ireland, was admitted to communion in Rev. Mr. Prentice's Church, Aug. 21, 1740. Saunton Prentice was the eldest son of Rev. Mr. Prentice. William Dunsmoor was son of John. Israel Atherton, was a descendant of James Atherton, who came to Lancaster March 15, 1653. James had a son James born 13 May, 1654, Joshua born 13 May, 1656. Joshua was father of Col. Peter, born 12 April, 1705, died June 13, 1764. Peter was father of Hon. Joshua Atherton, born 20 June, 1737, and Dr. Israel, born Nov. 20, 1741. Josiah Wilder was son of Col. James Wilder. James Carter was son of Capt. James Carter, of this town. Samuel Manning was from Cambridge. Calvin Carter is son of Dr. James. George Baker is a native of Dedham, and Right Cummings, of Lunenburg.

Before the first Dunsmoor, and Greenleaf, the earliest of the Faculty in this town, was a female, "Doctress Whitcomb." The "Doctress" was here, probably, as early as A. D. 1700. She studied the profession with the Indians, with whom she was at one time a captive, and acquired her knowledge of simples from them. She was quite distinguished in this neighborhood as one of the Faculty. Before her time, there was no physician nearer than Concord.

GRADUATES AT DIFFERENT COLLEGES.

Harvard University.

1733* Josiah Swan, born 1701, minister of Dunstable, as before mentioned.

1752* Abel Willard, born Jan. 12, 1732.

1755* Samuel Locke, S. T. D. born Nov. 23, 1732, son of Samuel Locke of this town, minister of Sherburn, and President of Harvard University, 1770 to 1773, died in Sherburne of apoplexy.

1766 Peter Green, M. M. S. Soc. hon. born Oct. 1, 1745, son of the late Peter Green of this town. See ante note.

1770 John Mellen, Tutor, A. A. and S. H. S. born July 8, 1752.


1776* Timothy Harrington, born Sept. 17, 1753 A physician in Chelmsford, as before mentioned.
**Appendix.**

1777* Joseph Kilburn, born Nov. 3, 1755 or 6.
1781* Isaac Bailey, born Feb. 24, 1753.
1798* Artemas Sawyer, born Nov. 2, 1777.
1799* Samuel John Sprague, born 1780.
1817 Sewell Carter, merchant in Lancaster.
1817* Moses K. Emerson, a physician, died in Virginia, 1825.
1817 Paul Willard, Counsellor at Law, Charlestown.
1821 Henry Lane, M. D. a physician in Boston.
1822 Samuel Manning studied law. He now resides in Mexico.
1823 Levi Fletcher, Chaplain U. S. Frigate Macedonian.
1824 Christopher T. Thayer, Theological student at Cambridge.
1825 Frederick Wilder, died at Northampton, "Multis ille bonis fœbils occidit," Feb. 1826.
1826 Stephen M. Weld.


Dr. Josiah Wilder and Israel Houghton, Graduated at Yale College about ten years before the revolution. I have not the catalogue by me to fix the year.

Jacob Willard graduated at Brown University, 1826. William White, do. do. do. Theological students at Cambridge.

Abel Willard, son of Joshua W. of Petersham, entered Harvard University, 1772, left in 1775 and went to England with his uncle Abel Willard, Esq. of this town. Died in Canada.

Nathan Osgood entered Harvard University, 1782 and left.

Samuel Ward " 1784, "
Jeffery Amherst Atherton, " 1791, died 1793.
Abel Willard Atherton, " 1795, and left.

Richard Cleveland and Henry Russel Cleveland are now in the Senior Class at the University.

**Note on the Wilders.**

The tradition of the family is, that Thomas Wilder the first of the name in this country, came from Lancaster in England; that he settled in Hingham, and had four sons, that one son remained in Hingham, from whom are descended all of the name of Wilder, in that town and vicinity. I find that Thomas Wilder was made freeman, 2d June, 1641, and that he was of Charlestown in 1642.

One named Edward took the freeman's oath, 29th May, 1644, and was afterwards of Hingham, (2 Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 221) but whether, or how, related to Thomas I do not know.
Thomas moved to Lancaster, July 1, 1659, was one of the selectmen, and died October 23, 1667. He left three sons in Lancaster, viz. Thomas, John and Nathaniel, from whom are derived all of the name of Wilder, in this town. Thomas, the eldest son, died August, 1717, aged 76, had Col James and Joseph. From James who married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister, came 2d Colonel James of Lancaster, and Gardner, in Leominster. From the last Colonel James, came James, Dr. Josiah, and Asaph, all of whose families are extinct. Gardner has many descendants now in Leominster.

Joseph, the son of Thomas above mentioned, married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister; he was a distinguished man in town, and possessed great influence. He was an active magistrate; for many years he represented the town in the Legislature, and was Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1731 to 1757, and Judge of Probate from 1739 to 1757. He died March 29, 1757, aged 74. His sons were Thomas of Leominster, Andrew, Judge Joseph, and Colonel Caleb. Joseph was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1762, to 1773, representative of the town in the Legislature, and died, April 20, 1773, aged 65. He and Col. Caleb were the first in America, who established pot and pearl-ash works. Caleb died, June 19, 1776, aged 59. Thomas, last named, had three sons, Hon. Abel Wilder of Winchendon, of the Senate, from 1786 to 1792: Thomas of Leominster, and Joseph of Winchendon. Caleb's sons were Samuel and Caleb of Ashburnham, Nahum and Levi. Samuel had a large family of sons. Caleb had two sons, one was Dr. Wilder of Templeton. Levi, who died Jan. 5, 1793, was father of the present Sampson V. S. Wilder of Bolton.

John, the second son of the first settler, had three sons, viz:—John, Thomas, and Ebenezer. From John came John of Petersham, Jonas of Bolton, Josiah and Jonathan of Sterling, Aholiab and Bezaleel of Shutesbury, William of Bolton; Thomas had two sons, John of Ludlow, and Jotham. The latter four sons, Stephen and Titus, Jotham of Saltash, Vt. Reuben, do. From Stephen and Titus are descended the present Wilders in the "six nations."* From Ebenezer, Representative in 1739, who died, Dec. 25, 1745, aged 64, came Benjamin* of Sterling, and David. From Benjamin, Col. Wilder, of Sterling. From David, who was a Representative many years, came David of Leominster, Samuel and John, Abel and Jacob of Vermont, Luke of Penobscot, and Jonathan.

*South part of Lancaster.
From David last named, is descended the present David of Leominster, commissioner of Highways, &c. Jonathan had eleven sons; nine lived to man's estate, viz:—Jonathan, David, John, Luke, Cephas, Prescott, Lewis, Henry, and Frederick. The last died at Northampton, in Feb. 1826, universally lamented.

Nathaniel, the third son of the first settler, lived in Lancaster, and was killed by the Indians, July 1704. From him are descended Jonathan, killed by the Indians August, 1707, Nathaniel of Petersham, Ephraim of Lancaster, a Representative for a number of years, who died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94, and Col. Oliver. Nathaniel, last named, had a large family. Ephraim, had a son of the same name, who died March 17, 1770, aged 68. This last had three sons, Ephraim, Manassah, and William. Ephraim last named, settled in Sterling, had a large family, of whom Dea. Joel of this town is one. Manassah had two sons, Joseph and Sumner. William had two sons who left children, viz: Ephraim and Elijah.

Col. Oliver had four sons, Oliver, Tilley, Phineas and Moses. Oliver and Moses remained in Lancaster, and from them are descended all of the name of Wilder, in the westerly part of Lancaster, except Joel and Elijah.

**NOTE ON SEVERAL OF THE NAME OF HOUGHTON.**

Ralph and John Houghton, as has been before mentioned, were cousins, and came to Lancaster in 1653. Ralph wrote a good business hand and was recorder many years. He represented the town as a deputy in the general court in 1678, and 1689. He probably died a few years after. Of his children, were John, born April 28, 1655, and Joseph, born July 1, 1657. John, the cousin of Ralph, whose wife was Beatrix, had a son Benjamin, born May 25, 1663. William and Robert were also sons. There is reason to believe that he died April 29, 1684. John Houghton, Esq. was another son of John. He was born in England, it is said, in 1650, or 1651. He was quite young when his parents moved to Lancaster. From 1693 to 1724, inclusive, he represented the town fourteen years in the General Court. For a long time after the town was rebuilt he appears to have been the only magistrate in the place. He was quite celebrated in this neighborhood, as a man of weight and influence, and was a very skilful conveyancer. In this business he had great employment. He gave the land for the second meeting house. His dwelling house was on the south side of the old common, a little to the south west of Mr. Faulkner's. Three ancient pear trees planted by himself stand in front of the site of his house.
During the last twelve years of his life he was blind. He died Feb. 3, 1736-7 in the 87th year of his age.

The epitaph on his tombstone, is the same that was common in the country a century ago. viz.

As you are  
So were we  
As we are  
So you will be.

Jonathan Houghton, the first County Treasurer, was one of his sons.

ADDENDA.

A few additional memoranda, the names of those who "desired to be made freemen," taken from 2 Savage's Winthrop, just published. Those in italics, at least those of the same name, were among the early settlers of Lancaster.

**John Pierce**, " " "  
**Thomas James**, Nov. 6, 1632.—This was I presume, the minister of Charlestown, one of the same name perhaps a son, was here, 1653.  
**John White**, March 4, 1632-3.  
**John Smith**, " " "  
**Richard Fairbanks**, " " "  
**George Phelps**, May 6, 1635.  
**Thomas Rawlinson**, May 2, 1638.—I must think this to be the same as Rowlandson, father of Rev. Joseph.  
**Thomas Carter**, May 2, 1638.—probably the same as above, and ancestor of the Carters in Lancaster.

**James Bennett**, " " "  
**Edward Breck**, May 22, 1639.  
**Thomas Wilder**, June 2, 1641.  
**John Thurston**, " " "  
**Nathaniel Norcross**, May 10, 1643.—This is the gentleman who was engaged to accompany the first planters, and was a "University scholar." Mr. Savage thinks that he returned to England.

**William Fletcher**, May 10, 1643.  
**Edward Wilder**, " " "  
**John Maynard**, " " "  
**Nathaniel Hadlock**, May 6, 1646.  
**Thomas Carter, jr.** May 26, 1647.  
**Samuel Carter**, " " "  
**John Smith**, " " "  
**John Pierce**, May 10, 1648.

Richard Dwelle probably did not return to town after it was resettled, if he ever lived here. I find him mentioned as a soldier in Scituate, in 1676, 2. Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 229. "Others of the same town, (Watertown) began also a plantation at Nashaway, some 15 miles north west of Sudbury." 2 Savage's Winthrop, 152.

1648. "This year a new way was found out to Connecticut, by Nashaway, which avoided much of the hilly way." 2 Winthrop's N. E. 325.

Maze, Rigby, Kettle, and Luxford, names in Lancaster in 1668-9, disappeared as early probably as Philip's war.

Three acres of land in front of the house of Mr. Richard I. Cleveland, were used as a training field, in the time of the first Judge Wilder.

For the biography of the late Judge Sprague, I am indebted to William Stedman, Esq.
ERRATA.

PAGES.
259 lines 16 and 17, for "fact," read part.
260 18th line from bottom for "area and of its branches," read area of its branches.
261 line 16 from top for "least," read last.
270 3d line from the bottom of the text, for "effected," read affected.
273 2d line from top, dele, and, in 2d note for "presented by the Court," read presented the Court.
274 line 18 from bottom for "1654 and 1655," read 1664, 1665.
276 line 12 from top for "Jonathan Prescott," read John Prescott, for "Peter Green aged 91," read 81.
291 17th line from top for "had," read lead.
297 3d line from bottom for "Soombes," read Toomb's.
307 last line of note (*) for "Jacob Z. Wearers," read Jacob Zweares.
308 8 and 9 lines from bottom read "Willard."
309 3d line from top after "excitement" add prevailed, 19th line from top for "Jeremeel," read Jeremy.
310 12 lines from top for "authography," read orthography, 16th line from top for "indulged," read indulge.
316 4th line from bottom for "or," read nor.
323 in note for "3 Ellis," read 2 Ellis.
324 6th line from top for "broken off," read taken off.
325 3d line from top dele, "cause."
326 21st line from top for "June 3, 1792," read June 3, 1793, last note for "Joeph," read Joseph.

The compiler living at a distance from the press, and not being able to revise the sheets, is the reason that some errata have crept into the work: Some typographical errors of less consequence, and those in the points, are not noticed.
HALF CENTURY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED NOVEMBER 16, 1828,

AT

CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY EZRA RIPLEY, D. D.

Published at the request of the Hearers.

CONCORD:

PRINTED BY HERMAN ATWILL.
1829.
A few sentences are omitted; and one paragraph has been added since the discourse was delivered. It is presumed that the subscribers will not object to these alterations.
HALF CENTURY DISCOURSE.

Psalm lxxvii. 11, 12.

I will remember the works of the Lord: surely I will remember thy wonders of old. I will meditate also of all thy works, and talk of thy doings.

It is wise to note and improve the current of time and the events which that current is continually exhibiting. This is the main object of the present discourse. In this subject the inhabitants of this town are interested, and especially their minister, whose official labours have been protracted to half a century. Last Tuesday completed fifty years since his ordination in this place.

The psalmist thought it his duty to remember the works and ways of God in years then past,—to meditate on them, and to speak of them. It is no less proper for us to engage in similar services, which we ought to perform in a religious manner, with our whole mind and heart.

Our text is an address to God, and a devout acknowledgment of his wonderful works and doings. We also should realize that we now set ourselves to
recollect and meditate on the works, the providence, and the grace of God. It is with Him we have to do;—His doings we are to remember and speak of; and therefore in his fear, and with gratitude to him, we are to act, and by his aid make application and form resolutions. Religious sentiments should pervade and sanctify our recollections and render them useful.

I propose the following method of discourse, viz. to make some observations on the passing of time,—give a brief historical sketch of this religious society,—and close with application adapted to ourselves.

Time, how still and swift it flies! Although we know it to be true, it requires some effort to realize and to feel that fifty years have passed away since my sacred connexion with this people. The succession of days, months, and years is so silent, yet constant, we scarcely perceive it. Engaged in the various cares and business of life, we are too often insensible to the progress we have made towards its close. At length, our attention being arrested by some interesting event, or period, we look around us, and are almost surprised at the changes we perceive, and that meet our eyes from every quarter. "One generation has past away, and another has risen up." Those who were aged half a century ago, are gone to the grave. "Our fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?" Those who then were in middle life, if yet living, are become old; the youth have past their best estate; and the little children are now the citizens for business, and
pillars in society. Grey hairs are upon those who were infants when the speaker first settled here. Thus one generation is pressing close upon the heels of another, while the foremost is fast falling into the grave and eternity. But this is not the full picture of human life; many of the younger classes have been untimely snatched away. We often witness, and many deeply feel, what the scriptures affirm, that "childhood and youth are vanity, and man at his best estate is altogether vanity."

When I cast my eyes over the assembly that stat­edly worships here, I see, not only many new faces, but a new face to the whole. Here and there only is a countenance which I beheld fifty years ago. Full well do I remember the white locks that adorned the long seats which here stretched before me. Now the heads that are white and grey were then on the shoulders of children. This house too is changed. I have not forgotten its former figure and inconvenience. There were two galleries flat and deep, and a high ceiling, which rendered speaking in it very difficult. But it has, long since, undergone a general repair, and been rendered handsome and convenient and easy for the speaker.

It is vivid in my recollection, that Harvard Col­lege was here collected in the summer of 1775. I was then a member of the Senior class. I listened with attention and respect to my worthy and elo­quent predecessor, with whom I became personally acquainted.

It was not my expectation, when young, to live so long as I have. I was supposed to be slender
and very liable to fail in early life. The only man who voted against my settling here, personally assured me, that the reason of his vote was my feeble appearance, and the expectation that I should live but a little while. So true it is, that "God seeth not as man seeth." Although I have been repeatedly sick and apparently threatened with dissolution, yet, through the power and goodness of God, I continue to this day, and enjoy a good degree of health and strength. Two ministers only in this county are living, who were ordained before me. And I know not of more in the Commonwealth, who yet are able to perform public services. There are now living only two male members of this church, who were active in my settlement.

It is very interesting to me, to recollect the many scenes of joy and of sorrow, in which I have alternately rejoiced and wept with your fathers, and with many now living. I do not indeed forget some unpleasant scenes; but with joy and gratitude I remember the many expressions of affection and respect from my beloved people.

It sometimes fills my mind with grief, and always with solemn reflections, to observe the changes that have taken place in the town, in neighbourhoods, and in families. In some instances, whole families have disappeared; in other, they have been diminished or dispersed. But changes have not always been grievous. In many instances they have been for the better, and gloomy clouds have been dispelled. New families have risen up, or have emigrated to us, to repair the ravages of time and death. We have often
seen that "instead of the parents are the children," who have done worthily. The doings of the Lord have a bright as well as a dark side. I will notice both sides.

We have lived to see, to suffer the evils, and to enjoy the benefits of a great political revolution. Some of us were eye witnesses and personal actors in the Revolutionary war, from its commencement in this town, on the ever memorable 19th of April, 1775. A revolution this, probably, the most interesting to the world ever recorded in history; and to this country important and happy beyond all calculation. In this revolution and the events connected with it, we have seen more of the wonderful doings of God, more interesting consequences as the legitimate results, than were witnessed in the course of centuries preceding. We have seen established Free Republican Governments, both National and State; and, in degrees unexampled, are daily enjoying the happy fruits. In this connexion, I would not omit a tribute of gratitude and praise to the memory of our fathers by whose services and sacrifices, under the conducting providence of God, we possess such high and precious advantages.

In the progress of the sharp contest with the mighty power of Great Britain, which at some periods was doubtful, my sacred connexion with this people was formed. Though the people were driven into an unnatural war with the mother country, they were disposed to be at peace with Heaven, and in all their troubles, to cling to the word and the altars of God. It was their religious confidence in the Almighty, that
sustained them in their struggle for liberty. Had not the people of the Thirteen United States been actuated by principles of piety and virtue, as well as the love of liberty and country, they would not have gained their freedom and independence. And let it be kept in mind, that the same principles alone can preserve them.

But many difficulties were unavoidably to be encountered. Evils existed which could not be easily nor expeditiously remedied. The rapid depreciation of the paper currency of the country involved many in great embarrassments. Numbers of the rich suddenly became poor, and some of the poor became as suddenly rich. Property rapidly changed its possessors. At some times, “taking to itself wings, it flew away,” and at other, by laying still, lost its value. It is not forgotten by many, that salary-men, and generally all who lived upon their money, were great sufferers. This was the case with your minister, without any design or fault of his people. They had endeavoured, by a formal contract, to guard against the effects of the depreciation of the currency; but it seemed next to impossible. You would scarcely believe, were you told, the straits and difficulties to which your pastor was reduced. With all his exertions in various ways, as teaching scholars, manual labour, &c. he could not have waded through them, had it not been for a particular event in Providence, and the long credit given him by one benevolent trader in town.* In due time, when a

*Deacon John White; whose generous friendship will never be forgotten.
scale of depreciation was established by authority, my people, in due time, made up the loss I had sustained in settlement and salary. But it was impossible to repair the loss in ministerial studies and acquirements. My people, however, were kind, made reasonable allowance for disadvantages, supplied my pulpit during a long sickness, and generally remained satisfied with my exertions and services. From those times we have lived in peace and harmony, mutually endeavouring to promote each others' comfort and happiness. The late separation from us of a Trinitarian society is an exception, of which something may be said in the sequel.

Another change of high importance merits particular notice. After the revolution, and indeed during its progress, infidelity, imported from Europe, was embraced by more than a few in America, and industriously propagated. The writings of Voltaire, Hume, and other deistical authors were sought and read with avidity. To stem this increasing torrent, the manner in which the gospel was then generally preached, it is believed, was not well adapted. A large portion of the learning of the country, not possessed by the clergy, was leaning to deism, if not decided in its favour. Christianity and its peculiar institutions were treated with more than indifference, and not seldom directly opposed. But the religious principles and steady habits of the bulk of the people held in check the deistical and licentious. I have been an eye and ear witness of the proud boasting and confident assertions of profane and blasphemous infidels, and have seen the poison plen-
tifully cast into one fountain of literature. But, thanks be to God, the times are happily changed. Now, nearly all the solid learning in our country, especially in New England, is engaged on the side of Christianity. The great current of mind sets strongly to the divine authority of the Bible, and bends to the doctrines and sceptre of Jesus Christ. Many of our learned men, and those in the highest offices and most influential stations in the National and State governments, are professed and practical Christians; and others are favourable to the cause, and cheerful supporters of Christian ministers and worship: while many of those who take no active part in favour of revealed religion visibly respect its teachers and institutions, and cease from opposition and ridicule. A vast accession of power and influence is here gained to the cause of Christ and his religion. In this view of the moral state of society, I am far from saying or thinking, "the former times were better than these."

I am aware, that in one of the middle States, there is a nest of bold and artful infidels, who are diffusing their corrupt and demoralizing principles with activity and zeal. But we hope and trust in God that their race will be short, and that the light of truth, which is rapidly increasing in our country and throughout Christendom, dissipating the clouds of error and mysticism that have long shrouded Christianity, will soon convince or disarm them and all opposers of our holy religion.

We have lived to see great and honorable improvements in the science of government, in legislation and
the administration of the laws. Our Judicial courts, supreme and subordinate, are, we believe, the most enlightened, upright, prompt in business and respectable, of which any country can boast. Our seats of justice being filled by men of talents, learning, piety, and exemplary lives, become a blessing to the community not easily nor sufficiently appreciated.

The improvements that have been made in the course of the last fifty years, in our primary and higher schools, in Colleges, useful arts, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, &c. are astonishing as well as highly gratifying to observers. Learning, invention, and enterprize have taken strides and made progress unexampled in the same period. The establishment of Sabbath schools, which is of recent date, promises to be highly beneficial, both in a civil and religious view. We scarcely begin to perceive the happy influence which these schools are designed and adapted to exert on the minds and the morals of the young, and through them, on the community at large. Preparatory to these are Infant schools, which are gaining attention, and are actually in operation in England and in some cities in this country. The inhabitants of the city of Boston are attending to the subject in earnest. A plan is now in operation for collecting money to defray the expense of instruction to the little children of the poor. These schools, it is highly probable, will be multiplied, and will produce the most salutary effects on the health, manners, and character of the generations rising up, and those yet unborn. They are best adapted to populous towns and are peculiarly favorable to the labouring and
poorer classes of people. Such establishments are not insulated, not confined to the places, the period, and the scholars that first attract our attention. Their influence is diffusive, progressive, and will gradually extend to the great body of the people. In these and similar institutions, farther improvements will, doubtless, be made. These are the seeds now sowing, which, under the smiles of Heaven, are to spring up and yield a rich harvest of blessings to our country. These institutions of Sabbath and Infant schools, if they shall be conducted with wisdom and pursued with energy, will, I have no doubt, influence and form the civil and moral character of the community more than any human measures that have been hitherto adopted. This is beginning with the child, the little boy and girl, where education ought always to begin, but where it has been sadly neglected. When these modes of instruction shall be well understood and perfected, and the people in general shall see and feel their importance, the fruits will be great and good. Even Sabbath schools are yet so new, that many parents and heads of families do not appear to understand them, do not appreciate and improve them.

Among other changes, which we may consider as improvements, are those in the art of sacred musick and the matter of the holy song. Some of us well recollect the discordant singing in public worship, and when the tune was interrupted by the reading of the psalm or hymn, line by line. This practice of reading the lines by the deacon, or some other person, probably, was first introduced on account of the scarcity of books and the poverty of the people.
Now books are plenty and cheap, and the people are able to buy. Every intelligent and serious worshipper ought to have a hymn book at church. And I do soberly recommend, that every pew be furnished with books, and that every adult person at least have before his eyes the words in which we sing praise to God. Money expended for Bibles and Hymn books is put to the best interest, and will afford the best reflections.

The attention that has been given by this society to the support and improvement of sacred musick is very gratifying and praise worthy. We are specially obligated to the singing society for their assistance in divine worship, and for their persevering exertions and sacrifices to make improvements and render their services acceptable and pleasant.

The first regular version used in this church was that of Sternhold and Hopkins; many parts of which could scarcely now be read with sobriety in the assembly. Next was used, and until very lately, the version of the pious and excellent Dr. Watts. The Cambridge Collection is now in use, which, we trust, will be an additional aid in our religious services, till one more improved and perfect shall be provided and chosen. All human compositions may be improved and changed, and vital religion be thereby better promoted: but the Bible, "the word of the Lord abideth forever." No man, nor body of men may add to or diminish from the sacred volume. It is our duty and our proper work, to understand, explain, enforce, and obey the Bible. The light of this blessed book, in ages of ignorance, and in the hands of Papal pow-
ers, has been obscured and Christianity has been corrupted. But considering the state of the Christian world in ages past, and before the art of printing was invented, nothing otherwise could be reasonably expected. The bold and pious reformers from popery, to whom we are highly obligated, partook, unavoidably, of the imperfection, spirit, and bigotry of the age in which they lived, and were educated. But their spirit of reform has descended to our times; a spirit of inquiry and improvement has gone forth, and while it rejects the superstition and corrects the errors of the Reformers, it fearlessly, but reverently, searches the scriptures, penetrates the clouds of mysticism, discovers truth, and presents Christianity to the public and private eye in its own native simplicity and purity.

I am well aware that what many of us look upon as the discovery of truth and the disclosure of error, is by others considered as erroneous and heretical, among whom are, I doubt not, many who love our Lord and his holy cause. They may be conscientious in opposing what we ardently advocate, and cannot be persuaded to renounce. But do they not prove the want of the spirit of Christ by withholding charity from us and affecting to treat us as though we were not Christians? They seem to fear that error will be embraced in our search after truth,—that Christianity will suffer loss by being freely examined, and the pillars of the church be shaken, if not supported by human creeds, priestly power and policy. So thought the church of Rome, and therefore silenced inquiries, chained the human mind on religious subjects, and
held the people in ignorance. And what was the re-
sult? True, the people all thought alike,—all sub-
scribed the same human creed, and tamely gave up
their bibles to their priests, and blindly worshipped in
an unknown tongue. But it was a death blow to vi-
tal religion. Christianity became a mere name, en-
veloped in a thick cloud of mysteries and ceremonies
that had no tendency to inform the mind, interest the
heart, or mend the life. We live in a happier country
and age,—we may inquire for truth freely under a
sense of accountability to God only. Our fathers,
though not perfect, were inspired by the spirit of re-
ligious and civil liberty. They could not endure un-
reasonable restraints on their rights and consciences.
They fled from the oppression of civil government and
of the priesthood. Here they found an asylum from
tyrranical men in church and state;—here they
could breathe a free air, though surrounded by sav-
gages and wild beasts, and subjected to privations
and hardships which we, their posterity, can scarce-
ly realize. Religious liberty they chiefly sought,
and here the precious boon was found.

Another improvement of the present age I would not
fail to notice, I mean Peace Societies, whose great
object is the abolition of war and the establishment of
peace among all Christian nations. This Commonwealth has the honor of forming the first Peace Soci-
ety in the world. This society was instituted, Dec.
25, 1815. The father* of it and the author of the
Solemn Review and Friend of Peace, has immort-

* Dr. Noah Worcester.
ized his name, and done vast benefit to the community, and eventually to the world. Many similar societies have since been formed in this country and in Europe, having in view the same benevolent objects. The efforts of this society have produced great and happy effects, especially in diffusing a pacific spirit, in throwing light on the subject never before perceived by ordinary observers, and converting thousands from the spirit of war to that of peace. By the writings above mentioned any person of ordinary capacity may understand that war, except when it is strictly defensive, is altogether inconsistent with the spirit and principles of Christianity, and that, were these latter to prevail through Christian nations, the spirit and practice of war would be banished from Christendom. In generations and ages to come, in all countries where the peaceful religion of the Gospel shall prevail, the Peace Society in Massachusetts, and its pious and benevolent founders will be highly honored and had in everlasting remembrance. It seems to me, there can be no doubt of great benefit to the community, were the Friend of Peace more generally read. Those numbers would inform and correct the public mind respecting the spirit and the practice of war, and respecting the nature, design, and spirit of Christianity.

Though I may be thought to wander, it is my purpose to attend principally to things that are directly or remotely connected with religion. The psalmist affirms in the words following our text, that "God has his way in the sanctuary." By this we are to understand that God exercises a moral government
over men,—that he graciously regards the church in every age, and in every country. The Christian church is the peculiar care of Heaven, and is divinely assured that "the gates of hell," the powers of wickedness, "shall never prevail against her." To this "little flock," compared with the world of men, "it is the Father's good pleasure to give the kingdom." We will advocate her cause, and recollect the wonders of divine providence and grace in her behalf, and especially in reference to this church and society. And this brings me to the matter of history, a brief sketch of which I proposed to give. On this subject, I shall make free use of a sermon delivered in this place, on a general repair of this house and its dedication to God and Christian worship, in 1792. But before I bring to view the particulars of our history, I ask your attention, for a few minutes, to the fathers, the first settlers of this town. They have been too much overlooked and forgotten by their descendants. It is time, high time, to redeem our character, and to stir up our minds by way of remembrance, that we may be excited to praise the Lord, and to honour the memories of the godly men whose piety, labours, and sufferings laid the foundation of our prosperity, and that of our fathers for almost two centuries.

We have read or listened with satisfaction and delight to the learned and eloquent discourses and orations, on the anniversaries and centuries of our Pilgrim fathers of Plymouth and Salem. We have felt an exciting interest and sympathy in those characters and events. Our joy has been in common with the great
family of New-England, which has descended from those pious and benevolent adventurers. But who has duly remembered and honored, with hearts swelling with gratitude to God, the character and memory of Bulkeley, Jones, Willard, Spencer, and others, who here first planted the standard of the cross and of liberty? This is our work, our binding duty.

It was scarcely, if any, less adventurous, or perilous, at that day, to come from Cambridge to Concord, than from Holland to Plymouth, in 1620, or from England to Salem, seven or eight years afterwards. This was the first settlement in the wilderness away from the sea and shipping:—it was a pathless desert, except the paths of the Indians, which were dangerous. The Savages were here at home on their native soil, jealous of the white strangers, and often making war upon them in various parts of the seacoast. The wild beasts were numerous and terrifying. The war-hoop of savages was continually dreaded, and the dismal howl of ferocious animals disturbed the slumbers of the night. But terrific sounds were not the chief causes of fear. The fire arms, the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and firebrands were hourly in vision before them. In what fear must they labour by day, and repose themselves at night! With what anxiety and trembling must the affectionate mother have clasped her tender babe on her couch of rest and sleep!

In this fearful situation, provision was scarce and poor. Repeatedly they had reason to fear perishing with hunger, at least those who were more feeble and helpless. (For the truth of these statements, I
shall soon adduce authorities.) Yet with all these difficulties our fathers had to contend. They trusted in God, and they were delivered. Some of them were rich and of honourable descent, had lived in affluence, and never known hardships and privations of this kind. But the love of God, and the love of religious and civil liberty induced them to undertake and to endure such extreme hardships and dangers. O religion, how mighty thy influence! how invincible thy power! Let it affect our hearts to realize, that we are enjoying, in peace and plenty, the fruits of their toils and sufferings,—yea more, of their holy prayers and tears!

But what have we done or thought that can be considered a proper return to the memory of our sainted fathers and mothers, and to their God and ours? Who has been and is now thankful for what God has done for us by the instrumentality of our pious ancestors? He is thankful, who, remembering the days of old, and the fathers before whom the savages were driven out, and for whom the Lord wrought wonders, does like them devoutly worship and obey the God of his fathers,—does sanctify the sabbath day,—observe conscientiously relative duties, and does believe and follow Jesus Christ; not he who merely rejoices with a loud voice, and expresses his gladness by feasting.

I come now to historical facts and particular characters. But here I have to lament the loss and the omission of records. I shall give but a general sketch of the civil history of this town, and leave to other hands and younger eyes many things that are
interesting to this people, and that might gratify reasonable curiosity.*

This town was incorporated, as a plantation, Sept. 3d. 1635, by an act of the General Court of the then province, sitting at Newton. The Indian name of the place was Musquetequid. The town was fairly purchased of the natives, and payment was made to their entire satisfaction. The tract of land first purchased was six miles square, the centre being very near the spot where the meeting house now stands. Additions were afterwards made by grant or purchase.

The first settlers of this town were very careful to possess a fair title to the soil. They were not only just, but generous. Piety and righteousness marked their transactions, and proved that they "feared God and regarded man." Before the savages and the world they exemplified the religion of the Gospel, the love of which induced them to encounter innumerable hardships in this then dreary wilderness. They suffered extremely, both from want and fatigue, and endured with singular patience and firmness the greatest difficulties and "sorest labors that ever any people with such weak means have done." As has been observed, it was a tedious journey from Cambridge to Concord: it was through a dismal wilderness, without any road, abounding with brush, briars, and swamps, so that

* It is understood, that a very accurate history of the local situation and civil affairs of this town, is now in preparation by a Gentleman, who has been indefatigable in his researches after interesting facts and proper materials.
not only their clothes, but their flesh was torn, and their strength sometimes exhausted. It was extremely difficult to procure comfortable food. Scarcely ever did they enjoy such as would now be counted tolerable. Compared with them, the poorest of us "fare sumptuously every day." And yet, how little do we think of those destitute pilgrims, who endured hardships that we might live at ease,—who fasted that we might feast,—who mourned that we might rejoice,—who served God in the desert that we might worship him in a pleasant and populous country!

Our fathers had little else to eat than alewives and shad, Indian corn, meal and water, pumpkins and squashes, and sometimes a little wild meat. They had given up their earthly treasures and comforts for those of religion and heaven. But the Lord our God was with them;—he protected and fed them in a wonderful manner. It may be said of them as of ancient Israel, that they were made to know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord, doth man live. Ye opulent and delicate, could you live one year, one week, as did our ancestors, for the sake of religion and conscience?

In the infancy of this town, it was remarkably protected from the often enraged savages. It is rationally supposed that the full satisfaction which the Indians received, when they sold the land, rendered them more peaceable towards the inhabitants. But especially did the God of his praying people of this place lay his restraining influence on the aborigines.
While other settlements round about were greatly disturbed,—their houses burnt, men, women, and children killed and scalped, and others carried into captivity, dreadful as death, no attack was made on this town, and only three persons killed by the Indians within its bounds.

The authorities, which I offer to confirm these statements, are Dr. Mather’s Magnalia, Johnson’s Wonder-working Providence of Zion’s Saviour in New-England, and Hubbard’s Narrative of the Indian wars. Some other records show that these authors are substantially, though not perfectly correct.

Omitting to quote farther from the Discourse above mentioned, and many things more suitable for common history than a sermon, (which history I have understood is already commenced,) I shall attend to the affairs of the church. Here, also, we are destitute of records during the ministry of the four first pastors. We are able, however, from other historical sketches, to trace with certainty the succession of ministers, and that of deacons since the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Bliss.* Our church records begin with the settlement of the Rev. Daniel Bliss. By him it is recorded that, “in the year 1636, the Rev. Peter Bulkeley, the Rev. John Jones, Maj. Simon Willard, and others, brethren and members, came to this town and erected themselves into a church.”†

* The names of the deacons, prior to the church records, are left for the history above mentioned, which, it is expected, will be not only correct, but entertaining and useful.
† Thus it appears that the church was gathered in the year after the purchase and incorporation of the town.
This agrees with the author of *Wonder-working Providence* who mentions the coming of the same men, about the same time, to this place. And it is confirmed by Dr. Mather's account of the Rev. Peter Bulkeley. To me it seems due to the memory and character of that truly great and good man, here to quote from Dr. Mather a considerable part of his Biography of the first minister of this town,—the first adventurer and principal purchaser of this then wilderness, now pleasant and fruitful town. I shall be excused for dwelling on this character, not only because we are furnished with materials, but because we are more indebted to the piety, enterprize, and labours of Mr. Bulkeley, than to any other individual adventurer. All were worthy, and merit a grateful remembrance, but this man excelled, and is worthy of double honour.

Of the Rev. Peter Bulkeley* it is written by Dr. Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*, that "He was descended of an honourable family in Bedfordshire; where for many successive generations, the names of Edward and Peter were alternately worn by the heirs of the family. His father was Edward Bulkeley, D.D. a faithful minister of the Gospel. He was born at Woodhil, (or Odel) in Bedfordshire, January 31, 1582. His education was answerable to his original; it was learned,—it was genteel, and which was the top of all, it was very pious. At length it made him a Bachelor of Divinity, and Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge: the college whereinto he

* The proper name is Bulkeley; but Dr. Mather uniformly spells it Bulkly.
had been admitted, about the sixteenth year of his age; and it was while he was but a junior bachelor, that he was chosen a fellow. When he came abroad in the world, a good benefice befel him, added unto the estate of a gentleman, left him by his father; whom he succeeded in his ministry, which one would imagine temptations enough to keep him out of the wilderness.

"It was not long that he continued in conformity to the ceremonies of the church of England; but the good bishop of Lincoln connived at his non-conformity (as he had done at his father's), and he lived an unmolested non-conformist, until he had been three prentice-ships of years" [I suppose 21] "in the ministry. Towards the latter end of this time, his ministry had a notable success, in the conversion of many unto God." But soon after this time, under Archbishop Laud, "complaints were made against Mr. Bulkeley, for his non-conformity, and he was therefore silenced. To New-England therefore he came, in the year 1635; and there having been for a while, at Cambridge, he carried a good number of planters with him, up far into the woods, where they gathered the twelfth church, then formed in the colony, and called the town by the name of Concord.* Here he buried a great estate, while he raised one still, for almost every person whom he employed in his husbandry. He had many and godly servants, whom, when they had lived with him a fit number of years, he still dismissed them with bestowing farms upon

* Winthrop's Journal, which is more correct, reckons it the thirteenth church. Mather appears to blend the gathering of the church and incorporation of the town.
them, and so took others after the like manner, to succeed them in their service and in his kindness."

The same author goes on to say of Mr. Bulkeley that, "he was a most excellent scholar,—that he endowed the library of Harvard College with no small part of his own," that "he was therewithall an excellent christian,—an exact sabbath-keeper,—an example many ways worthy to be imitated by every one that is called a minister of the Gospel,"—and that "his first sermon [meaning in this place] was on Rom. i, 16. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. Moreover, by a sort of winning, yet prudent familiarity, he drew persons of all ages to come and sit with him, when he could not go and sit with them.—Such was his pious conduct that he was had much in reverence by his people. And the observance which his own people had for him, was also paid him from all sorts of people throughout the land; but especially from the ministers of the country, who would still address him as a father, a prophet, a counsellor, on all occasions." It is farther stated by Dr. Mather, that "upon his importunate pressing a piece of charity, disagreeable to the will of the ruling elder, there was occasioned an unhappy discord in the church of Concord; which yet was at last healed, by their calling in the help of a council, and the ruling elder's abdication. Of the temptations which occurred on these occasions, Mr. Bulkeley would say, He thereby came, 1. To know more of God. 2. To know more of himself. 3. To know more of men. Peace being restored, the small things in the beginning of the church there, increased in the hands of their faithful
Bulkeley, until he was translated into the regions, which afford nothing but concord and glory; leaving his well fed flock in the wilderness, unto the pastoral care of his worthy son, Mr. Edward Bulkeley."

Dr. Mather has recorded many more things of Mr. P. Bulkeley, particularly his then highly esteemed treatise of the gospel covenant,—his dying charge to New England, &c. I will now notice only his marriages, family, death, and epitaph. "His first wife was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Allen of Goldington: a most virtuous gentlewoman, whose nephew was the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Allen. By her he had nine sons and two daughters. After her death he lived a widower eight years, and then married a virtuous daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood; by whom he had three sons and one daughter. Age at length creeping on him, he grew much afraid of outliving his work." And he wrote an Epigram in Latin, on the subject. "He was ill, as well as old, when he writ those verses; but God granted him his desire. He recovered, and preached nearly two years after this, and then expired, March 9, 1658-9, in the seventy seventh year of his age."

The Epitaph on his tomb-stone is somewhat enigmatical, but very expressive of his character. It is in Latin, and as follows,—

"Obiit jam qui jamdudum obierat Bulkelæus:
Nec patriam ille mutavit, nec pene vitam:
Esd ivit, quod ire consuerat, et ubi jam erat."

In English, thus,

"Bulkeley is now gone, who had long since gone; nor hath he changed his country, nor scarcely his life: thither he has gone, whither he was wont to go, and where he already was."
And must it be added, in truth, that this inscription is not to be found in the grave yard,—that no stone designates the spot where this distinguished saint was buried or entombed! If the spot can be ascertained,* (which is probable,) I would that at least a plain block of granite should there be placed, with his name indelibly inscribed.

Mr. P. Bulkeley was succeeded in the ministry by his son, the Rev. Edward Bulkeley, who was first settled at Marshfield, Ms. We are not informed when he was installed, but have reason to believe, it was soon after the death of his father. He was born and partly educated for the ministry in England; and died in this town, Jan. 2, 1695-6. Dr. Mather calls him the worthy son; and this is all the character of him I have been able to obtain. It appears, however, from some accounts, that he was an infirm man, lived to be old, and some years longer than he could preach. Dr. Mather classes him with those "young scholars, whose education for their designed ministry, not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the College was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels."

The Rev. John Jones, who came here with the first company, as colleague with Mr. P. Bulkeley, left this place, with a part of the settlers, in a few years after planting themselves here; and Mr. Jones therefore is not reckoned as one of the ministers in succession.

* There is reason to believe that the three first ministers, viz. Peter Bulkeley, Edward Bulkeley, and Joseph Eastabrook, were laid in the same tomb.
The Rev. Joseph Estabrook was born at Enfield, in England, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1664. He was ordained colleague with Mr. Edward Bulkeley; the year I cannot say. He died, May 23d, 1711; his age is not ascertained. We know little more of him than that he was a man of distinguished piety and very respectable abilities. He was accounted faithful and his praise was in all the churches.

The Rev. John Whiting was ordained in May, 1712, and continued in the ministry upwards of twenty years; his pastoral relation was dissolved before he died. He was some time a tutor in Harvard College,—was a gentleman of learning, and possessed a large estate; his monument still remains.

The Rev. Daniel Bliss was ordained, March 7th, 1738. He was born at Springfield, Ms. and educated at Yale College, New Haven; he was a Calvinist in his sentiments, and very zealous in preaching and conversation. He was a man of respectable talents, of ministerial gifts, and of commanding manner and eloquence in preaching.

At the time of his ordination, the church consisted of 80 members;—a number of them belonged to those sections of the town which are now Lincoln and Carlisle. During his ministry of about twenty-five years, 290 persons were admitted to full communion, and 1424 baptized in this church. He was very active and laborious in his profession,—wrote his sermons in characters,—and often preached without notes, or wrote only the heads, or scheme of the sermon. Under his ministry there were two periods of
great religious excitement, or revival. And it is believed that a goodly number of those, then awakened to religious consideration, became true penitents and sincere Christians.

Some few years after Mr. Bliss' ordination, a number of his people, and most of the neighbouring ministers, became dissatisfied with his religious sentiments, and with his conduct in going into other towns to preach, at the invitation of individuals, without the consent of the ministers of those towns. Complaints and charges were brought against him by a number of the church, who were supported by others in the town.* These things are mentioned in the church records. In this state of affairs, a new church was formed, authorized by the neighbouring ministers, with which a small part of the people joined, and had preaching and worship by themselves. They did not build a meeting-house. It was customary, in those days, to count the cost, and to collect a sufficient society before building a church. There were then no charitable funds to assist feeble churches. I am informed, by a respectable lawyer, that there was a law of this then province, that "no persons should build, or appropriate, a house for religious worship without the consent and vote of the town." Laws

* There are reasons, which seem to me sufficient, for not bringing particularly to view, in this discourse, the difficulties that subsisted, and the councils repeatedly called for advice during the ministry of Mr. Bliss and Mr Emerson. Besides, it would swell this pamphlet to an unreasonable size. In a future day, some useful facts may be collected from the existing records of the church.
and customs have very much changed. The new society, however, did not long continue, and gradually returned to the old church and society. Mr. Bliss died, May 11th, 1764, aged 49; and his monument has been kept in repair.

The Rev. William Emerson was ordained Jan. 1, 1766. He was born at Malden, where his father was pastor, and graduated at Harvard University in 1761. He was a gifted, eloquent, and popular preacher. His ardent love for his country, involved in a distressing war, prevailed over the tenderest ties of social, domestic, and pastoral connexions. That love must have been strengthened by the firm belief of duty and the hope of greater usefulness, or it had not been so invincible. He left his endeared family and beloved people, Aug. 16, 1776, to join the army at Ticonderoga, in which he was appointed chaplain. On his return he was arrested by sickness, and died, October following, at Rutland, Vermont, aged 33. His premature death must be viewed a striking instance of human frailty, and an affecting proof that "God destroyeth the hope of man." Mr. Emerson was distinguished for his ministerial talents, social disposition, love for his country, for human happiness, and immortal souls; his rising character promised extensive usefulness. Alas! that star, to which nature and grace had given peculiar lustre, fell untimely! His body lies in the place where he finished his course; and this town have erected a handsome monument to his memory, on the burying hill.
Under Mr. Emerson's ministry, almost eleven years, 66 persons were admitted to full communion, and 506 were baptized. Soon after his settlement difficulties arose in the church. Some blame was attributed to the pastor, but, it is believed, unjustly, by those well acquainted with the origin and progress of the matters of controversy. Several councils were called in to hear, and to give advice; but the difficulties were not healed, until they were swallowed up and buried in the commencement of the Revolutionary war. Peace and harmony being restored, the pastor and church thought proper to renew their covenant with God and one another in a public manner. Accordingly, on the 11th of July, 1776, a day set apart for fasting and prayer, a covenant was signed by a large majority of the male communicants, 43 in number. Afterwards, 19 others, chiefly new members, signed the same covenant. Several of the members lived in Lincoln and Carlisle: those in Lincoln continued their connexion with this church until their death. But there were a few of the church who did not join in this transaction, nor put their names to the covenant. This solemn obligation is too long to be here inserted; it is on file with the church records. How many the church consisted of, when Mr. Emerson died, is not ascertained. I find no list of members, except of those males who signed the covenant. I well recollect several of the church, whose names are not among the signers. If, then, we reckon the males at 68, and add the usually larger number of females, we may suppose the whole were about 150.
I come now to the commencement of the ministry of your present pastor, who is the seventh minister of this town in regular succession.

Taking the charge of this flock of our Lord was to me very solemn and interesting. I did not covet nor eagerly embrace the opportunity. The greatness of the work, in a place so conspicuous and populous, caused trembling and hesitation. Although an invitation was given by the church the first of June, 1778, and I supplied or preached here from that time, yet I did not give my answer of acceptance, till the September following. In reference to that time and the early part of my ministry, I can feelingly adopt the words of St. Paul; *“and I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling;”* and as he elsewhere says, *“in many tears.”* But I have been sustained, far beyond my early expectations, by the good and merciful providence of God, which I admire and adore.

Previous to my ordination, and at that and other times, I endeavoured unreservedly to devote myself to God in the work of the Christian ministry. It was my ardent desire to be an able, faithful, and successful minister of Christ. How I have performed the duties of my office it does not become me to say. I was then, and ever since have been, sensible of the very great disadvantages sustained by the interruption of my collegiate studies, and by numerous impediments to the acquisition of theological knowledge, occasioned by the Revolutionary war, and the unexampled

*1 Cor. ii. 3.*
depreciation of the paper currency of our country. If those disadvantages have been in any measure repaired by redoubled exertions, God is both witness and judge; he gave the disposition and the strength, and to Him be the glory.

The venerable P. Bulkeley commenced his preaching here from the words, “I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ.” The first sermon of your present pastor was from 1 Cor. ii, 2. “For I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified.” That sermon I have repeated to you. It ever has been, and still is my undeviating endeavour and resolution to preach according to the import and design of those words. In respect to the leading and essential doctrines of the Gospel, I know not that my sentiments are materially changed. On searching the scriptures, it may well be supposed, that I have gained some further light, and acquired a better understanding of them. The manner of expressing my ideas also may be different. But I am not sensible of having departed in any degree from the doctrines properly called the doctrines of grace. The doctrine of three equal persons in one God, I do not call a doctrine of grace, or of the Gospel. We do not find it taught in the Gospel. Whether it be true, or not, it is not written in the inspired scriptures. The doctrine was first taught by fallible men. There were some in the Apostles’ days, who had embraced christianity, and yet “had not so much heard whether there were any Holy Ghost.”

had no idea of the doctrine of the Trinity. At first it was matter of conjecture, of inference, and then of opinion and controversy, and underwent a variety of changes and modifications; and it did not receive its modern shape and character, till hundreds of years had passed away.* No wonder that men should be long shaping and fixing a doctrine not expressly revealed, and which could be known only by express revelation from God; and especially when there was so much revealed evidently to the contrary. The time will not admit a full expression of my belief on this subject. But I have uniformly believed and preached that Jesus Christ is the promised Messiah, the only and all-sufficient Saviour of sinners, owned, anointed, and authorized by God as his Son, whom he sent into the world for the great purpose of instructing and redeeming sinful men, of declaring his will, displaying his disposition, righteousness, mercy, and whole character, and of mediating between God and his intelligent creatures; and that he was endowed by the Father with all divine powers requisite to the accomplishment of the great work assigned him. I believe that he comes to us in the name and authority of God, and that therefore we owe him reverence and honour, love and obedience; and also that the time and manner of his invisible existence, the extent of his dignity, and all the relations he sustains towards God and the universe, "no one knoweth, save

*If any would know the rise and progress of the doctrine of the Trinity, let them read the notes to Dr. Lowell's sermon, on the Trinitarian controversy, preached at Dennis, at the ordination of Rev. D. M. Stearns.
the Father only." And since our Lord has declared our limited knowledge of him as the Son of God, it seems to me presumptuous to affirm that of him, which is not plainly revealed, or that he is what he expressly denies. If, therefore, the charge of heresy, or error, on this subject, attaches to any sect of Christians, it does to that which attributes to Jesus Christ a rank, dignity, and mode of existence not revealed in the holy scriptures.

On other doctrines, such as the early apostacy of man,—moral human depravity,—regeneration, that is, a moral change of heart and life in sinners in order to happiness and heaven,—the need of divine influence to effect that change,—justification through faith in Christ to all who repent and obey the Gospel,—Jesus Christ the minister of reconciliation to God and the meritorious agent and medium of mercy to penitent sinners,—charity and holiness as necessary to the happiness of heaven,—a judgment to come by the Son of God, when the wicked will go away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into life eternal,—on these and similar doctrines, I have been full in believing and constant in preaching. As I have advanced in life, and ought to have made improvement, I have meant to convey my ideas in better language, and in a more rational and scriptural manner. It has seemed to me the dictate both of reason and duty to aim at keeping pace with the improvements of the age, that I might gain the attention and meet the reasonable desires of the rising and more enlightened generations.
The style and manner of ordinary ministers, forty or fifty years ago, would now be very dull, if not disgusting to many of our younger hearers. We know it is often found true, that aged persons are dissatisfied with young preachers, and the young, with old ministers. An endeavour to prevent this disadvantage and to benefit the aged and the young, as long as we may be able, implies no change of religious sentiments.

But allowing that there has been such improvement in theological studies and real advancement in the knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospel doctrines, as appear to be, or really are, alterations of opinion, it is what might be expected;—it is the reasonable result of the proper use of superior advantages;—it is what the justly celebrated and Rev. John Robinson expected and foretold. When that godly man took his leave of that part of his church which came from Holland and landed at Plymouth, he gave them with his fervent prayers, the following affectionate and enlightened counsel.

"Brethren, we are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed that or no, I charge you before God, and before his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord hath more
truth yet to break out from his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion; and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their first Reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw: whatever part of his will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you to remember it; it is an article of your church covenant, that you will be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant." After some farther advice on the subject, he closes by saying, "Neither would I have you loth to take another pastor besides myself; inasmuch as a flock that hath two shepherds is not thereby endangered, but secured." This counsel is wise and rational, full of the spirit of the Gospel.

If I were supposed to be a Calvinist when I settled, it was because they did not understand Calvinism. The creed, which I exhibited at my ordination, was, as I believed and meant, Evangelical,
and not *Calvinistic*; and it was expressed in scripture language, especially on the doctrine of the Trinity. Though I was early educated in the principles of Calvin, yet they were not explained to me nor urged upon me: and when I became of age to think and act for myself, I rejected his *five points* as unreasonable and unscriptural. But to preach the Gospel of Christ, that is, to explain and urge its doctrines and duties, was my warm desire and paramount object. And to this work, my conscience hearing witness, I have sincerely and earnestly devoted myself.

Many obstacles, which it is needless to name, have impeded my progress in clerical attainments and usefulness. Much imperfection has attached to my performances; and from faults I have never pretended to be free. As I have advanced in life, and been more exempted from hindrances, I have attended more exclusively to the duties of my office. Labours abroad, as far as was consistent, I have put off, that I might give more undivided attention to my people. Desired success has not attended my protracted ministry; yet I have not been without encouragement. Much evil may have been prevented, though much good may not appear to have been actually done. Since my settlement, 364 persons have been added to the church in full communion; 445 have made a profession in order to baptism, and 1533 have received baptism. Two years only, and those not in succession and during the American revolution, have passed without some addition to the church. The present number of communicants is 138. (The new
Trinitarian church have taken from us 7 males and 16 females.)*

Some alterations have been made in the manner of admission to baptism, and a new church covenant was formed, soon after my ordination, as the records will show. A new form became necessary, as that used by my predecessor was carried with him on his last journey and lost.

This town has been remarkable for having from the first only one sect of Christians, and one meeting house at a time, until lately another sect and another house have risen up. The reasons for this, we have judged to be insufficient. Of the causes which have produced that new society, and of its number, state, and prospects, I shall say nothing at this time. As in its rise I devoutly committed the case to God, so I continue to leave it in his hands. But I should

* One person only has been excommunicated; and this was for gross immoralities, and after long suspension and repeated admonitions. She supposed herself converted, to use her phrase, at twelve years of age, under the ministry of Mr. Bliss. Until she became advanced in life, and at the time of her excommunication, she was confident of her early conversion, though she did not pretend to repentance or reformation. She said, and on this occasion appeared to believe, "that she received a spark of grace, when she was twelve years old, that she could never lose it, and that it would revive again before she should die, otherwise she should go distracted." It is a lamentable truth, that she gave no evidence of repentance while she lived. Let this warn us not to depend upon any religious impressions or experiences that are not followed by a good and godly life. It appears from her own words, that her particular belief prevented the salutary effects of the solemn discipline of the church.
do injustice were I not to express my warm approbation of the candour and peaceable disposition which this society has exhibited towards that.

There has been but one period of noticeable religious excitement during my ministrations in this place. And I cannot say it was really beneficial in its effects. Evidence did not appear that its fruits were equal to its first promise and our hopes. Whether any person was added to the church or made really better in consequence of it did not appear. It seemed to me on reflection, to be more a work of man than of God,—more the effect of human passions and policy than of divine influence. I was disappointed and humbled, but gained, as I thought, some useful instruction and firmer resolutions to trust in God for the revival of pure religion, while we sincerely use the means which he has appointed. But though we have not witnessed such religious commotions as have existed in some other places, yet I believe we have possessed and exhibited as much real religion, and that many have been turned from the ways of sin to the ways of wisdom, and cordially reconciled to God through Jesus Christ. That we might see and enjoy a general reformation, and extensive revival of pure religion, in this place, has long been my earnest prayer and endeavour. And that I may witness and be instrumental of such a revival to the spiritual and eternal benefit of my beloved people, is the strongest tie to the present life which I am conscious of feeling.

It has pleased God to continue to me life and strength in this place longer than to any of my pre-
decessors. My hearers have been and still are witnesses how far and in what manner I have obeyed the apostolic injunction, "Preach the word in season and out of season; rebuke, reprove, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine," both in public and in private. But the whole truth, on this subject, whether for or against me, will never be fully known by any of us, till "we shall stand before the judgment seat of Christ." If then I shall be able to say, Here am I Lord, and the numerous flock thou didst commit to my charge,—how sublime the joy! how glorious the condition! how boundless the grace!

But it is time, my brethren, to inquire how you have heard and received and obeyed the Gospel that has been so long preached to you. Some of this congregation have heard me fifty years. Not less, I believe, than 2500 sermons have been written and delivered by your pastor,* and many of them repeated, and not a few re-written. How have the aged improved under this long course of religious instruction? Many of this assembly have been baptised, catechised, and instructed by the speaker, for whom he has cherished affectionate concern and earnest desires that they might be truly religious and forever happy. How have you profited by the stated administration of the word? Has preaching had with you its proper, its designed effect? Though a considerable number of persons have emigrated from this town, and this society,

* When I had written 1500 sermons, I ceased to number them. The last numbered, is dated June 14, 1812. But I have continued to write new sermons to this day, whenever time and health would permit; and this is still my purpose.
yet as many, or more, have come to us and joined with us; but the greater part of this congregation, I believe, have heard my preaching ever since they attended public worship. And what real religious benefit are you conscious of having received? We believe that preaching the Gospel is an institution of Christ; and that it is well adapted to convey religious information,—to explain and enforce duty,—to enlighten and impress the minds of men on the great subjects of religion and future salvation. And if it be an appointment of Christ, it is our indispensable duty and high privilege to hear it. Have you heard to any lasting advantage? Are you any better disposed to the duties of life, and more prepared for heaven by what you have heard? Notwithstanding all the imperfection of ministers and their method of preaching, if the truths of God's word have been officially set before you, in an intelligible manner, you were bound to hear and obey. Ministers "are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us" to be reconciled to Him,—to believe and submit to his Son. The account, then, which you must give, at the great day, how you have heard and received and improved the overtures of pardon and peace that have been made to you and urged upon you, must be very interesting and solemn. Now you are addressed by men of like passions with yourselves. But then you will be called upon by the appointed Judge of mankind, whose knowledge not a thought can escape,—whose authority none can dispute,—whose power none can resist. How much, then, it concerns you, my dear flock, to consider and examine how you have heard
and improved the long course of preaching and religious instruction here administered!

When I think of the final judgment, where ministers and their people will all meet,—and I shall behold all who have been committed to my care, I am filled with a solemnity and pressed with a concern that I cannot express! My own account rises before me with awful interest, even with the hope that it will be found joyful;—and the now unknown condition of my beloved people,—the uncertainty on which hand of the Judge they will appear, hangs upon my mind and heart with a weight of hope and fear not to be described! My feelings, on this subject, are not lowered nor cooled by the consideration that my opportunities with you are fast drawing to a close. "After a little while, I shall go whence I shall not return."

Nothing that I am conscious of, short of the divine approbation and presence, would render the approach of death so welcome and pleasant, as the knowledge,—the evidence, that you, my charge, "beloved and longed for," were become real Christians, blessings in the world and heirs of glory forever. "Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth. Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance; knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle.—Moreover, I will endeavour, that you may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance. For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."
You are expecting, my hearers, and, I trust, will patiently and gratefully receive a few words of counsel, not only in respect to duty in general, but more especially respecting your situation and conduct, when my labours and life shall cease.

I do entreat and counsel you, my brethren, to realize and deeply consider the everlasting truth and importance of revealed religion. If Christianity be true, it is an infinite truth; if it be false, it is an infinite falsehood, which we are not able to unravel or comprehend. We are thrown back into a terrible abyss of uncertainty,—into "darkness that may be felt." But Christianity is true;—we do not for a moment admit the contrary supposition. Christianity is amply proved to be the truth of God by internal and external evidence,—by its professed design,—its sublime doctrines,—its holy nature, tendency, and effects;—"by many signs, and wonders, and miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost." This heavenly religion meets the exigencies of man, exalts and purifies his intellectual and moral nature, satisfies his vast desires, blesses him in solitude and in society, sanctifies all his powers, and directs them to the divine Author of his existence and the imitation of the Saviour, and thus transforms him into the divine likeness: it does more, it animates him in duty, comforts him in trouble, illumines his prospects into futurity, sustains him in death, and qualifies him for the ineffable employments and enjoyments of the heavenly world. It is certain that "God spake unto the fathers by the prophets," as recorded in the Old Testament, and "in the fullness of time, by his Son," as
related in the New Testament. Our religion is as clearly proved as the nature of the subject admits, and as a pious and benevolent mind can reasonably desire. Attend, then, to this religion in earnest, as a matter of prime importance; and strive to secure the blessings promised, and to escape the evils threatened.

If I should be continued a few years longer, my strength and faculties will gradually, if not suddenly fail. I shall of course be less and less able to perform the duties of a teacher and pastor. I do therefore renew my request for assistance by a Colleague. It seems to me, that “I have served out my time,” and that I shall not be censured for desiring more leisure and rest than my present charge will permit. Nevertheless, I do not wish to be idle, nor excused from such service as my strength of body and mind will admit. I am willing to wear out in your service.

It is not my desire that you should feel obligated immediately to act on this subject. Consult your own benefit and interest and peace and duty, as well as my relief. But whenever you shall attend to the interesting subject of procuring a successor, or assistant, to your present pastor, let me counsel you, in the first place, to seek unto God for wisdom and direction, and keep the eye of faith steadily towards him, “who is given to be the head over all things to the church.” In the next place, look for a man of sound piety and sound learning. His piety, that is, religion, will induce a faithful performance of duty; and his learning will guard him against injurious errors, and “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.” You need not fear the ministrations
of a man thoroughly religious and well informed in his profession.

But you must not expect every thing in a young man; nor that he must preach and pray and conduct like any of his predecessors. He must be and act himself, and feel no restraint from those who have gone before him in office. And it is my prayer and hope, that, whenever you shall be favoured with another minister, he may be a better, a wiser, a more learned, faithful, and successful pastor than you have had the last fifty years.

But, my dear brethren, take all suitable care to live in love and peace. "Follow the things that make for peace." Keep together as a religious society, and suffer no trifling considerations to alienate your affections and cause separation. Lay not stress upon human creeds. I am thoroughly convinced that vital religion in any person does not depend on any particular creed, except the Bible. Adhere invariably to the Bible, and endeavour to understand it chiefly for the great purposes of practical piety and goodness. In the present improved state of society and learning, you must read and examine for yourselves. If a question of controversy should be pressed upon you, be sure to read on both sides, before you make up your mind upon it. Your minister will cheerfully aid you in understanding the scriptures and all your duty to God, to your fellowmen, and to yourselves.

I shall not presume to dictate to you respecting the religious tenets of a successor. This does not appear to me to be my duty or my right. An attempt
to bind you after my departure would be unreasonable and arrogant. You are to hear and judge for yourselves, and to make your election in the belief that you are nearly and forever interested in the transaction. My earnest desire is, that he may be a minister of the Gospel in theory and practice,—that he may firmly believe and teach and practice the religion of the Bible. Whether he shall understand this or that passage of scripture precisely as I do, or as many others do, I consider of little or no importance. Let him enjoy the same liberty of inquiring and judging for himself, which you justly claim for yourselves. If, however, he shall profess and practise contrary to what you honestly believe to be the word and will of God, you may, perhaps ought, to seek a remedy, a separation. But in doing this, be calm, orderly, conscientious, and look to Heaven for direction.

"Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen."
The names of the Deacons of this Church at and since the Ordination of the Rev. Daniel Bliss.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deacon</th>
<th>When Chosen</th>
<th>When Died</th>
<th>Ages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Dakin</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>March 13, 1743</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Miles</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Oct. 11, 1753</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Meriam</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>June 1, 1764, unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Heywood</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Oct. 28, 1780</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Minot</td>
<td>May 30, 1744</td>
<td>March 17, 1766</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephraim Brown</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Oct. 9, 1788</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Heald</td>
<td>Oct. 24, 1751</td>
<td>Left town Jan. 4, 1774</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Barrett</td>
<td>Feb. 18, 1766</td>
<td>June 20, 1779</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Wheeler</td>
<td>June 16, 1766</td>
<td>March 24, 1784</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Hunt</td>
<td>June 16, 1766</td>
<td>Dec. 13, 1790</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Minot</td>
<td>Aug. 3, 1779</td>
<td>April 12, 1808</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John White</td>
<td>Dec. 6, 1784</td>
<td>Joined Trin. church, Nov. 12, 1826.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Parkman</td>
<td>Nov. 20, 1788</td>
<td>Resigned, by reason of age, Dec. 8, 1814.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Chandler</td>
<td>June 30, 1791</td>
<td>Resigned by reason of a Cancer, and died Jan. 19, 1813.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hubbard</td>
<td>April 30, 1812</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Jarvis</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuben Brown, Jr.</td>
<td>March 3, 1827</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus Hosmer</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AN
ADDRESS

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BAR

OF

WORCESTER COUNTY,

Massachusetts,

OCTOBER 2, 1829.

BY JOSEPH WILLARD.

LANCASTER:
CARTER, ANDREWS, AND COMPANY, PRINTERS.
1830.
Worcester, October 3, 1829.

JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.

Dear Sir:—In compliance with a vote of the Members of the Bar of the County of Worcester, we have the pleasure to tender you their thanks for the able and interesting historical address, delivered before them by you on Friday evening last; to request a copy for the press, and to assure you of the high personal respect and regard with which we are, 

Yours, &c. BEZALEEL TAFT, Jun.
CHARLES ALLEN,
WILLIAM LINCOLN.

To Hon. Bezaleel Taft, Jun.,
Charles Allen, and
William Lincoln, Esqrs.

Gentlemen:—Desirous of preserving what little can be gathered of the history of the early day of our profession in this County, I submit the address to the disposal of the Members of the Bar, with many thanks to them for the very kind and flattering manner in which they received it, and to you, gentlemen, for the gratifying mode in which you are pleased to communicate their vote.

I warmly and cheerfully reciprocate your expressions of personal esteem and friendship. Yours, &c. JOSEPH WILLARD.

Lancaster, October, 5, 1829.

NOTE.—Some portions of the following Address were omitted in the delivery for want of time.
ADDRESS.

The occasion which calls us together is neither without its interest nor without its use. We have snatched a few moments, in which we have turned aside from the busy walks of life, and the painstaking efforts of a laborious calling, to dwell upon some subjects connected with our profession that are important in themselves, and will continue of value so long as we are true to our high trust, and the obligations we have assumed.

Although nearly a century has elapsed since the incorporation of this county, each succeeding anniversary has passed by without notice. There has been no meeting like the present, where I see, gathered around, those of every age and stage in the profession. In some other places in the Commonwealth it has been otherwise; and addresses have been delivered treating upon the history of the bar, and matters connected with professional pursuits.

I have no ability, nor do I essay, to emulate those who have appeared on similar occasions; but the rather as a forlorn hope I have come up to this place, for the fathers would not come up, to hold
out in future years an inducement to those who may be designated by you to put forth their strength, and surpass my humble efforts. To some it may appear a favourable circumstance that the ground is untrodden, and they may think a full harvest awaits him who first puts in the sickle. But it should be remembered that an untrodden path is not always easy: the rather is it filled with impediments that meet you at every turn; and if you gather fruit or flower you do it at no common hazard, and possibly may lose your venture.

Let us dwell on these occasions: they will be found of value as a point of union hereafter to be more diligently sought for, as the circles of time and space widen, and receive more within their embrace. They will be found of value as stirring up to life and action the sympathies that exist in those following the same pursuit; the feelings, now indeed almost in a state of repose, but which need but a little quickening influence to render them healthy and vigorous. They will call out that esprit de corps that renders the profession in verity but one body, suffering and rejoicing together, and urging it on to those intellectual efforts that will secure the favourable public sentiment, and enable the individual members to fulfil the manifold duties they owe to themselves and to society.

On looking upon our ranks we find that from a little one we have become a host, assembling for the same object, and guided by the same feelings. It is time, then, that stated meetings should be had,
with the same general purpose as the present, binding us more closely together, and furnishing a tribute of our respect for that profession which is the common mother of our peace and joy.

There are, however, antecedent duties, incumbent on every one as a member of society, as a part of that great whole which we call the world. It is the law of our existence, as moral agents, and still more when we cease to be isolated beings and come into society, to endeavour, according to the means and opportunities that are placed within our reach, to sacrifice the selfish principle, or rather to regulate and restrain it, and to leave all our good qualities of thought and feeling free exercise in aid of every praiseworthy effort to advance the good of mankind, and especially to dwell largely upon the interests of our own age, and of the community to which we belong.

It is our duty, so far as we have education and ability, to search diligently for the means of general improvement, and apply ourselves with earnestness to the task. We may be called upon to suffer while we are yet in the way; we may be compelled to pass through evil report as well as good report; to encounter the ingratitude of those we would serve; to have our views perverted; our motives misunderstood; our efforts opposed and ridiculed. Still our duty is no less plain to persevere in our course, to press forward with good courage, and look to the end while we are zealous in elaborating the means. It is well that the love of distinction,
whether immediate or posthumous, lends a helping hand to support our faltering steps, and strew the ground on which we tread with flowers, and gild the heavens above us with brightness. This lifts us above and beyond that refined spirit of selfishness, so fashionable a doctrine at the present day, to which altars are erected and incense is offered, but which is still the apotheosis of self, and spiritualizes away all common sense. "It is," says Bacon, "a poor centre of man's actions, himself. It is right earth: whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another which they benefit."

Beyond the general obligation that each individual is under to promote the interests of society, lies the further and more peculiar duty that he owes to his own particular vocation. It is altogether a mistaken idea that a man has a complete right to his own time, to dispose of it at his own pleasure. He is not, neither ought he to be, an independent being. The law of dependence, not slavish subservience, is by nature and society, and to this he must submit. The demands that are made upon him for the general good he must listen to and obey, because it is for the general happiness;—a consideration superior to the claims of individual comfort. The Roman orator in his Republic, with very just views on the subject, exclaims:—"Neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educavit, ut nulla quasi alimenta expectaret a nobis, ac tantummodo nostris ipsa commodis serviens, tumt perfugium otio nostro suppedi-
taret, et tranquillum ad quietem locum: sed ut plurimas et maximas nostri animi, ingenii, consilii, partes ipsa sibi ad utilitatem suam pigneraretur: tantumque nobis in nostrum privatum usum, quantum ipsi superesse posset, remiteret," allowing to each one, for his own private use, only that portion that the public might not require.

There is a quickening influence that each one may exert in his own walk of life. But this truth, if felt, is not practised upon as it should be. Look for a moment at the beginning and progress in this matter, and at the frequent result. On entering into a profession we generally form excellent resolutions of industry and perseverance, and our imaginations work out in glorious perspective a brilliant pathway, where the eye is to be delighted with exceeding beauty, and the air to be filled with rich fragrance. The progress to eminence seems plain and easy. We feel that we shall be able to achieve all that has ever been achieved by the mighty ones who have gone before us. We look upon those who have faltered by the wayside with contemptuous pity, confident that a different fate awaits us. If the laws of nature are not to be changed in our behalf, there is to be some signal interposition, to constitute us an exception to that which is true of most others.

But these illusions of the fancy are too pleasing to continue. The crowded way, the private griefs, the home realities of life, the doubts and fears, the love of personal ease, the increasing difficulty of
exciting the intellect to exertion, all these tend to
cool the ardour and check the activity of the mind,
and tempt us to fall into the general current, and
to be borne along by it, whatever may be its course,
though shallows and miseries are around and
beneath, rather than to gather up our energies to
stem its force, or direct it where it may fertilize
and not destroy: thus becoming slaves to the will
of others, bearing or forbearing, doing or omitting
what they, not we, think best.

Every one in entering into a profession makes a
tacita greement that he will not pervert its objects,
nor lower its standard. He is bound by every
motive to help it onward, for it is a part of the
great work of society, and he has peculiar means
and opportunities to advance its interests and
increase its value. Why does he enter upon it?
Is it merely to acquire wherewithal to support his
existence? Is it not for the further and higher
object of earning a good name, of gathering the
distinctions that belong to his profession, and of
preserving an imperishable esteem? He is placed
there by his own choice; he can pour light upon
his pursuit; and though the rays be few and
scattered, still it is light, and he must produce what
illumination he can. As a matter of pride and
self-respect he should be unwilling that through
him his profession should be pierced and wounded.
No man should be ashamed of his calling, nor seek
to degrade it. He is one of the artificers without
whose aid the building cannot be aptly framed and
completed. The apartment he may occupy may be of limited extent, and small to the eye of the observer; but it is a part of the great whole. He has the power to concentrate his attention and his efforts, to penetrate the mysteries of his pursuit with a clear and single eye, to give each part its proper proportion, and present the whole in the most favourable attitude before the world. The sympathy of a kindred object should excite him: pride, that dwells largely in the human breast, and lies at the foundation of much useful exertion in the great field of improvement, should urge him on to noble activity. As mental labour becomes more divided and subdivided, each branch of knowledge is ministered unto with more assiduity, and each, consequently, is turned out with greater beauty and excellence. The intellectual labor limae becomes greater, and the responsibility of each one who ventures forth increases in proportion. This is another incentive to exertion, and to aim at high attainments. And the fact that increased personal consideration follows success, and that scarcely any one is so gifted of heaven as to excel in various pursuits, should serve to develope the latent powers of the mind, and to advance them to maturity and strength.

The pursuit of intellectual distinction should be worshipped as the mistress of our affections, and the gladsome light will break in to cheer and illumine. And is not the reward in proportion? Who shall check the career of the painstaking and
gifted? Who shall set limits to the ethereal principle that widens and rises by culture, and attempt to bound its exertions for the general good? There is a seminal particle of life in it that will not be suppressed: it will grow and strengthen, and burst forth in the voice of truth, in the pleasing tones of persuasion, in the thrilling influences of eloquence, that has less of earth than of heaven, and leaves its indelible traces on the heart and soul, wasting not, rioting not, though lavish of its treasures.

The institution of the legal profession is a necessary consequence of a civilized state of society. In the rude condition of man, each individual, in a greater or less degree, takes the redress of his private wrongs into his own hands. Justice becomes subservient to the strongest, and the whole question of right is resolved into a calculation of comparative physical power. The tyranny is of the grossest kind, for it is the triumph of material nature, and makes waste places through the force of the worst passions and prejudices. It was such a state of things that constituted the world a desert, and man the mere creature of sensation.

"Then waited not the murderer for the night,
But smote his brother down in the bright day,
And he who felt the wrong, and had the might,
His own avenger, girt himself to slay;
Beside the path the unburied carcase lay;
The shepherd, by the fountains of the glen,
Fled, while the robber swept his flocks away,
And slew his babes. The sick untended then,
Languish'd in the damp shade, and died afar from men."

But with society came in all the forms and attributes that were necessary to give it a perma-
nent habitation, and courts were constituted, and officers appointed, whose duty it was to judge between man and his neighbour. The more men came in contact, the more frequent, of course, were the collisions and differences that sprang up. The strong and the weak, the cunning and the unwary, the child and the female, would, as occasion required, seek the interposition of others to stay injury and avenge wrong. Many, indeed most, would be but poorly qualified to place their own cause in the best point of view, and support their allegations. Hence came the necessity of a distinct body, whose duty it should be to appear for others, and to do and say what the aggrieved would do and say had they the ability. As such a body increased in numbers it would increase in weight and importance, and being duly versed in the forum, and well grounded in form and substance, it would naturally, by common consent, gain a vantage ground, which would continually become more sure as the relations of society multiplied, giving rise to numerous and complex systems of laws. Once established it becomes a regular part of the machinery of society, and, if not necessary for its preservation, is essential to its well being. It is placed on the heights of the citadel to catch the notes of tyranny and oppression in their lowest breathings, watching from a distance the approach of injustice, and interposing as the shield of innocence against the arm of unbridled power.
The institution of the profession may then be assigned to an early day in the history of civilization. At Rome its distinction was high. Each jurist was of the patrician rank, and stood in the relation of patron to his clients. At day dawn his gates were thronged by those who were seeking for advice and protection. Even in the luxurious days of Horace, sub galli cantum, consulutor ubi ostia pulsat, he heard their grievances and appeared for their redress. The relation between them, as established in the time of Romulus, and continued to the reign of the Emperors, was so sacred that "neither party was allowed to give evidence against the other." And this connexion, which was also political, became hereditary. The most distinguished of the patrician order enrolled themselves in the profession, as it gave them great influence and wide helps in their ambitious views of office. For several centuries there was no pecuniary reward, and the Cincian Law, in the time of the Republic, enacted *ne quis ob causam orandam, pecunium donumve accipiat*. And even so late as the reign of Trajan, when an honorarium was allowed, a decree was passed requiring an oath from the client that he had neither given nor promised any remuneration before the trial, but did not prevent the patron from receiving an honorary remuneration for his services. When fees were finally established, the patrons were not allowed to receive more than ten thousand sesterces, or about eighty pounds sterling. Instances however
were not unknown of still larger fees: and Suilius, of venal memory, in the reign of Nero, was banished to an island in the Mediterranean for his monstrous extortion. But large rewards still flowed in, and the distant provinces had their patrons in Imperial Rome, many of whom by their distinguished talents amassed immense possessions. These rewards were not confined to gold and silver, but, as the great Roman satirist affirms—

"—— Praeclare tributa clientes
Cogimur, et cultis augere peculia servis."

The profession continued to flourish, and was full of talent and power during the reign of the later Emperors and in the Byzantine Empire, till the whole of classic ground was overrun by barbarians. A large proportion of the best and most useful writers, we are told, and the most valuable of the fathers of the Latin Church, were jurists.

The discovery of the pandects in the twelfth century was immediately followed by an ardent zeal in the pursuit of the civil law on the continent of Europe. Many of its precepts, more or less obscured, by the lapse of time and the torrent of barbarism that had spread over and waisted the fairest portions of Europe, had survived as a part of the oral knowledge of the day, and retained some influence in the community; like the vigorous seed penetrating the soil, and piercing the incumbent clods, till it reaches the upper earth and becomes the thrifty and hardy plant. The civilians soon
became a distinct class, and by their labours in the forum, and their learned commentaries, they gained distinction to themselves, and impressed a fair character upon the jurisprudence of their time and country.

In Scotland, where the civil law bore sway, it was not till the sixteenth century that the practice of the law became a distinct profession. In the reign of James the Fifth a certain number of men were bred to the law, whose duty it was to aid in the discussions and contentions of the forum: and this, we are told, "was the first establishment of a body regularly educated to the law, which has ever since been regarded in Scotland as an honourable profession, and has produced many great men." Its earlier establishment was doubtless prevented by the division of the country into numerous and powerful clans, whose interminable conflicts would not brook the restraints of judicial authority.

In England we may go much further back. Its origin there as a distinct profession has not, I believe, been exactly ascertained; but, not far from the time of the Conqueror, the degree of Serjeant and that of Barrister or Apprentice were well known and distinctly marked. Indeed it is probable that we may trace upward the current of time to the days of Saxon power. The office of Attorney is of subsequent origin, of less dignity, and subject to severer regulations. In those early days there could have been but a narrow field for professional opportunity and display. There was no middle
rank to unite the two extremes of society. "Citizens and burgesses were but little better than slaves."

In dwelling for a few moments upon the history of the bar in our own state, it may not be out of place to describe, with brevity, the construction and machinery of our ancient courts. The colony charter established a body composed of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and eighteen assistants, who were all chosen annually. To this body was entrusted the general management of the affairs of the company, subject to an allegiance to the crown, that all history shows was in truth merely nominal. In this tribunal was vested the judicial authority of the colony. For the first year or two the freemen assembled with this body, and constituted the Great and General Court. In 1634, the freemen of the towns, instead of appearing at court in person, sent deputies; a new choice being had for each meeting of the court, of which there were four annually. This was the origin of the system of representation still existing amongst us, though, in its first establishment, it was necessary to strain the charter a few points, and enlarge its spirit by a very liberal construction, to authorize the measure. This shows, so far as it goes, the early tendency of the colonists to an independent exercise of their powers. In 1644, the Deputies first formed a distinct house from the assistants or magistrates. For several years the whole judicial power was exercised by the court of assistants, excepting in those cases that
were within the jurisdiction of the justices of the Peace, and the assistants were the only justices in their respective counties. Juries of trials were not regularly returned till 1634, and Grand Juries the next year; who at the very first term presented above a hundred offences, and amongst them some in which the magistrates were implicated. But as the scattered population extended in a few years from the borders of Plymouth Colony to the Province of Maine, and from the ocean to Connecticut River, a new arrangement became necessary. Accordingly, in 1639, County Courts for each county were established. They were held by the magistrates in each county, or any other magistrates who would attend, together with such persons as were chosen and approved of by the General Court, five in all, any three of whom might hold a court. They had jurisdiction in all civil cases, and in all criminal cases, where the penalty did not extend to life, member, or banishment. They also constituted the Court of Probate. Appeals lay to the Court of Assistants, and thence to the General Court, where frequently reviews and new trials were granted to be had in the courts below. The assistants, as I have stated, were, ex-officio, Justices of the Peace. Selectmen had the right of determining offences against the by-laws of their towns, under certain restrictions; and in many towns a Court of Commissioners was appointed by the towns themselves, and approved of by the County Court, to determine small debts, and trespasses
under twenty shillings. The Governor, Deputy Governor, and any two magistrates, or, in their absence, any three magistrates, might hold special courts for the trial of County Court causes, between strangers, or where one stranger was a party. The authority of the Court of Assistants extended to appeals from the inferior tribunals; and to life, member, and banishment, in criminal matters.

The judicial polity of the colony continued unaltered till judgment was rendered in the Court of King's Bench, in 1634, and the charter of Massachusetts was declared forfeited. Charles the Second died the following year, and the severe measures of the parent government in relation to the colony were for awhile suspended. The usual elections were held in 1685. In May, 1686, a commission was issued by James II appointing a President and Council, to whom the general and particular administration of affairs was entrusted. The courts were continued on the same footing as before, excepting that the President* assumed the powers of the Supreme Ordinary, and laid claim, also, to vice admiralty jurisdiction. He was superseded by Sir Edmund Andross, who arrived in Boston in December, 1686. Andross introduced the forms used by the Spiritual Courts in England in all matters touching the probate of wills, granting administrations, &c. Before his time there had been as little formality in these proceedings as in the other business of the courts; and the changes he introduced were so

* Joseph Dudley.
beneficial that they have been substantially preserved to the present time, and stand out, together with greater correctness in legal proceedings, as the only bright spot from the dark and desolating tyranny of his government. On the coming in of William, of Orange, and the subsequent imprisonment of Andross, in the spring of 1689, when nothing but the virtue and intelligence of the community saved political society from resolving itself into its original elements, a number of gentlemen associated as a “council for the safety of the people and conservation of the peace,” and assumed, from the necessity of the case, a brief authority in the administration of affairs, until the power sent back to the electors could be heard and exercised by their constituted organs. And thus for the space of three years, and till the arrival of Sir William Phips with the new charter, the affairs of the colony, at first by necessity, and then by royal authority, were administered under the old charter.

The machinery of the courts was much altered by the Province charter. The number of assistants or councillors* was increased to twenty-eight, and they, with the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, constituted the Supreme Ordinary, and decided all questions touching marriage and divorce. An act, indeed, was early passed, establishing Courts of Probate in the several counties; but for some reason it was negatived by the king. Judges of Probate, who are frequently spoken of in the Province laws,

* I have adopted this authography which has the sanction of Hutchinson, and is, besides, analogically, the most correct.
were mere Deputies of the Governor and council. The Superior Court answered in its principal features to our present Supreme Court. There was also a court of Common Pleas in each county, for civil trials, and courts of General and Quarter Sessions. The two latter had cognizance of criminal offences, and the former of them had substantially the same power that is now vested in the county commissioners. Magistrates were appointed in the same manner, and with the same general powers in civil and criminal matters, as under the present constitution and laws.

At the first coming over to this country the colonists diligently set themselves to work, and made a great improvement in the system of the common law. By the charter, which established free and common soccage as the mode of tenure of lands, much of the offensive matter of the feudal system was swept off, and in 1641, by an express law it was declared that land should be free from all fines and licenses on alienations, from all heriots, wardships, liveries, primer seizins, year day and waste, and escheats and forfeitures. This formed a fit basis for the law of real property, and, together with the nearly equal distribution of estates, gave a great impulse to the infant community.

The early laws, though severe, were not numerous. The utmost simplicity prevailed in all proceedings, partaking fully of the character of the times. But still there was much irresponsible power exercised by the magistrates. As they, with
the clergy, were the only educated men in the community, constituting an entirely different state of things from that which now exists, it is not strange that they thought themselves justified in assuming what they supposed a healthful jurisdiction. Winthrop was strong in this opinion, and so also were many others: and even Hubbard, in a subsequent age, remarks with approbation that "it was always the apprehension of the wisest rulers in New-England, that it had been better for the country to have left more liberty in the hands of the magistrates, and not to have tied them up so strictly to the observation of particular laws, that many times are very prejudicial to honest men;" as if discretion were not, in fact, only another name for tyranny and abuse. The deputies, or lower house, and probably the freemen generally, were dissatisfied with this uncertain authority; and several commissions, none of which were successful, were appointed, to* devise some change in the economy of government. In 1639, the matter was again taken up, and committed to Mr. Cotton and Nathaniel Ward. Ward was, for a time, the minister of Ipswich, and before coming to this country had studied and practised law. He is best known however, to the present age, by that strange and curious work he wrote, entitled "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam." Cotton was a distinguished clergyman in Boston, and was held in great and deserved regard for his character and talents. He has been called, and deservedly, by the venerable name of

* The first commission was appointed in 1635.
the patriarch of New-England. Ward's labours found chief favour with the public. They consisted of one hundred laws, and were called the Body of liberties. Cotton's system followed very closely the Levitical code, establishing, in form and substance, a theocracy; while that of Ward was better adapted to the times in which he lived. The substance of the latter system, as given by the distinguished American Annalist, was, "that there never should be any bond slavery, villenage or captivity among the inhabitants of the colony, excepting lawful captives taken in the wars, or such as should willingly sell themselves, or be sold to them, and such should have the liberties and Christian usage which the law of God, established in Israel concerning such persons, morally requires: that if any strangers, or people of other nations, professing the Christian religion, should fly to them from tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine, wars, or the like necessary and compulsory cause, they should receive entertainment and succour; that there should be no monopolies, but of such new inventions as were profitable to the country, and those for a short time only; that all deeds of conveyance, whether absolute or conditional, should be recorded, that neither creditors might be defrauded, nor courts troubled with vexatious suits and endless contentions about sales and mortgages; that no injunction should be laid on any church, church officer, or member, in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance,
besides the institution of the Lord: and, that in the
defect of a law in any case, the decision should be
by the word of God."

These laws partook much more largely of modern
improvement than the code of the other divine;
but they continued in force only three years. An­
other system was compiled and adopted in 1648,
and was the earliest collection of laws published in
this country. It was drawn up by Cotton and
Bellingham, and contained in one body, the laws
that had been made from time to time. These
were ratified by the General Court, and were then
given to the world.

The forms of actions were short and simple.
As early as 1649, I find actions of the case for
trespass, on mortgage, for not delivering lands, for
not performing covenants, for withholding debts
due, &c. The magistrates issued the original
process, commanding the marshal, or his deputy, to
attach the goods, &c. or in want thereof the body
of the debtor, and to take bond with sufficient
surety or sureties for his appearance, &c. These
processes were not issued in the king's name during
the reign of Charles the first, nor was there after­
wards in them any recognition of the authority of the
English Commonwealth. There was ever an unwil­
ingness to acknowledge a superior power in the
mother country, or to allow of appeals from the de­
cisions of the colonial government. But necessity
compelled the colonists occasionally to yield a point,
at least in seeming, to secure in the end more sub-
strial benefits. And thus it was that after the re-

storation they were obliged to issue legal precepts, in

the name of the king. The marshal, who was origi-
nally called the "Beadle of the Society," was not re-

quired personally to make service of the precept, but

might appoint any one in writing as his deputy to

execute and return it. The pleadings were _verbo

_tenuis, and without form. The testimony of wit-

nesses reduced to writing, and signed by them,

was required by law to be put on file with the pa-

pers of the case. The record was embraced in a

very brief space; containing but little more than

the names of the parties, and the verdict of the

jury.

The power of the magistrates in issuing process,

though exceedingly dangerous, and liable to great

abuse, and justly complained of, was defended on

the ground "that they might either divert the suit

if the cause be unjust, or direct it in a right course

if good:" and that it gave them "opportunity to

end many differences in a friendly way, without

charge to the parties, or trouble to the court." In

early times a discretion was suffered, rather than

expressly allowed, that would not answer in a riper

state of society in the midst of a numerous popula-

tion. The colonists, however, were rapidly in-

creasing, and many towns were settled when the

complaints were made of the undue authority of

the rulers.

It is not to be supposed that in the very peculiar

condition and economy of the early colonists there
would be much occasion for our profession. There were among the magistrates several who had been bred to the law in England, of whom were John Winthrop, Richard Bellingham and John Humfrey, and of the clergy Nathaniel Ward. Thomas Morton however should not be passed by without notice. He was of Cliffords’ Inn, and came to Weston’s plantation at Wessaguscus, now Braintree, in 1622. It does not appear however that he pursued the profession in the colony; nor was he of a character to attract favourable regard. He was somewhat of a disturber in the plantation, and subverted all wholesome authority, so that he was seized by the magistrates of Plymouth Colony, and transported to England. He returned the following year, and was soon after imprisoned by order of the Massachusetts government “for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanours.” It is a matter of some question how far his punishment was deserved. By his own work it seems that he was “suddenly called before the magistrates merely to hear his doom;” still it is not to be doubted that he was liable to censure, and that he had exposed himself to the interference of the civil authority. Winthrop and Bellingham were at several times Governors of the colony, Humfrey a deputy Governor, and all of them distinguished men. These, and other leading men of the magistracy, knowing their own ability and the ignorance of most of the early planters amongst the yeomanry, were, naturally enough, and with
the best intentions desirous of covering the whole scope of their actual authority and of enlarging their power by construction; and they therefore would not be well pleased to witness the introduction of members of the most searching of all the professions, who would be inclined to stand rigidly upon the law and the testimony, and curtail the authority of the magistrates.

Ward, indeed, was more liberal, and in 1641, at the annual election, preached a discourse, wherein he declared that the magistrates ought not to give private advice, and take knowledge of any man’s cause before it came to publick hearing. A principal ground of rejecting Ward’s proposition was, that its adoption would render it necessary to provide lawyers to direct men in their causes. This shows, I think, something of the feeling upon the subject amongst the reigning powers.

At this time no advocate was allowed in the courts. The parties spoke for themselves where they had ability and inclination, and when they needed assistance it was given by the magistrates, without recompense. “For more than the ten first years,” says Hutchinson, following the account given by Governor Winthrop, “the parties spake for themselves, for the most part: sometimes, when it was thought the cause required it, they were assisted by a patron, or man of superior abilities, without fee or reward.” It was rather the domestic differences of members of the same family, than the formal organization of a commonwealth, and
from the construction of the courts there was no opportunity of forming a learned bar, no room for the display of talents and legal attainments. Doubtless there were attorneys here from an early day, down to the time of the Province Charter. I find them mentioned in the records of the General Court in 1649, and elsewhere: but little, however, is known of them, and they were probably what Governor Winthrop would call mean men, of but little education. They appeared, it may be supposed, by special powers, which were certainly required by law in 1673, and probably by judicial requisition much earlier. By a law of 1663,* usual and common attorneys in any inferior court were not allowed to be members of the General Court: the reason of which was that appeals lay from the lower tribunals to the General Court. It serves, however, to establish the fact that there were then those who made it their business to pursue and defend the causes of others.

The first man who fairly ventured his fortunes in the practice of law in the colony was Thomas Lechford, who wrote himself “of Clements’ Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman.” He came to the country in 1637 and took up his residence in Boston. He probably continued in the practice three years, when he was called up for “pleading with the jury out of court.” He was “convented” before the Quarter Court, 1 Dec.

* This is usually put down as having been passed in 1654. But in the volume of Ancient Charters, &c. Ed. 1814, it bears date 1663. It is not contained in the edition of the laws printed in 1658, but is in that of 1673. This is conclusive against 1654.
1640, and, according to the record, "acknowledged he had overshot himself, and was sorry for it, promised to attend to his calling, and not to meddle with controversies, and was dismissed." Not to meddle with controversies, was depriving him of his living, and making him poor indeed. He supported himself for awhile, as he expresses it in his Plain Dealing, "in writing petty things." Finding, doubtless, that the calling of a scrivener was equally meagre and unprofitable with that of attorney, he left the country in the following year, and returned to England, indulging in no measured spirit of hostility against the rulers and people of the Colony. The work to which I have alluded, and which he published in England on his return, was written with acrimony, from fancied or real injury experienced: but still it contained many truths, and did not deserve the severe censure with which, in former and later periods, it has been visited.

If there were any other regularly bred lawyers in the Bay during the seventeenth century, with the partial exception I shall presently mention, they have sunk into oblivion to their very names. Those who acted as such may have paid some attention to jurisprudence; but there was no form of admission to practice, no previous study required, and there were no exact proceedings in the courts. Indeed it may well be doubted whether there were any books of the common law in the country, excepting two copies of the following works, which the governor and assistants ordered to be imported
in 1647, viz. Coke's Entries and Reports, his Commentaries and Reading on Magna Charta, the New Terms of the Law, and Dalton's Justice. Occasionally it is mentioned that a party appeared by Attorney, as in 1652, in Middlesex, Mr. Coggan appeared as attorney to Stephen Day, the first printer: in 1654, in the case of Ridgway against Jordan, the defendant appeared by his attorney, Amos Richardson: and in 1656, in the case of John Glover against Henry Dunster, who had been President of Harvard College, Edmund Goffe and Thomas Danforth appeared for the plaintiff. Now this Amos Richardson was, I believe, a tailor, and Coggan (John) was in mercantile business and kept the first shop in Boston. Goffe, then an old man, was for several years the representative from Cambridge, and Danforth also; and the latter, besides, filled the office of assistant and deputy-governor; but neither of them was of the legal profession.

John Dunton, an English bookseller, who was here in 1686, in an amusing work which he wrote, called his "Life and Errors," speaks of a Mr. Watson and Dr. Bullivant who attended the courts. Of Watson he says that he was "formerly a merchant in London, but not thriving there he left the Exchange for Westminster Hall, and in Boston has become as dexterous at splitting of causes as if he had been bred to it. He is full of fancy, and knows the quirks of the law: but, to do him justice, he proves as honest as the best lawyer of
them all." Of Bullivant (Benjamin) he remarks, "his knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of Attorney-General, which was conferred upon him in the revolution in Boston;" and, "while he held his place he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him, that he was for accommodating things and making peace. His eloquence is admirable. He never speaks but it is a sentence, and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words." The office of Attorney-General was not an established office. On some occasions a person was specially authorized to bring informations for the king or government. Bullivant was quite distinguished as a physician. He must have possessed popular talents and address to have sustained himself in the focus of puritanism, with his views of episcopacy, and as one of the founders and wardens of the earliest church of that denomination in the colony.* Nor would it be likely to diminish the difficulty, that he was selected by Sir Edmund Andross as one of his "confidants and advisers."

In addition to Watson and Bullivant, there are two others whose names perhaps should be introduced here. Randolph, in his letter to Povey, Jan. 24, 1687, complains of the want of "two or three honest attorneys, if any such thing in nature." "We have but two," he remarks: "one is Mr. West's creature, come with him from New-York, and drives all before him." He does not mention

* June 13, 1696.
who the other was. James Graham, who, like Bullivant, was "confident and adviser" of Sir Edmund, I suppose, was one of them. He was the Attorney-General under Sir Edmund, and was imprisoned with him, according to Hutchinson and Neal, at the time of the rising in favour of William and Mary. George Farwell, who was imprisoned at the same time, and who officiated as clerk and Attorney at the Court of Oyer and Terminer in Boston in 1687, in the prosecutions against several inhabitants of Ipswich for "contempt and high misdemeanours," was probably the other.* Graham and Farwell terminated their career in Boston on the downfall of Andross' administration. How long Watson and Bullivant continued in the Courts, I have no present means of ascertaining. Bullivant however was living and engaged in medical business as late as 1699.

The observations I have made will perhaps be sufficient to show the feeble existence of the profession during the seventeenth century up to which time there had not, I believe, been a single lawyer, a native of the country. Indeed it was not till long after the charter of William and Mary that there were distinguished jurists in the Province. Amongst their first doings after the arrival of Sir William Phips with the new charter, the General Court established the Judicial tribunals on the

* The mention of Farwell I derive from my friend John Farmer, Esq. of Concord, N. H. highly esteemed for his critical knowledge and minute investigations of the early history of New-England. Mr. Farmer's suggestions in these matters go far to supply the defect of historical proof: and his assertions are arguments.
Stoughton, Danforth, Cooke, and Sewall, were the first judges of the Superior Court. They were men of sound minds and large experience, but were not lawyers. But little, therefore, could be expected of them in methodical proceeding, nice application of the law, or in those rules of practice which may be called the salutary discipline of the court. Paul Dudley* who was a judge from 1718 to 1745, and chief justice from that time till his death in 1751, was the first lawyer who sat on the bench. He had received a thorough professional education, begun at home, and finished at the Temple in London. He introduced, it is said, many wholesome alterations and improvements in judicial proceedings. The Attorney's oath was framed in 1701, and is the same that is now in use. In the same year the General Court established the forms of writs, and authorized the courts to establish rules of practice. But for some years after, there was no real improvement, nor were strict legal forms and technical rules brought at once into use. It was necessary first to obtain a well instructed bench, and a well educated profession. Nor was this the work of a moment. It required, rather, a long period of severe labour, diligent study, and intellectual discipline.

For several years after the new court was organized, and indeed after the commencement of the

* Founder of the lectureship in Harvard University. He was son of Gov. Joseph Dudley, of whom mention has been made in the text, and grandson of Rev. Thomas Dudley.
eighteenth century, actions of the case were brought for the recovery of lands and on mortgages, and the pleadings were akin, in legal precision and correctness, to the declarations. Even after greater exactness was introduced, there was no disposition to encourage special pleading. Dummer, in 1721, remarks with approbation, that "no special pleadings are admitted, but the general issue is always given, and special matters brought in evidence. For the quicker despatch of causes, declarations are made parts of the writ, in which the case is fully and particularly set forth. If it be matter of account, the account is annexed to the writ, and copies of both left with the defendant: which being done fourteen days before the sitting of the court, he is obliged to plead directly, and the issue is then tried."*

The innnovation of special pleading was quite contrary to the spirit of the former and existing occasion, which was prolonged for some years, as is apparent from the remark of Dummer, I have just quoted. The growth of improvement was probably slow, for much was to be learned, and many prejudices were to be overcome. Who then were the great fathers of the healthful change, and when was its inception and fair progress? The time was not a point but a period. It commenced I suppose about the year 1702, when Paul Dudley came from England, with the commission of Attorney General. He was ever esteemed a thorough and accomplished lawyer, and, in other respects was

* Defence of the New-England Charters.
John Read, who was perhaps equally learned in the law and of equal genius, was contemporary with Dudley, and aided largely in the progress of professional improvement. To him is ascribed the origin of the forms of conveyancing now in use. Dudley was Attorney-General till his appointment to the Bench, and Read continued highly distinguished at the Bar till nearly the close of his life in 1749. Succeeding these were Richard Dana, the elder Auchmuty, Shirley, and Bollan; the two latter of English birth and education, Gridley, Trowbridge, &c. under whom the profession became more and more of a science, and its practice gathered to itself respect, honor, wealth, and public influence. The history of this period in our profession is full of interest, and I would gladly dwell upon it more at large, were it in my power. But I must narrow the range of my inquiry, and draw your attention, as well as my own, to subjects partly new, and more immediately belonging to the occasion.

In regard to the history of this Bar, it scarcely becomes me to speak. Being comparatively young in the profession, and having resided but a few years in the midst of you, I know nothing, personally, of those who have gone before me,—of the distinguished members of our profession; though the lustre they shed over their favourite science has not yet faded from recollection, where it does not ascend to the twilight age of tradition. In most things there is ever much in
the present that recalls the past. The praise of eye and ear witnesses, or traditionary reminiscences, encircle the names of illustrious predecessors, and knit them, as it were, to our very selves by the mysterious bond, the common sympathy, of a kindred pursuit. The small class that came into professional life before and during the early period of the revolution has ceased from amongst us, leaving us nothing save the rich inheritance of their fame. Those next in order are our respected seniors, the connecting link between the early and modern history of our bar. To them I would gladly leave the sketch of what is now become the elder day of our profession. I said days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom, but as they will not occupy the ground, I will show you mine opinion.

The history of our Bar cannot be dated back to a very distant period. It is, at best, of but green antiquity. In relation to it we cannot be indebted to "imagination for our facts." It wants all that indistinctness of origin, and all that beautiful combination of fact and fancy, where the light of truth and the uncertainty of tradition are inseparable; where the inception may almost shadow out a present deity, reflecting back the rich colorings of romance. There is no room to dispute whether Aeneas or Iulus was the founder, nor what divinity presided at its institution.

Suffolk is coeval with the colony, and Middlesex was established nineteen years afterwards. They
belong to those simple simple days of old, when heresy was punished with banishment and stubbor­ness in children, cursing or smiting parents, idolatry, blasphemy, consulting with a familiar spirit, &c. were capital offences. When the title of Mr. was honourable, and Josias Plaistowe, for petty larceny, was, with other punishment, sentenced to be called Josias, and not Mr. Josias as he used to be; when sergeant Perkins was ordered to carry forty turfs to the fort for being drunk; when Daniel Clark was fined forty shillings for being an immoderate drinker, and John Wedgewood was set in the stocks, for being in the company of drunkards; when Henry Felch was fined and admonished for his rash speaking, and Captain Lovel was admonished to take heed of light carriage, and Edward Palmer for his extortion in taking two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence for the wood work of Boston stocks, was fined and set in the stocks of his own making: and when for mean men to "wear gold or silver lace, or buttons, or points at their knees, or to walk in great boots, or women of the same rank to wear silk or tyffany hoods or scarfs," was visited with a severe penalty.

It was a subsequent century that saw us springing into existence, when many changes had taken place in the early habits of society; when the simplicity of the fathers had yielded, in a degree, to the refinements consequent on the increase of wealth and population; and when the proceedings
before the judicial tribunals were become more technical and complex.

The act incorporating this County was passed April 2, 1731, and took effect on the tenth day of the following July. The towns and places included, were Worcester, Lancaster, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Leicester, Rutland, and Lunenburg, all which had previously been in Middlesex: Mendon, Woodstock, Oxford, Sutton, including Hassanamisco, Uxbridge, and the land granted to sundry inhabitants of Medfield, which were taken from Suffolk, and Brookfield from Hampshire.

The first Court of Probate was held on the 12th of July, and the first Court of Common Pleas on the tenth of August, 1731. When a sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Prentice, of Lancaster, from the following appropriate text:—And said to the judges, take heed what you do; for ye judge not for man but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons nor taking of gifts. The first term of the superior Court was held on the fourth Wednesday in September, (22d) 1731. When were present Benjamin Lynde, Chief Justice, and Paul Dudley, Edmund Quincy, and John Cushing, Justices.

At the commencement of our County history, the profession of the law in the Province had begun
to assume, as we have already seen, a distinct form and to be pursued as a science. So great had been the change, that at this era there were but few peculiarities in the practice. For a few years the evidence in each case, with the names of the witnesses, was put down on separate pieces of paper, endorsed by the clerk and filed with the other papers in the suit. The sheriff frequently appointed one specially as deputy to make service of a precept, who returned his doings under oath. The pleadings at first were quite short, and were made upon the writ. But they soon became more technical and accurate. Pleas in abatement were almost of course in every action. The usual form in real actions was ejectment, and trespass and ejectment; not the English form of fictions: and there are some early pleas of disclaimer to part, and general issue to the remainder, much as at present. As early as 1747, the expression plea of land was in use in a declaration drawn up by Stephen Fessenden,* I believe; and another in 1768 by James Putnam,† and again in 1773, by Francis Dana‡ the late chief justice. The two latter were students of Judge Trowbridge. This form of expression seems to have been adopted advisedly from the ancient English forms, notwithstanding the opinion of a very learned Jurist who has recently censured it.§ Most of the other writs in real actions

* Clark vs. Townsend.
† Banks vs. Green.
‡ Gibbs vs. Thayer.
§ See Bliss' Address to the Bar, and his review of Jackson on Real Actions.
\(^1\) Amer. Jurist.
that now prevail, were in use. Imparlances for the purpose of vouching in the grantor were common up to the time of the Revolution. In personal actions the most common form of remedy for money lent was debt on bond, but rarely, for many years, trespass on the case. Case on account, for goods sold and delivered, was in use from the incorporation of the County, and elsewhere much earlier. The other personal actions were much the same as those now in general use.

It is not my purpose, even had I the time, to give a complete history of judicial process, through all its varieties, up to the present time. This has already been done by one in every way competent to the undertaking.*

There were but few lawyers who resided in the county, and practised in our courts, before the revolution. Our forum was crowded with professional gentlemen from other places, who were in constant attendance, and bore a large share in the legal conflicts. Many of them were distinguished men in our judicial and political history. Amongst them were—

John Read, Boston, Harvard College, 1697; here 1733, &c. To him we have before alluded. He was long in practice, and enjoyed much public influence, as a member of the provincial government. He was called, by James Otis, "the greatest common lawyer this country ever saw."†

* See the address of Mr. Bliss to the Hampshire Bar in 1826, and his review of Jackson on Real Actions. American Jurist, vol. 1.
† Tudor's Life of Otis, p. 12.
Richard Dana, Charlestown and Boston, Harvard College, 1718; here from 1739 to 1744. He was learned in the profession; some forms of precedents of declarations, evincing legal skill and science, and drafted by him, are still in use. He was father of Francis Dana, late Chief Justice of our Supreme Court.

Jeremiah Gridley, Boston, Harvard College, 1725; here from 1759 to 1765. He has been called "the father of the Bar in Boston." But Read preceded him many years. Gridley was very eminent in his profession. He was the preceptor of Otis, Thacher, and other distinguished jurists. He argued the question on the writs of assistance in opposition to James Otis, his former pupil. When Trowbridge was appointed to the Bench, Gridley succeeded him as Attorney-General.

William Brattle, Cambridge, Harvard College, 1722; here from 1736 to 1754. He was of some celebrity in the popular mind; and was, at various times, minister, physician, and lawyer. His attainments were various, rather than profound. Hence the description given of him by the late facetious Mr. Foxcraft, of Cambridge, that he was "a man of universal superficial knowledge." In his various professions it is certain that he enjoyed much confidence and respect, and exercised an extensive and beneficial influence.

Edmund Trowbridge, Cambridge, Harvard College, 1728; here from 1732 to 1767. He constantly attended our courts thirty-five years.
He was many years Attorney-General, and was made Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1767. This office he held till the revolution. Perhaps the Bar of Massachusetts never had a more thorough and diligent lawyer than Trowbridge. To him Parsons was deeply indebted, particularly for his historical knowledge of what was peculiarly our law. "He commanded the practice in Middlesex and Worcester and several other counties."* His name and his praise are with the whole profession.

Robert Auchmuty, the elder and younger, Boston; here from 1734 to 1761. They were both eminent barristers. The former was agent of the province in England; and laid the plan of the expedition to Cape Breton, which terminated in the conquest of Louisbourg. The latter was Judge of the Admiralty Court from 1768, for several years.

Benjamin Kent, Boston, Harvard College, 1727. here from 1757 to 1767. Kent was for several years the clergyman in Marlborough. But becoming dissatisfied with his vocation, he took measures to obtain a dismissal; and devoted himself to the law. He was not distinguished in the profession, as most of the others I have named: coming late into practice he was deprived of an advantage that no assiduity could entirely overcome.

John Overing, Boston; here from 1731 to 1736. He was for several years Attorney General, before Trowbridge.

William Shirley, Boston, here in 1733, &c. He was of English birth and education, and com-

* Preface to Novanglus, &c. written by the elder President Adams.
menced practice in Boston about the year 1733, where he continued in business till he was appointed Governor of the Province in 1740.

**William Bollan, Boston;** here in 1733, &c. He also was of English birth and education, and was in practice some years with distinguished reputation as a lawyer, and as Advocate General. He was agent of the Province in England, and served with great fidelity and success.

**Timothy Dwight, Northampton;** here from 1740 to 1742. He was admitted to practice in August 1721, and "continued many years in reputable practice, and was afterwards a judge."*

**Josiah Dwight, Springfield;** Yale College, 1736; here from 1740 to 1746.

**Benjamin Pratt, Boston, Harvard College, 1737;** here in 1757. He was a native of Cohasset, and is universally allowed to have been endowed with fine genius, and to have been equally conspicuous for taste, and for professional and general literature. He was afterwards Chief Justice of New-York.

**Oxenbridge Thacher, Boston, Harvard College, 1738;** here in 1759, &c. He was here less frequently than others I have named. He was at first a preacher, but was obliged to relinquish the desk, owing to the feeble state of his health. He became conspicuous at the bar, and in political life. He was also distinguished as a casuist, metaphysician, and general scholar.
John Worthington, Springfield, Yale College, 1740; here from 1749 to 1772. His practice was extensive in his own county, in Berkshire, and Worcester. He was distinguished as a gentleman, a scholar, a jurist, and for forensic eloquence.

Joseph Hawley, Northampton, Yale College, 1742; here from 1752 to 1756. His practice, as well as Worthington's, was extensive in other counties. He had previously studied divinity, and had preached, but was never settled. He was very learned in the law, and deep in black letter. His history and worth belong to our public history for the twenty years preceding the Revolution.*

Jonathan Sewall, Harvard College, 1748; here from 1764 to 1768. He commenced practice in Charlestown, and was an able and successful lawyer. The elder President Adams was his intimate friend, though opposite in politics, and has done justice to his memory. Hutchinson was instrumental in creating the office of Solicitor General for Sewall. He succeeded Gridley in the office of Attorney General. His eloquence is represented as having been soft, smooth, and insinuating, which gave him as much power over a jury as a lawyer ought ever to possess. It is proper here to take notice of one fact in relation to Sewall. He commenced the suit in May, 1769, in favour of a

* Of Worthington and Hawley, who were for many years the leaders in the profession in Hampshire, a very full and interesting relation is given by Mr. Bliss in his address to the Bar. They were for a long time prominent men. They succeeded in establishing Bar rules in their own county before the Revolution. One of these rules required three years as the term of study preparatory to admission. Previously the term of study was uncertain and short.
negro against his master for his freedom.* The late Chief Justice Dana was counsel for the defendant. The suit terminated the following year in favour of the negro: and I believe it was the first case where the grand question was settled abolishing slavery in this state. The case of the negro Somerset, which Blackstone commends so highly, and which has been a matter of self-gratulation in England, was not settled till 1772; two years after the decision in favour of James.

Mr. Sewall, having attached himself to the royal party, was compelled to leave his country in the Revolution.

John Adams, Boston, Harvard College, 1755; here from 1758 to 1769. President Adams studied law in Worcester, with James Putnam, and kept school in the same town. His acquaintance with the people of the county secured him extensive business. At that day the most distinguished lawyers attended the circuits with the judges. After 1769, his other professional engagements, and his increasing political and public employments, probably prevented his further attendance on our courts. His history, like that of General Washington is, in a great degree, the history of his country.

Simeon Strong, Amherst, Yale College, 1756. He practised with learning and sagacity in this county from 1765, till the courts were closed in 1774, and after they were again opened, during the remainder of the Revolution and for many

* James vs. Richard Lechmere, Esq. of Cambridge.
subsequent years. He was afterwards a distinguished Judge in the Supreme Court. Judge Strong was a preacher several years before he studied law. He was "quite a metaphysician," and in the law excelled in his knowledge of real actions, and the science of special pleading.

Francis Dana, Cambridge, Harvard College, 1762. He attended the courts here from 1771 to 1774. He was afterwards Ambassador to Russia, and the learned, accomplished, and upright Chief Justice of the Commonwealth for many years.

Caleb Strong, Northampton, Harvard College, 1764. Gov. Strong practised in this county as early as 1779. He continued his business here many years, and I believe till he finally left the Bar, in 1800. Gov. Strong held a distinguished rank at the Bar, as possessing extensive legal acquirements. He was also remarkable for his punctuality, and for the careful preparation of his cases. With the Jury he was a successful advocate. His address, it is said, was pleasing and insinuating, and his eloquence well adapted to convince. At the Bar, as well as in every other walk of life, he manifested singular purity of motive and character, and spotless integrity.

I have been led insensibly beyond my original intention, which was simply to mention the names of some of the distinguished lawyers, from other counties, who practised here before the Revolution. I have taken a brief notice of each of them; but however pleasant it may be, it is not my design,
nor will it be consistent with the plan I have marked out for myself, to pursue this digression further. The materials for the biographies of some of them exist in abundance, and it is much to be desired that the Bar of each county should take measures to preserve the history of the profession, and the story of its former members, before the one and the other are swept from memory and tradition.

The greater part of the list I have partially described, as will doubtless be observed, is composed of the most distinguished names in the profession; and they are such as would do honour to the profession and the public at any time, and under all circumstances.

In our own county, I find no rules of practice adopted by the Bar during the last century, and but two rules of the Court of Common Pleas, although the Judiciary had had the power from the time of the charter of William and Mary to establish all proper forms and modes of proceeding. One of these rules was in 1757, when Ruggles came upon the Bench. It forbade any, excepting Attorneys allowed and sworn in some Court of justice in the Province, to appear for another unless specially authorized by a power duly executed and acknowledged, and to be used only in the particular specified. The necessity of this rule will be manifest, when we consider the number of those who were not bred to the profession, the mere legal brokers, who found their way into the business of the Courts, and occupied the ground of the better
educated, the more intelligent, and intellectual. The other rule was made in March 1773, setting forth a petition of the Attorneys of the Court, that they are by law required to be empowered under hand and seal to appear for their clients, and then allowing the Attorneys in each action to tax for such power the sum of one shilling and sixpence. The term of study for a long time seldom exceeded two years, and the libraries were scanty and imperfect. Essex, Suffolk, and Hampshire had adopted Bar rules previous to the Revolution, and preceding ours by at least a quarter of a century.

There were many individuals in this county before 1775, who attended the courts, but who were not educated to the profession. They were of a class possessing perhaps some influence in their own neighbourhood, with some aptitude in transacting ordinary business. They were the forerunners, and occupied the ground, of better educated and more respectable men. Some of them may have been useful; while others were of bad example in the community, in increasing the facilities for litigation, and encouraging a spirit that is always sufficiently active and operative in the general mass of society. I find that some of them were in large business, of the more common kinds, in the profession, for a long succession of years. It is unnecessary to mention the names of all of this class. The names of the most prominent were,

Elisha Bisbee, from 1732 to 1734.

Joseph Dyer of Worcester, shopkeeper, 1736 to 1740.
Cornelius Jones, of Springfield, a famous pettifogger, appeared here in 1733 and 1739.

John Grout, of Lunenburg, from 1735 to 1750. He was in extensive practice here and in other counties.

Nathaniel Russell, of Littleton, from 1744 to 1766.

Jabez Ward, 1745 to 1748.

John Brown, 1745 to 1752.

Nathaniel Green, of Worcester, 1749 to 1762.

Duncan Campbell, of Oxford. &c., from 1752 to 1766.

William Rawson, Jun., &c. &c.

There are many others, whose names I have collected, but it is of no importance to mention them. I gladly pass by the whole of this class, that once hung upon the skirts of the profession and soiled its addition, and feel pleasure in dwelling for awhile upon the names of those highly respectable men, who adorned this bar previously to the Revolution. The whole number of resident professional gentlemen in this county, from its incorporation to the closing of the courts in June 1774, was but seventeen. Their names as follows, viz.

Joseph Dwight, Joshua Atherton,
Nahum Ward, Daniel Bliss,
Timothy Ruggles, Joshua Upham,
Joshua Eaton, jun. John Sprague,
Christopher J. Lawton, Rufus Chandler,
Stephen Fessenden, Daniel Oliver,
James Putnam, Nath'l Chandler,
Abel Willard, Elijah Williams,
Ezra Taylor,
I propose making a slight sketch of each; premising, however, that from the lapse of time, and the scantiness of materials, the notices in general must be quite imperfect.

Joseph Dwight, the son of Henry Dwight of Hatfield, Mass. was born in that town Oct. 16, 1703, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He was admitted to practice in this County at the first term of the Court of Common Pleas, Aug. 12, 1731, and in Hampshire March term, 1733. He probably did not continue here long in professional pursuits. He resided in Brookfield, and represented that town in the Provincial Legislature eleven years, between 1731 and 1752.

In 1749, he was speaker of the House of Representatives; at one time a member of the Council, and was highly distinguished as a Military Officer. He was a Brigadier General, then an office of dignity, and commanded a regiment in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745, and conducted himself with such skill and bravery, in the operations against that place, as to call forth the particular commendations of Sir William Pepperell in his despatches to Gov. Shirley. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Worcester from 1743 to 1750. Between 1751, and 1754, it would seem, he removed to Stockbridge, and afterwards to Great Barrington. In Berkshire he was also appointed to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas. He died in Great Barrington, June 9, 1765, aged 62. His reputa-
tion at the bar must have been respectable; while at the same time he possessed, like other leading men in the country at that time, large influence within the sphere of his action, and united, as was then not infrequent, the pursuit of military, with that of civil office.*

Nahum Ward, who stands next on the list, was of Shrewsbury. He was one of the committee which, in behalf of that place in 1727, prayed the General Court for the grant of full municipal powers. He was admitted to practice in this county at the same term with Gen. Dwight; and continued some years at the Bar. From the declarations of his I have met with, he would seem to have been correct and technical, particularly in real actions. He was much engaged in practice; but I have no means of determining, either from history or tradition, what rank and reputation he secured to himself in the walks of the profession. He was appointed a Judge of the court of Common Pleas in 1745, while Dwight was upon the bench, and continued in office for some years. This appointment however is no proof of his qualities as a jurist. Men were selected for the office for various considerations. An acquaintance with the usual business, the ordinary education of the times, respectability of private character, and wholesome influence in the circle in which they moved, were sufficient recommendations, without the aid of much professional doctrine. Of Ward I have learnt no more than what I have here related.

* Gen. Dwight was in mercantile business, in Brookfield, for some years.
Timothy Ruggles, born in Rochester, Plymouth County, Oct. 11, 1711, was the eldest son of the Rev. Timothy Ruggles, a clergyman in that place. He graduated at Harvard University in 1732, and, contrary to the preference expressed by his father, soon afterwards entered upon the study of the law. He represented his native town in the Provincial Assembly in 1736, at the age of twenty-five, and procured the passage of an act, still in force, prohibiting sheriffs from filling writs. He practised some years in Rochester, whence he removed to Sandwich. His reputation was so great that he was early and frequently employed in the adjoining counties of Barnstable and Bristol, and was the principal antagonist of Col. Otis in causes of importance. He occasionally attended the courts in Worcester, early in his professional career; and in 1734, 1735, and 1738, his name appears often in our records. He removed to Hardwick in this county, probably as early as 1753. From that time till 1757, he was in practice in this county, when he was appointed Judge, and in 1762, Chief Justice, of the Court of Common Pleas; which office he held till the Revolution. He was also appointed Surveyor General of the king's forests; an office that was a source of profit, attended with but little labour.

Besides professional employments, Ruggles was much engaged in military and political occupations. In 1755, he received an appointment in the army, and held the rank of Colonel under Sir William
Johnson, in the expedition against Crown Point. In September of the same year he was next in command to Johnson at the battle of Lake George, where the French army under Baron Dieskau met with a signal defeat. He was actively engaged in the campaigns of 1756 and 1757, and in the following year, with the commission of Brigadier General, was under Lord Amherst, and served with him in his expedition against Canada in 1759 and 1760.

For several years General Ruggles represented the town of Hardwick in the Provincial Assembly. In 1762, and 1763, he was speaker of the House. In consequence of the grievous exactions of the British government, delegates were chosen by the Legislature to meet the delegates from the other colonies at New-York, to seek out some possible relief from immediate and threatened evils, by a representation of their sufferings to the king and Parliament. Ruggles was chosen as one of the delegates on the part of this Province, and had the honour of being selected as President of that celebrated Congress, where were present some of the most distinguished men from eight of the other colonies.

At this meeting, among other things, an address to the king was voted, and certain resolves were framed,* setting forth the rights of the colonies, and claiming an entire exemption from all taxes, excepting those imposed by the local assemblies. Ruggles refused his concurrence in the proceedings;

* October 19, 1765.
for which, on his return home, he was censured by
the House of Representatives, and was reprimanded
by the Speaker in his place. It is due to him
however, to remark, that, according to Hutchinson,
when he consented to be a delegate, he expected
that nothing more would be required of him than
was expressed in the vote of the assembly; and
left the house in order to prepare for his journey;
that afterwards, on learning that the House had
voted to instruct the delegates to insist upon the
exclusive right of the Colonies to tax themselves,
he determined not to serve, but was finally prevailed
with by his friends.

In 1774, he was made mandamus Councillor,
accepted the office, and was qualified. Continuing
firm in his adherence to the party of the loyalists,
with whom were all his predilections, he was com­
pelled to leave the country, and all his large estates
were confiscated. He remained in Boston during
the siege; afterwards spent a few months at Long­
Island, and then went to Nova Scotia, where he
died in 1798, aged 87.

There were few men in the Province more justly
distinguished than Ruggles; and few who were
more severely dealt with in the bitter controversies
preceding the Revolution. Hence his name has
come down to us with a degree of obloquy that should
only attach to the unprincipled and vile. Like
many others who joined the royal party, he was a
true friend to his country. He probably believed
that the power of Great Britain could not be with-
stood, and perhaps may have mistaken the deep seated enthusiasm of the people, for a mere spirit of party, and a short lived effervescence. Still he was one of those who looked forward, though at a more distant day, to the time when, in the natural course of events, the colonies must strengthen and ripen into independence, and, as he was in the habit of expressing it, would "fall off from the parent state, as ripe fruit from the tree."

As a lawyer, Ruggles was sound and ingenious; as a speaker, clear and forcible; and though not possessing the fascinations and classical eloquence of James Otis, he brought the energies of a powerful mind into debate, and convinced where mere eloquence would have only dazzled. As a military officer he was distinguished for cool bravery, and excellent judgment and science, in the art of war; and no provincial officer was ever held in higher esteem, for these qualities, by those in chief command.

Amid his various occupations, he found time to devote to the avocations of home; while his extensive property, and his taste for agriculture, and its kindred pursuits, gave him the means, as he possessed the inclination, of being of service to his fellow-citizens in his own neighbourhood, where the population was sparse, and improvement slowly followed in the rear of example.

I cannot better conclude this notice, imperfect as it is, than in the closing words of an interesting biographical sketch of this man, written by one of
the junior members* of our Bar.—"Brigadier Ruggles in his person was large, being much above six feet. His appearance was commanding and dignified; his complexion was dark, and his countenance expressive and bold. He was attentive to his dress, but avoided ceremony. His wit was ready and brilliant, his mind clear, comprehensive, and penetrating; his judgment was profound, and his knowledge extensive. His abilities as a public speaker placed him among the first of his day; and, had he been so fortunate as to embrace the popular sentiments of the times, there is no doubt he would have been ranked among the leading characters of the Revolution."

Joshua Eaton was a character of an entirely different sort. He was born in Waltham, then a part of Watertown, Dec. 15, 1714, and graduated at Harvard University, "with reputation and esteem" in 1735. Soon after, he commenced the study of law in Cambridge with Judge Trowbridge, and opened an office in Worcester in 1737. His parents were disappointed that he chose this profession, being desirous that he should study divinity. They perhaps, like other good people of that day, looked upon the legal profession with a feeling approaching to horror, and considered the service at the altar as the only proper ministration for an educated man. Induced by the wishes of his parents, and partly I presume by the structure of his own spirit, he left the courts as nearly as I can

* C. C. Baldwin, Esq. Worcester Magazine, Vol. II.
ascertain, in the fall of 1743, having previously pursued the study of divinity. Soon after he began to preach he fell under the censure of the church in Worcester, as appears by the following extract from his diary: "Nov. 25, 1743. The church was pleased to restore me to Christian privileges, without any acknowledgement, and gave as a reason for what they had done in censuring me, that they looked upon me as being actuated by an overheated brain."

Mr. Eaton was settled in Leicester South precinct, now Spencer, Nov. 7, 1744, and died there in April 1772. He seems to have been a man of great simplicity of character, and of fervent piety, and to have possessed more warmth of feeling, than reach of intellect. A peculiar constitution and temperament, such as we may suppose his to have been, may have been influenced by many exciting causes. He may have been affected by the preaching of Whitfield, or by the contagious sympathy on religious subjects that then prevailed. This is indeed a gratuitous supposition, though it may be a true one, and it certainly gathers title to credence from the very fervour of Eaton's character and sanctity. The excitement occasioned by the preaching of Whitfield, and the influence he produced in New-England, were great, sometime before Eaton left the Bar. Individuals in every walk of life were already led captive by the eloquence of the preacher, that covered over his thinly disguised fanatacism; and it was not till the work was well nigh accomplished,
that the officers of the University bore testimony against the man, his modes, and doctrines.

In relinquishing the practice, Eaton lost all regard for the profession, and its intellectual conflicts. Soon after he was settled, viz. in Feb. 1744, (O. S.) he was called to attend to some business at Worcester; but "oh" said he, "the tumult and dissipation and snares that attend the courts. I think I would not return to the practice of the law on any consideration." And doubtless he had some reason for his exclamation, as the sittings of the courts were generally then, and even down to the commencement of the present century, attended by a great gathering of people, who exercised themselves in the various sports and indulgences that are prevalent on public days.

Of Eaton's standing while at the Bar, which he left at the age of thirty, I have no means of knowing, save from his biographer, who remarks that "all who had any knowledge of him, entertained an opinion of him as an honest, fair, just, and faithful practitioner in the law department." "As being indued with good natural powers; that he early shone with a promising lustre in the knowledge and practice of the law, and had the fairest prospect of acquiring to himself a good and great name in that profession, and an ample fortune to his family; all which he forsook, and made a willing sacrifice of worldly prospects and secular interests to the brighter views of immortality, and commenced a student in the law of his God, and in the gospel of
his son; and by close application, and the blessing of God upon his studies, he made great proficiency in the sacred science, and soon became a scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God."**

Christopher Jacob Lawton stands next in the catalogue, and of him I know but little. It appears that early in the last century he lived in Springfield, and afterwards in Suffield; in which places, for several years, he was in pretty extensive business, before he was admitted to the Bar. The date of his admission is in 1726, in the old county of Hampshire. I find by a deposition of his, written in a fair hand in April 1733, that he then resided in Suffield, engaged in professional pursuits. In a few years after he removed to Leicester, and appeared in our Courts from 1740, to 1751. While here, I do not gather that he enjoyed any large share of fame, or that he was engaged in important business in the profession. His name appears frequently on the records in ordinary cases.

Stephen Fessenden, a native of Cambridge, and a graduate of Harvard University, in 1737, opened an office in Worcester, at least as early as 1743, and perhaps earlier. He may indeed immediately have succeeded Joshua Eaton, jun. in professional business in that town. I do not trace him in the Courts after 1747. He sold his estate in Worcester to Col. Putnam a few years afterwards.

** A volume of Mr. Eaton's sermons was published in 1773, together with a funeral sermon, and a biographical sketch written by Rev. Eli Forbes of Brookfield. These sermons, in point of talent, exemplify the character of Mr. E. as I have endeavoured to describe it.
He was not of great mark in the profession, and has left but few and indistinct traces upon posterity.

James Putnam, the seventh in point of time, but perhaps the first in distinction, was born in 1725, in that part of Salem that is now included in Danvers. He graduated at Harvard University in 1746, in the same class with the venerable Dr. Holyoke, who for so many years survived his classmates, his own age, and a host in succeeding years. He studied law in Cambridge with Judge Trowbridge, who ever after remained his firm and confiding associate and friend. On finishing his legal studies in 1748 or 1749* he opened an office in Worcester. At that time, I think Dwight and Lawton were the only lawyers at the bar, in the county. Ward was then on the bench; Ruggles was still in Plymouth County; Eaton had changed his profession; Fessenden had probably removed from the town and county. Lawton was of secondary consideration; and Dwight was much engaged and frequently absent in military expeditions.

Putnam came into business under favourable auspices. The population of the County was increasing rapidly, and the business in the Courts was making equal progress; but it was chiefly engrossed by distinguished jurists from Middlesex and Suffolk, who occupied a large portion of the

* Allowing two years for the term of study. Judge Trowbridge certainly would not dismiss a student with a shorter novitiate. He was earnest for a longer period of preparatory study. At a later date, when the late Chief Justice Dana entered his name in Trowbridge's office, the latter recommended to his pupil to pursue his studies seven years, before coming to the Bar. The pupil pursued the advice of his instructor, and in process of time followed him in sound learning, and in dignity of office, 

debatable territory. The advantages in studying with Judge Trowbridge were at all times great, and Putnam had doubtless enjoyed his full share of them. From his education and legal attainments he was immediately brought into the field, and was compelled to enter the lists with Trowbridge, Hawley, Auchmuty, Worthington, Pratt, Gridley, and other distinguished masters of the day. This gave him an early opportunity of disciplining his powers of mind, and gaining that aptness in debate, and that tact in the management of causes, which are the result of the early and habitual practice so few of us at the present day possess. His office was soon thronged with clients, whose confidence he early acquired, and ever afterwards retained. He soon became eminent as a well read lawyer, skilful in pleading, and safe in counsel. He was retained in the most important causes through the whole of his career, and widened his sphere of usefulness and fame by a successful cultivation of his powers as an advocate. He was thus continually called to attend the Courts in Middlesex, and Hampshire, and occasionally in Suffolk, where at one time he was engaged in the celebrated case in which the title to a large part of the land on Beacon Street was in dispute.

Putnam possessed a large library for the times. This, in the general scarcity of law books, particularly in the interior counties, gave him an advantage that in this day of abundance, I had almost said superabundance, we can hardly estimate. This
advantage he turned to the best account by a methodical habit of study, and a diligent arrangement, that enabled him to make the labours of others contribute to his own resources. He obtained so high a rank in his profession, that he was appointed by the king Attorney-General of the Province, when Jonathan Sewall was raised to the Bench of the Court of Admiralty. He was the last Attorney-General under our ancient regime. Soon after this, the clouds of the Revolution, that had long been gathering, threatened an immediate storm; and Putnam, who was firm and zealous in his loyalty to the British Government, was forced to take refuge in Boston. From Boston he accompanied to the English Army to New-York; thence he went Halifax, where he embarked for England in 1776.

On the organization of the government of the Province of New-Brunswick in 1784, Putnam was appointed a member of his Majesty's Council, and a judge of the Supreme Court. He resided in the city of St. Johns, and continued in office till his death, 23 October, 1789, at the age of sixty-four.*

While on the bench, Judge Putnam served with fidelity and distinction, and well sustained the reputation he early acquired in his native land. He was not so remarkable for fluent speaking as for sound reasoning, forcible statement of argument, and an excellence of judgment that was seldom at fault. He is represented to have been “stern as a judge, but patient, and inflexibly just.” Though re-

* His second wife was a sister of Judge Chandler, of Worcester.
served in social life, "his wit and humor were irresistible." The following observation made to a descendant of his, by one now on the bench of the Supreme Court in New-Brunswick, though somewhat exaggerated in its tone, shows the estimation in which he was held in that Province:—viz. "Judge Putnam was an unerring lawyer, he was never astray in his law. He was, I am inclined to think, the best lawyer in North America."* Judge Trowbridge, who knew him from the beginning, through a long career, and the late Chief Justice Dana, who became acquainted with him in the zenith of his professional fame, have borne testimony to the learning, character, and talents of Putnam. Many accomplished lawyers received their education in his office: among them were the elder President Adams, and others whom I shall presently mention.

Abel Willard, the earliest lawyer in the north part of the county, was the son of Col. Samuel Willard, of Lancaster, who for some years was one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. The son was born in Lancaster, January 12, 1732, graduated at Harvard University in 1752, and studied law in Boston, with Benjamin Pratt, the distinguished scholar and jurist, whom I have before named. He was admitted to the Bar in this county Nov. term, 1755. He at once went into extensive business in his native town, and devoted his time and opportunities to the profession, till the period

of the Revolution. His talents were quite respectable. He was regarded as a sound jurist, and much reliance was placed upon his opinion. No one was ever a greater benefactor in the neighbourhood in which he lived. Instead of fomenting quarrels, and lending himself to the complaint of every one who might come to him with a list of grievances, he did all in his power to check the angry passions of clients, and promote peace. He would frequently accompany a client to the party complained of, and succeed in reconciling their differences. Indeed, so far did he overcome the prejudices of the many, then entertained against the profession, that he was emphatically termed the honest lawyer.

Willard possessed that true modesty that ever marks the ingenuous mind; and, although of a cast of character approaching somewhat to timidity, he was full of moral courage, of stern integrity, and unyielding purity of principle. In his person he was tall and of good figure. In his disposition he was mild and conciliating, and his good qualities were marked in his benignant expression.

In September, 1770, he formed a partnership in his profession with the late Judge Sprague, of Lancaster, which is believed to have been the earliest connexion of the kind in the County of Worcester. He might have remained in that town in peace and respect, and indeed with high personal consideration, during the invading bitterness, and the easily adopted suspicions and prejudices of our
Revolutionary struggle. But alarmed at the approaching tempest, and, with many others, believing that it would overwhelm every thing in its course, he resorted to Boston during the impending danger, when the character of the contest became at once fixed, and it was impossible again to pass the dividing line. He left the country during the war, and died in England in 1781. His widow* survived him, and died in Boston but a few years since.

Ezra Taylor was of Southborough, and practised law in that place from 1751, if not earlier, till the Revolution. He was, during the whole time, in very extensive business. For some years he was one of those who prepared cases for court, and then engaged the aid of regular members of the profession; but he was not educated to the Bar. From relations that have been made to me, and from the circumstance that in 1773, he joined with the Attorneys of the court, in their petition to be allowed to tax costs for powers of Attorney, I am inclined to think that he was duly called to the Bar. He was a family connexion of Judge Trowbridge,† and procured for him many professional engagements in this county. During the Revolution he removed to Gardiner, in Maine, where he practised law, and died some years since, at quite an advanced age.

Joshua Atherton was born in Harvard, June 0. 1737. He was fitted for college by the Rev.

* A daughter of the late Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Littleton.
† He married Judge Trowbridge's sister.
Mr. Harrington, of Lancaster, and graduated at Harvard University in 1762, in a distinguished class.* He studied law in Worcester with James Putnam, and partly, perhaps, in Lancaster, with Abel Willard. He was admitted to this Bar, May term, 1765. He opened an office in Petersham, a few months after his admission, and there continued in professional business till 1768; when he removed to Litchfield, and soon after to Merrimack, and in 1772, to Amherst, on the establishment of that place as the shire town of the new County of Hillsborough, in New-Hampshire. He died in Amherst, April 3, 1809, aged 72.†

Atherton was here when young in his profession, and for a time too short to gain much distinction. He afterwards rose to eminence in New-Hampshire; was Attorney General, and filled other important offices. He possessed the reputation of a man of strong powers of mind, and of sound learning in his profession.

Daniel Bliss, contemporary with Atherton, was the eldest son of Rev. Samuel Bliss, a clergyman in Concord. The father was a native of Springfield. The son was born in Concord, in March, 1740. He was educated at Harvard University, and graduated in 1760. He was designed by his parents for the ministry, to which also he himself seemed inclined by his own taste and tem-

---

* Francis Dana, the late Chief Justice,—Vice President Elbridge Gerry,—Israel Atherton, brother to Joshua, and a celebrated physician,—Jeremy Belknap, the historian,—Perez Fobes, late professor at Brown University,—and several other laymen and clergymen of good reputation, were of this class.

† His wife was Abigail, daughter of Rev. Thomas Goss, of Bolton, in this county.
perament. Soon after leaving college, he became acquainted with the family of Col. John Murray, of Rutland, whose eldest daughter he afterwards married. He read law with Abel Willard, and was admitted to the bar in this County, May term, 1765. Soon after this he opened an office in Rutland, and became engaged in pretty extensive business, till his removal to Concord about the year 1772. He had a high standing at the bar, while he was here, being well versed in his profession, and enjoying a good reputation as a general scholar, and as a man of high moral and religious principle. His cast of character resembled very much that of the excellent man with whom he studied the profession. He possessed, besides, fine personal address, and that easy and dignified bearing which marked that noble race, now fast fading away from our earth—the distinguished gentlemen of the old school.

From his family connexion, Bliss became somewhat imbued with principles favourable to the prerogative; but was never a bitter nor a warm partisan. On his removal to Concord, he was solicited, by the leaders of the popular party, to join the cause of his country; for he was a man of great popularity, and might have been of essential service, had he aided in resisting royal aggression. He however was moved by various considerations to decline the offer. His temperament led him to seek peace; he believed in the overwhelming power of the British; his oath of allegiance awakened scruples of conscience; his ties of family, friendship,
and society, gave force to his other arguments and objections. That he loved his country, and that he believed that his countrymen would vigorously fight, I have no doubt. A little while previous to the opening of the grand drama at Lexington, several British officers left Boston in disguise, by the direction of the commander in chief, to ascertain something of the temper and preparation of the people, the appearance of the country, &c. In pursuance of their object they visited Marlborough, Worcester, Concord, and various other towns. In Concord they called upon Bliss, as one friendly to the existing government. The following anecdote related to me by a venerable gentleman,* will show that Bliss well understood the character of our people. "The officers" in conversing with him, "supposed the people would not fight. He urged a different opinion. While in this conversation, his brother, Thomas Theodore, passed by in sight; on which Mr. Bliss said, pointing to his brother, "there goes a man who will fight you in blood up to his knees." The prediction was verified; that same brother proved a very brave, though unfortunate officer, in the Revolutionary war."

A few days before the commencement of hostilities, Bliss and his family went to Boston, and thence, with the British troops to Quebec. In Canada he was appointed Commissary of the army. He was so far from making use of the facilities and

* The same gentleman communicated several other facts in relation to Daniel Bliss; and I should rejoice to be permitted to mention his name; but this is denied me.
opportunities this office afforded for speculation, that all he got for his honesty was, as he told a friend, to be laughed at by the British officers.* At the close of the war, he settled in Fredericton, New-Brunswick; where he sustained the office of Chief Justice of the Inferior Court, and resided till the time of his death, in 1806. During his residence in Fredericton, he repeatedly visited his native state, and would gladly have returned to spend his days in the midst of his early associations; but the decree of government was an effectual barrier between him and his wishes.

In addition to what I have stated, I would remark that Bliss is represented to me as having possessed "a very active and sprightly mind," with great fluency and fascination in conversation. The celebrated epitaph, on the grave-stone of the negro in Concord, has been generally attributed to him as the author. It has also been attributed, though with less probability of truth, to Jonathan Sewall, the contemporary and intimate friend of Bliss.* The reputation of the latter is sustained by his sons. The elder joined the British army at Quebec, and now resides in Ireland; the younger, John Murray Bliss, is a distinguished judge in New-Brunswick. The eldest daughter married a British officer, and lives in Ireland. A sister of his was married in

* This was the case also with Col. Willard, of Lancaster, a brother to Abel Willard. He was Commissary of the English army at New-York, and was ridiculed by the British officers, for accounting to the government for various items, that loose commissaries had been in the habit of appropriating to their own use, as perquisites.

* Bliss was executor on the will of this negro. The same gentleman, to whom I have alluded in a preceding note, informs me that "he once mentioned the matter to Mr. Bliss, who neither owned nor denied it."
this state, and died a short time ago at an advanced age.

Joshua Upham, the son of Dr. Upham, of Brookfield, was born in that town in 1741. He graduated at Harvard University in 1763, in a class with several who afterwards acted important parts on the general stage. On finishing his professional studies, he was admitted to the Bar in this county, August term, 1765. He commenced practice in his native town, and pursued his business with successful assiduity in the courts, till 1776, or the following year. He removed from Brookfield to Boston, where he resided till 1778, and thence to New-York. He continued in New-York during the remainder of the war. Before this, he had become much embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs by large speculations in salt works on the Cape. It was his embarrassments, principally, it is supposed, that induced him to leave the country on the peace of 1783. While in New-York he was Aid-de-camp to Lord Dorchester, and, before he left the army, he attained the rank of Colonel of Dragoons in the British service.

On the organization of the government of the Province of New-Brunswick in 1784, Upham, who had been one of the first settlers there, returned to his favourite science, the law. He was appointed judge of the highest court in the Province, and

† The late Timothy Pickering was his classmate and room-mate. Their early friendship survived the bitter and hostile spirit that grew up inter partes, in the Revolutionary war. On the return of peace, they renewed their correspondence, which is said to have been of an affectionate and delightful character.
sustained the important and responsible duties of his office with industry and ability.

In 1807 he was selected by his brethren on the Bench to visit England, for the purpose of obtaining from the government a more perfect organization and arrangement of the Judiciary in the British American Provinces. He fully succeeded in the object of his appointment, but did not live to return to his country. He died in London in the year 1808*. While in London he enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Palmer, who afterwards bequeathed his valuable library to our University; of Sir John Wentworth, Sir William Pepperell, Lord Dorchester, and Mr. Percival.†

Judge Upham held a high rank as counsellor and advocate. He had a great command of language; not a mere flow of words, but the music and harmony of arrangement and style: the well of English undefiled, and adorned with classical elegance. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, that rare talent, fine powers of conversation, of which Lord Bacon laid down the true rule, and indulged occasionally in a happy vein of satire. With brilliancy and wit,‡ he united many virtues, and a sound

* He was buried in the Church of Mary Le Bone. Judge Upham was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Col. Murray of Rutland; and the second, a daughter of Hon. Joshua Chandler, of New-Haven.
† Mr. Percival, a few days before he was assassinated, sent to a son of Judge Upham 100£. sterling, to assist him in his education.
‡ Major Garden, in his interesting volume of anecdotes of the war in the southern department relates an anecdote of Upham, that may well be introduced here. The British troops, it will be recollected, were in red, and the American in blue uniforms. “About the period of the final departure of the British from New-York, an excellent repartee made by Major Upham, aid-de-camp to Lord Dorchester, to Miss Susan Livingston, has been much celebrated. ‘In mercy, Major,’ said Miss Livingston, ‘use your influence with the commander-in-chief to accelerate the evacuation of the city; for among your encarcerated belles, your mischianza princesses, the scarlet fever must continue to rage till your...
judgment. "The prevailing excellence of his character," to use the words of one* who fondly cherishes his memory, "was a benignity of spirit, which seemed to affect the exercises of his intellect, as well as of his affections."

Judge Upham was pleasing in his person and address, while he was imbued with all that grace which comes before education, and which education can hardly bestow. Like Bliss, he was of that peculiar class of the old school of manners, of which probably even the youngest among us have seen some surviving specimens.

*He was complete in feature and in form, With all due grace to grace a gentleman.*

John Sprague was born in Rochester, Plymouth County, June 21, 1740, and graduated at Harvard University in 1765. On leaving College he began the study of medicine under Dr. Williams of Roxbury, and kept the grammar school in that town. He abandoned this study in May 1766, and entered his name in the office of James Putnam, with whom he passed his novitiate in the law; and at the same time kept a private grammar school in Worcester. He was admitted to this Bar, May term, 1768, and in September following to the Superior Court in Rhode-Island. He opened an office in Newport where he remained till May 1769, when he removed to Keene, in New-Hampshire. After practising a
while in the County of Cheshire, and obtaining an acquaintance with the people that was in subsequent years of great use to him, he removed to Lancaster, in this County, and immediately after went into partnership in his profession with Abel Willard.

He represented the town in the Legislature ten years, and the County in the Senate, in 1783, and 1785. At the Feb. term of the Supreme Court in Suffolk, 1784, he was called up by the *first writ* that issued for barrister in this Commonwealth; the previous mode being without writ. In 1786, he was appointed by the Government *the law adviser* of Gen. Lincoln, in his expedition against Shays and his adherents, and remained with the General till the beginning of bloodshed rendered legal advice no longer necessary. In 1788, he was a member of the Convention for ratifying the constitution of the United States. He was instructed by the town to vote against it, and at the same time, having perfect reliance on his discernment and integrity, they very wisely qualified their instructions, and left it in his discretion to vote as he might see fit. There was a torrent of opposition to the adoption of the Constitution on the part of this County; for out of *fifty* delegates, there were *forty-three* who voted for the rejection of the constitution, and seven in its favour. It is hardly necessary to add that Judge Sprague voted in the affirmative. He was some years after selected as a referee to adjust the numerous disputes in Maine.
“between those who without title had settled on the lands of the Commonwealth, of the Waldo Patent and Plymouth Company, on the one part, and the lawful proprietors of them on the other.”

The professional business of Judge Sprague was very extensive. Besides multiplied engagements in his own County, he attended the Courts in Middlesex and Hampshire, and in the Counties of Cheshire and Hillsborough, in New-Hampshire, for many years.

He held the office of High Sheriff of this County from 1788 to 1792. In 1798, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for this County, which office he held till his death in September 1800.* It is worthy of remark that he was the first lawyer who sat on the bench of that Court after the Revolution.

Judge Sprague was among the most able jurists of his day. His mind was clear and comprehensive, and, though he was not an eloquent speaker, his reputation for a fair and honorable course secured attention, and the soundness and logical precision of his arguments forced home conviction. With the Jury he had more weight than many of graceful manner and easy elocution. In all that is scientific as well as in all that is technical in his profession he was well versed. In political as well as professional life, he was distinguished for sound sense, clear views, and much forecast, the result of long and intense reflection.

* Judge Sprague was twice married. His first wife was Catherine, daughter of Richard Foster, Esq., former High Sheriff of Middlesex. The second was the widow of Thomas Ivers, Esq., former Treasurer of the Commonwealth.
He was listened to by the wise and learned, because they well knew how to value his strength and research, his honesty and independence. For these qualities he secured to himself respect as a lawyer, a judge, and a citizen. So respectable were his attainments, out of his profession, that he was elected a member of the American Academy. He was a good classical scholar, but more particularly excelled in a philosophical knowledge of history. In his own neighbourhood he was eminently useful in promoting peace and good order, and in giving a healthful direction to the municipal proceedings of the town.

Rufus Chandler, the son of Col. John Chandler, was born in Worcester, May 18, 1747. He was fitted for college by the Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Lancaster, and graduated at the University in Cambridge in 1766. He commenced the study of the law with James Putnam, and was admitted to this Bar Nov. term, 1768. From that time till the closing of the Courts in 1774, he continued in the profession at Worcester. Like most of the distinguished family of his name, who had had extensive and almost unbounded sway in the County, ab primo origine, he adhered to the royal party, and left the country during the war. He ever afterwards resided in London as a private gentleman, till his death, October 11, 1823.

He was not distinguished for eloquence, nor for great intellectual power; but he held a respectable rank in his profession, and gained much praise in
the practical parts of his business, and for his neatness, accuracy, and punctuality, as an office lawyer. His fidelity to his clients insured him their esteem, and a very considerable amount of business. Through life he observed the strictest rules of economy, the rather from a regard for such as had a right to his aid, than from any love of money for its own sake. In his personal habits he was remarkably precise. He was the nice man. He possessed great moral worth and purity, and a conciliating disposition. Two of his grandsons have within a few years been admitted to this Bar.

Daniel Oliver was, I presume, the son of Peter Oliver, of Middleborough, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province, a gentleman of some celebrity in our ante-revolutionary history. The son graduated at Harvard University.* I do not trace him in this county before 1771. He was then in practice in Hardwick, the residence of Gen. Ruggles; with whom, probably, from the sympathy of political feeling, as well as from inclination and taste, he was on terms of very friendly intercourse. He remained in this county till the courts were closed in 1774. He was of good learning in his profession, and was an accomplished man in his manners. From his family connexions, he was of

* There were two of the name who graduated at Cambridge; one in 1758, the other in 1762. The latter was probably the one mentioned in the text. He died at Ashford in Warwickshire, in the year 1826, aged 82. His father, the judge, was quite an antiquary, and before the Revolution, copied with his own hand, Hubbard's MS history of New-England. The son was applied to, some years ago, in behalf of the Mass. Historical Soc. for the loan of this copy, which they were desirous of publishing in their collections; the copy in their possession being imperfect. He returned a very short, crusty letter, refusing their request. This rare specimen of civility and genuine courtesy is preserved in 2 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. iii.
course a loyalist, and was obliged to leave Hardwick, and finally to seek for safety in the Parent Country.

Nathaniel Chandler, the brother of Rufus Chandler, was born in Worcester, Nov. 6, 1750. He received the rudiments of a liberal education, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Lancaster, and graduated at Harvard University in 1768. He studied law with Putnam, and was called to the Bar, Dec. term, 1771. He established himself in business the same year, in Petersham, and somewhat more than four years after Joshua Atherton left the place. He continued in business till the closing of the courts. He was of the royal party, and never practised law after the Revolution. At the commencement of hostilities, he joined the English, and for a time commanded a corps of volunteers in the British service, in New-York. From New-York he repaired to England, and returned to this country in 1784, bringing with him large mercantile stores. He left the temple of justice and engaged largely in trade in Petersham. His health failing, he was obliged to relinquish business, and removed to Worcester, where he died, March 7, 1801. He was more distinguished for talents than his brother. He was early a pupil of the elder President Adams, when he kept school in Worcester, who was wont to speak of his scholar as possessing fine abilities. If he had been assiduous in his profession, he might have risen to eminence. His personal appearance was pleasing,
and his address and great flow of spirits, with a
fertile imagination, rendered him a great favourite
in society.

Elijah Williams, the last on the list before
the Revolution, was a graduate of Harvard Uni-
versity in 1764. He was originally in practice in
Deerfield. I am informed that several years before
the war, he removed to Mendon in this county,
where he staid a short time in the business of his
profession. He took up his residence in Keene,
New-Hampshire, in 1771, and there lived till the
spring of 1775. Adhering to the royal party, he
left Keene soon after the Battle of Lexington, and
joined the British in Boston.*

In glancing for a moment at the characters I
have ventured to mention, it is obvious to remark,
that among the limited number of jurists who
adorned this Bar before the Revolution, there was
a large proportion of talent, learning, and gentle
bearing. Putnam, Willard, Bliss, Upham, and
Oliver were I believe the only barristers. They,
with the others, formed a small body, it is true, but
they were united by the ties, not only of a common
pursuit, but almost of a common feeling on the all-
engrossing, all-absorbing political question of the
day. Putnam, Willard, Bliss, Upham, Sprague, the
two Chandlers, and Oliver, were closely allied either
by blood, marriage, or friendship, with the aristo-

* Collections of the New-Hampshire Hist. Soc. vol. 2 pp. 109, 112. Mr.
Bliss, in his address to the Bar, mentions Williams as being of Deerfield in
1774. This is incorrect. He then lived in Keene; and in May of that year was
appointed by Gov. Wentworth, a justice of the Peace for the County of Cheshire.
ib. 109.
cracy of the County and Province. And Gen. Ruggles was with them, that master spirit who possessed an influence that we may suppose almost amounted to control. It is not strange, therefore, that they all, with the exception of Sprague, took strong ground for Government. They were already leading men in the community, and what had they to gain by a change? They had large possessions, and however much they might love their country, they well knew that unsuccessful resistance would blast their prospects, ruin their estates, and grind them to powder.

I have often thought that in our abundant patriotism, and it is a quality I would cherish as life itself, we have been too lavish in our denunciations of these men. Could we but place ourselves in their position, and feel their doubts and fears, and know the love that most of them certainly must have felt for their country, for all that they valued in life was here, we should be less severe with their memory, and at the same time cherish increased admiration for those who looked into futurity with almost a prophetic glance, distinguished the end from the beginning, and saw through a murky atmosphere the dim and distant light that none other could see.

Soon after the closing of the Courts, Upham and Sprague were the only lawyers left in the County, to represent their profession, and mourn over the long vacation of sixteen months that followed. From his intimacy with the leading loyalists Judge
Sprague had imbibed no small portion of their views. His inclinations were doubtless that way. Under an impression that he should be called before the *Sifting Committee*, in Lancaster, he went to Boston, without, perhaps, intending permanently to leave home, or, it may be, purposing to guide himself by circumstances. A friend and townsman* of his, seeing the critical situation in which he was placing himself, met him in Boston and urged the importance, the absolute necessity, of an immediate return; that otherwise he must doubtless fall under censure, and become a subject of proscription and confiscation. This advice was timely given and timely received; for hostilities soon after commenced, when a return would have been impracticable, and he would have been denounced as an enemy to his country. He returned to Lancaster, and was not molested during the contest.

Before coming down to a later period, I would pause to pay a tribute of respect to the Bar of the Province before the Revolution. I do not know that it is fashionable to speak lightly of its members, but they are not esteemed by all so highly as they ought to be. Those lions had no painters. They lived before the age of *Reports* in this county, and that was living too early for their fame. Tradition cannot do them justice; nor will imagination lend its aid to raise them to their proper rank. We know them, therefore, but in part. But from the relics that have come down to

* The late Samuel Ward, Esq.
us, and from all that can be gathered in relation to them, an opinion favourable to their professional merit acquires new strength. Consider the clear and concise forms of declarations, and of special pleadings, in which all the English redundancy is, with singular boldness, at once cut off,* and for which we constantly stand their debtors—the arguments against the writs of assistance, the extensive learning manifested on the trial of the soldiers, in 1770—the various manuscript opinions of Richard Dana, Edmund Trowbridge, and others—the times in which they livied, when they were called upon beyond the walks of the common law in private relations, to explore the doctrine of king and subject—the whole science of natural and public law, that entered largely into the great political question that was heaving the country to its very centre. These and other considerations go to establish their claim to high consideration. Nor does it argue against this opinion, that their libraries were scantily furnished, compared with our own. A lawyer is not made by a multiplicity of books. This very scantiness led them to study what they had, more intensely;—it sent them back to the elements, and compelled them to reason—to elaborate—to run their analogies and pursue them, guided by what lights their own minds afforded,—and in some instances, doubtless, more than supplying the place of authorities. It compelled them

* The late Chief Justice Dana, the son of Richard, once remarked, that “his father was so very concise in his legal instruments and special pleadings, that the lawyers were generally put upon the look out for some essential omissions, but were as often disappointed.”
to form the habit of relying upon their own resources, and of increasing them by the very process. They could not overload and smother their cases under a weight of authorities, and make up in number what was wanting in appositeness. I do not design to institute a comparison between the lawyers of that period and of the present day, for I think it would be injustice to both. I merely wish, in what I have said, to express and fortify an opinion that I have long entertained, touching the reputation of our early predecessors in the science of jurisprudence: for they are in some respects our masters.

At this time there was form and ceremony on the Bench, and at the Bar. A school of manners prevailed that is now obsolete. The judges of the Superior Court, in scarlet robes, with wigs and bags, and the barristers in their robes of black silk, with wigs and bags, must have presented an imposing appearance. When the judges approached the town, the sheriff, with the principal citizens of the place and vicinity, met them at the boundary, and formed an escort.

We have now come to a new era in the history of the Bar, and of the courts. The courts were closed at the end of June term, 1774, and the old order of things passed away forever. A long period of hope and fear, of anxiety, of awful preparation for an approaching struggle with a powerful empire, ensued, that required the energies of the stoutest and bravest, of hearts of steel, and sinews of iron.
The temples of justice were closed, professional business was at an end, and nothing but the strong moral complexion of our people preserved us from anarchy and ruin.

In December of the following year, the doors were again thrown open, the judges took their seats upon the Bench, and the voice of the profession was again heard. But they were other judges, and it was almost another Bar. The change was striking. On one page in the records, we see the ancient order of names and cases, and on the very next a new system of things rises to view; and then follow the extensive confiscations of the estates of those, whom a few lines back, we found distinguished in the forum, and filling a large space in the community.

From the beginning of the war till the peace of 1783, there were nine new attorneys in practice here, eight of whom were admitted to this Bar. Their names are—


and one other, the only survivor of them, who was admitted Sept. Term, 1780, and is still with us, reaping the fruits of industry, and, in the midst of 11
his present usefulness, and vivid recollections of the past days of our profession.*

It only remains for me, so far as relates to our own Bar, to dwell for a few moments on the names of those, or some of those members of the profession, who appeared on this spot after the commencement of the Revolution, and at a subsequent period, and have fallen asleep, leaving us the remembrance of their worth and the excellence of their example. I am perfectly aware that I am treading on dangerous ground, in venturing to speak of those with whom I never had a personal acquaintance, and in the presence, too, of gentlemen, at one time and another their acquaintance and familiars, and able to do ample justice to a subject, where I must, of necessity, be imperfect in any attempt at delineation, and must confine myself to a few individuals. Still I hesitate not in reposing full confidence in the candour of my brethren, that I have already experienced, while I claim only to put in order and form the facts and oral communications that I have assiduously gathered.

Levi Lincoln, the late Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth, is the earliest on the list. He appeared here on the opening of the courts in Dec. 1775. He was born in Hingham, May 15, 1749, and graduated at Harvard University in 1772. He soon after commenced the study of the law in the office of the late Mr. Farnham, in Newburyport;

* Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate, &c. admitted, Sept. term, 1790. To him I owe many obligations for his numerous oral communications in answer to my inquiries.
with whom he staid awhile, till he had exhausted the scanty library of his instructor, and then completed his novitiate in the office of Major Hawley, of Northampton, where he found greater facilities and a more distinguished teacher.

He was admitted to the practice in regular course, in Hampshire, and directly after established himself in his profession in the town of Worcester. At this time Judge Sprague and Judge Upham were the only lawyers at the Bar in this county; and the former alone stood on safe ground touching the great question of national right then pending. Most of the leading men in the county had abandoned their homes and their country. The same cause that had brought them forward, and sustained them for years, had kept in the background those of the popular party. Hence, there was a wide opening for talents and the ambition to be useful. The popular party was indeed strong here, but it was rather the strength of numbers, than of education. They needed leading men—men of forecast, prudence, energy, and popular address, to direct the willing hearts. And such they soon found.

The talents and strength of purpose possessed by Mr. Lincoln, soon gave him a powerful hold upon the public mind. He was a most active and energetic member of the committee of public safety; and at the first term of the court he was appointed Clerk, afterwards was selected as the first Judge of Probate for the County; and in 1779 was specially designated to prosecute the claims of the
Commonwealth to the numerous and large estates of the loyalists, under the Absentee Act. He was thus, at an early stage in his professional career, brought frequently into public view, and became prepared for a more extended sphere of action in the political world. He was a member of the convention that formed the State Constitution. He was also a member of Congress under the old confederation, when, it will be recollected, the choice was made by the Legislature.

In 1797 he was a member of the Senate of this Commonwealth, and was afterwards chosen to represent this county in the seventh Congress. On the second day, after taking his seat, he was appointed, by Mr. Jefferson, Attorney-General of the United States, and while he held this office was for some time provisional Secretary of State. He resigned the charge of Attorney-General in 1805, having performed its duties four years, and, soon after, returned to the scene of his former labours. In the spring of 1806 he was chosen to the Executive Council, and the following year to the office of Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth. On the death of Governor Sullivan, in December of that year, he discharged the duties of Chief Magistrate for the remainder of his term of office. In 1810 and 1811, he was again a member of the Council. When his term of office expired he retired altogether from public life. He was appointed, in 1811, after the death of Judge Cushing, an associate justice of the Supreme Court
of the United States. But increasing years induced him to decline the honour, and seek the quiet and retirement of private life. He died, April 14, 1820, aged 71.

No member of this Bar has ever been called into public life so frequently, or in so many relations, as the late Gov. Lincoln. For a period of nearly forty years, he was in active life, amid vast and important changes in our community, such as none of the present generation can be called upon to witness. Coming into life when the flame of liberty was flickering and inconstant, when a few feeble colonies were struggling for existence, he was an actor in the various mutations of the Revolution, in the feeble days of a confederation that was rapidly reducing us to a condition worse than foreign dependence, and in the vigorous and healthful action of the new constitution, till our national polity was settled on a firm, and, it is to be hoped, an imperishable basis.

But it is with professional character that we are chiefly concerned. He was, without question, at the head of this Bar from the close of the Revolution till he left our courts at the commencement of the present century. His professional business was far exceeding that of any other member of the Bar. He was retained in every case of importance, and for many years constantly attended the courts in Middlesex and Hampshire. His great command of language, his power in searching out the truth from unwilling witnesses, in analysing,
arranging, and presenting to the mind the evidence of the case, rendered him a highly popular advocate, and gave him great success in jury trials. Wide reading and extensive practice constituted him a learned jurist. He was in the habit of making very full briefs;—a practice commended by some, and censured by others; but the expediency of which must after all depend chiefly upon the peculiar construction of the mind itself.

In his arguments he was long and minute, nor suffered any thing to escape that might by any possibility be turned into account. His turn of mind was metaphysical: this led him sometimes, like Burke, to refine too much, till the force of the point was somewhat injured by the subtility of the speculation. But this was not common. So great was the pleasure he derived from metaphysics, that he made it a particular study: not that he indulged in the systems of others; but he made his own system, by a careful observation of the operations of his own mind, and its affections. And in conversation he would indulge in his favourite subject, and task the powers of those who heard him in following out his nicely elaborated reasonings. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,—a society that has enrolled many distinguished men in its ranks.

Late in life he resumed the study of the classics; returning to them as to a pleasant retreat after the heat, bustle, and excitement of a long professional and political career. I can conceive that to the
man of education, in his declining years, it must afford peculiar gratification to review youthful studies. They carry him at once beyond the busy, and oftentimes sickening scenes, of riper years, to the freshness of early life, when emotion, passion, and hope were new, and ere experience had begun her teachings. They at once connect him with the freshness of his existence, and the happy thoughts, feelings, and impressions, that are the fragrance, the *purple light* of youth. His favourite Latin author was Cicero, whose *Offices* and *Treatise on Old Age* he was ever fond of perusing.

It is not my purpose to give a minute account of every departed member of our Bar, whose memory and worth deserve to be cherished by a liberal profession. I have time and opportunity only for a few brief sketches in addition to those I have already made.

**William Stearns** is next in order of time. Mr. Stearns was a native of Lunenburg, in this county, graduated at Harvard University in 1770, and began the study of divinity. On finishing his studies he preached for a short time, but was never settled. He soon after commenced the study of law, and was admitted an attorney in this county, December Term, 1776. Previously to this, he commenced the publication of a newspaper, that lasted not more than a year. Establishing himself in Worcester, he appears from that time to have been considerably engaged in professional labours, till his early death, in 1784. He was not long enough
at the Bar to acquire a high reputation, but he was esteemed as a man of good sense, and of very respectable learning in his profession. And he had other qualities that endeared him to the community around him. He was gifted with that wit which pleases and gratifies, without leaving the sting of a wound; and with that kindness of feeling, and amenity of manners that made him one of the most popular men in his neighbourhood.

After March, 1777, there was no gentleman admitted to the practice in this county for more than three years. The courts offered but small inducements, at this most gloomy and agitating period of public affairs. Nearly contemporary with Mr. Stearns and Governor Lincoln was—

Daniel Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow was born in Worcester, April 27, 1752, and graduated at Harvard University in 1775. On leaving college, he returned to Worcester, where he kept a school till the following spring, and then joined Mr. Stearns in the publication of the newspaper I have mentioned. When the publication of this print ceased, he commenced the study of law with Mr. Stearns, and was admitted to this Bar, June term, 1780. Soon afterwards he opened an office in Petersham, and continued there till his death, Nov. 5, 1806. He represented that town in the General Court from 1791, to 1794, and was then a senator for the county for the four succeeding years. In 1801, he was a member of the executive council.
Mr. Bigelow shared largely in the esteem of his constituents for his sound sense and for his integrity. Though not a facile speaker, he was well grounded in his profession, and was respected as a prudent and safe counsellor. And, more than all, he had that moral health, that fair and honourable mind, that shed a bright lustre upon the character.

Dwight Foster, who was contemporary with several gentlemen whom I have named, was son of the Hon. Jedediah Foster, who, though not educated to the profession, was a prominent man in the judicial and civil history of our Commonwealth. The son was born in Brookfield, Dec. 7, 1757. He graduated at Brown University in 1774, in the seventeenth year of his age. He was a lawyer for a time in Providence; and on the death of his father in 1779, he returned to Brookfield. At the early age of twenty-one, he represented his native town in the Legislature. He was admitted a member of this Bar, June Term, 1780. He commenced professional business immediately after, in his native town.

At that time there was no lawyer in the neighbourhood, and Judge Foster forthwith commanded a very extensive practice. From his habits of industry and method, and rising before it was light, he acquired great facility, accuracy, and promptness in the management of his business, and no lawyer of his day exceeded him in these qualities. Though of delicate and uncertain health, he was thus able to accomplish much. As a conveyancer he was
esteemed remarkably exact and neat. As a counsellor he was very extensively consulted, and much respect was paid to his opinion.

His reputation early extended: he became a great favourite with his fellow-citizens, and was almost continually called upon to fill responsible public trusts. He was a member of the convention to form the state constitution, the successor of Judge Sprague in the office of High Sheriff of the County, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for ten years, an Elector of President and Vice President when Washington was a second time chosen Chief Magistrate of the Union, a member of the executive council, and from 1793 to 1801, a Representative, and the two succeeding years Senator, in Congress.

He sustained the intimate relations of private life with integrity, frankness, and with a mild and conciliating deportment; and after passing a long life of favour and usefulness, he died April 29, 1823, at the age of sixty-six.

Edward Bangs was the son of Benjamin Bangs* of Harwich, Barnstable County. He was born in that town September 5, 1756. He was fitted for college at Dummer Academy, Newbury, by Master Moody, the distinguished instructor of many distinguished pupils, and graduated at Harvard University in 1777. Mr. Bangs early espoused the cause of his country. He was at Cambridge during the vacation, in April 1775, when the news of the

* He was descended from Edward Bangs, one of the early settlers of Plymouth, who emigrated from Chichester, England, and arrived in July, 1623, in the ship Anne, which was the third arrival at Plymouth.
landing of the British on their way to Concord was announced. During that eventful day, he joined the American party, who were in uncertain array, and repaired to the scene of action, where he fought bravely during the day. He was instrumental in saving the life of a wounded English soldier, who had been seized by the Americans, and was about to be put to death.

On leaving college, Mr. Bangs began the study of the law in the office of Chief Justice Parsons, in Newburyport. The late Rufus King was a student at the same time, in the same office; and with him Mr. Bangs was afterwards in habits of epistolary correspondence for several years. He was admitted to the Bar in 1780, and established himself in business with Mr. Stearns. This connexion was not of long continuance. He was afterwards in partnership with one who is still a member of this Bar;* and this connexion continued until he was appointed a judge. He represented the town of Worcester, in the General Court, from 1801 to 1811, inclusive. He was appointed, by the Executive, County Attorney, Oct. 21, 1807.† He continued in this office till his removal to the Bench as an associate Justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas for the Western Circuit, Oct. 3, 1811, on the first organization of that court. This office he held till his death, June 28, 1818, in the sixty-second year of his age.

* William E. Green, Esq.
† On the resignation of Hon. Nathaniel Paine. The previous mode of appointing County Attorneys was by the court.
In connexion with his character for public spirit and patriotism, it should be mentioned that in the insurrection, in 1786, he joined the forces of Gen. Lincoln as a volunteer. His exposure during that brief campaign, and the hardships he was compelled to endure, possessing, as he did, rather a frail constitution, laid the foundation of disorders that afflicted him much during life.

Judge Bangs had the character of a sound lawyer. He practised in the courts thirty years, with good reputation and success. His manner at the Bar did not, however, do full justice to his talents. In his arguments on questions of law, I am told, he conceived the matter well, and was methodical in his arrangement, and made strong points, but was not sufficiently lucid in their enunciation. He was a good classical and general scholar—a particular, perhaps, in which some of us fail,—and he had also a taste for the mathematics, which he pursued to some extent.

As a citizen and friend, he was esteemed for his devotion to the cause he espoused, and to the persons with whom he allied himself; and his temperament gave warmth and strength to his feelings. In public and private he was respected for his sincerity and honesty; qualities that are not always allowed to an individual in times of general zeal and excitement. He was enthusiastic in his love of nature, and would dwell largely, and with intense interest, upon her beauties. He possessed a taste for poetry, though he did not cultivate
his talent that way to any considerable degree. There are however pieces of his, written for public occasions, and some of a comic vein that were circulated extensively in the journals of the day.*

Samuel Dexter, of Harvard University, 1781, was a student in the office of the late Gov. Lincoln. He was admitted to this Bar, September term, 1784, and practised law, sometime, in Lunenburg, in this county. He did not reside here long. He removed to other places, and to wider spheres of action. It is not my purpose, therefore, to attempt his biography. His name and his fame rest imperishable, I trust, in the records of our profession, where he shone without a superior, and will survive in the history of this state and of our common country, as one of our most distinguished statesmen. His death was the extinction of the brightest ornament of our profession† in the commonwealth.

Peleg Sprague was admitted to our Bar at the same time with Mr. Dexter. He was a native of Rochester, the same town that gave birth to General Ruggles, and Judge Sprague, and has since produced strong men of the Sprague family. Although he did not enjoy the advantages of a liberal education, he possessed a mind that rose superior to factitious circumstances.

Early in life he left Rochester and took up his residence in Littleton. The breaking out of the

* Judge Bangs was exceedingly attached to horticulture; an employment that affords simple but pure pleasure to its votary, and ought to be a source of more general interest and enjoyment amongst us.
† And for a time it seemed that the loss would be irreparable in the capital of the state. But soon the place was supplied by one from a neighbouring state, who now is first in our profession, and in public life. Alter idem.
Revolution destroyed his prospects of active business in that place, and he removed to Lancaster, and resided for some time with his uncle, Judge Sprague, with whom he entered upon his classical studies. In the latter place he engaged in business, and succeeded in procuring the means of purchasing a tract of wild land in Acworth, New-Hampshire. This he soon subdued by his own personal industry, and, soon after, having an opportunity of selling to advantage, he removed to Charlestown in that state, where he commenced the study of law with the late Benjamin West, then and for many subsequent years, a distinguished jurist and advocate. He practised several years in Winchendon and Fitchburg. In 1787 he removed to Keene, New-Hampshire, where he was admitted to the Superior Court, and continued in practice till his death, in the year 1800. He represented Keene in the Legislature of the state, and the County of Cheshire in the Congress of the United States. He was a man of great energy of character and expression, a thorough lawyer, and a sound reasoner.

Pliny Merrick was born in Wilbraham, where his father was a clergyman, Sept. 14, 1756. He graduated at Harvard University in 1776, and studied divinity with a clergyman in Springfield. He preached occasionally for four years. But his health was so feeble that he uniformly declined being a candidate for settlement. He then went to Virginia for the purpose of improving his health in a warmer climate. He became an instructor in
a private family, at the same time pursuing the study of the law. But not finding his constitution essentially benefitted, he returned, two years afterwards, to his native state, and commenced student in the office of Oakes Angier, of Bridgewater, where he continued a year, and was admitted to the Bar in Plymouth County in 1787. He began business in his native town, and in the spring of 1788, removed to Brookfield. He continued in Brookfield till his death, which occurred March 2, 1814.

Mr. Merrick was a Senator from this county in the year 1808. His talents, elicited in an action for forcible entry and detainer, first brought him into notice at the Bar, and he was considerably employed as an advocate. He was a gentleman of fine feelings, and of much energy and fluency of expression. His mental powers were of a very respectable order, and he had cultivated them with some assiduity in his profession. Mr. Upham, of whom I shall next give a brief sketch, was, in the early part of his career, in the habit of consulting Mr. Merrick, and relied much upon the correctness of his opinions as a lawyer.

Jabez Upham, the son of Phinehas Upham, was born in Brookfield. By his own exertions, principally, he obtained the means of defraying his expenses at college. He was a graduate of Harvard University in the class of 1785.* He pursued his

* Mr. Upham however, did not obtain his first degree till the following year; for being offended with the Faculty, for the part assigned him at commencement, he left college and did not afterwards return.
legal studies with Judge Foster in Brookfield, and was admitted to the Bar, in this county, September term, 1788. He practised a short time in Sturbridge, a few years in Claremont, New-Hampshire, and thence removed to Brookfield, which was the principal scene of his professional labours and honours. He represented that town in the state Legislature, and was twice chosen,* in Worcester South District, Representative to Congress. In September, 1809, he resigned his seat in congress. He died November 8, 1811, at the age of forty-seven.

On his first coming to the Bar, the late Gov. Lincoln and Judge Sprague were the leading members of the profession in this county; and with them as well as with others, he was early brought into collision. He was not an easy speaker, but having a spirit of great perseverance and tenacity, he would never quit a point or a cause, till he had elaborated it to his own satisfaction. He soon became a prominent member of the Bar, and for a period exceeding twenty years was much employed in important questions to the court and jury. In the examination of witnesses he was severe, critical, minute: and with difficulty could one escape him without revealing the whole truth. In his briefs he was full, and arranged with care: discovering much research and a thorough knowledge of legal principles; and if stopped on one point, he was quite apt to return to it again, and to

* 1807, 1809.
discuss it in one way and another, rather incidentally than in chief, till he had presented, though it might be to unwilling ears, the whole of his investigation. He prepared his causes, more particularly his legal arguments, with uncommon assiduity, method, and ability.

The last one I shall mention, and one whose name has shed a bright lustre upon our Bar, is the late Mr. Blake.

Francis Blake, the son of Joseph Blake, was born in Rutland, in October, 1774. In the year 1779, his father removed to Hingham, and soon after placed his son under the care of the late Rev. Joseph Thaxter, who then kept the grammar school in that town: the same venerable gentleman who was afterwards a clergyman at Martha’s Vineyard, and made the fervent prayer at the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, in June, 1825. Under him and others, Mr. Blake was early fitted for college, and graduated at the University in Cambridge in 1789, at the very early age of fifteen. It is undoubtedly true, as a general rule, that the precocity of intellectual power is its own destroyer, and, in after life, the fond hopes of parents and friends are miserably crushed. But it was not so with the fine genius of Mr. Blake.

After leaving the University he pursued the study of the law, principally with Judge Sprague in Lancaster, and was admitted to this Bar in 1794, at the early age of twenty.
He commenced practice the same year in Rutland, where he was soon engaged in pretty extensive business. After remaining there some years, he removed to Worcester, where he continued in the profession till the year preceding his death. During the last year of his life he was clerk of the courts. The represented the county in the senate of the commonwealth, and was highly distinguished for his ability and zeal. But it was in professional life that he shone conspicuous. This spot was the scene of his distinction. Within these walls was the exhibition of his power; and as time has flown on, and swept with its unsparing hand the material form, it has left the glory of his eloquence deeply traced on the memory of many who are present; and the spirit that stirred within him still hovers around us.

Mr. Blake possessed all the constituent properties of a great orator. He was of an ardent temperament, the usual companion of fine intellect, and of a character that dwelt with satisfaction and delight upon whatever was lofty and honourable. His was the nicely modulated voice, all whose cadences were musical; and though like the harp of Memnon, in unrestrained inspiration, they sometimes breathed wildly, they breathed eloquently. His was the classic elegance of language, poured out in rich profusion from a never failing source. His was the vivid imagination, that threw over all the crimson flush of light, and dazzled by its brilliancy. He
brought to his aid the advantage of wide reading, and commendable scholarship, that served to increase his power of expression. He was often vehement and impassioned, and that probably was the prevailing tone of his eloquence, especially when he detected and brought to light the hidden things of chicanery and deceit; but his vehemence and his warmth never caused him to forget himself, nor to lose that harmony and measure of expression that were peculiarly his own.

To many the properties I have described may seem incompatible with excellence in the arid principles of the law, where imagination is at fault, and eloquence yields no portion of her power; and they may think that the love of intellectual variety renders one unfit for the self-denying pursuit of legal investigations. Not so, however, in truth; for nothing is more common than the possession, not of various, but of seemingly opposite, qualities, in the same individual.

Mr. Blake had not the reputation of being a severe student, as if all that he accomplished were thrown off by the mere force of genius, without pains-taking effort. Whatever may be the gifts of nature they are of but little worth unless industry, cultivation, and intense reflection come to their aid. The measure of preparation is not nicely ascertained by the performance. The listening multitude are pleased with the eloquence and learning displayed by the jurist; but they little know the days and nights of toil, the vigilant application, which that one effort required.
It is a wrong impression that Mr. Blake made but slight preparation in his causes. But few could have discovered more investigation, or have given more satisfactory proofs of diligent and thorough study in the management of his causes. Having had an opportunity of examining in this particular, it is manifest to me that he did not go with empty hands into the courts of justice. Even in his nisi prius dockets, where we should scarcely look for it, the previous labour of investigation is apparent. His briefs were remarkably full: his divisions and subdivisions were numerous, and all arranged with great regard to method. It was the lucidus ordo, which at once shows that the true philosophy of analysis has been at work, and that mental effort has been tasked in a degree to which few in full and successful practice are willing or able to submit. This gave him a readiness, a facility, which all admired and but few could follow.

In a word I cannot more appropriately close this slight sketch than with the expression of one who knew him well and intimately, and was long versed with him in the forum; who has declared to me earnestly and repeatedly that Mr. Blake was the most eloquent man he ever heard at this Bar.*

I have finished all that I intended to say, in this connexion, of the members of our profession. I have not satisfied myself, and I cannot have satisfied you. My want of personal acquaintance with every one whom I have attempted to describe, must be my apology for an imperfect delineation.

* Governor Lincoln.
For the rest, I will not weary you with a dry list of the names of all the other members of the profession living and deceased. Of those who have gone from us within a few years, and over whose graves the grass has scarcely sprung up, it is needless for me to speak.

Our list, of late years large, has increased, and bids fair to increase. There are at this time eighty members in practice, but I cannot add full practice. The whole number of lawyers in business here, from the incorporation of the county, exceeds *two hundred*. Of these but few were here before the Revolution,* a period of forty-four years. It is principally within the present century that the long and formidable list of names appears.

Our Bar, perhaps, has furnished a good proportion of gentlemen who have shared in the public confidence, and held offices of trust and importance. Of those who were here before the Revolution, and not afterwards, there were, amongst other civil officers—

Two Speakers of the House of Representatives.
One Attorney-General of the Province of Massachusetts.
One Attorney-General of the State of New-Hampshire.

* Since the sketches of the Ante-Revolutionary lawyers have been in press, I have become satisfied, in one particular, where I was before in doubt, and must, therefore add one to the list. I find that Daniel Murray, a graduate of Harvard University, in 1771, attended the Court here in June, 1774, which seems to have been the only time. He could have been admitted but a little while previous. He had an office in Rutland, then the residence of his father, Col. Murray. Mr. Murray afterwards became an officer in the British service, and rose to the rank of Major of Dragoons. He is now a half-pay officer. His residence has been chiefly, and is at present, in the United States.
Two Councillors.
One Delegate to the Congress of 1765.
Two Judges of the highest Court, and one of the inferior Court in New-Brunswick.
Three Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in the Province of Massachusetts.
One or more members of the Executive Council in New Brunswick.
Since the Revolution there have been—
Two Governors, one of this state, and one of Maine.
Two Lieutenant Governors.
One Attorney-General of the United States.
One who was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, who declined the office.
Two Judges of the Supreme Court, one of this state, and one of Maine.
One member of Congress under the old confederation.
One member of the United States Senate.
Two Secretaries of the United States, pro tem.
One Secretary of the Treasury, and one Secretary of War, of the United States.
Fifteen members of the House of Representatives of the United States.
One member of the Convention to form the State Constitution.
One member of the Convention that adopted the Constitution of the United States.
One Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.
Twenty-one members of the Senate of the state. 
Four Councillors. 
Four Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for this state, and one in the City of Albany. 
Two Judges of the Court of Sessions. 
Two Judges of Probate. 
Four High Sheriffs. 
Five Clerks of the Courts. 
One Secretary of State, for this Commonwealth. 
Seven Members of the Convention to amend the Constitution of the state.*

In entering into the profession which should reciprocally honour and be honoured, there are many duties to be performed, many dangers to be encountered, and many difficulties to be overcome, that require determined minds, and stout hearts. The student, with warming zeal and high expectations, starts upon the course, that seems at first, in the beautiful language of Sterne, "a smooth velvet path, which fancy has scattered over with rose buds of delight." In the ardour of young exertion, and without the experience that comes slowly, but comes surely, all difficulties vanish from the view. The profession of his choice seems a field where all may labour for glory, nor labour in vain, excepting by reason of their own sluggishness or timidity. And particularly, with feelings like these has many a student entered upon the science of jurisprudence.

* The preceding list is accurate so far as it goes. There may possibly be a few names that should be added to one or another part of the list. There are various other offices that might be designated; but the foregoing would seem to be sufficient.
He finds himself at once in a spacious field, without any distinct outlines, with no landmarks to guide his course, and the unthreaded paths of which, like those of the labyrinth of Daedalus, are ever crossing one another. The objects that attract his attention are numerous and multiform. They confuse him by their number, and startle by their magnitude, and, at the same time, make a choice of no small difficulty. As he advances and becomes acquainted with new objects, the horizon of his prospects recedes and widens. The new and the old, in unexpected forms, and relations, meet his eye; and all must be grappled with and overcome. He is surrounded by a host of competitors, all pressing onward with the same purpose, and each struggling to outstrip his neighbour, heedless of all but his own success. But the fever of excitement gradually cools. There are some who faint in the contest, or struggle forward with diminished effort, when the incentive to exertion should operate with the greatest force. Ere long his own steps become unequal: the course seems more arduous; he is thrust aside by those of stouter hearts with rude hands. None cheer him in his attempts, none smile upon his progress; for all are aiming at the exultation of self.

The terrors of black letter are indeed dispelled, and the ancient mysteries have walked forth from their repulsive dwellings, and fairer forms fill the scene;—fairer, but no less difficult to encounter; for still to him all around seems barren and dull.
He finds the study without interest. What in it is technical seems to him narrow; its *Latin* and *Norman French*, "The terms of the art," are ever sinning against his taste. The example of others who entered with him upon the career, and are already in advance, no longer stimulates him to exertion, but rather clouds his spirits, and checks his pursuit.

But if a persevering spirit still carries him on, while he strives to look to the end, temptations to luxurious indolence beset him. His mind, weary with stretching forward, and looking to the future and the past, seeks refuge and repose, in that miscellaneous literature of this and of former periods, that affords so much to fill the imagination and gratify the taste, without exciting in any good degree the intellectual principle. The love of ease gains strength by indulgence, and the difficulty of exertion increases in equal proportion. The manly intellect no longer dwells in its fitting exercise, and he yields himself up, a half satisfied victim to the sweet influences that rapidly bind themselves around him.

Is it not true that many thus pass through life in unhappy mediocrity and inglorious ease, when the deep and stirring spirit of perseverance alone was wanting to insure excellence, if not eminence. It is not thus that distinction is to be gained. In every profession an active warfare must be waged, before victory can be won, and its fruits be gath-
ered and enjoyed:—but in our profession, it is of the first importance.

It is thought by some that the study of the law is attended with less difficulty and labour than in former times: and one would be inclined to believe it true, when recollecting the short preparation of only a few months that is deemed necessary in some of our states. But, alas, every opinion of the kind is delusive. The truth is, the law has been changed in many respects, and rendered more worthy of the name and rank of a science. Much has passed into almost entire oblivion. But the part sloughed off bears no proportion to the increments. In some respects it has been simplified by new and more philosophical arrangements, but far less than it has gained in extension. For with population, industry, and wealth, new expositions are required of the Courts, and new enactments of the Legislature.

It is a curious fact that in England, so late as the reign of Henry VIII, "the judges would often rise from the Bench without hearing a motion, or trying a cause; Sir Thomas More read all the bills, which were exhibited in the Court of Chancery; and, in the 10th Elizabeth, (A. D. 1568) there was but one Serjeant, Benloe, at the Common Pleas, for "a whole term together." "And," adds an old writer, "I do not read that he had any business there."

* This may perhaps furnish the reason why the special office of Reporter which extended through the seven volumes of the Year Books, was discontinued in the reign of the second Tudor. It was never afterwards revived, except for a short period, through the influence of Lord Bacon. Since the Year Books no Reports have been published by licence, either by the House of Lords or by any Court in Westminster Hall, except state trials.
In former times, we are told, that the mastery of the science required the painful lucubrations of twenty years;—that labor improbus, that would not rest satisfied with doubtful exertion. And at that time what was the learning required, apart from the scholastic attainments of the age? Did it summon heaven and earth, and gather its treasures on all sides? Was there an extensive, learned, and scientific community of which the serjeants and apprentices must constitute an integral and important part? Not so. The necessary learning was contained in a narrow compass. It was locked up indeed in a jargon of Norman French, and a something that was termed Latin; but far removed from classical elegance and beauty. It was shrouded in a mysterious character, and was full of abbreviated words; but it was all embraced in a few books; and when once the terrors of the outer wall and of the dreary threshold were passed, the difficulties vanished apace, and the castle was won. The principles were few, and the illustrations succinct; and new cases, as they came up, required less of laborious search for authorities than of diligent exercise of the reasoning faculty, and of the spirit of analogy.

But still, says Lord Coke in his preface to his Entries, "ars longa, vita brevis, occasio praeceps, experimentum periculosum." A learned man in the laws of this realm is long a making; the student thereof having sedentarium vitam, is not commonly long lived, the study abstruse and diffi-
cult, the occasion sudden, the practice dangerous." The student is advised* to spend about two or three years in the diligent reading of Littleton, Coke's Commentary, Perkins,†Doctor and Student, Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium, and, possibly, Coke's Reports. Then he may read the Year Books, Plowden, Dyer, Coke's Reports a second time, accompanied with constant examination of the Books of Entries. And Lord Coke particularly recommends *the old books of Years*; "for," says he, "undoubtedly out of the old fields, must spring and grow the new corn."

This enticing mass includes nearly all of the printed law of that period. The range of early jurisprudence was comparatively limited. Maritime, Commercial, and International Law were then in their infancy. In personal actions, trespass, and debt were the usual forms; and these, with real actions and questions relating to the economy of the church, constitute the principal portion of the early volumes.

In process of time, black letter, like every other barbarism, gave way to the spirit of change that began to spread, and the publication of Blackstone was considered the commencement of a new era in the study of the law. And it was a new era. He appeared like a newly discovered classic, dug out of the chaotic mass that the lava of ages had covered and buried. He was hailed almost as another legum Anglicarum Restitutor. He filled

* Preface to Rolle's Abridgment.
† "Profitable book on the learning of conveyancing."
up the excellent outline of Sir Matthew Hale, brought order out of confusion by a lucid arrange­ment, shed light on what was before dimly discerned, and, to many, was shrouded in impenetrable gloom. He stamped more legibly the character of a system upon the science of the law. Many have entered the temple, reached the shrine, and placed their gifts upon the altar, who, but for him, would have trembled and halted at the vestibule. His was the key to unlock those treasures that a forth­putting age is fast consigning to oblivion, by the torrent of new matter daily pouring forth from the press.

But the complaint of new books has long been the burden of the despairing student’s song. More than a hundred years ago, the complaint was uttered in strains both loud and long, although Keble strangely enough asserted that “the multitude of books is no complaint of learned men, but of such as are lazy and covetous, who like nothing of charge or of industry, though they be not obliged to either.”* They have increased more than fifty fold within the last half century, and almost beyond the power of any to read, but of those whose professional avocations are few; who are the very ones that are deficient in the means of obtaining them. *Digests, treatises, and abridgements, those comforts and supports, are more numerous than the whole library of most of our jurists in the last century.

Many were doubtless encouraged to believe that the science, with such aids as these, would become

* Had Keble lived in our day he would hardly venture such a remark.
comparatively easy; that the student would be peculiarly assisted in his efforts to unfold the mysterious and disentangle the perplexed. But instead thereof we are in a mighty sea of books, not yet at its flood. We can scarce glance at one, ere another rises to our view, laying perhaps an equal claim upon our notice and attention. At this time there are, in addition to English Treatises and Reports, more than two hundred volumes of American Reports, of various gradations of worth and importance: and they are increasing with wondrous rapidity. And unfortunate indeed must that brother be, who in all the existing mass of authorities cannot find a something to illustrate a case he may have in hand, with common skill in analogical inquiry.

The labour of the student is not diminished. It has increased since the Revolution, and more particularly in the present century, beyond all former precedent. The multiplicity of books is not all. This indeed serves to confuse the mind, unless it is well disciplined, and to overload the memory; but with it have come in new branches. Formerly only a few books were necessary for those who were in pursuit of the gladsome light of jurisprudence; now, what is old presents itself in many new phases, while constitutional, maritime, and federal law, the broad and deep system of equity, with its spreading and beneficent influences, and an immense variety of legislative and judicial matter, arising from the numerous, complicated,
and ever increasing relations of society, come forth as the fruit of an inquisitive and improving age. The study is of wider, deeper, higher reach: and the student, instead of being able to complain of mists, and of murky atmospheres, is now apt to be bewildered by the numerous cross lights that radiate on every side, and distract his intellectual vision. The study of the twelve tables was a task accomplished with comparative ease; but the rescripts, edicts, and decrees were a mighty mass, and collected into the Code, the Digest, the Institutes, and the Novels, with all the subsequent Commentaries and Glosses, they added a hundred fold to the task, and no one could stand up and say, I am master of the whole science.

There is advantage and evil in a multitude of books. The former is well understood, while the latter some may consider at least as problematical. A few books well chosen, with the occasional oral instructions of a competent teacher, will prove most useful. The great object is to lay a broad, but simple, foundation; the elements of the science, with their various modifications, and the reasons of them, with the illustrations as few and succinct as the nature of the subject will admit, should be deeply impressed on the mind and memory, and be rendered an intimate part of the pupil's own knowledge. They will then ever remain fixed, and become the origin and centre of a vast system, standing out in bold relief, the primal elder truths, from which all others spring.
On the other hand a variety confuses; it begets what Lord Coke calls a cursory and tumultuary reading, that doth ever make a confused memory, a troubled utterance, and an uncertain judgment. It is glancing rapidly over the surface, and spreading over a wide extent, instead of searching in the depths for the treasures. At the same time it is apparent that the originality and strength of the mind suffer by pursuing such a course; except perhaps in a few of enkindling ambition, and exalted gifts. In general there is much tendency in mankind to consult ease and comfort, not only in what regards things external, but also in the exertions of the mind. They are fond of labour-saving machines of any and every variety. This, in our profession, leads us to consult authorities pretty extensively for adjudged cases in point, which now are as common as were the visitations of Egypt in the time of Pharaoh. It is apt to satisfy us with our inquiry if successful, without going back to search into the reason that governs. But if cases are few and elementary principles much more numerous in comparison, then our powers are tasked;—we are thrown at once upon our resources, the helps and aids fail us, and we must "spend ourselves resolving;"—resolving doubts, and dark passages by the force of our own intellect alone. This affords the grand exercise of our reasoning powers: the nice and improving capacity of analysis;—the process of comparing, combining, separating, and searching, that gives strength and readiness to the powers of the mind.
It was remarked many years ago that although the science of the law more than any other profession strengthens the mind, it does not enlarge it in the same proportion; and a distinguished writer of our own times and country asserts that all the professions have a tendency to narrow the mind. Admitting this to be true, and if admitted it is no more than is true of almost every subject pursued to the entire exclusion of all others, it cannot be predicated of our profession in the circumstances that surround it. There is no profession so intimately connected with the community in its various interests and wants, that so winds itself around, and penetrates society in its innumerable operations, and exercises so controlling an influence in its sphere of action.

The law, by this I mean the common law, in its early stages, was composed in part of technical rules, and partly of the deductions of natural reason. They are contained in the first place in the decisions of individual cases, not necessarily connected, nor perhaps dependent upon one another. In process of time these increase in number; they are governed by strict rule; they are arranged, divided into classes, and embodied with all the philosophy of induction. General principles are thus formed, which are illustrated by cases, and the law then becomes a science, of large extent, and embracing in its ever widening circle the countless interests of society, and containing rules of conduct applying to every emergency that may arise. It
becomes our sustaining peace and happiness, dwelling with us at all times, encircling our persons, our characters, and estates, restraining the arm of violence, and preserving us in the enjoyment of our rights.

There is then nothing in the science itself that necessarily narrows the mind and excludes new and enlarged views of truth and duty. It cannot contract the powers of a spirit naturally stirring and inquisitive, though so far as it is technical merely, it may not enlarge the common mind in the same proportion that exercise strengthens it. The science of ethics, the extended rules of right, applied to the ever varying combinations and relations of things—the pursuit of history, belles lettres, poetry, the natural sciences, natural, national, and constitutional polity, is a part of professional study properly conducted. And what is the law of evidence but a system of sound philosophy, deduced from the manifold developments of heart and character? In the practice too, although in the language of one of our poets, himself a jurist,

Forced to scrawl strange words with the barbarous pen,

there is much, apart from the glorious aspirations of eloquence, that extends the scope of the intellect. I will appeal to you, in causis versatis, whether it is not true that knowledge of human nature, of motives, of the various intricate windings of the human heart, is aptly learned in the trial of causes, especially in the examination of witnesses;
a knowledge as valuable as any that can be acquired in the conduct of life.

Such advantage do these pursuits afford, that the profession is called upon to enter into almost every public undertaking of whatever nature, and to take the lead in the changes and improvements that are continually going on. Now a wide intercourse with society is not apt to narrow, but rather to enlarge the mind, in the same manner, and for the same reason that foreign travel is supposed to produce that effect. This influence must be confessed to be powerful, though upon many persons, its result may be small:—for some minds of equal power with others have not the same capacity to become generous and comprehensive in their views. One individual in his study surrounded with the written wisdom of the dead, venturing but little upon the busy walks of life, may, and frequently does, attain to more of this quality, than another who has always mingled with the world at home and abroad, and been conversant in the active scenes of life, though in native strength of understanding they are equal.

After all it is only so far as the study is technical that it can be said in any measure to check the healthful efforts of the mind. But so far as it is concerned in the immutable rules of right and wrong, in the fundamental principles of justice; in short, whenever, it is studied with correct views, it partakes of the nature of that law whose seat is the bosom of God, whose voice is the harmony of
I see around me, I see everywhere, among the living, and in the great names of another day, illustrations of the truth, that, properly conducted, professional studies do not impede the aspirations of the mind, but may dwell in unison with wide views and proud scholarship. The law must be pursued in connexion with other sciences and with literature, as it was in the days of the old Roman lawyers. To this profession have belonged "vast numbers of the most distinguished literary characters throughout Europe in all times;" and the same remark may be made according to our means and opportunities in this country, whatever the case may be with the members of the profession in England,* the country where alone, if anywhere, the observation I have slightly dwelt upon has force.

I have touched slightly upon the difficulties and dangers of the profession. A few remarks upon the duties and obligations of its members may not perhaps be out of place. It may be well to glance for a moment at some of the peculiarities of our age and country, that have or ought to have their influence upon the profession. Perhaps there never

* "England" says a writer in the Edinburgh Review, "has contributed several literary characters, but we lament to say, fewer in proportion than in other countries, because the laws of England have always been studied in an illiberal manner, and especially during the last century. We have lately witnessed a remarkable confirmation of this assertion. It was proposed in order to raise the character of the profession, to require a slight examination from the candidates for admission as students at the Inns of Court and to the Bar, as a proof that they had received the first rudiments of a liberal education. This reasonable proposition was however violently opposed, and by persons of merit and ability. In the ancient world the student of jurisprudence was invigorated by drinking largely of the noble fountains of philosophy, and by grammatical, logical, and rhetorical learning. A liberal profession was thus adorned and improved, by being blended with liberal pursuits." Ed. Rev. vol. 50 pp. 90, 91. Review of the Byzantine historians.
was a period of the world more marked in many respects than our own. This peculiarity consists, more than in any thing else, in the range that is given to the spirit of inquiry. The American Revolution, that has done and is to do so much for the wholesome reform and healthful action of government, was the ground work of that effort which is now so active and energetic. In a former period men rested much upon authority, ancient usage, and established opinion. It was seen in the reverence paid to reigning powers, however unrestrained; in the distant manners and bearing of parents to their children, in the awful respect paid to artificial rank, and the veneration for age though accompanied by ignorance and folly. The whole form, fabric, and intercourse of society were so moulded as to prevent the over-stepping of prescribed limits. Men believed as their fathers believed, and walked as their fathers walked. It was enough for an opinion that it had the sanction of age, the respect of the prudent, and the injunction of the wise. As this feeling pervaded society, it was exerted over the whole frame of the mind, and the influences of religious faith were called in to give a sacred cast to the existing state of things. If any movement was made, or if any new doctrines were broached, the cry of treason or of heresy was sounded aloud. How far this old order of things was good, and how far evil, it is not at present necessary to consider, but merely to take notice of the fact, and trace the progress of the change.
From this blind and implicit faith in matters, temporal and spiritual, the world has ventured forth to a great, and in some instances, almost to a reckless course of inquiry: and we are far more likely to be overwhelmed in the ocean of universal skepticism, than to fall again into the opposite error. This fondness for innovation has marched with triumph into our profession, and has fallen with unrelenting hand upon that venerable pile, the common law. I allude now more particularly to what has been done in England, though also in a degree to the progress that has been made amongst us. We indeed destroyed many of the antiquated and useless out-works at our first settlement, and made many changes and improvements in the building itself.

The common law has been dwelt upon with complacency for so many ages, that it has been considered almost heresy to doubt its being the perfection of reason. It has had the same prescriptive right to veneration that the precepts themselves have had to an existence that entitles them to prescription. And Lord Coke calls it, in the warmth of his enthusiasm, the absolute perfection of reason. Even so late as the time of Blackstone, it was held by him as possessing mens quaedam divina, all whose rules were just, all whose punishments were mild, all whose remedies were perfect; visiting the offender with certain condemnation, if not rewarding the industrious follower of rectitude and order. Nor was he willing to acknowledge
how much it was indebted to the civil law for its best rules of liberal justice and equity.

An attack upon the common law was almost as heinous as an attack upon the throne or the establishment. But now the whole system of English jurisprudence, is, as it were, afloat. Humphrey’s thorough and searching investigation of the numerous perplexities and absurdities of the law of real property, Brougham’s Speech in Parliament, that wonderful effort, where he sifts the whole subject of the common law, save the part treated of by Humphrey, and the system of equity, commercial and criminal jurisprudence;—these, together with the changes in criminal matters, the new enactments in bankruptcy, and the learned commissions sent out of Parliament to inquire into the course of legal remedies, the law of real property, and the defects of the Chancery Court, have created a new, and most astonishing, era in the history of the common law. The old opinions, touching the absolute perfection of reason, have been completely broken down; numerous and radical changes in this department may be expected, and indeed have already, in part, been recommended by the commissioners: following longum post intervallum, our improvements of the seventeenth century.

Another circumstance of the present day, and it is an evil of no small magnitude, is the rage for legislation. For no sooner does a principle of the common law seem in any measure severe in its operation, than the legislature interposes and makes
a change, whether the evil be fancied or real. This is a matter I trust which the whole profession will join in condemning. I speak of it as an evil. Hasty and imperfect legislation fills our law with doubt and mystery, unsettles old principles, and frequently, while in appearance and intent it makes but a slight alteration, spreads confusion over the whole subject on which it touches, increases our labours to a large extent, and adds greatly to the amount of litigation.

Permit me now to turn to another subject, which is of paramount interest and moment to each one of us. It is the solemn duty, and it should therefore be the chief endeavour of every one who enters into the profession, to be furnished with a thorough education. I do not mean merely an acquaintance with books, with their substance treasured up in the memory, but that larger culture that serves our purpose in the busy theatre of the world, by acquiring a knowledge of human nature in its strange varieties, by a severe analysis of what we have gathered, aided by our own reflection, and by classing it all, that we may, in every way, turn the labours of others, the dead and the living, to our own profit and advantage; so that when called into the imminent breach, we may be thoroughly furnished with all our arms in readiness to do us service.

But while I venture to speak of those less severe studies that please and adorn, if they do nothing more, and constitute the highly finished Corinthian
capital, I am reminded that this is termed a practical age:

"These are not the romantic times
So beautiful in Spencer's rhymes,
So dazzling to the dreaming boy:
Ours are the days of fact not fable,
Of knights, but not of the Round Table;
Of Baillie Jarvie not Rob Roy:
'Tis what our President Monroe
Has called the era of good feeling,
The Highlander, the bitterest foe
To modern laws, has felt their blow,
Consented to be taxed and vote,
And put on pantaloons and coat
And leave off cattle stealing;
Lord Stafford mines for coal and salt,
The Duke of Norfolk deals in malt,
The Douglas in red herrings,
And noble name and cultured land,
Palace and park, and vassal band,
Are powerless to the notes of hand
Of Rothschild or the Bearings."

This indeed is poetry, but it is truth without embellishment, and not an unjust delineation, so far as it goes, of things as they are. The world has become remarkably busy and straightforward. There is no room for the dreamer now: and even our poets must seek support as editors of political prints, or as servitors in the temple of mammon. Alas! how this word *practical* has been abused. It is lisped by the smatterer in physics: it is in the mouth of thousands whose ideas on the subject are as vague and insubstantial as their attainments are meagre. It is the popular hobby of the day, and bids fair to trench materially upon the more ethereal province of the mind, upon that refinement of the intellectual sense that constitutes the noblest part of our nature. We are pressing on in these things, as if life itself hung upon the issue, as if the race were not indeed of secondary importance, and
success when obtained but an imperfect gratification. Speak to one of this cast of the refinements of learning, or of the philosophy of the mind, he will reply, *cui bono?* He can see nothing of interest, nothing of value, beyond the pursuit of those sciences that dwell upon material objects, or that, in some way, are the direct means of obtaining wealth. I would be far from placing a low estimate on these sciences. I am aware of their vast importance and of their beneficial tendency, for they are seen everywhere. But the war waged by some of their followers against every study that does not directly tend to promote an early, tangible result, is begun without reason, and will be followed by an unhappy issue. This disposition would compel us to be hastening on and to pass through the seven stages, and scorn all those beautiful episodes scattered here and there, that give life so much of its charm. We must press forward; we must gather wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, population must increase in an unheard-of ratio, or fears are excited that the country is becoming weak, and the slow progress is lamented, as if an influx of any and every thing from abroad were to be preferred to a gradual and healthful increase. It is this tumultuous spirit of haste that in many places pours the imperfectly educated into the ranks of the profession; *deformed, misshapen, not half made up,* without those proper notions they should first possess, and ever retaining, notwithstanding their after efforts, the peculiarities, and deficiencies
arising from defect of early mental discipline. Hence is derived the reduced standard of professional excellence; hence comes legal merchandise and exchange—the auri sacra fames, the outer and lower forms of the profession.

The importance of a finished education cannot, it seems to me, be too earnestly urged upon this or any other occasion. There never was a time when it was of more importance, because of the growing disposition in our country to the unwise spirit of haste to which I have alluded. There is no way in which we can be respected by the public, but by deserving the general respect and esteem. The discipline of the student should be as thorough as possible in the professions, and embrace a wide range of objects beyond. But the law demands a large portion of time, and will not allow her disciples to tread the primrose path of dalliance, to the interruption of her claims. It is a profession where a sound mind is more successful than great genius; but it must be the clear mind that looks before and after; and though like Carneades of old, all may not be able to dispute with power on both sides of the same question, and throw a mist around sophistry that can hardly be dispelled, they may be able to speak the language of truth, and do good service within the sphere of their influence. Severe study and long practice can alone make the accomplished lawyer. Study and practice must be united. "No man," says Coke, "can be a complete lawyer by universality of knowledge without experience
in particular cases, nor by bare experience without universality of knowledge." How true this is can be well attested by the junior members of the profession, who will feelingly declare that infrequent opportunities are but so many repetitions of embarrassment, and of no small confusion in gathering and bringing into the field their intellectual resources.

The necessity of being well versed in special pleading has often been urged upon the profession. Undoubtedly it is of great importance. But how few of us,—I had almost said, where is the man, who is acquainted with all the mysteries and subtle logic of special pleading? Instead of the ancient strictness, where indeed form was oftentimes more regarded than substance, and where he who fell in the letter, fell without remedy, has not an undue laxity been suffered, and almost encouraged, at the Bar, on the principle, perhaps, that we might ourselves be taken in pari delicto? When a nice special plea is necessary, what study is required, and intense reference to books and the operations of the mind, to make up for that familiarity that use would give. In the reign of Edward I, counsellors were amerced for bad pleading, or pro stultilioquio, as it was termed. And in the reign of Edward III, in a writ of right of ward brought by the Duke of Lancaster against the Count Surry, Sir Robert de Wilby remarked to the Bar, that he had seen the time when an error in pleading was
punished by imprisonment.*  A merry company, indeed, should we now have, if this visitation were upon the heads of this generation. Hear Lord Coke on the subject:—“Good pleading hath three excellent qualities; that is to say, as Littleton saith, it is honourable, laudable, and profitable. Honourable, for he cannot be a good pleader, but he must be of excellency in judgment; laudable for the fame and estimation of the professor, and profitable for three respects:—first, good pleading is lapis lidius the touchstone of the law; secondly, to the client, whose good cause is often lost, or long delayed for want of good pleading; lastly, to the professor himself, who, being for skill therein exalted above others, “tanquam inter viburna cupressus, it cannot but be unto him exceeding profitable.”

The argument thus quaintly expressed would seem to be sufficient to show the importance of this branch of the law. In England it is still held of the highest importance, and the special pleaders are a distinct class in the profession: and it is still observed, although since the statute of 4, Geo. II, c. 26, by which the proceedings in the courts were ordered to be in English, without any abbreviations, pleadings have gradually become quite diffuse and prolix.† The existing defect with us may be traced, perhaps, to a dislike of the ancient strict-

---

* J'ay cies le temps que si vous usses pled un erronious ple, vous obtastes al prison,” and then adds, “et vous nous tez fooles,” 24, Edw. iii. fo. 40.
† For a short time during the administration of Cromwell, (1650,) pleadings were ordered to be in English. This act, after the Restoration, was called a pretended act. Before Cromwell’s time, pleadings were required to be enrolled in Latin, although they were to “be pleaded, shewed, answered, debated, and adjudged in the English tongue.” 36, Edw. III. c. 15.
ness of captious pleas, where pleas in abatement and special demurrers to declarations were filed almost as a matter of course. Thus in avoiding one extreme we may fall into the other, and may find it as difficult to strike the happy medium in the law, as in conflicting religious faiths.

A jurist must be ad unguem, in every particular. Let him raise himself by his own exertions, and he will stand on the firmest basis. He cannot, as may be done in some other pursuits, build himself upon another's fame. Let him aspire to rank and dignity in his profession, and scorn to be a mere legal broker,—a dealer in dollars and cents. He cannot be too diligent in season, and out of season. Nor let it be said that he has no time to become a respectable scholar. For it is not true even with those most thronged with business. Who are our literary men, who our ripe and good scholars? Who are they who are ready to serve the occasion, and to appear in the cause of good letters? Who are the most active and efficient promoters of schemes for the public good? Are they not the men who are engaged the most assiduously in the exhausting labours of professional life? Yes, truly, it is they who, by a rigid economy of their time, accomplish the most for the common good. And you will look almost in vain out of these walks for distinguished scholars. Time may be found for all praiseworthy purposes. An hour a day, however small a fraction of time it may seem by itself, snatched from listlessness or vain conversation, is
ample to acquire, in the course of a year or two, a new language, or to gain the knowledge of some new subject of study. It is somewhere related that Chancellor D'Augesseau composed his great work by applying to its preparation those little fragments of time, in which daily for years he was kept in waiting for the appearance of his lady at dinner.

Of the many studies that should fill up the intervals of professional labour, much must be entrusted to individual taste. But perhaps it may be permitted me to say a word in favour of those classical studies that were a part of our early education. It is of the greater consequence to mention them, from the circumstance that they are soon apt to be neglected, and to be set aside as useless lumber, by many who have been early though perhaps only partially indoctrinated; while other kindred pursuits in literature are kept up.

I am aware that I am touching upon a subject, about which much has been said; but I am addressing myself to my brothers of the profession; and I must confess that I scarcely know of a pursuit more pleasing as a relaxation from professional labours, or more useful than this. I would that the attacks upon the learned languages were confined to men of meagre learning, who are ignorant of their beauties and advantages. But there are some others, a small class, who not readily perceiving the firm but invisible chain that encircles and connects all our knowledge, are liberal of their censures. I hope and I trust that these dogmas will
not gather such strength as to sweep away from amongst us what has throughout Christendom been the groundwork of good education for centuries.

These studies are looked upon as having nothing in common with the spirit of the times, and as opposed to all that some are pleased to call practical knowledge; and, forsooth, because they are not perceived to be of service in enabling a man to cultivate the earth, or to pursue more successfully the exact sciences, they must be thrown aside as useless. Can nothing be of use but that which comes directly under the notice of the senses;—nothing but what we can eat, drink, wear, or feel? Is the enlargement of the mind by the accession of new ideas, the strengthening the capacity by new acquisitions, nothing? What is life for? Is it for material objects alone, and for researches into external nature? Is not the highest cultivation of the intellectual principle, the highest pursuit, and the chief glory of our nature, contributing largely to our advancement and happiness?

But time is wanting, it is said, and days and years are wasted in the pursuit, and when we are immersed in the busy scenes of life all that is acquired is forgotten. I would not claim that all should be ripe scholars; but it should be strenuously urged that this pursuit should be the basis of an education where a youth is designed for a profession, and further, that the discipline should be early commenced.
The study of language is the embodying of thought, and therefore the proper early pursuit of the young; and it fills up the interval that cannot otherwise be profitably spent, without interfering with any other studies that are appropriate to the age, and ere the mind is ripe for a severer task of its powers. The want of time exists only in seeming. It is, where a youth has capacity, synonymous with incapacity in the instructer; for, in addition to other considerations that might be mentioned, it has been ascertained that a class pursuing the classics and English studies together, will make, in a given period, greater progress in the latter than a class devoted exclusively to English. The classics, in the quaint language of another day, "have put off flesh and blood, and become immutable." Their excellence is fixed, their character is unalterable.

Nor is it true that the fruits of these studies are lost by neglect in the busy scenes of after life. Those who make this objection, forget the end while they are censuring the means. The knowledge may be lost by neglect, but the effect will remain, in a good degree. The objection has its origin in a mistaken view of the design of these studies. It is not so much, in youth, for the knowledge itself, that these should be pursued, although that is of importance and value, as for the mental discipline they afford, and the strength they give to the powers of the understanding; and though we may forget the rich periods of Cicero,
the terse and comprehensive style of Sallust and Tacitus, and the harmonious numbers of the poets, the uses for which we entered upon them remain undying.

\[\text{Nunc adhibe pura pectore verba, puer; nunc te melioribus offer. Quo semel est imbusta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu.}\]

It is a study that is delightful at all times, and in the words of the Roman orator, like the cultivation of a taste for poetical studies, it adorns prosperity and is a refuge in adversity; at home or abroad, in the country or in the city, everywhere, and at all times, it is a pleasing companion.

We surely are in no danger of pursuing these quiet studies too far. It is an important subject, but I have said less about it than its quality demands, and with less power. It requires more time than I can devote to it, to do it justice. Nor, I trust, is it necessary to enlarge upon this topic, before so respectable an assembly. It is sufficient to make suggestions, and they will have with you all the weight they deserve. But I could not forbear touching incidentally upon the subject. Much might be done if our scholars would endeavour more zealously to impress upon the literary community just views concerning classical pursuits and attainments, and endeavour, with one accord, to restore them to their proper rank in the republic of letters.*

* Since the above remarks were delivered, this subject has been introduced to the consideration of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, by President Quincy. At the semi-annual meeting of the Board, in January, 1830, the recommendations of the President, in relation to further facilities for the study
An additional and powerful argument for the cultivation of letters is derived from the circumstances of the times. The profession is so crowded,* the competition is so close and earnest, that feeble intellect or mean attainments cannot expect success. As formerly, in the influx of trade, almost every merchant could amass property, and if he cast his bread upon the waters it would soon return to him manifold, while now a good voyage is matter of much study and calculation; so in our profession, in early times every apprentice in jurisprudence acquired estate, though he merely dealt in the broker age of the profession; while now a small measure of learning will not answer the purpose.

It is another argument that all other classes in the community are hastening on in the great work of education, and using all the aids that determined spirits, with our free institutions, and the general character of our people, require, and are taking higher stations in society. It must not be that they shall be in advance of us in good learning and in the career of improvement. Shame be upon us if such should be the issue of the exertions of the present day. The profession is still looked upon to bear its part in the general concerns, and

* The whole number of lawyers in the United States is estimated at 9000. In Massachusetts there are nearly 600. The new law list in England, it is said, contains the names of 1036 barristers, 138 counsel under the Bar, conveyancers, and special pleaders. This is exclusive of attorneys in London estimated at 9055, and in the country at 2067, making a grand total of 12896.
to possess that true patriotism which is discovered in vigorous efforts for the welfare of the whole. It should never consent to follow in blind subservience, but mingling with society in its various relations, to mark the onward path and keep the advance.

None know the labours of professional men but those who have pursued the same studies. The study of the law, as we all believe, can never be made easy; and happy therefore is it that the value of what we obtain is in proportion to the difficulties we have to encounter. Look at the successful jurist: see his diligent labours by night and by day; the severe and critical sifting of arguments; the close investigation of principles; the elaborate and eloquent exposition, and the strength of reasoning, all brought in formidable array to bear down the adversary. Look at the variety of his employments and cares; his promptitude in meeting and even anticipating a host of objections; his power in analysing and grouping the masses of testimony; in strengthening his own weak points and sweeping away the strong ones of his adversary, and, poured round all, the fascinations of manner and the embellishments of taste and learning, and this will satisfy us that to be really distinguished is no mean excellence.

There are motives to exertion that particularly apply to our association, whose members are away from the crowded resorts where daily collision takes place between mind and mind. Exertion, except in
those happily constituted, is apt to falter, unless there are some exciting causes continually in action. Much reflection and stern resolution are necessary with many, to supply the deficiencies of place and to prevent the corroding rust that is formed by neglect, and finds its way to the very interior of the intellect. Let us imitate the example of illustrious predecessors:—of Coke in his industry, who “thanked God that he never gave his body to physic, his heart to cruelty,* nor his hand to corruption” :—of Hale, the proudest because the purest name in English history; “of unblemished integrity and uprightness in every character of life,—of generous frankness and open sincerity in conversation, of unalterable adherence in all stations to the principles of civil and religious liberty, accompanied with a serious regard to true piety;” —and, in the words of Baxter, “that unwearied student, that prudent man, that solid philosopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and basis of justice, who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive; the ornament of his majesty’s government, and honour of England, the highest faculty of the soul of Westminster Hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges; that godly, serious, and practical christian, the lover of goodness and all good men, a lamenter of the clergy’s selfishness, and unfaithfulness, and discord.” Let us imitate the example of Selden,

* From this, however, I should except his conduct on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh that was marked with extreme severity and ill manners.
† It shows the independence of Sir Matthew Hale, who was a judge during the time of the Commonwealth, as well as in the reign of Charles II, that when
Clarendon, Holt, Hardwicke, Nottingham, Mansfield, Thurlow, Sir William Jones, and the host of worthies, the lights of Westminster Hall:—and of our own numerous distinguished men in the profession, who have done so much for themselves and the country: and dwell upon the recollection of the gifted jurists who aided in the cause of our Revolution, and in the establishment of our frame of government,—of Hawley, James Otis, Adams, Quincy, Ellsworth, Hamilton, Jay, Wythe, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Randolph, Henry, Parsons, Gore, Ames, Dexter, King, and as the eye traces backward the course of time, and we see their venerable forms passing in review before us, like the Trojan hero we would exclaim—

"Manibus date lilia plenis:
Purpureos spargam flores."

It was men of this cast, who in stormy periods girded on the armour, and subdued might to the empire of justice. They were of that popular cast in the profession, answering the description of James, the pedant and king, who when the twelve judges were brought before him in the case of the commendams declared, "that ever since his coming to the crown, the popular sort of lawyers had been the men that most affrontedly had trodden upon his prerogative."

Cromwell urged him to accept the commission, he declined, giving as a reason that he doubted the lawfulness of the Protector's authority. The reply of Cromwell was highly characteristic of that strange but powerful man; viz. that since he had got the possession of the government he was resolved to keep it, and would not be argued out of it: that however it was his desire to rule according to the laws of the land; for which purpose he had pitched upon him as the proper person to be employed in the administration of justice; yet if they would not permit him to govern by red gowns, he was resolved to govern by red coats.
The moral influence of the profession may be made still further of benefit by earnestness and activity amongst its members. As temptations to err are more numerous than those that beset other professions, the confidence reposed by the community in those who pursue jurisprudence, is a silent but noble and conclusive tribute of praise. It should be equally our comfort and pride to bear testimony to the high and honourable feeling which is a distinguishing characteristic of the jurists of our Commonwealth. Let us cherish this conservative principle of rectitude, and scorn every thing that looks remotely towards prevarication, deceit, or any other dishonourable conduct. And if at any time, by any unfortunate combination of circumstances, there should be any one among us, which God forbid, who is a disgrace to his name and office, and tends to bring odium upon the profession, let there be no false delicacy in purging our ranks of the offence, as we would our dwellings of a pestilence. For we are not only placed in a situation that tasks to the utmost the manly intellect, but, apart from higher motives, we are in the presence of a world that scans with no delicate criticism, and is not sparing of its censure:

"Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
Integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis
Incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperit, ut sia
Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuria tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori,
Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas."

There is no moral power greater than that which a man of leading and pure mind may exercise in
the community. He moves in society with a salutary example. His words, his actions, his whole course of life constitute a precept of the noblest kind, and with the highest sanctions. To those of every age and condition he comes with beneficent aid; and when his elements are moldering in the dust, a bright lustre arises from his tomb, that continues to scatter light amid the debasing selfishness of the world. To men of this cast, society owes much: and if with their other knowledge they are versed in the principles of jurisprudence, when the clouds gather and the storms arise, which feeble men may put in operation, but cannot control, and public danger is upon us, it is to such men we look for counsel and guidance.

I have thus endeavoured, gentlemen, according to the measure of my ability, to touch upon some subjects which it seemed to me, might be of interest to us, at least for the time being, if of no permanent value. I have given a relation, imperfect I fear, of the early history of the Bar in this large and respectable county. Happy shall I be if any efforts of mine may be so far blessed, as to preserve any important facts, or the names of any individuals who were distinguished in their places in the elder day; thrice happy, if any one suggestion or remark shall have the tendency to cause us to place a higher value on our profession, and on the pursuit of letters. And as time passes on, when lingering on the borders of life, in expectation of a speedy
release from its burdens and cares, from its mingled scenes of happiness and sorrow, may it be our joy, our sustaining reflection, that the profession of our choice, and the cause of good morals and sound learning, have not been degraded in our hands.
APPENDIX.

The following list of Members of the Bar from the incorporation of the county, in 1731, to the present time, is probably imperfect. It was my original purpose to give a complete list, with the dates of birth, of graduating, of admission to practice, distinguishing between Barristers, Counsellors, and Attorneys, mentioning the most important offices sustained, and any remarkable circumstances or anecdotes of deceased members, with such biographical notices, in addition to those contained in the preceding pages, as might be found to possess any interest. This would have made a large, and, if well executed, an important addition to this address.

I have given up my original intention for several reasons. One is because the undertaking requires the aid of others which I cannot command, and which they do not afford, lice spes requisita. Another that it would take up more time than I can, consistently with other duties, devote to it. The work, if well performed, would create a demand for no little portion of time and opportunity, as it must be made up of occasional and sometimes accidental accretions. At some future day I may, perhaps, adding to the various materials that I now have on hand, publish something much more minute than is now in my power. For the reasons mentioned above, and for others which might be urged, I have long been in doubt whether to do any thing at present. But on the whole I have determined to add a short appendix, containing the names of those who have practised here ab urbe condita, to the present time, together with the college where each one graduated, so far as ascertained.

* April 1830.
† H. U. Harvard University.
B. U. Brown University.
Y. C. Yale College.
W. C. Williams College
D. C. Dartmouth College.
P. C. Bowdoin College.
U. V. University of Vermont.
U. C. Union College.
A. C. Amherst College.
towns in the county, his name will be found in each town. Many on the list have resided in other counties in the profession, either before or after being here. I might add the time of the admission of many to the Bar, with sundry dates of births and deaths, offices sustained, &c. but they are not sufficiently perfect to be added. Those gentlemen, whose names are in italics, are now in practice in the towns where they reside. I do not mark those who are deceased, nor can I arrange the list according to the seniority of the members at the Bar. The catalogue, though meagre, will, I believe, be found pretty correct, so far as it goes. It is very probable that there are a few other names that should be added. Some individuals, perhaps, have graduated, after whose names there are blanks: and there may be several on the list who have practised in other towns besides those I have mentioned.

To those gentlemen who have returned answers to the circular, or have complied with the subsequent vote of the Bar, I would tender my thanks. Those who have not have no right to censure what they might have aided in rendering more perfect. To all I reciprocate cordial good will.

ASHBURNHAM.


ATHOL.

Clough R. Miles, H. U. 1817.

BARRE.

Elnazar James, H. U. 1778. | Seth Lee.

BOLTON.


* Of the class, H. U. 1823:—left in May of the senior year.
**BOYLSTON.**

*Matthew Davenport, H. U. 1802.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOYLSTON</th>
<th>BROOKFIELD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**BROOKFIELD.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOYLSTON</th>
<th>BROOKFIELD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**CHARLTON.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARLTON.</th>
<th>DUDLEY.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**DUDLEY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARLTON.</th>
<th>DUDLEY.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**DOUGLAS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOUGLAS.</th>
<th>FITCHBURG.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calvin Willard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashbel Strong, (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David Brigham, H. U. 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asa Johnson, H. U. 1787.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Willard, B. U. 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ebenezer Torrey, H. U. 1822.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FITCHBURG.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOUGLAS.</th>
<th>FITCHBURG.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calvin Willard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashbel Strong, (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David Brigham, H. U. 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asa Johnson, H. U. 1787.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Willard, B. U. 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ebenezer Torrey, H. U. 1822.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GRAFTON.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOUGLAS.</th>
<th>FITCHBURG.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calvin Willard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashbel Strong, (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David Brigham, H. U. 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asa Johnson, H. U. 1787.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Willard, B. U. 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ebenezer Torrey, H. U. 1822.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GRAFTON.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAFTON.</th>
<th>HARDWICK.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**HARDWICK.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAFTON.</th>
<th>HARDWICK.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

* In the sketch of Sprague it is stated that he did not receive a liberal education. This is an error; though received from a source on which reliance was placed.
† Of the class that graduated, H. U. 1803. Left college at the beginning of the senior year.
‡ I stated in note to page 74, hypothetically, that Daniel Oliver, the son of Judge Oliver, was the one who graduated in 1762. A subsequent reference to
Elisha P. Cutler, W. C. 1798.

HARVARD.
Joel Harris, D. C. 1804.

HOLDEN.
Jason B. Blackington, B. U. 1826.

HUBBARDSTON.
Samuel Swan, H. U. 1799.

LANCASTER.

LEICESTER.
Christopher Jacob Lawton. David Brigham, H. U. 1810.
Waldo Flint, H. U. 1814.

LEOMINSTER.
Solomon Strong, W. C. 1798.

LUNENBURG.
Samuel Dexter, H. U. 1781. Ephraim M. Cunningham, H.

* He practised principally in Lancaster, and till the latter part of his life.
MENDON.
Richard George, B. U. 1797. | Charles C. P. Hastings, B. U.
Warren Rawson, B. U. 1802. | 1825.

MILLBURY.
George W. Livermore, H. U. 1823.

NEW BRAINTREE.
Charles Allen.*

NORTHBOROUGH.

NORTH BROOKFIELD.
Daniel Gilbert, D. C. 1796.

OAKHAM.

OXFORD.
Sumner Bastow, B. U. 1802.

PETERSHAM.
Lewis Bigelow, W. C. 1803.

PRINCETON.

RUTLAND.
Francis Blake, H. U. 1789. | John Shepley.†
Isaac Story, H. U. 1793.

* Entered Yale College, but did not graduate.
† Of the class, H. U. 1808. Left College in the senior year.
SHREWSBURY.
Nahum Ward.
Jonathan Morgan, U. C. 1803.
Andrew H. Ward, H. U. 1808.
David Brigham, H. U. 1810.

SOUTHBOROUGH.
Ezra Taylor.
Peter Clarke, H. U. 1777.
Martin L. Stow.

SOUTHBRIDGE.
Frederic W. Bottom, B. U. 1802.
John M. Foster.
Linus Child, Y. C. 1824.

SPENCER.
Bradford Sumner, B. U. 1808.
John Davis, Y. C. 1812.
Daniel Knight, B. U. 1813.

STERLING.
Prentice Mellen, H. U. 1784.
Isaac Story, H. U. 1793.
Barnabas Brown, H. U. 1799.
Ephraim M. Cunningham, H. U.
Alexander Dustin, D. C. 1799.

STURBRIDGE.
Erasmus Babbitt, H. U. 1790.
George Davis.

SUTTON.
Estes Howe, D. C. 1800.
Summer Bastow, B. U. 1802.
William C. White.
Richard H. Dana.*
Frederic Howes.*
Jonas L. Sibley, B. U. 1813.

TEMPLETON.
Lowell Walker, D. C. 1794.
Frederic Howes.*
Joseph W. Newcomb, W. C. 1825.

UXBRIDGE.
Nathan Tyler, sen.
Nathan Tyler, (son) H. U. 1779.
Benjamin Adams, B. U. 1788.
Samuel M. Crocker, H. U. 1801.
Bezaleel Taft, H. U. 1804.
George Wheaton, H. U. 1814.
Joseph Thayer, B. U. 1815.

WESTBOROUGH.
Erasmus Babbit, H. U. 1790.
Nahum Harrington, B. U. 1807.
Sam'l M. Burnside, D. C. 1805.
Onslow Peters, B. U. 1825.

* For some time of H. U. but did not graduate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Graduation Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WESTERN.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Mansfield,*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WESTMINSTER.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solomon Strong, W. C. 1798.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alexander Dustin, D. C. 1799.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WINCHENDON.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benjamin Bridge.</td>
<td>Horatio G. Newcomb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WORCESTER.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timothy Green, B. U. 1786.</td>
<td>Charles Allen.†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William C. White.</td>
<td>Christopher C. Baldwin.‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaac Goodwin.</td>
<td>Henry Paine.§</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enoch Lincoln,*</td>
<td>Otis C. Wheeler.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For some time of H. U. but did not graduate.  
† For sometime of Y. C. but did not graduate.  
‡ Left H. U. May, 1823, of the senior year.  
§ Entered Y. C. but did not graduate.
A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT DORCHESTER,

ON 17 JUNE, 1830,

To commemorate the completion of the

SECOND CENTURY FROM ITS SETTLEMENT

BY OUR

PILGRIM FATHERS.

BY JOHN PIERCE, D. D.
Congregational Minister of Brookline.

BOSTON:
FROM THE OFFICE OF THE DAILY ADVERTISER.

W. L. Lewis, Printer.

1830.
A

DISCOURSE

DELCVERED AT DORCHESTER,

ON 17 JUNE, 1830,

To commemorate the completion of the

ERRATA.

Page 14, 15th line from top, for may, read many.
" 18, in note, authography, in a few copies, for orthography.
" 35, top, for simple simple, read simple.
" 64, 12th line from bottom, for Samuel, read Daniel.
" 70, an error in a few copies in the quotation, "He was complete," &c.
" 72, 5th line from bottom, in a few copies, for senses, read sense.
" 78, 5th line from bottom, for county read country.
" 86, 12th line from top, for into, read to.
" 104, 6, 7th line from bottom, for exultation, read exaltation.
" 131, 3d line from bottom, for conveyances, in a few copies, read convey- ancers.
" 133, 4th line from top, in a few copies, for places, read place.

BOSTON:

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE DAILY ADVERTISER.

W. L. Lewis, Printer.

1830.
Dorchester, 13 May, 1830.

To Rev. John Pierce, D. D.

Dear Sir,—The town of Dorchester, at a meeting on the 10th instant, voted to celebrate the first settlement of the town by a publick address commemorative of that event, and by other appropriate services, and selected 17 June next, P. M. as the most suitable day, that being about the termination of two centuries, since the commencement of the settlement. At the same time, the subscribers were appointed a Committee to select a speaker, and to make the necessary arrangements.

The Committee have met, and chosen you to deliver the address; and now, in behalf of the town, and of themselves individually, respectfully request, that you will gratify the inhabitants of your native town by an acceptance of the appointment.

Your sincere friends and humble servants,

Dorchester, 17 June, 1830.

Dear Sir,—The Committee of Arrangements, in behalf of the inhabitants of Dorchester, tender to you their thanks for the very interesting and instructive Discourse, this day, delivered by you, in commemoration of the first settlement of the town, and request, that you will favour them with a copy for publication.

With great respect your obedient servants,

Brookline, 28 June, 1830.

Gentlemen,

The Discourse, delivered by your invitation, is submitted to your request, with devout wishes for the best good of the town, whose inhabitants you represent, by your and their sincere friend,

John Pierce
SECOND CENTURY DISCOURSE.

On an occasion fraught with so many interesting associations, no topick has appeared to me more appropriate to the season, or the place, or to the assembly, whom I am invited to address, than that, suggested by

PROVERBS xvii. 6.

'THE GLORY OF CHILDREN ARE THEIR FATHERS.'

Think not, from the subject proposed, that I am about to enter upon an extravagant and unqualified eulogy of our venerable ancestors. It would be unjust to their memories to treat with such praise those, who, with unaffected humility and contrition, were so ready to lament their many imperfections.

Much less shall I be expected to particularize or reprobate their foibles or their vices.

A much more suitable expression of filial piety is it, while we spread the mantle of oblivion or of charity over their failings, as men, to propose, as worthy of careful imitation, of everlasting remembrance, their pre-eminent virtues, as christians.

It may be proper here to premise the glory, which is claimed for the fathers of our rising Republic.

An imperfect acquaintance with their history will convince us, that they were not inflated with the 'pomp and vain glory of this world.' So far from affecting to shine in courts, they were willing,
in pursuit of their darling object, to be treated, as the 'offscouring of all things.' So far from coveting the fame of military heroes, their highest ambition was to become 'good soldiers of Jesus Christ?' A respectable portion of them were persons of independent property and of distinction, in their native land; yet such was the simplicity of their manners, and dress, and style of living, as to excite the inconsiderate ridicule of some descendants, who know not how to estimate their virtues.

Indeed who can contemplate their characters, and not be struck with their similarity to the Hebrew worthies, commemorated by the Apostle? Like the great father of the faithful, when believing themselves 'called to go out into places, which they should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and they went out, not knowing whither they went.' Like Moses, 'they chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches,' in following the impulse of duty, 'than all the treasures of their native land, purchased, or secured, at the sacrifice of conscience. In short, who can attentively consider their various trials, and their manner of encountering them, in the land of their birth, on the trackless ocean, and in this then unexplored wilderness, and not find many circumstances to remind him of those ancients, 'who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of aliens; and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection; and others had trials of cruel mockings and scourings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments; they
were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about destitute, afflicted, tormented; of whom the world was not worthy!"

It was then the true glory of our fathers to view every thing in the light of eternity. The more you become acquainted with their principles, their manner of life, their conscientious and uniform resistance to the mandates of prelatical power, their motives in settling this land, and their provision for posterity, the more will you be convinced, that all was dictated by a spirit of piety.

The Reformation from Popery, under Henry the VIIIth, effected much; but it left many glaring abuses to be reformed. Under his own, and some subsequent reigns, there was too much reason for the scrupulous to complain, that, in many respects, there was but a transfer of power from the tiara at Rome to the English crown. Hence nearly equal dominion was claimed over the rights of conscience by the British monarch and by the Roman Pontiff.

Time would fail me, were I barely to allude to the leading abuses, which were intolerable to our puritan fathers, and which impelled them, at every hazard, to meditate and finally to effect the settlement of this country.*

Suffice it, at present, to remark, that, when Henry the VIIIth, Queens Mary and Elizabeth, Kings James I and Charles I resolved, with a perseverance, which no resistance could subdue, upon a hopeless uniformity in faith and in worship; and, in the accomplishment of their favourite purpose, punished all dissenters with fines, civil disabilities, corporal punishment, imprisonment, and martyrdom, under its most frightful forms; then was it submitted to our fathers, either tamely

*Whoever wishes for a minute description of these events may have his curiosity amply gratified by perusing Neale’s invaluable History of the Puritans.
to yield to such arbitrary claims; or else, at the sacrifice of every inferior good, resolutely to resist them. Nor did they hesitate in the choice of evils. After every possible attempt to soften the obdurate hearts of their persecutors by a blameless life, by a careful submission to all laws, but such, as involved the inalienable rights of conscience, by mild persuasion, by firm remonstrance, by retired worship, like the primitive christians, so as to shun, instead of courting observation, they hesitated no longer, what course to pursue. They nobly resolved to forsake everything of an earthly nature, which might tempt them to prove traitorous to their God and Saviour; they 'took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing in themselves, that they had in heaven a better, and an enduring substance;' and to their wise determination, under heaven, are we indebted for the early and permanent settlement of New England.

It is to religion then, the religion of the gospel, so dear to the hearts of our fathers, that we owe the colonizing of these borders, under such favourable auspices; and, above all, our invaluable civil, literary, and religious institutions, which, under God, are the firm foundations of our prosperity, as a people, and which will always constitute our highest glory.

Say not, that worldly views mingled with higher motives in settling this land. Adventurous speculators* were then, as at all other times, ready to avail themselves of circumstances. They accordingly, at various periods, invested large sums in traffick. But so unproductive were investments of this nature, at that early period, that, were it not for sublimer motives, this portion of our land

* See an account of Mr Weston's company, who were sent to what has since been called Weymouth, in Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in His. Coll. First Series, Vol. VIII. p. 57.
could not have been thus early colonized, much less could it have been settled by such a pious and hardy race, abounding in such noble enterprises.

Akin to the first European inhabitants of this town, in the same 'darling enterprise engaged,' and but ten years their precursors, was that sacred band, which first settled Plymouth. At the very commencement of the seventeenth century, they had fled, first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, in Holland, for the uninterrupted enjoyment of privileges, which had been inhumanly denied them in their native land. In this latter place they remained, eleven years; where*, having no opportunity to follow husbandry, to which most of them had been accustomed; finding the climate insalubrious; residing among foreigners, with whom there were so few sympathies; and, above all, having such examples set before their youth of licentiousness on the Lord's day, they resolved upon a still farther removal. After many prayers and inquiries, they applied to the Virginia Company to ascertain, 'whether King James would grant them liberty of conscience in his American dominions.+

Their petition is couched in these affecting terms;† that they were so 'weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so inured to the difficulties of a strange land, that no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home; that they had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial, and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole company, and of every individual person.'

---

* For a full account of their motives in leaving Holland, see Morton's New England's Memorial, Judge Davis's Edition, p. 19, &c. which is the fifth edition; as also for a most satisfactory history of Plymouth Colony. See Belknap's American Biography, Vol. II. p. 169.

† Hazard, 52.
A favourable answer having been given to their petition, on projecting a transportation, it was found, that the major part of them could not be prepared.* It was therefore determined, that Elder Brewster should accompany the minority; and that the Rev. John Robinson should continue with the larger portion, till a favourable opportunity should arrive for their removal. By the inscrutable Providence of God, his premature death prevented the execution of his darling purpose.†

But in his farewell address‡ to the beloved pilgrims, as they were about to depart for these American shores, 'he being dead, yet speaketh.' Would to God, that its sentiments were engraven on every heart; 'as with a pen of iron, and the point of a diamond.' I will not be negligent to put you, my beloved hearers, in remembrance of them, though ye already know them; for I shall take it for granted, that you can never read, or hear them, without deep emotion, and a lively interest.

'Brethren,'§ said he, 'we are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows. But whether the Lord hath appointed that, or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther, than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

'If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, that the

---

† He died 1 March, 1625, aged 50.
§ This is an extract from his Fast sermon, delivered, July, 1620. In this connexion should be read his Farewell Letter to the Plymouth Pilgrims, as contained in Morton's Memorial, p. 24.
Lord has more truth yet to break forth from his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther, than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. Whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die, than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast, where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

'This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that, which they first received. I beseech you, remember, it is an article of your church covenant, "that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God." Remember that and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must here exhort you to take heed, what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible, that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

With such sentiments on toleration so far in advance of his period, who can help regretting, that he had not lived to contribute his mighty influence toward the promotion of similar sentiments in the

* Words almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry, which then prevailed in the English nation; wherein this truly great and learned man seems to be almost the only divine, who was capable of rising into a noble freedom of thinking and practising in religious matters, and even of urging such an equal liberty on his own people. He labours to take them off from their attachment to him, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the scriptures." Prince's New England Chronology, p. 176.
minds of cotemporaries? For it cannot be denied, and need not be concealed, that our first settlers, exemplary as they were in other respects, had juster notions in claiming liberty of conscience for themselves, than in granting it to others. Even the excellent Governour Winthrop,* that invaluable historian of our early fathers, during the nineteen years, in which he lived among them, with all his enlargement of mind, and his mildness of spirit in his native land, was carried away by the intolerant spirit prevailing here, so as too much to favour it. It is refreshing, however, to find him, in the latter part of his life, returning to juster sentiments. ‘In the time of his last sickness, when Dudley, the deputy governour, pressed him to sign an order for the banishment of a person, who was deemed heterodox, he refused, saying that he had done too much of that work already.’†

Much may be said in extenuation of the intolerant principles and practices, with which our fathers were justly chargeable. Theirs was the spirit of the age. To condemn them, therefore, without mercy, without regard to the mitigating circumstances of their case, would savour of the bigotry, which we agree to reprobate. To criminate them unreservedly, on account of their severity toward Roger Williams, the Antinomians, the Friends, and the Baptists would amount to the senseless complaint, that they were not born a century and a half later.‡ The heaviest charges, which can be justly alleged against them only add one more proof to what will be always found true, that ‘the best of men are but men at the best.’

* For a most satisfactory account of the early settlement of Massachusetts Colony, see his History of New England from 1630 to 1649, transcribed with immense labour and skill from the original manuscripts by James Savage, Esq. and enriched by him with copious notes.


‡ For an admirable vindication of our Fathers in these and other respects, the reader is referred to Judge Story’s Centennial Discourse at Salem, 18 September, 1828.
For, as remarks one of their justest and most considerate biographers,* 'toleration had not then been introduced into any of the Protestant countries; and even the wisest and best men were afraid of it, as the parent of all error and mischief. They maintained, that all men had liberty to do right, but no liberty to do wrong. However true this principle may be in point of morality, yet in matters of opinion, in modes of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order, the question is, who shall be the judge of right and wrong? And it is too evident from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those, who were vested with authority; a principle destructive of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment, and big with all the horrors of persecution. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the high church party, who had oppressed them in England; and yet, such is the frailty of human nature, they held the same principles, and practised the same oppressions on those, who dissented from them.'

Within eight years from the settlement of Plymouth Colony, and before she had increased to 300 souls, the Council for New England sold the Massachusetts Patent,† on 19 March, 1628, to certain proprietors.

In September, of this year, Captain John Endicott‡ and company arrived at Salem, and commenced the first permanent settlement of Massachusetts Colony.

On 6 August, 1629, was gathered, in Salem, the first Congregational church§ ever organized in America.

---

‡ Judge Story's Centennial Discourse.
§ This church 'celebrated the first century,' in a Lecture delivered by their pastor, the Rev. Samuel Fisk, 6 August, 1729. On the completion
Early in the year 1630, a church was gathered, at the new hospital, at Plymouth, in England, under the direction of the Rev. John White, preparatory to the embarkation of the first settlers in this town.* The Rev. John Maverick and the Rev. John Warham were, at the same time, set apart, as ministers of this church, they bearing a part in the solemnities of the occasion. They had been previously ordained by bishops of the church of England; so that it is probable, that the solemnities of this occasion amounted to what is now termed an Installation.

During this year, seventeen ships,† full of passengers and their effects, sailed from various ports, in England, for the settlement of this country; and all, without one exception, arrived in safety.

The first, which sailed, was the Lion, Captain Peirce, in February, from Bristol. But she being engaged in the service of the Plymouth Colony, the first vessel for the Massachusetts Colony was the Mary and John, of 400 tons, commanded by Captain Squeb. She sailed from Plymouth, in England, on 20 March, O. S., and arrived at Nantasket 30 May. These were subsequently the first settlers of this town. The captain had engaged to land them up Charles River; but he perfidiously set them on shore at Nantasket.‡

The principal events, which happened, till their permanent settlement in this place, were detailed with much force and with touching pathos by Cap-

---

* For many interesting particulars, see 'Chronological and Topographical Account of Dorchester,' by the Rev. Dr. Harris, in His. Coll. Old Series, Vol. IX. p. 147, &c.

† For the names of these ships, whence and when they sailed, and when and where they arrived, consult Prince's Chron. p. 329.

‡ 'Captain Squeb was, afterwards, obliged to pay damages for this conduct.' Trumbull's His. Conn. Vol. I. p. 23.
tain Roger Clap,* a passenger in this vessel, one of the first settlers, and whose descendants with his collateral relations have been, from that time to the present, among the most numerous and respectable families in this town. This book, entitled Clap's Memoirs, has been repeatedly published, and, it is probable, is in many families in this place. It is well adapted to impress us with our obligations to the merciful Disposer of our lot for making the circumstances of this people so different from their early beginnings, on this day, which we celebrate, as the completion of the second century from the settlement of the town.

A more particular account of this town is still extant, in manuscript, written by James Blake, for many years town-clerk, town-treasurer, and principal selectman in this town.† He begins with describing the motives and projects of the first settlers, gives a very minute account of the principal events and transactions here, for 120 years, to the time of his death, in 1750. This manuscript has been the principal authority for all the early accounts which have been published of Dorchester to this day.

This town was called Dorchester,‡ in honour of

---

* See his Memoirs republished, in 1807. In the Appendix is a minute account of his family by James Blake.
† James Blake was the son of James, the grandson of James, the great-grandson of William and Agnes, who were some of the first settlers. He was born 30 April, 1688, and died 4 December, 1750, aged 63. His Annals have been much quoted. Many parts of them have been printed in different works, and at different times. He surveyed many farms in Dorchester; and the projections ingeniously and elegantly made are among the most valuable documents of his native town.
‡ The Indian name was Matapan. This is also the name of the southmost cape in Greece.

William Wood, who left this country for England, 15 August, 1633, in a book called New England's Prospect, p. 42, remarks, 'Dorchester is the greatest town in New England, (but I am informed that others equal it, since I came away,) well wooded and watered; very good arable grounds, and hay ground, fair corn-fields, and pleasant gardens with kitchen gardens. The inhabitants of this town were the first that set upon the trade
the Rev. John White, minister of the town bearing this name in England, and who has already been mentioned as the principal agent in setting apart the first ministers who were settled here. He is supposed also to have been the author of a celebrated state paper, published and signed by Governor Winthrop and others, entitled, 'The humble request of his Majesty’s loyal subjects, the Governor and Company late gone for New England to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions.'* He must have been considered a distinguished man indeed, whose agency should have been esteemed necessary to draw a paper for the signature of such a scholar and civilian, as Governor Winthrop.

Clap, Blake, Winthrop, and Prince, all speak of the arrival of the passengers in the Mary and John, for permanent settlement here, in the beginning of June, 1630. But none of them mention the precise day.†

This, then, is the season, two hundred years ago, when our fathers first settled down in this then desolate wilderness; and they first chose the land separated from the main body of the town, because they could there the more easily preserve their cattle from wandering, and defend their families from the incursions of the aboriginals.

How astonishing the changes, when, in one hundred and fortyfive years after this, just fiftyfive years ago, this day, a few raw and undisciplined

of fishing in the bay, who received so much fruit of their labours, that they encouraged others to the same undertakings.'

* This instrument may be found in Hister. Coll. Second Series, Vol. V. p. 196. It was read at the second centennial celebration, by the Rev. Dr. Harris.

† Doubtless because, having been dispersed, they came together in successive days.
troops of New England, on the famed heights of Charlestown, were enabled to sustain and repel, with immense havock, repeated onsets from select corps of the veteran British army, and disdained to yield to superior numbers and discipline, till their means of resistance had wholly failed them!

It is a well ascertained fact, that ‘Dorchester’ was the first settled church† and town in the county of Suffolk,’ of which she formed a part till 1793. Hence, as Prince remarks, ‘in all military musters, or civil assemblies, where dignity is regarded, she used to have the precedence.’ To this fact is it owing, that, after much controversy respecting the rank of her troops, it was finally decided, that they belonged to the first regiment of the first brigade of the first division in the State. Accordingly it is settled that, with those of Roxbury and Brookline, they constitute the first regiment of the militia in Massachusetts.

It is observable, that the passengers in the Mary and John, as well as the pilgrim fathers at Plymouth, arrived on these shores, on the Lord’s day. From their known habits, we cannot doubt, what was their first delightful employment. They, whose meat and drink it was, on every day of the week, to worship God; they, who, according to their annalist,‡ made their ‘long passage comfortable by having preaching or expounding of the scriptures, every day of their passage, performed by their ministers,’ must have joined with no common delight in the religious services of their first sabbath on these American shores. Though the coast, on which they were landed, was far dif-

---

† Dorchester church is second only to Salem church in the Massachusetts colony. See the arrangement of churches by James Savage, Esq. in Winthrop’s History of New England, Vol. I. p. 95.
‡ Blake’s Annals.
ferent from what they had anticipated; though they had no guide, even a cloud by day, nor a pillar of fire by night, but simply the leadings of Providence, about which they were still uncertain; yet they doubtless felt, that they had many causes for devout gratitude. In imagination we hear them presenting united homage to their merciful Deliverer;

"Lowly they bowed, adoring, and began
Their orisons,"

tenished, yet not subdued, by the persecutions they suffered. They pray for their dear native country, that she may know the things, which concern her peace and prosperity. They render hearty thanks for the mercies of their long and perilous voyage; and they devoutly implore the God of their fathers to give success to their hazardous enterprise.

It is here natural to inquire, who were the people that, two hundred years ago, settled in these now pleasant places, but then, alas! fields of labour, of self-denial, and of doubtful success? Many of us feel a more than common curiosity in this investigation, as from the pilgrim settlers of this town we trace our origin, in both lines, in uninterrupted succession to the present time.

Were they then, as their enemies basely and unfeelingly represented them,* fugitives from justice in their native land, whom vengeance suffered not there to live? Were they greedy speculators, who hoped here to acquire a livelihood, in ease and indulgence, not to be obtained in the country

---

* For an ample refutation of this slander, see Morton's New England's Memorial, p. 20, &c.
whence they came? Were they unprincipled mal-
contents, unwilling to submit to the just restraints 
of religion and good government, and who were 
impelled, in a fit of resentment, to try any change, 
that offered?

We admit, that some of these descriptions, by 
mistake, followed our fathers into this western 
world. But they soon found themselves out of 
their element. They soon ascertained, to their 
cost, that this was no place for idlers, vagrants, 
drunkards, rebels, nor infidels; and with all con-
venient despatch they went away, and walked no 
more with these followers of Jesus.

The result of such experiments never failed to 
verify the statements of Elder Brewster, as to the 
kind of men, who should not, and those, who should, 
come to settle here. Thus in the preface to his 
Sermon preached at Plymouth, and printed first in 
England, in 1622, he observes, 'That for men, 
which have a large heart, and look after great 
riches, ease, pleasure, dainties, and jollity in this 
world, (except they will live by other men's sweat, 
or have great riches,) I would not advise them to 
come here; for as yet the country will afford no 
such matters. But if there be any, who are con-
tented to lay out their estates, spend their time, 
labours, and endeavours for the benefit of them, 
that shall come after, and in desire to further the 
Gospel among these poor heathens, quietly con-
tenting themselves with such hardships and diffi-
culties, as by God's providence shall fall upon 
them, being yet young and in their strength, such 
men I would advise and encourage to go; for their 
ends cannot fail them.'

Similar sentiments are expressed by Thomas 
Dudley, the first Lieutenant Governour of this Col-
ony. In a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, 28
March, 1631,* he writes, "If any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him. But if for spiritual, he may find here, what may well content him, namely, materials to build, fuel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breathe in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied, but much to be pitied in the sickness and mortality of our people. If any godly men out of religious ends will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves, nor their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoning. But they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years. And for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs, for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our Macedonia and help us; and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment. For others, I conceive, that they are not fitted for this business.'

That such, as is here desired, was the actual character of the first settlers, might be proved from numberless unquestionable testimonies. I shall content myself with a few.

Thus in an address† of the General Court of this Colony to Charles II, in 1661, they appeal to his Majesty and to the world, that 'they are not seditious, as to the interests of Cæsar, nor schis-
matical as to matters of religion. We distinguish,’ say they, ‘between churches and their impurities. We could not live without the publick worship of God, nor be permitted the publick worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformity, as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might therefore enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence to God, man, and our own consciences, we with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers’ house into this Patmos.’

In an election sermon, 1668, by William Stoughton,* born in this town, in 1632, who was Lieutenant Governour of this Commonwealth, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, an agent to the court of Great Britain, a preacher of the gospel in this place, an eminent scholar, civilian, and divine, there is this testimony of our fathers by one, who knew them well. ‘O what parents and predecessors may we, the most of us, look back unto. Those, that have gone before us, in the cause of God here, who, and what were they? Certainly choice and picked ones, whom he eminently prepared, and trained up, and qualified for this service. They were worthies, men of singular accomplishments, and of long and great experience. Yet did they walk with fear and trembling before

On 10 August, 1662, the old age of Mr Mather, Mr Stoughton was invited to preach, in his native town, ‘in a constant way.’

In the Church Records there is an account of six distinct calls, which he received, at different times, to settle in the ministry.

On 30 October, 1669, the year of Mr Mather’s death, the church hearing, that Mr Stoughton was about to give a negative answer to their sixth call, appointed a committee to desire the Boston ministers and churches to persuade him to accept. But he persevered in his refusal, assigning no other cause, than ‘for some reasons within myself.’ He continued to supply, till Mr Flynt’s ordination, in 1671. When sent an agent to England, the church appointed a day of fasting and prayer on his account. Dorchester Church Records.

After the death of Mr Mitchel, at Cambridge, in 1668, ‘the church and society invited Mr William Stoughton to become their minister; but they were denied.’ His. of Cambridge in His. Coll. Vol. VII. p. 30.
the Lord in the sense of their own nothingness, and insufficiency for the work here to be done. O what were the open professions of the Lord's people, that first entered this wilderness? How did our fathers entertain the gospel, and all the pure institutions thereof, and those liberties, which they brought over? What was their communion and fellowship in the administrations of the kingdom of Jesus Christ? What was the pitch of their brotherly love, of their zeal for God and his ways, and against ways destructive of truth and holiness? What was their humility, their mortification, their exemplariness? How much of holiness to the Lord was written upon all their ways and transactions! God sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness.

By a powerful writer in modern times, the Puritans of those days are thus described. 'They were men, whose minds had derived a peculiar character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging, in general terms, an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the great Being, for whose power nothing was too vast; for whose inspection nothing was too minute. To know him, to serve him, to enjoy him, was with them the great end of existence. They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage, which other sects substituted for the pure worship of the soul. Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on the intolerable brightness, and to commune with him face to face. Hence originated their contempt for terrestrial distinctions. The difference between the greatest and the meanest of mankind seemed to vanish, when compared with the boundless interval, which separated the whole race from him, on whom their
own eyes were constantly fixed. They recognized no title to superiority, but his favour; and confident of that favour, they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world."

These testimonies apply to the first settlers of this Colony generally, including our fathers of this town. Blake, who was of the third generation from them, remarks, ‘that they were a very godly and religious people; and many of them persons of note and figure, being dignified with the title of Mr, which but few in those days were.’

I must not omit to mention, that our fathers were scrupulous in purchasing the lands, which they settled, from the natives, and procuring fair titles. Evidence of this fact will abundantly appear from the town records, and from other sources; also of their assignment of lands, within their borders, for the benefit of those natives, who, from improvidence and other causes, had become destitute. The natural consequence was, that they lived in peace with these sons of the forest; and all the testimonies extant, in relation to them, are of a pacifick character.

The territory of Dorchester was originally so large, that it now comprises the most of six towns." Besides, a part of what was originally settled, has been annexed to our neighbouring capital."

But so memorable are the associations with a portion of that territory, at the commencement of our struggle for independence, that, whatever else it may be called, it can never lose the name, in history, nor the glory attached to it, of Dorchester Heights.

The fundamental principles of our fathers, by which they justified the Reformation from Popery,
and their removal from the Church of England, notwithstanding they embraced the same doctrinal sentiments with this latter church, are thus stated by Prince, in his New England Chronology.*

'They were in the sentiments, which since, the famous Mr Chillingworth tells us, that, after long study, he also came into; namely, that the inspired scriptures only contain the true religion; and especially nothing is to be accounted the Protestant religion, respecting either faith or worship, but what is taught in them; as also in the same sentiments, which the present celebrated bishop Hoadly and many other great men have so nobly defended, as the right of human nature, as the very basis of the Reformation, and indeed of all sincere religion, namely, that every man has a right of judging for himself, of trying doctrines by them, and of worshipping according to his apprehension of the meaning of them.'

Lest any should ascribe undue credit to Mr Robinson for defending these principles, Mr Prince remarks, 'As for Mr Robinson's being the author of Independency, Mr Cotton replies, that the New Testament was the author of it, and it was received in the times of purest, primitive antiquity, many hundreds of years before Mr Robinson was born; and Governour Winslow says, that the primitive churches in the apostolick age are the only pattern, which the churches of Christ in New England have in their eye; not following Luther, Calvin, Knox, Ainsworth, Robinson, Ames, or any other, farther than they followed Christ and his apostles.'

In the exercise of this liberty, so rationally expressed, and so nobly maintained, our ancestors in England separated from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and our Puritan fathers renounced the

* Page 176.
dominion of the English Church. In the exercise of this liberty, they also, with hardly a solitary exception, subscribed to the Confession of the Westminster Divines. By this, as a rule for interpreting the scriptures, their ministers preached, and prayed, and catechised; parents scrupulously instructed their children; and ecclesiastical councils, conventions, and synods formed their decisions. Thus far they acted consistently with their professions. They stood fast in the liberty, wherewith, they apprehended, Christ had made them free. But when they proceeded farther, and insisted on interpreting the scriptures for others, as well as for themselves; and when, in the maintenance of this claim, they fell to persecuting the Baptists, Friends, and other dissenters from their faith, greatly as we honour their memories, much as we glory in our descent from them, and desirous as we are to follow them, where we see, that they followed the Lord Jesus Christ, we are obliged here to pause; and, while we drop a tear, we would draw a veil over the imperfections, which they shared with the very best men of their day. Should we be constrained to come to different conclusions from themselves, we rejoice in the conviction, that it is in consistence with the very principles, with which they nobly burst the shackles of ecclesiastical usurpation, and gloriously asserted the religious liberties of mankind.

Of the two first pastors of this church, Maverick and Warham, we know but little, as they remained here, but little more than five years. The Rev. John Warham, the junior pastor, went with so large a portion of his people and of his church to settle Windsor, in Connecticut, that the people here were obliged to reorganize their church, the next year, on the settlement of Mr
Mather.* As the records of the church begin at this latter period, it is probable, that Mr Warham carried the original church records with him to Connecticut. He laboured there, beloved and respected, thirty-five years, to the time of his decease.† The Rev. John Maverick, senior pastor, died‡ the winter after the removal of his colleague, with the major part of the church. As one evidence of the estimation, in which he was holden, you may find his name, in the town records, stand first in all the instruments conveying lands to the settlers, during his ministry.

In 1695, another company, sufficiently numerous to constitute a settlement, emigrated from this place to South Carolina, and settled a town on Ashley river, which they named after the place of their nativity.§ In a few years the survivors migrated farther, to Midway|| in Georgia. A respectable divine, now living, who was once their pastor, has remarked the striking similarity between their descendants and the natives of this place; and has been heard to observe, that the former differed as greatly from all the surrounding inhabitants, as did the Jews from the Canaanites.

In the last century,** the town now called Ashburnham 'was granted to heirs of those in Dorchester, who perished in an unsuccessful expedition against Canada, and was called Dorchester Canada.'

One of the great evils to a country arising from

---

* 23 August, 1636. † 1 April, 1670. ‡ 3 February, 1636.
§ The church was gathered here, 22 October, 1695.
|| The Rev. Dr Codman not long since visited this place, and almost fancied himself among his own people. In the burial ground there, he was surprised to find so few instances of longevity.
** See a half-century sermon preached at Ashburnham, 3 November, 1818, by the Rev. John Cushing, its second minister. 'In 1690, lost at sea forty-six soldiers, that went to Canada.' Blake's Annals.
persecution for conscience' sake is the expulsion of her best citizens, who are obliged to seek in other places an asylum, which is inhumanly denied them at home. Thus at the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685, many of the most useful inhabitants of France fled for their lives and liberties to Europe, and some to the United States, whose descendants have been some of our most highly respected people. How many also of this description were banished by the late sanguinary French revolution!

In like manner, to the persecution of Bishop Laud and others of a kindred spirit, are we indebted for some of the most distinguished early settlers.

To this cause does this town owe the early settlement of the Rev. Richard Mather among them, a divine, who would have done honour to any nation or to any age. Such was his catholick spirit at that intolerant period, that in a controversy, which he maintained with the greatest divines of the country about baptism, a subject which is seldom discussed in a right temper, old Mr Higginson, of Salem, remarked, that 'he was a pattern for all the answerers in the world.'* He had been settled in the ministry, about fifteen years, in the land of his nativity,

"Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change his place."

But his bishop at length found, that he had not worn the surplice, for fifteen years, and accordingly suspended him, and obliged him to flee for refuge to New England.†

Nor is this strange, as but two years before, 'when the famous John Cotton,'‡ afterwards the

---

† Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 291.
‡ Ibid. p. 279.
distinguished minister of the first church in Boston, 'appealed to the Earl of Dorset for his interest with the archbishop, he sent him word, that if he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have obtained his pardon; but the sin of puritanism and nonconformity is unpardonable; and therefore you must fly for your safety.'

To the persecuting spirit of the times in the mother country are we then indebted for the distinguished civilians, who were among the first settlers of New England; as also for a large portion of her early divines, who were some of the most celebrated scholars, preachers, and men of the age, in which they flourished. In proof of this, I need but mention the names of Brewster,* the Higgins, Harvard, Wilson, Norton, Cotton, Phillips, Hooker, Shepard, Weld, Eliot, Williams, Peters, Maverick, Warham, Mather, who were the glory of their age, of the nation, which gave them birth, and of the country, which hails them, as, under God, the founders of our republick.

In the treatment, which banished them from the land of their nativity, and in the blessings, which they were the honoured instruments of procuring for their adopted country, we perceive a striking instance of the manner, in which the wise Disposer of events educes good from evil, and makes even the wrath of man to praise him.

The Rev. Richard Mather continued in the ministry here, about one third of a century, a useful and highly celebrated divine. He was the princi-

pal framer of the Platform* of Church Discipline, agreed upon by the elders and messengers of the churches, at Cambridge, in 1648, and afterwards approved by the General Court; and it breathes the excellent catholick spirit, for which he was so conspicuous.†

A similar observation may be made of his church covenant, at his settlement; of the form of admission into this church; and of the covenant, as renewed, in 1677, under the ministry of the Rev. Josiah Flynt. They seem to show the scrupulosity of these excellent men about imposing terms difficult to be subscribed, and grievous to be borne by others, when they had themselves so lately suffered from such impositions upon the conscience.

In October, 1636, the first year of Mr. Mather's ministry here, and doubtless with his most earnest recommendation and agency, the General Court made generous appropriations for the establishment of our neighbouring university. When we consider, † that this was but six years after the settlement of Boston, in the midst of the war with the Pequot Indians, at the beginning of the Antinomian controversy; and that the sum voted by the court, £400, was equal to a whole year's rate; and when, at the same time, we take into view the very humble pecuniary circumstances of the peo-

---

* The following testimony to the members of the synod, which framed it, is given by the Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, and the Rev. William Hubbard, of Ipswich.

† Above seventy years have passed away, since one of us, and above sixty years, since the other of us came into New England. We, that saw the persons, who from four famous colonies assembled in the synod, that agreed on our Platform of Church Discipline, cannot forget their excellent character. They were men of great renown in the nation, from whence the Laudian persecution exiled them. Their learning, their holiness, their gravity struck all men, that knew them, with admiration. They were Timothies in their houses, Chrysostoms in their pulpits, Augustines in their disputations.' Prince's Election Sermon, 1730, p. 42.

‡ He died, 22 April, 1669, aged 73.

§ Note by James Savage, Esq. in Winthrop's His. of New Eng. Vol. II. p. 88.
ple, what admiration is not due to our fathers for their love of learning and of religion; for their magnanimity, their perseverance, and self-denial, in promoting these great objects?

In a memorial* sent to England, under the title of New England’s First Fruits, in 1643, the year after the first Commencement, at Cambridge, we have this plain and touching statement concerning this interesting project. ‘After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God’s worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was to advance learning, and to perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present literate ministers shall lie in the dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr Harvard, (a godly gentleman, and lover of learning there living amongst us) to give the one half of his estate towards the erecting of a college, and all his library.’

At this university eightyfour of your sons have received a publick education, besides four, who have been educated in other colleges. Of these, thirtytwo have been settled in the ministry; four have been tutors of their alma mater, one for the space of fiftyfive years; two have been lieutenant governors of the Commonwealth; one has been bishop of the Episcopal church; one a professor at our university, and now a distinguished member of Congress; one an eminent President of Harvard College, and one Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Nor must it be forgotten, that the memorable

Stoughton, one of her earliest sons, in 1698, erected the second Hall, which bore his name, at the expense of one thousand pounds,* probably a larger sum, than was derived from all other sources united, when the College was founded. Besides this, he made generous provision for aiding the sons of Dorchester in procuring an education at the university, for which many, with the speaker, should never be unmindful of their obligations. When his sepulchre among us was going to decay, it is honourable to the Corporation of our University, that they have decently repaired it, not as the sons of those, who killed the prophets, but of those, who evince their desire to hold this prophet in everlasting remembrance.

Israel Stoughton, the father of the lieutenant governor, was also an eminent magistrate, and he is noted, as the builder of the first mill on Neponset river ever built in New England.

Ludlow and Rossiter, two eminent magistrates, though they settled here with the first pastors, yet removed, in process of time, so that their sepulchres are not among us.

It is well known, that the first of the four meeting houses, which have been built by the First Society in this town, was nearly a mile north east of the present location, and that a burial ground was situated in its immediate vicinity. The second house was erected, more than one hundred and fifty years ago; and none can now tell the precise spot, where the first was located; nor does a single stone survive to designate the site of the original burial ground. It is probable, that the present ancient cemetery was devoted to its present use, before the erection of the second house of worship, as an inscription is now distinctly

* Allen's Biog. and His. Dictionary, article, Stoughton.
legible, of the date of 1644. The oldest I could find in the old town of Plymouth, is 1681, thirty-seven years posterior.

Our old burial ground has long been an interesting resort for antiquaries, especially for natives of the town, and their descendants. Would it not, my friends, be worth the pains and expense requisite to render the very curious inscriptions it contains still more legible, that we and our children may find an increasing interest in visiting this place of our fathers' sepulchres, and, as we step over the mouldering ruins of the honoured dead, receive additional mementos from their silent retreats?

Of the twelve Congregational ministers, who have been settled, in this town, nine have gone to their final account; the mortal remains of six lie deposited in our ancient burial ground; and it is not a little remarkable, that more than one hundred years have now passed away, since one* of your pastors has died in the ministry. May the time be distant, when another shall be added to the number!

Our fathers were not content with early providing a university. They were equally solicitous about common schools. One of the first objects with the Plymouth settlers, after procuring the simplest necessaries of life, was to establish elementary schools for their children. The same spirit has been generally diffused among us; so that New England is, to the present day, the most remarkable section of the globe for the general diffusion of literature among all classes. As early, as 1647, provision was made by law for schools throughout the colony. In 1672, the Rev. Thomas

---

* The last, who died here in the ministry, is the Rev. John Danforth, who died, 26 May, 1730.
Shepard, of Charlestown, who preached the election sermon, under one head of his sermon, 'Let the schools flourish,' enlarges upon their indispensable importance to the college and the country. One hundred and fiftysix years ago, died a noted schoolmaster, in this town, Mr William Poole, aged eightyone. He had been, for many years, a teacher of youth here. How often has his epitaph, written by himself, in poetry far superior to his times, arrested the attention of many, who, in the spirit of Old Mortality, have inspected it, as, in the closing strain, he exhorts,

'Be warned; be armed; believe; repent; farewell.'

Our fathers were remarkably abstemious in the use of spiritous liquors. Heaven grant, that the reformation in their use, which seems, as if by special interposition of Providence, prevailing among us, may advance, till in this, as in other things, we may be more faithful followers of our venerable ancestors, in those respects, in which they have left us examples worthy of imitation!

Among the instances of laudable regard to the religious institutions of our fathers, you will permit me to select two, which, for their antiquity, and uninterrupted continuance down to the present times, are probably without a parallel in our land. I allude to the religious societies of young men and to the family meetings. The origin of each, it is supposed, is coeval with the first settlement of the town.

The young men's meetings, for religious purposes, at the north part of the town, became organized, and their regular records began, so early as, 25 December, 1698, one hundred and thirtytwo years ago. It is understood, that, at that period, they had been maintained from time immemorial.
From this has sprung one or more societies of a kindred spirit.

The family meetings, for the same pious objects, are held by heads of families, who agree to such a union, and meet alternately at each others' houses.

Once a year, a season of fasting and prayer is observed, on a day distinct from the State fast, when it requires but little imagination to fancy, that the spirits of our fathers unite with approbation in the devout services of their children.

The members of these societies, who, in these religious acts, neither court, nor dread observation, will forgive this publick notice of institutions, which they are happy to derive from the piety of their ancestors, and which they hope to perpetuate in their spirit. God grant, that the rage for innovation, which has abolished, or rendered unfashionable so many of their religious usages, may never lay its destroying hand on these pious relics of our fathers.

My friends, I fear, I have exhausted your patience, though I should never be weary myself, in reciting the deeds of our fathers, in which I consider them the glory of their children.

You invited me to address you, not merely as a descendant, in uninterrupted succession, of the fathers, whom you wish to commemorate, but also as the son of one, who, for nearly two years and a half, has been the oldest male inhabitant of the town, and who has lived, within about twelve years, during one half of the period from its settlement by our ancestors.

I could not, if I would, and I would not, if I could, have entertained you in a set oration, in which, the more successful I should have been, the more I should have wandered from the spirit and example of our fathers. I have endeavoured, as
is common in biographies, as much as possible, to let the persons to be commemorated speak for themselves. I have been obliged to omit many things, which I should have been interested in saying; and I have said many things, which have been much better said by others. Your beloved and respected pastors, in what they have done, and in what they purpose yet to do, I am confident, will not only supply all my defects, but will be more successful in awakening your attention to the wonderful providence of God toward our­selves and our fathers.

The only improvement, I shall suggest of what has been said, shall be from Governour Stoughton, to whom I have repeatedly referred, in a sentence full of meaning and solemnity.

'Consider and remember always, that the books, that shall be opened at the last day, will contain genealogies in them. There shall then be brought forth a register of the genealogies of New England's sons and daughters. How shall we, many of us, hold up our faces then, when there shall be a solemn rehearsal of our descent, as well as of our degeneracies! To have it published, whose child thou art, will be cutting to thy soul, as well as to have the crimes reckoned up, that thou art guilty of.'

My beloved fellow townsmen, four years ago, this ever memorable fourth of July, when a vener­erable father of our country was breathing his last,
you invited me to a *united political celebration* of the day, in your second house of worship. The duty then assigned me was to read the declaration of our civil independence, as drafted by one of its leading promoters.

On one side stood the most aged man of the town, as the representative of one class of politicians and christians; and on the other, the second man in age, as the representative of another class of christians and politicians.

You have invited me, on a day scarcely less memorable, to a *united religious celebration* of the completion of the second century from the settlement of this town; and I have rehearsed to you the declaration of our religious independence, as drawn up by a father of the New England churches, so far as we allow ourselves to call any man father.

We look around in vain for the former* of those ancients, who participated with such delight the joys of our former celebration. The latter† yet survives, and is with us, as a connecting link between us and our early fathers.

Are not these repeated acts of union a token for good, that, whatever may be your religious or political differences of opinion, you resolve, as the apostle exhorts, to be 'perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment;' that is, says Dr McKnight, 'by mutual good affection; for the same mind, in the sense of the same opinion, is not to be expected in any numerous society.'

'I therefore beseech you,' respected and beloved fathers and brethren, 'that ye walk worthy the vocation, wherewith ye are called, with all lowli-

---

* Ezekiel Tolman, died, 27 December, 1827, aged eightyseven.
† John Pierce, born, 22 September, O. S. 1742.
ness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' so that, as 'the glory of children are their fathers,' it may ever redound to the glory of our fathers to be succeeded by such children.

Order of Exercises, at the completion of the Second Century from the Settlement of Dorchester, 17 June, 1830.

MUSICK.—'God is our King,' &c. 3 H. & H. S. C. p. 111.

Chorus.—'Now elevate the sign of Judah.' 2 H. & H. S. C. p. 68.

PRAYER BY REV. DR CODMAN.

PSALM CVII. L. M.

FAREWELL ADDRESS BY THE PURITAN EMIGRANTS, ON THEIR LEAVING ENGLAND.—READ BY REV. DR HARRIS.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS. By Mrs. HEMANS.

'The breaking waves dash'd high,
On a stern and rock-bound coast;
And the woods, against a stormy sky,
Their giant branches tost;

And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted came,
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet, that sings of fame;

Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear,—
They shook the depths of the desert's gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard and the sea!
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free!
The ocean-eagle soared—
From his nest by the white wave's foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roar'd—
This was their welcome home!

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
—They sought a faith's pure shrine!

Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil, where first they trod!
They have left unstained what there they found—
Freedom to worship God!

DISCOURSE, BY REV. DR PIERCE.

Recit.—'Now the Philistines,' &c. 3 H. & H. S. C. p. 53. and chorus.

PRAYER BY REV. DR RICHMOND.*

ORIGINAL HYMN. BY DR HARRIS.

Long persecuted and oppressed,
The exiled pilgrim band,
In search of liberty and rest,
Came to a desert land.

God deigned their enterprise to bless,
And gave the wished repose;
And, glad for them, the wilderness
Soon blossomed as the rose.

Schools, Churches, and the Ministry
Their earliest cares engage;
The glory of their times to be,
And of each coming age.

The benefits, which hence arise,
On us Heaven kindly showers,
And shows us, by the rich supplies,
Our Father's God is Ours.

ANTHEM—'Glory be to God on high,' 2 H. & H. S. C. p. 133.

BENEDICTION, BY DR HARRIS.

* Owing to the indisposition of Dr Richmond, this service was performed by Dr Harris.
AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED

ON THE 28TH OF JUNE, 1830,

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE

Arrival of Governor Winthrop

AT CHARLESTOWN.

Delivered and Published at the Request of the

CHARLESTOWN LYCEUM.

BY EDWARD EVERETT.

CHARLESTOWN:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM W. WHEILDON.

BOSTON:
CARTER AND HENDEE.

1830.
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the second day of July, A.D. 1830, and in the fifty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, William W. Wheeldon, of the said District, has deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"An Address delivered on the 23th of June, 1830, the anniversary of the arrival of Governor Winthrop at Charlestown. Delivered and Published at the request of the Charlestown Lyceum. By Edward Everett."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and also to an Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned'; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

From the Aurora Press—William W. Wheeldon.
T HIS day completes the second century, since Governor Winthrop explored the banks of the Mystic River. From his arrival at Charlestown, accompanied by a large number of settlers, furnished with a supply of everything necessary for the foundation of the colony, and especially bringing with them the Colonial Charter, may, with great propriety, be dated the foundation of Massachusetts, and in it, that of New England. There are other interesting events, in our early history, which have, in like manner, been justly commemorated, for their connection with the same great era. The landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, has been regarded, from the first, as a period, from which we may with propriety, compute the settlement of New England; and has been celebrated, with every demonstration of pious and grateful respect. The completion of the second century, from the arrival of Governor Endecott at Salem, was noticed two years since, by our fellow
citizens of that place, in a manner worthy of the interest and magnitude of the event; and the anniversary of the commencement of the settlement of Boston, is reserved for a like celebration, in the autumn of the present year.

Were these celebrations a matter of mere ceremony, or of official observance, their multiplication would be idle and oppressive. But they are all consecrated to events of real interest,—They have a tendency to extend the knowledge of the early history of the country. They are just tributes to the memory of worthy men, to whom we are under everlasting obligations.—They furnish fit occasions for inculcating the great principles, which led to the settlement of our happy country; and by connecting some interesting associations with the spots familiar to us, by daily visitation, they remind us that there is something worthy to be commemorated, in the soil which we inhabit; and thus furnish food for an enlightened patriotism. The genius of our institutions has made this the chief means of perpetuating, by sensible memorials, the fame of excellent men and great achievements. Wisely discarding those establishments, which have connected with hereditary possessions in the soil and transmissible dignities in the State, the name and family of Discoverers and Conquerors, it has been with us left to the affection and patriotism, which prompt the observance of these occasions,
to preserve the worth of our forefathers from forgetfulness.

For these considerations, it was thought expedient, by the Members of the Charlestown Lyceum, that the arrival of Governor Winthrop, on our shores, with the Charter of the Colony, should not pass unnoticed. When I was first requested to deliver an address on the occasion, it was my expectation, that it would be done with no greater publicity, than that, with which the lectures before this institution have been usually delivered. The event, however, has been considered as of sufficient importance to receive a more public notice; and in this opinion of the Members of the Charlestown Lyceum, and our fellow citizens who unite with them, I have cheerfully acquiesced. It will not, however, be expected of me, wholly to abandon the form, which my address, in its origin, was intended to assume, although less adapted, than I could wish, to the character of this vast audience, before whom I have the honor to appear.

In performing the duty which devolves upon me, in consequence of this arrangement, I propose briefly to narrate the history of the event, which we celebrate, and then to dwell on some of the general topics, which belong to the day and the occasion.

When America was discovered, the great and interesting questions presented themselves, what
right had the European discoverers in the new found continent, and in what way were its settlement and colonization to proceed.

The first discovery was made, under the auspices of European Governments, which admitted the right of the Head of the Catholic Church, to dispose of all the kingdoms of the Earth; and of course of all newly discovered regions, which had not before been appropriated. This right of the Head of the Catholic Church was recognized by protestant princes, only so far, as it might be backed, by that of actual discovery;— and although the Kings of Spain and Portugal had received from the Pope a distributive grant of all the newly discovered countries on the Globe, the Sovereign of England claimed the right of making his own discoveries, and appropriating them, as he pleased, to the benefit of his own subjects and government. Under this claim, and in consequence of the discoveries of Cabot, our mother country invested herself with this great and ultimate right of disposing of the American Continent, from the gulf of Mexico, northwardly, till it reached the limits, covered by the like claim of actual discovery, on the part of other Governments.*

It is not my intention to enter into the discussion of the nature and extent of this right of dis-

*Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Johnson & Graham’s Lessees, vs. McIntosh; 8th Wheaton.
covery. If we admit, that it was in the will of Providence, and for the interest of humanity, that America should be settled, by a civilized race of men, we admit, at the same time, a perfect right, in some way or other, to effect that settlement. And though it may be out of our power to remove all the difficulties, which attend the question,—although we cannot perhaps, on the received principles of natural law, theoretically reconcile the previous rights of the aboriginal population with the accruing rights of the discoverers and settlers, yet we must either allow that those rights are not, upon the whole, irreconcilable, or we must maintain that it was the will of Providence, and for the greatest good of mankind, that America should remain in the condition in which the discoverers found it.

No judicious person, at the present day, will maintain this; and no such opinion was entertained by the governments of Europe, nor by the enterprising, patriotic, and liberal men, on whom it devolved to deal practically with this great subject. How great it was,—it is true,—they did not feel; as we, with a like subject thrown practically into our hands, I mean the settlement of our own unsettled public domain, are equally insensible to its importance. Although there is a great lodgment of civilized men on this continent, which is rapidly extending itself, yet there is still a vast region wholly unsettled, and pre-
senting very nearly the same aspect to us, which
the whole North American Continent, did to our
forefathers, in Great Britain. But no man, I
think, who analyzes either the popular sentiment
of this community or the legislative policy of this
government, will deny, that the duty to be per­
formed, by the people of this generation, in set­
tling these unsettled regions of our country, has
scarce ever presented itself in its magnitude,
grandeur, and solemnity, to the minds either of
People or of Rulers. It was justly remarked,
more than once this winter, in the great debate
in the Senate of the United States, nominally
on the subject of the Public Domain, that this
subject was the only one scarcely glanced at, in
the discussion; and that subject, I may say with­
out fear of contradiction, is as im portant to the
people of the United States and to the cause of
liberty throughout the world, as the question of
colonizing America, which presented itself to the
Nations and Governments of Europe, in the fif­
teenth and sixteenth centuries.

These questions are never comprehended, till
it is too late. Experience alone unfolds their
magnitude. We may strain our minds to grasp
them, but they are beyond our power. There
is no political calculus, which can deal with the
vast elements of a Nation's growth. Provi­
dence, or destiny, or the order of things, in
which, while we think ourselves the agents, we
are humble instruments,—aided by some high impulses from the minds and hearts of wise and great men, catching a prophetic glimpse of the future fortunes of our race,—these decide the progress of nations; and educe consequences, the most stupendous, from causes seemingly least proportionate to the effect.

But, though we do not find any traces, in the public sentiment or in the legislation of Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of an accurate foresight of the great work, which that age was called upon to perform, yet there was unquestionably a distinct perception, that the enclosure of the civilized families of the earth had been suddenly enlarged. Spain and Portugal poured themselves forth impetuously into the new found region; and Great Britain, though with something of a constitutional tardiness, followed the example.

The first British patents for the settlement of the discoveries on the North American Continent were those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, in the latter quarter of the sixteenth century. These and some similar grants were vacated, from inability to fulfil their conditions; or from other causes, failed to take permanent effect. When Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, not a European family was known to exist on the Continent of America north of the gulf of Mexico. On the 10th of
April, 1606, King James granted a patent, dividing that portion of North America, which lies between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, into two nearly equal districts. The southern, called the first colony, he granted to the London Company. The northern, called the second colony, he granted to the Plymouth Company, and allotted it as a place of settlement to several knights, gentlemen, and merchants, of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England. This patent conveyed a grant of the property of the land along the coast for fifty miles, on each side from the place of their first habitation, and extending one hundred miles into the interior.*

Under these charters, various attempts at colonization and settlement were made, and at first, with very doubtful success, by the Virginia Company. These of course, it is no part of our present business to pursue. In 1614, the adventurous Captain Smith, famous in his connections with the settlement of Virginia, was sent out by four individuals in England, who were disposed to engage in an enterprize on these distant shores, to explore the coast of North Virginia. He arrived on the coast of Maine at the end of April 1614, and in the course of the following summer, he visited the North Eastern

*For the authorities, see Dr Holmes' standard work, The Annals of America, under the respective years.
shores of America, from the Penobscot River to Cape Cod; entered and examined the rivers, surveyed the country, and carried on a trade with the natives.* Having, on his return to England, constructed from his surveys a map of the country, it was submitted to Prince Charles, who gave the name of New England to the region explored by Smith, and bestowed his own name on what was then supposed to be its principal river. The season, in which Captain Smith visited the country, is that, in which it appears in its greatest beauty. His account of it was such as to excite the attention, and kindle the imagination of men in England, and the profitable returns of his voyage, united with these impressions to strengthen the disposition, which was felt to colonize the newly explored region. Several attempts were accordingly made to carry this design into effect, for the benefit and under the auspices of the Plymouth company, but all without success. The great enterprise was reserved to be accomplished by a very different instrumentality.

In 1617, the church of Mr Robinson at Leyden had come to the resolution of exiling themselves to the American Wilderness. As the principal attempts at settlement had been made in the Southern colony or Virginia, their thoughts

---

were turned to that quarter, and they sent two of their number to London, to negotiate with the Virginia company on the terms of their settlement; and to ascertain whether liberty of conscience would be granted them, in the new country. The Virginia company was disposed to grant them a patent, with as ample privileges as it was in their power to convey. The King, however, could not be induced to patronize the design, and promised only a connivance in it, so long as they demeaned themselves peaceably. — In 1619, the arrangement was finally made with the Virginia company; and in the following year, the ever memorable emigration to Plymouth took place. In consequence of the treacherous and secret interference of the Dutch, who had their own designs upon that part of the coast which had been explored by Hudson, the Captain of the vessel, which transported the first company to America, conveyed them to a place, without the limits of the patent of the Virginia company; and where of course the Pilgrims were set down beyond the protection of any grant and the pale of any law. In three or four years a patent was obtained of the Plymouth company, and on this sole basis the first New England settlement rested, till its incorporation with the colony of Massachusetts Bay.*

In the year 1620, the old patent of the Plymouth company was revoked, and a new one was granted to some of the highest nobility and gentry of England and their associates, constituting them and their successors, "the council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America." By this patent, that part of America, which lies between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of North latitude in breadth, and in length by all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main, from sea to sea, was given to them, in absolute property. Civil and jurisdictional powers like those which had been granted by the Virginia patent, were conferred on the council established by this charter; on which as on a basis, rested all the subsequent patents and grants of this portion of the country. By this grant, a considerable part of the British colonies in North America; the whole of the New England States, and of New York; about half of Pennsylvania; two thirds of New Jersey and Ohio; a half of Indiana and Illinois, the whole of Michigan, Huron, and the territory of the United States westward of them, and on both sides of the Rocky mountains, and from a point considerably within the Mexican dominions on the Pacific Ocean, nearly up to Nootka Sound were liberally granted by King James, "to the council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon."
From the period of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the intolerance of the established church in England became daily more oppressive. The non-conforming ministers were silenced, ejected, imprisoned, and exiled; and numerous examples of the extremest rigor of the law, were made both of them and the laity.—The entire extent, to which these severities were carried, may be estimated, from their amount in a single instance. On the impeachment of Bishop Wren, it was charged that during two years and a half, for which he administered the diocese of Norwich, fifty ministers were deprived of their places, for not complying with the prescribed ceremonies, and three thousand of the laity compelled to leave the kingdom.*

These increasing severities, and the necessity, under which conscientious men were laid, of abandoning their principles or their homes, turned the thoughts of many persons of consideration and property toward a permanent asylum in New England. The first steps were restrained and gradual; but a few years witnessed the fulfilment of the design. In 1624, Mr White of Dorchester, in England, a celebrated non-conforming minister, induced a number of merchants and other gentlemen to attempt another settlement, as a refuge for those whose religious

principles exposed them to oppression at home; and by their contributions, under a license obtained from the Plymouth settlers, an establishment was commenced at Cape Ann. The care of this establishment was the following year committed by the proprietors to Mr Roger Conant, a person of great worth, who had, however, retired from the colony at Plymouth. After a short residence at Cape Ann, Roger Conant removed a little further to the Western, and fixed upon a place called by the Indians Naumkeag, as a more advantageous place of settlement, and as a spot well adapted for the reception of those, who were disposed to imitate the example of their brethren, and seek a refuge from tyranny in the Western wilderness. The accounts of this place circulated in England, among those who were maturing this design; and Mr Conant, though deserted by almost all his brethren, was induced by Mr White to remain at Salem, by the promise of procuring a patent and a reinforcement of settlers. Accordingly on the 19th of March 1628, an agreement was concluded between the council of Plymouth, and certain gentlemen associated in the neighborhood of Dorchester in England, under the auspices of Mr White, of that place; and a patent was conveyed to these associates of all the tract of country, laying between three miles north of the Merrimack and three miles south of Charles
Rivers, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. These associates were Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcomb; and the patent ran to them, their heirs and associates.*

Mr. White, in pursuit of his project for establishing a colony for the non-conformists, was in communication with persons of that description, in different parts of England, and, through his agency, the six patentees, whose names I have just mentioned, were brought into connection with several religious persons in London and the neighboring country, who at first associated with them, and afterwards purchased out the right of the three first named of the six patentees.† Among these new associates were John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, and Sir Richard Saltonstall.

Thus reinforced, the strength of the company was vigorously bent upon the establishment of the colony in New England. They organized themselves, by choosing Matthew Cradock, Governor of the colony, and Thomas Goff, Deputy Governor, and eighteen assistants. By this company, and in the course of the same summer of 1628, John Endecott was sent

---

†See also the detail in Governor Dudley's most interesting letter, to the Countess of Lincoln, of 12th March 1630, written, as he says, "rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire side, on my knee, in this sharp Winter." Historical Collections, First Series. Vol. VIII. p. 36.
over, with a considerable number of planters and servants, to "establish a plantation at Salem, to make way for settling the colony, and be their agent to order all affairs, till the patentees themselves should come." Endecott sailed from Weymouth on the 20th of June, and his first letter to the company, in London, bears date 13th September, 1628.*

In the same year of 1628, the foundation of the town of Charlestown was laid, under the patronage of Governor Endecott, but not, I apprehend, by any of the members of his party. As this is a matter of some local importance, I shall dwell for a moment upon it. It is well known that Ralph, William, and Richard Sprague, in the course of the summer of 1628, traversed the country, between Salem and Charles River, and made a settlement at Charlestown; and it is commonly supposed that, as they came from Salem, with Governor Endecott's consent, they were of the company which he brought over.†

On looking, however, into our original town records, in the hand writing of Increase Nowell, I find the following remark. After relating the arrival of Endecott at Salem, the Record goes on to say:—"Under whose wing, there

---

* Prince's Chronology, p. 249.
were a few also that settle and plant up and down, scattering in several places of the Bay; where though they meet with the dangers, difficulties, and wants, attending new plantations in a solitary wilderness, so far remote from their native country, yet were they not long without company, for in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight, came over from England several people at their own charges and arrived at Salem. After which, people came over yearly in great numbers, in years many hundreds arrived, and settled not only in the Massachusetts Bay, but did suddenly spread themselves into other colonies also.

"Among those, who arrived at Salem, at their own charge, were Ralph Sprague, with his brethren Richard and William, who, with three or four more, by joint consent and approbation of Mr John Endecott, Governor, did the same summer of Anno 1628, undertake a journey from Salem and travelled the woods, about twelve miles, to the Westward, and lighted of a place, situate and lying on the North Bank of Charles River, full of Indians, called Aberginians. Their old chief Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called John Sagamore, was their chief; a man naturally of gentle and good disposition, by whose free consent, they settled about the hill of the same place, by the natives called Mishawum; where
they found but one English pallisadoed and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith, situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the east field, a little way from Charles River side; and upon surveying, they found it was a neck of land generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river called Mistick river, (from the farm Mr Cradock's servants had planted, called Mistick, which this river led up into,) indeed, generally all the country round about was an uncouth wilderness, full of timber."

This passage seems to establish the fact that the three Spragues, the founders of the settlement in this place, were not members of Governor Endecott's company, but independent adventurers, who came over to Salem at their own cost. They were persons of character, substance, and enterprise: excellent citizens, generous public benefactors; and the heads of a very large and respectable family of descendants.

The patent from the council of Plymouth gave to the associates as good a right to the soil, as the council possessed, but no powers of government. For this object, the royal charter was necessary. An humble petition for such a charter was presented to the King in council, and on the 4th of March 1629, the charter passed the seals, confirming the patent of the council of Plymouth, and creating the Governor and com-
pany of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, a body politic and corporate, in deed, fact, and name. By this charter, the company were empowered to elect forever out of the freemen of said company a Governor, deputy Governor and eighteen assistants, annually on the 4th Wednesday of Easter term, and to make laws not repugnant to the laws of England.*

At a meeting, or court, as it was called, of this company, held at London on the 30th of April following, a form of government was adopted for the colony. By this form of government the direction of affairs was committed to thirteen individuals, to be resident in the colony, one of whom shall be Governor. Mr. Endecott was by the same instrument appointed Governor, and six individuals were named councillors. These seven persons were authorized to choose three more, and the remaining two, requisite to make up the number of twelve, were to be designated by the old planters, as they were called, or persons who had settled in New England previous to the Massachusetts patent:—and whose rights, though not provided for by that instrument, were treated with tenderness by the patentees. These magistrates were to continue in office one year. The mode in which their successors were to be chosen is not speci-

* See the Charter in Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I. pp. 239—255.
fied by this form of government, but was probably intended to be the same, as that observed in the first election.

In the course of this summer of 1629, six ships in the service of the company sailed for the infant colony, carrying with them an ample supply of provisions and three hundred settlers. Mr Francis Higginson, who was named first on the list of the councillors chosen by the company, and the other ministers sent out for the spiritual instruction of the colony, embarked for Naumkeag or Salem, in this fleet.

The position at Salem, not being thought adapted to become the capital, Mr Thomas Graves, an engineer in the service of the company, with about one hundred of the company's servants under his care, removed to this place in the course of the summer of 1629, where the Spragues and their companions, had established themselves the year before, and at this time, from the name of the river on which it stands, they called the place, Charlestown.

Thus far, the proceedings of the company were conducted, on the footing of a trading corporation, organized in England, for the purpose of carrying on a commercial establishment, in a foreign and dependent region. Whatever higher

---

† This event, and that of the arrival of Gov. Winthrop, are by a very singular anachronism, dated, the one in 1629, and the other in 1629, in our Charlestown Records. An attempt will be made on another occasion to explain this error.
motive had been proposed to themselves, by the active promoters of the colony, the royal government of Great Britain, in granting the charter of the company, had probably no design to lay the foundation of a new Commonwealth, established on principles at war with those of the mother country. But larger designs were entertained on the part of some of the high-minded men, who engaged in the undertaking. The civil and ecclesiastical oppression of the times had now reached that point of intolerable severity, to which the evils of humanity are sometimes permitted to extend, when Providence designs to apply to them a great and strange remedy. It was at this time, to all appearance, the reluctant but deliberate conviction of the thinking part of the community,—of that great class in society which constitutes the strength of England as of America,—that Old England had ceased to be a land for men of moderate private fortunes to live in. Society was tending rapidly to that disastrous division of master and dependent, which is fatal to all classes of its members. The court was profligate, corrupt and arbitrary, beyond example,—and it remained to be seen, whether the Constitution of the Government contained any check on its power and caprice. In the considerations for the Plantation of New England, drawn up a year or two before, by those, who took the lead in
founding the colony of Massachusetts Bay, it was forcibly stated "that England grew weary of her inhabitants; insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, was there more vile and base than the earth he trod on; and children and families (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome incumbrance instead of the greatest blessing."*

From such a state of things, and the assurance of a perfect remedy in New England, for some of the evils, which they suffered, a considerable number of persons of great respectability, of good fortune, and of consideration in society, came to the resolution of leaving their native land, and laying the foundation of a better social system on these remote and uninhabited shores. As a preliminary to this, however, they required a total change of the footing on which the attempts at colonization had hitherto proceeded. It fell far short of their purpose to banish themselves to the new world, as the dependent servants of a corporation in London; and they required, as a previous condition, that the charter of the colony and the seat of its government, should be transferred from London to America. This was the turning point in the destiny of New England. Doubting the legality of such a step, they took the advice of counsel learned in

* Mather's Magnalia, p. 41,
the law, and from them received the opinion, that the proposed transfer of the charter was legal. Against this opinion, there is, at the present day, a pretty general consent, of the writers on America, both in England and the United States; and it may therefore be deemed presumptuous in me to express an opposite judgment.* But, though the removal of the charter was not probably contemplated, I find on reading it no condition prescribed, that the meetings of the corporation or the place of deposit of the charter itself, should be in London, or any other particular place. The very design, for which the charter was granted to the company, implied, of course, the possibility that a part of the freemen that compose it, should reside in New England, and I perceive nothing in the instrument, forbidding them all to reside in that part of the King's dominions.

Those, whose professional advice had been taken on the subject of removing the charter, having decided in favor of the legality of that measure, its expediency was submitted, at a court of the company, held at London, on the 28th July 1629; and on the 29th of August, after hearing the reports of two committees, raised to consider the arguments for and against the removal;† it was by the generality of the com-

† Prince's Chronology. p. 263.
pany voted, that the patent and government of the company, he transferred to New England. At a subsequent meeting held October 20th, "the court, having received extraordinary great commendation of Mr John Winthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one very well fitted for the place, with a full consent, choose him Governor for the ensuing year, to begin this day."—On the same day, the Deputy Governor and assistants were chosen, of persons at that time purposing to emigrate, some of whom, however, never executed this design.

John Winthrop was a gentleman of good fortune, and was born at Groton, in the County of Suffolk, on the 12th of January 1587,* and was educated by his father, who was himself eminent for skill in the law, to that profession. John Winthrop was so early distinguished for his gravity, intelligence, and learning, that he was introduced into the magistracy of his county at the age of eighteen, and acquitted himself with great credit, in the discharge of its duties.†

His family had, for two generations at least, distinguished itself for its attachment to the re-

---

*Mather says June. I am inclined to think that this, with numerous other errors, which have exposed Mather to severe reprehension, were misprints arising from the circumstance, that his work was printed in London, and consequently not corrected by him.

formed religion, and John Winthrop was of that class of the English church, who thought that the work had not all been accomplished, in throwing off their allegiance to Rome. I believe we have no account of the circumstances, by which he was first led to take an interest, in the settlement of New England, nor does his name occur in connection with the early history of the colony, till we find it mentioned among those, who, in 1628, united themselves with the Dorchester adventurers. Having been, in October 1629, elected Governor of the new State, for such it is henceforward to be regarded, he prepared himself to enter on this great enterprize, by disposing of his patrimony in England, which was valued at a rent of six or seven hundred pounds sterling per annum. The feelings with which he addressed himself to the noble work may be partly conceived from the nature of the enterprize and the character of the man, and they are more fully set forth, in his most admirable letters to his wife and son, with which the world has lately been favored.*

On the 22d of March 1629, we find the Governor with two of his sons, on board a vessel at the Isle of Wight, bound for America, with Dudley, the Deputy Governor, and several of the assistants, and with a large number

*In the Appendix to Mr Savage's edition of his journal.
of emigrants, embarked in a fleet which, with the vessels that preceded and followed them, the same season, amounted in the whole to seventeen sail, all of which reached New England.

From the period, at which Governor Winthrop set sail for New England, till a short time before his death, he kept a journal of his life from day to day,—which has fortunately been preserved to us, partly in the original manuscript, of which a portion was brought to light, and for the first time published, a few years ago.* The voyage of Governor Winthrop was unattended by any considerable incident, and on the 12th June, after a passage of about six weeks, the vessel, in which he sailed, came to anchor off Salem. On landing, they found the colony there, in a disheartening condition, eighty of their number having died the preceding winter, and the survivors looking for support to the supplies expected by the Governor, which unfortunately did not arrive, in the vessel which brought him.

The intention had been already taken not to establish the seat of Government at Salem.—After lying a few days at anchor off that place, Governor Winthrop undertook to explore the Massachusetts Bay, "to find a place for sitting down." On the 17th June, old style, he proceed-

* By Hon. James Savage, with learned annotations on the whole work, now for the first time published entire, in two volumes.
ed up the Mistick River, as far as the spot, which he occupied as a country residence during his life, and which has preserved to the present day the name of the Ten Hills, given to it by him.

Our records give but a melancholy account of the condition of things, which the colonists were called to encounter in their establishment at this place. We there read, that

"The Governor and several of the assistants dwelt in the great house, which was last year built, in this town, by Mr. Graves, and the rest of their servants. The multitude set up cottages, booths, and tents about the Town-hill. They had long passage. Some of the ships were seventeen, some eighteen weeks a coming. Many people arrived sick of the scurvy, which also increased much after their arrival, for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings, in their cottages, &c. Other distempers also prevailed, and although people were generally very loving and pitiful, yet the sickness did so prevail, that the whole were not able to tend the sick as they should be tended; upon which many perished and died, and were buried about the Town-hill; —by which means, the provisions were exceedingly wasted, and no supplies could now be expected by planting: besides, there was miserable damage and spoil of provisions by sea, and divers came not so well provided as they would, upon a report whilst they were in England, that now there was enough in New England."
It was the intention of the Governor and the chief part of those, who accompanied him, to establish themselves permanently in this place, and to this end the Governor made preparation for building his house here. But, as our records proceed, "the weather being hot, many sick, and others faint, after their long voyage, people grew discontented, for want of water, who generally notioned no water good for a town, but running springs; and though this neck do abound in good water, yet, for want of experience and industry, none could then be found to suit the humor of that time, but a brackish spring in the sands, by the water side, on the West side of the Northwest field, which could not supply half the necessities of the multitude, at which time the death of so many was concluded to be much the more occasioned, by this want of good water."

In consequence of this difficulty, numbers of those, who had purposed to settle themselves at Charlestown, sought an establishment at other places, as Watertown and Dorchester, and still more removed to the other side of the river and laid the foundation of Boston.

"In the mean time," continue our records, "Mr Blackstone dwelling on the other side of Charles River, alone, at a place by the Indians called Shawmut, where he only had a cottage, at or not far off the place called Black-
stone's point, he came and acquainted the Governor of an excellent spring there, withal inviting him and soliciting him thither, whereupon after the death of Mr. Johnson and divers others, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson, and the greatest part of the church, removed thither."

Such were the inconveniences and distresses of the first settlement, which bore so heavily on the health and spirits of the colonists, that on the return of the vessels, which brought them out, more than a hundred went back to England.

But the necessary limits of this address will not permit me to pursue the narrative, and I can only ask your attention to a few of those reflections, which are suggested by the occasion.

What our country is, which has sprung from these beginnings, we all see and know:—its numbers, bordering upon twelve millions, if they do not exceed it; its great abundance in all that composes the wealth and the strength of nations; its rich possession of the means of private happiness; its progress in the useful and refined arts of life; its unequalled enjoyment of political privileges; its noble provision of literary, social, charitable, and religious establishments,—constituting altogether a condition of prosperity, which, I think, has never been equalled on earth. What our country was, on the day we commemorate, it is difficult to bring distinctly
home to our minds. There was a feeble colony in Virginia; a very small Dutch settlement in New York; a population of about three hundred at Plymouth; about as many more English inhabitants, divided between Salem and Charlestown; a few settlers scattered up and down the coast; and all the rest a vast wilderness, the covert of wild beasts and savages.

In this condition of things, the charter of the colony was brought over, and the foundations were laid of a new State. In the motives, which led to this enterprize, there were unquestionably two principles united. The first projects of settling on the coast of New England had their origin in commercial adventure; and without the direction, given by this spirit, to the minds of men, and the information brought home by fishing and trading vessels, the attempt would probably never have been made, to establish a colony. It deserves to be remarked, therefore, in an age like the present, when it is too much the practice to measure the value of all public enterprizes, by the returns in money, which they bring back to their projectors, that probably a more unprofitable speculation in a financial light, than that of the Council of Plymouth, was never undertaken. In a few years, they gladly surrendered their patent to the crown, and it is doubtful whether, while they held it, they divided a farthing's profit. Yet, under their patent,
and by their grant, was undertaken and accomplished perhaps the greatest work on record, in the annals of humanity.

Mixed with this motive of commercial speculation, (itself liberal and praiseworthy), was another, the spring of all that is truly great in human affairs, the conservative and redeeming principle of our natures, I mean the self-denying enthusiasm of our forefathers, sacrificing present ease for a great end. I do not mean to say, that even they had an accurate foresight of the work, in which they were engaged. What an empire was to rise on their humble foundations, imagination never revealed to them, nor could they, nor did they, conceive it. They contemplated an obscure and humble colony, safe beneath the toleration of the crown, where they could enjoy, what they prized above all earthly things, the liberty of conscience, in the worship of God. Stern as they are pouring to us, they entertained neither the bitterness of an indignant separation from home, nor the pride of an anticipated and triumphant enlargement here. Their enthusiasm was rather that of fortitude and endurance; passive and melancholy. Driven though they were from their homes, by the oppression of the established church, they parted from her as a dutiful child from a severe but venerated parent. "We esteem it our honor," say they, in their inimitable letter from on board the Arbella, "to call
the church of England, from which we rise, our dear mother; and we cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common Salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts." And, having, in this same pathetic appeal, invoked the prayers of their brethren in England, for their welfare, they add, "What goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren, shall labor to repay, in what duty we are or shall be able to perform; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us."*

In the spirit, that dictated these expressions, the disinterested enthusiasm of men,—giving up home, and friends, and their native land, for a conscientious principle,—we behold not merely the cause of the success of their enterprize, but

the secret source of every great and generous work, especially in the founding of social institutions, that was ever performed. One trading company after another had failed; charters had been given, enlarged, and vacated; well appointed fleets had been scattered or returned without success, and rich adventures had ended in ruin; when a few aggrieved gentlemen, turning their backs on plenty, at home, and setting their faces towards want and danger, in the wilderness, took up and accomplished the work.

The esteem, in which we of the present day hold their characters, and the sympathy we feel in their trials, are, perhaps, qualified, by finding, that this enthusiasm, which inspired them, was almost wholly expended on the concerns of the church, and was associated in that respect, with opinions and feelings,—as we may think,—not the most enlarged and liberal. This prejudice, however, for such I regard it, ought not to be permitted to establish itself, in the minds of any generation of the descendants of the fathers of New England. The spirit that actuated them was the great principle of disinterested enthusiasm, the purest and best that can warm the heart and govern the conduct of man. It took a direction toward the doctrines and forms of the church, partly, of course, because religion is a matter, on which tender and ardent minds feel, with the greatest sensibility; but mainly because
they were, in that respect, oppressed and aggrieved. It was precisely the same spirit, which animated our fathers in the revolution, assuming then the form of the passion for civil liberty, and struggling against political oppression, because this was the evil which they suffered: And it is the same principle, which, in every age, wars against tyranny, sympathizes with the oppressed, kindles at the report of generous actions, and, rising above selfish calculation and sensual indulgence, learns "to scorn delights and live laborious days" and is ready, when honor and duty call, to sacrifice property, and ease, and life.

There is another thing, that must be borne in mind, when we sit in judgment on the character of our fathers. The opinions which men entertain, especially on great social institutions, and the duties which grow out of them, depend very much on the degree of intelligence prevailing in the world. Great men go beyond their age, it is true; but there are limits to this power of anticipation. They go beyond it in some things, but not in all, and not often in any, to the utmost point of improvement. Lord Bacon laid down the principles of a new philosophy, but did not admit the Copernican system. Men who have been connected with the establishment of great institutions, ought to be judged, by the general result of their work. We judge of St Peter's by the grandeur of the elevation, and the majesty
of the dome, not by the flaws in the stone, of which the walls are built. The fathers of New England, a company of private gentlemen, of moderate fortunes, bred up under an established church, and an arbitrary and hereditary civil government, came over the Atlantic two hundred years ago. They were imperfect, they had faults, they committed errors. But they laid the foundations of the state of things, which we enjoy;—of political and religious freedom; of public and private prosperity; of a great, thriving, well-organized republic. What more could they have done? What more could any men do? Above all, what lesson should we have given them, had we been in existence, and called to advise on the subject? Most unquestionably we should have discouraged the enterprise altogether. Our political economists would have said, abandon this mad scheme of organizing your own church and state, when you can have all the benefit of the venerable establishments of the mother country, the fruit of the wisdom of ages, at a vastly less cost. The capitalists would have said, do not be so insane, as to throw away your broad acres and solid guineas, in so wild a speculation. The man of common sense, that dreadful foe of great enterprises, would have discredited the whole project. Go to any individual of the present day, situated as Governor Winthrop was, at his family mansion, at Groton,
in England, in the bosom of a happy home, surrounded by an affectionate, prosperous family, in the enjoyment of an ample fortune, and tell him, inasmuch as the Government has ordained that the priest should perform a part of the sacred service in a white surplice, and make the sign of the cross in baptism, that therefore he had better convert his estate into money, and leave his home and family and go and settle a colony, on one of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, or establish himself at the mouth of Columbia River, where he would have liberty of conscience. I think he would recommend to his adviser, to go and establish himself, at a certain mansion, which benevolence has provided, a little to the north of Lechmere's Point.

I do not say the cases are wholly parallel: But such would be the view now taken, on the principles which govern men in our state of society, of such a course as that which was pursued by Governor Winthrop and his associates.

I deduce from this, not that they were high-minded, and we, base and degenerate; I will not so compliment the fathers at the expense of the sons. On the contrary, let the crisis arrive; let a state of things present itself, (hardly conceivable, to be sure, but within the range of possibility), when our beloved New England no longer afforded us the quiet possession of our rights, I believe we should then show our-
selves the worthy descendants of the pilgrims; and if the earth contained a region, however remote, a shore, however barbarous, where we could enjoy the liberty denied us at home, that we should say, “where liberty is, there is my country,” and go and seek it. But let us not meantime, nourished as we are out of the abundance which they, needy and suffering themselves, transmitted to us, deride their bigotry, which turned trifles into consequence, or wonder at their zeal, which made great sacrifices for small inducements. It is ungrateful.

Nor let us suppose, that it would be too safe to institute a comparison, between our fathers and ourselves, even on those points, with regard to which, we have both been called to act. It has so happened, that the government of the United States has, in the course of the last year, been obliged to consider and act on a subject, which was one of the first and most anxious, that presented itself to the early settlers of New England, I mean our relations with the Indian tribes. In alluding to this subject, I freely admit that, in the infancy of the colonies, when the Indians were strong and the colonists weak,—when the savage, roaming the woods, with the tomahawk and scalping knife, was a foe to the New England settlements, alike dangerous and terrible,—that some actions were committed in
the settlements, in moments of excitement, which we cannot too deeply condemn, nor too sadly deplore. In allusion to these actions, and in vindicating the course, which during the past year, has been pursued toward the tribes of civilized Indians, resident within the United States, it has been argued, that they have not been treated with greater severity, by the Government of the United States, or of any of the separate States, than they were treated by the fathers of New England. But it would seem not enough for an age, which is so liberal of its censures of the puritans, to show itself only not more oppressive than they. Has civilization made no progress, in two hundred years? Will any statesman maintain, that the relation of our Union, to the feeble and dependent tribes, within its limits, is the same, as that of the infant colonies, toward the barbarous nations, which surrounded them? It was the opinion of that age, that the royal patents gave a perfect right to the soil. We have hitherto professed to believe, that nothing can give a perfect right, to the soil occupied by the Indian tribes, but the free consent of these tribes, expressed by public compact, to alienate their right, whatever it be. They believed, that heathen nations, as such, might be rightfully dispossessed, by christian men. We have professed to believe, that this would be a very equivocal
way of showing our Christianity. And yet, notwithstanding these opinions, I do not recollect that, in a single instance, our fathers claimed a right to eject the native population. For a long time, they were the weaker party. Among the first acts of the Plymouth Colony, was an amicable treaty with the nearest and most powerful Indian Chieftain, who lived and died their friend. The colonists of Massachusetts, in a letter of instructions,* from the company, of 28th May 1629, were directed to make a reasonable composition with the Indians, who claimed lands within their patent. The worthy founders of Charlestown, an enterprising handful of men, settled down here, with the free consent of the powerful tribe in their neighborhood, whose chief remained the friend of the English to the last.—

In a word, the opinions of our forefathers, on this interesting subject, are expressed, by Mr Pinchon, of Springfield, with a discrimination and pointedness, almost prophetic of the present contest. "I grant," says he, in reference to a particular case, "that all these Indians† are within the line of the patent; but yet, you cannot say they are your subjects, nor yet within your jurisdiction, till they have fully subjected themselves, (which I know they have not) and

*Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 277, to the same effect also a still earlier letter of instructions.
until you have bought their land. Until this be done, they must be esteemed as an independent, free people.'"

Contrast these doctrines with those latterly advanced by the Government, both of the United States and several of the individual States:—That the State Charters give a perfect right to the soil and sovereignty, within their nominal limits, and that the Indians have only a right of occupancy, and that by permission; that the treaties with them, negotiated for fifty years, with all the forms of the constitution, bind them as far as the treaties contain cessions of land, but do not bind us, when we guaranty the remainder of the land to them:—that when the Indians, on the faith of these treaties, cry to us for protection against State laws, unconstitutionally passed, with the known design and to the admitted effect, of compelling them to leave their homes, it is within the competence of the executive, without consulting the National Legislature, to withhold this protection, and advise the Indians as they would escape destruction, to fly to the distant wilderness:—and all this, in the case, not of savage, unreclaimed tribes, such as our forefathers had to deal with, who lived by the chase, without permanent habitations, to whom one tract of the forest was as much a home as another, but tribes, whom we have trained to civilization, whom we have converted
to our religion; who live, as we do, by the industrious arts of life, and who in their official papers, written by themselves, plead for their rights, in better English, than that of the high officers of the government, who plead against them.

But I protest against bringing the actions of men, in one age, to the standard of another, in things that depend on the state of civilization, and public sentiment throughout the world.—Try our fathers by the only fair test, the standard of the age in which they lived; and I believe that they admit a very good defence, even on the point, where they are supposed to be most vulnerable, that of religious freedom. I do not pretend, that they were governed by an enlightened spirit of toleration. Such a spirit, actuating a large community made up of men of one mind, and possessing absolute power to compel the few dissenters to conform, is not so common, even at the present day, as may be thought. I have great doubts, whether the most liberal sect of christians, now extant, if it constituted as great a majority as our forefathers did of the community, and if it possessed an unlimited civil and ecclesiastical power, would be much more magnanimous than they were in its use. They would not, perhaps, use the scourge, or the halter:—humanity proscribes them altogether, except for the most dangerous crimes; but that
they would allow the order of the community to be disturbed, by the intrusion of opposite opinions, distasteful to themselves, I have great doubts.—

With all the puritanical austerity, and what is much more to be deplored, the intolerance of dissent, which are chargeable to our fathers, they secured, and we are indebted to them for, two great principles, without which all the candor and kindness we may express for our opponents, go but a short step toward religious freedom. One of these is the independent character, which they ascribed to each individual church; the other the separation of Church and State. Our fathers were educated, under an ecclesiastical system, which combined all the churches into one body. They forbore to imitate that system here, though the hierarchy of the new churches would have been composed of themselves, with John Cotton at its head. They were educated in a system, where the church is part of the state, and vast endowments are bestowed in perpetuity upon it. This, too, our fathers could have imitated, securing to themselves while they lived, and those who thought with them, when they were gone, the usufruct of these endowments, as far as the law could work such assurance. They did neither, although they had purchased the fair right of doing what they pleased, by banishing themselves, for that very reason, from the world.—
They did neither, although they lived in an age, when, had they done both, there was no one who could rightfully cast reproach upon them.—In all the wide world, there was not a government nor a people, that could rebuke them by precept or example. Where was there? In England the fires of papacy were hardly quenched, when tyrannies scarcely less atrocious against the puritans began. In France, the protestants were at the mercy of a capricious and soon revoked toleration. The Catholics, in Germany, were unchaining their legions against the Lutherans; and in Holland, reformed Holland, fine and imprisonment were the reward of Grotius, the man, in whom that country will be remembered, ages after the German Ocean has broken over her main dyke. Had our forefathers laid the foundation of the most rigid ecclesiastical system, that ever oppressed the world, and locked up a quarter part of New England in mortmain, to endow it, there was not a community, in Christendom, to bear witness against them.

If we would, on a broad, rational ground, come to a favorable judgment, on the whole, of the merit of our forefathers, the founders of New England, we have only to compare what they effected, with what was effected, by their countrymen and brethren in Great Britain. While the fathers of New England, a small band of in-
dividuals, for the most part of little account in the great world of London, were engaged, on this side of the Atlantic, in laying the foundations of civil and religious liberty, in a new Commonwealth, the patriots in England undertook the same work of reform, in that country. There were difficulties, no doubt, peculiar to the enterprise, as undertaken in each country. In Great Britain, there was the strenuous opposition of the friends of the established system; in New England, there was the difficulty of creating a new State, out of materials the most scanty and inadequate. If there were fewer obstacles here, there were greater means there. They had all the improvements of the age, which the puritans are said to have left behind them; all the resources of the country, while the Puritans had nothing but their own slender means; and at length, all the patronage of the government;—and with them they overthrew the church; trampled the House of Lords under foot; brought the king to the block; and armed their cause with the whole panoply of terror and of love. The fathers of New England, from first to last, struggled against almost every conceivable discouragement. While the patriots at home were dictating concessions to the king, and tearing his confidential friends from his arms; the patriots of America could scarcely keep their charter out of his grasp. While the former were wielding a reso-
lute majority in parliament, under the lead of
the boldest spirits that ever lived, combining
with Scotland and subduing Ireland, and strik-
ing terror into the continental governments; the
latter were forming a frail Union of the New Eng-
land Colonies, for immediate defence, against a
savage foe. While the "Lord General Crom-
well" (who seems to have picked up this modest
title among the spoils of the routed Aristocracy,)
in the superb flattery of Milton,

Guided by faith, and matchless, fortitude,
To peace and truth his glorious way had ploughed,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Had reared God's trophies,

our truly excellent and incorruptible Win-
throp was compelled to descend from the chair
of state, and submit to an impeachment.

And what was the comparative success?—
There were, to say the least, as many excesses
committed in England as in Massachusetts Bay.
There was as much intolerance, on the part of
men just escaped from persecution; as much big-
otry, on the part of those who had themselves
suffered for conscience' sake: as much unsea-
sonable austerity; as much sour temper; as much
bad taste:—As much for charity to forgive, and
as much for humanity to deplore. The temper,
in fact, in the two Commonwealths, was much
the same; and some of the leading spirits played
a part in both. And to what effect? On the
other side of the Atlantic, the whole experiment
ended in a miserable failure. The Commonwealth became successively oppressive, hateful, contemptible: a greater burden than the despotism, on whose ruins it was raised. The people of England, after sacrifices incalculable of property and life, after a struggle of thirty years' duration, allowed the General, who happened to have the greatest number of troops at his command, to bring back the old system—King, Lords, and Church,—with as little ceremony, as he would employ about the orders of the day. After asking for thirty years, What is the will of the Lord concerning his people; what is it becoming a pure church to do; what does the cause of liberty demand, in the day of its regeneration;—there was but one cry in England, What does General Monk think, what will General Monk do: will he bring back the King with conditions or without? And General Monk concluded to bring him back without.

On this side of the Atlantic, and in about the same period, the work which our fathers took in hand was, in the main, successfully done. They came to found a republican colony; they founded it. They came to establish a free church. They established what they called a free church, and transmitted to us, what we call a free church. In accomplishing this, which they did anticipate, they brought also to pass what they did not so distinctly foresee, what
could not, in the nature of things, in its detail and circumstance, be anticipated,—the foundation of a great, prosperous and growing republic. We have not been just to these men. I am disposed to do all justice to the memory of each succeeding generation. I admire the indomitable perseverance, with which the contest for principle was kept up, under the second charter. I reverence, this side idolatry, the wisdom and fortitude of the revolutionary and constitutional leaders, but I believe we ought to go back beyond them all, for the real framers of the Commonwealth. I believe that its foundation stones, like those of the Capitol of Rome, lie deep and solid, out of sight, at the bottom of the walls—Cyclopean work—the work of the Pilgrims—with nothing below them, but the rock of ages. I will not quarrel with their rough corners or uneven sides; above all I will not change them for the wood, hay and stubble, of modern builders.

But, it is more than time, fellow citizens, that I should draw to a close. These venerable foundations of our republic were laid on the very spot, where we stand; by the fathers of Massachusetts. Here, before they were able to erect a suitable place for worship, they were wont, beneath the branches of a spreading tree, to commend their wants, their sufferings, and their hopes to him, that dwelleth not in
houses made with hands; here they erected their first habitations; here they gathered their first church; here they made their first graves.

Yes, on the very spot where we are assembled, crowned with this spacious church; surrounded by the comfortable abodes of a dense population; there were, during the first season, after the landing of Winthrop, fewer dwellings for the living, than graves for the dead.—It seemed the will of Providence, that our fathers should be tried, by the extremities of either season. When the Pilgrims approached the coast of Plymouth, they found it clad with all the terrors of a northern winter:

The sea around was black with storms,
And white the shores with snow.

We can scarcely now think, without tears, of a company of men, women, and children, brought up in tenderness, exposed after several months uncomfortable confinement on ship-board, to the rigors of our November and December sky, on an unknown, barbarous coast, whose frightful rocks, even now, strike terror into the heart of the returning mariner; though he knows that the home of his childhood awaits him, within their enclosure.

The Massachusetts company arrived at the close of June. No vineyards, as now, clothed our inhospitable hill-sides; no blooming orchards, as at the present day, wore the livery of Eden,
and loaded the breeze with sweet odours;—no rich pastures nor waving crops stretched beneath the eye, along the way side, from village to village, as if Nature had been spreading her halls with a carpet, fit to be pressed by the footsteps of her descending God! The beauty and the bloom of the year had passed. The earth, not yet subdued by culture, bore upon its untilled bosom nothing but a dismal forest, that mocked their hunger with rank and unprofitable vegetation. The sun was hot in the Heavens. The soil was parched, and the hand of man had not yet taught its secret springs to flow from their fountains. The wasting disease of the heart-sick mariner was upon the men;—and the women and children thought of the pleasant homes of England, as they sunk down from day to day, and died at last for want of a cup of cold water, in this melancholy land of Promise. From the time the company sailed from England in April, up to the December following, there died not less than two hundred persons, nearly one a day.

They were buried, say our records, about the Town-hill. This is the Town-hill. We are gathered over the ashes of our forefathers.

It is good, but solemn to be here. We live on holy ground; all our hill-tops are the altars of precious sacrifice:

This is stored with the sacred dust of the first victims in the cause of liberty.
And that is rich from the life stream of the noble hearts, who bled to sustain it.

Here beneath our feet, unconscious that we commemorate their worth, repose the meek and sainted martyrs, whose flesh sunk beneath the lofty temper of their noble spirits; and there rest the heroes, who presented their dauntless foreheads to the God of battles, when he came to his awful baptism of blood and of fire.

Happy the fate, which has laid them so near to each other, the early and the latter champions of the one great cause! And happy we, who are permitted to reap in peace the fruit of their costly sacrifice! Happy, that we can make our pious pilgrimage to the smooth turf of that venerable summit, once ploughed with the wheels of maddening artillery, ringing with all the dreadful voices of war, wrapped in smoke and streaming with blood! Happy, that here where our fathers sunk, beneath the burning sun, into the parched clay, we live, and assemble, and mingle sweet counsel, and grateful thoughts of them, in comfort and peace.
MEMORIALS

OF THE

FIRST CHURCH IN DORCHESTER,

FROM

ITS SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND,

TO THE

END OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

In two Discourses,

DELIVERED JULY 4, 1830.

By the Pastor,

THADDEUS MASON HARRIS.

"This is written for the generation to come; that the people which shall be created may praise the Lord."
DISCOURSE I.

PSALM lxxvii. 5.

"I HAVE CONSIDERED THE DAYS OF OLD, THE YEARS OF ANCIENT TIMES."

The Psalmist found much to encourage his trust in the care and protection of Jehovah, by pondering upon the divine favour towards the forefathers of his nation, and its continuance through successive generations.

A like review of ancient times will be pleasing and profitable to us:—pleasing, because it will gratify a laudable curiosity with regard to persons, transactions and events; and profitable, because it will afford much useful information.

So short are our lives, and so limited our sphere of observation, that the knowledge obtained from our own experience, or that of our contemporaries, must be very small. If, therefore, we would enlarge the stock with intelligence of what has happened in distant places or remote times, we must repair to the records which have been made of them; we must "inquire of the former age, and prepare ourselves to receive what has been transmitted down from their fathers;"—ascertain what were their sentiments and conduct, and collect those maxims of wisdom and goodness which have the sanction of the highest authority and the recommendation of the best example and the happiest effects; and thus be confirmed in our reliance, on divine providence, and encouraged in our obedience to the divine will.
We have arrived at a period when such a retrospect of the days of old and the years of ancient times seems peculiarly proper. The completion of the second century since the arrival of our Forefathers, to begin a settlement here, has a claim upon our special notice and pious commemoration. On this new era in history, "which is for us a memorial," we may consider ourselves as having reached an elevation, whence, like Moses upon Pisgah, we may take an admiring view of the pleasant places and goodly heritage of those whom the Lord has blessed. Here, then, "stand still that I may reason with you before the Lord, of all the righteous acts of the Lord which he did for your fathers and has done for you." With this purpose, after stating some of the principal reasons which induced our Forefathers to emigrate into this Country, I shall lay before you an account of the first settlement of this town, with a concise history of the succession of ministers in the Church from its foundation to the present time.

Our Fathers professed that the great and original cause of their emigration, was "the want of liberty of conscience in matters of religion."—Although the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope had been disclaimed, and the established Church of England had become Protestant; yet there were several among the clergy and the laity who thought that there was too much of the Popish corruption in many of the forms and ceremonies which were still retained, and too much assumption of power by the hierarchy. Offended at what they deemed inconsistent with the simplicity of the Christian institute, and shrinking from the requisitions of those who had become "lords over God's heritage," and not having sufficient influence to bring about a more thorough reformation in religious opinion or clerical domination, some took at once a deci-
ded step, refused all submission to the canons of the Episcopate, and became Separatists, under the denomination of “Brownists,” from the name of their leader; while others only sought a greater degree of purity in profession and practice, and hence passed under the name of “Puritans.”* The former carried their dissatisfaction so far as to quit the realm, and seek an asylum from what they deemed civil oppression and ecclesiastical persecution, first in Holland, and afterwards in North America, where they commenced a settlement in the latter end of 1620, at a place, on the shore of the Massachusetts Bay, which they called Plymouth. These had, at first, to encounter the greatest hardships; but in a few years became prosperous; and the brightening prospects which opened before them led others in Great Britain to form the determination to follow them to a region where they also might enjoy uninterrupted their religious privileges. They prompted each other in these words—“The sun shines as pleasantly on America as on England, and the Sun of Righteousness much more clearly. We are treated here in a manner which forfeits all claim upon our affection. The Church of England has added to the ceremonies and habits of Popery, the only marks of antichrist which were lacking, corruption of doctrine and a bloody persecution of the saints. Let us remove whither the providence of God calls us, and make that our country which will afford us what is dearer than property or life, the liberty of worshipping God in the way which appears to us most conducive to our eternal welfare.

In the beginning of the year 1630, some pious people, chiefly from the counties of Devon, Dorset and Somerset, having come to a determination to emigrate to North America, held a meeting at

* Note A.
Plymouth, and setting apart a day for solemn fasting and prayer to seek divine approbation and assistance, convened in the New Hospital, and united in church fellowship. In the after part of the day they called and chose those godly ministers, the Rev. John Maverick and the Rev. John Warham, to be their spiritual guides; who expressed their acceptance, and were set apart to that special service.* The Rev. John White of Dorchester,† a very influential promoter of the projected emigration, being present, assisted and preached in the fore part of the day; and in the after part, the newly installed pastors performed the religious services of the solemn and interesting occasion.

Arrangements had been already made for their emigration; a vessel chartered for their transportation; and such provisions and effects as they deemed necessary put on board.

Previously to their leaving their native country, the new adventurers agreed upon a respectful address to their brethren of the Church of England, the object of which was “to remove prejudices and misconstructions of their intentions, conciliate the minds of the disaffected, and recommend themselves and their expedition to the favorable regards of serious Christians of the Episcopal persuasion,” whose prayers they earnestly requested, and for whose welfare they expressed, in energetic language, the most affectionate regard; promising, on their own part, a most grateful remembrance, “when (say they) we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us.”‡

They sailed, on the 20th of March, in the ship

* Note B.  † Note C.  ‡ Note D.
Mary and John, of 400 tons, Captain Squeb. The parting with relatives and friends, was very affecting: but their purpose was fixed; and they relinquished those affinities and attachments which bind the affections to native home, resolved, with great magnanimity, to seek, across the wide ocean, though on a foreign shore and in a dreary wilderness, an asylum where they might be “beyond the interference and annoyance of those who would restrict that liberty wherewith Christ had made us free.”

It is recorded by one, who was a fellow passenger, Capt. Roger Clap, that, as they brought with them their excellent ministers, “they came, by the good hand of the Lord, through the deeps comfortably, having preaching or expounding of the word of God every day for ten weeks together.” They encountered, indeed, a violent storm on the passage;* but reached at length the harbor in safety; and they thronged the deck, to look out upon the pleasant shores and verdant islands of the Massachusetts Bay. It was the last day of the week; the season delightful; the wind favorable; and they fondly hoped to be landed at their place of destination, while yet the sun, which they saw declining in the west, spread over it its lingering rays. But the Captain, fearful that there might not be depth of water for his ship, and not knowing the channel, cast anchor for the night; and on the morrow, being Lord’s Day, May 30th, in violation of his own engagement to bring them into Charles’ river, and in disregard of their conscientious veneration for the sanctified observance of the day, and heedless of all their remonstrances and entreaties, put them and their goods ashore on Nantasket Point. Not only had they great reason for dissatisfaction with this treatment, as it respected

* Note E.
their not reaching the port to which they were bound; but also, as it disturbed the expected quiet and the due devotions of the sacred day.

Thus "left to shift for themselves," they succeeded in procuring a boat from an old planter; probably John Oldham, who had left the Plymouth people, and resided some time at Nantasket, and appears afterwards to have attached himself to these new comers; and, on Monday forenoon commissioned Capt. Southcoat, "a brave Low Country soldier," Roger Clap, and eight able men, to go to Mishawum, at the mouth of Charles' River, and ascertain whether they could be accommodated there. On the next day others made exploratory visits to the neighboring region; on the third they made choice of Mattapan as the place for settlement; and during the remainder of the week were busily employed in removing from Nantasket thither. They then rested from their labours, that they might hallow the Sabbath, and unite in praising God, who had brought them safely over the ocean, and found a place for them to dwell in, and furnished "a table in the wilderness." They sung a portion of the 90th Psalm, in the words to which our lips have just given utterance. It was "the Lord's song in a strange land," and the air was freedom, and the symphony joyous. Devoutly, too, did they implore the divine blessing on the settlement which they were forming;—that it might prove a safe and quiet habitation, and that the work of their hands might be prospered, and the gracious desires of their hearts accomplished.

This first Sabbath which they spent here was the sixth of June, answering to the sixteenth, as the style is now reckoned; and this is marked in our calendar as the birth-day of our town.

The following week was devoted to the "setting up of cottages, booths, and tents," for the shelter of
their families. A sad contrast these to the ceiled houses and commodious habitations in which they had heretofore resided!

Early on the morning of the following Saturday, the report of ordnance announced the arrival of the Arbella, Admiral-ship of the New England fleet, bringing Governour Winthrop, Deputy Governour Dudley, and many others, who came to lay the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony, of which they brought the Royal Charter; so that the succeeding day of rest returned to them with new and increased themes of gratitude and joy, and inspired a more gladdened song "in the house of their pilgrimage;" and, as our people came over a regularly organized Church, the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was this day administered.

This, it is believed, is the only instance, in the first planting of North America, of the emigration thither of an embodied Church, with its pastors and officers.

The new comers, after a visit to Governour En-dicot, and those who had made a settlement at Salem, located themselves at the place which they afterwards called Charlestown; and soon the whole fleet was in port, having brought fifteen hundred passengers; on account of whose safe arrival, the 8th of July was observed as a Public Thanksgiving in all the Plantations.

At the Court of Assistants, held at Charlestown, September 7th, following, this town was incorporated, and received the name of Dorchester, because several of the settlers came from a town of that name in England, and also in honour of Mr. White, their former Minister, who bore the title of "the Patriarch of Dorchester," and was so active an instrument in promoting the settlement of New England, and in procuring the Charter, that
he was called "the Father of the Massachusetts Colony."

Although the Indians appeared to be friendly, it was deemed expedient to be armed in the defensive. Our forefathers kept a nightly watch near their dwellings, and built a fort upon Rock Hill, wherein were several pieces of ordnance. Even in erecting an edifice in which to assemble for public worship, "the builders every one had his sword by his side, and so builded." It was also deemed necessary to surround the place by a palisade; and, when they went up to worship, they were so equipped with martial weapons, that in a literal, as well as metaphorical sense, they exhibited themselves as "the Church Militant."* This building was, also, for a munition, to which the women and children might repair in case of alarm; each one saying,—"In the time of trouble God shall shelter me in his pavilion, in the secret of his tabernacle shall he hide me." It was the depository for the safe keeping of some of their more valuable articles, and was their arsenal.† Though the largest and best that they were able to erect, it was but a mean structure, with a lowly thatched roof; and, therefore, far different from the magnificent Cathedrals, or even the venerable Churches, with massy walls, lofty arches, beautiful ceilings of carved work, painted windows, vaulted domes, and cloud-piercing spires, in which they had been accustomed to worship. But God, who regardeth more the worshipers than the place of their assembling, attended to their homage, and blessed them with his presence.

The straits and difficulties to which the people became subjected, through the winter, from cold and wet, and the almost famishing want of bread,

* Note F.  † Note G.
and of nutritive food, are pathetically described by Captain Clap, in his Memoirs, which are familiar to you all. They had arrived too late for planting even common legumes. The houses which they erected afforded but a miserable shelter; and, as they were "persons of good rank and circumstances in their native country, and had been brought up in a delicate manner," the rigours of the season proved very distressing. "Of those that were compelled to live in tents, and lie upon or too near the cold and moist earth, before they could be provided with more convenient dwellings, several were seized with the scurvy, of which they died."*

In the beginning of 1631, bread failed in every house, except that of the Governour; and, even in that, the family was reduced to the last loaves. Such were the necessities of the people that they fed on clams, muscles, ground-nuts, and acorns. Indeed, in the winter season, it was with great difficulty that they procured these poor articles of subsistence. But, though diminished and brought low, they murmured not; and, though subjected to great privations and hardships, their courage did not fail; though cast down, they were not forsaken. One of their chief men, describing their state, says, "Yet many of us laboured to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembering the end of our coming hither, and knowing the power of God, who can support and raise us again, and useth to bring his servants low, that the meek may be made glorious by judgment."† In their extremest need, unexpected supplies arrived; and a kind providence sustained and comforted them.

The Governour, foreseeing in the fall that they should want provisions, despatched a ship to Ireland

† Gov. Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, dated March 12th, 1631; in Hist. Coll. VIII. 41.
to procure a supply. Her happy return on the fifth of February, *prevented their perishing by famine.* The restoration of health in the Spring, the arrival of other vessels with provisions afterwards, and a plenteous harvest at the close of the season, gave the affairs of the Colony a more prosperous appearance.† The people, too, became more provident; while, to use their own words, "they were taught by their many trials and sufferings to stoop to a wilderness condition, which they had freely chosen to themselves for the quiet of their own minds and the good of posterity."

"On the 24th of July, 1633, a ship arrived from Weymouth in England, with about eighty passengers, and twelve kine, who set down at Dorchester."‡ This incorporation with our people was the more readily accomplished, without undue crowding or encroachment, because some of the first planters had selected more favourable situations for themselves than those which they had taken on their arrival, and had erected more convenient dwellings, "thereby making room for others to succeed them in their old."

"However, such numbers were constantly emigrating to this country, in consequence of the persecution of the Puritans, that the people of this and some neighboring towns (to use the words of their oldest Historian) "were overprest with multitudes of new families that resorted hither, so as, like a hive of bees overstocked, there was a necessity that some should swarm out."¶ From exploring parties, intelligence had been received of the excellent meadows near the Connecticut river; and as the planters of Dorchester had many cattle, and were fond of agriculture,

they determined to remove thither. They accordingly united with some of Newton and Watertown in a petition to the Council and Court for their consent; but, as there was a division in the judgment of the Deputies when the vote was first taken, the Court agreed to set apart a day of prayer for divine direction; which was accordingly kept in all the congregations. By the Dorchester people the day was observed with great solemnity; and with earnest supplications they united “to seek of the Lord a right way for themselves and for their little ones, and for all their substance.”

On a renewed application to the Court in May 1635, leave to remove was granted; and in the summer about sixty men, together with women and children, commenced an expedition to the place selected for their settlement, upon the borders of the Connecticut, by the Indians called Mattaneug, and afterwards by the settlers named Windsor.*

While roaming thither through the trackless desert, they endeavoured to dispel the sense of weariness by singing psalms and hymns as they travelled along; “the Indians following looked on them with silent admiration” and the sojourners praised God that “he had made a covenant of peace with them, that the wild beasts of the forest should not annoy them, but they could dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods.”†

After a tedious and difficult journey of fourteen days, through deep forests, over swamps and rivers, mountains and rough places, they arrived safely at the place of their destination.

Mr. Warham, their beloved Pastor, followed them in September, but did not judge it expedient to remove his family until better accommodations

* In Mr. Blake’s Manuscript Annals it is stated, that “about half the Church removed.”
† Ezekiel, xxxiv: 25.
could be made for them; but Mr. Maverick, on account of his age and state of health, was obliged to remain behind, and deceased on the third of February following. Governour Winthrop, who knew him well, says, "He was a man of very humble spirit, and faithful in furthering the work of the Lord here, both in the Churches and civil state."

Some of the first comers still remained here, having been at very considerable expense in building, fencing in fields and gardens, and setting out orchards; or having engaged in the fishery, which they found a source of profit. Fearing, however, that as sheep without a shepherd, they should become more scattered, and feeling the need of a spiritual guide, they seasonably sought to have officers as at the first, and ordinances as at the beginning. As a number of Church members remained, and the place of those that had left had been in a good degree supplied by new emigrants, they agreed to call an Ecclesiastical Council to assist in constituting them in Church order, with proper officers. It convened on the first of April, 1636; but, "the Messengers of the Churches not being satisfied concerning the qualifications of some that were proposed as members, the work was deferred." On the 23d of August following, a Church was reorganized, "with the approbation of the Elders and Magistrates;" and the Reverend Richard Mather, who had been in the country just a year, was installed Pastor. This eminent divine had been settled in the Ministry at Toxteth in England; but, on being suspended from office and greatly persecuted, came hither, "that he might enjoy in peace the rights of conscience, and the purity of christian ordinances." A Covenant was

*Journal, I. 181.
drawn up, and signed by the Pastor and Members; and is the same, with a few verbal alterations, that has ever since been used at admissions into the fellowship of the Church. Among the subscribers are the names of three who were Ministers; Rev. William Tomson, who was afterwards settled at Braintree; Rev. George Moxon, who became the first Minister at Springfield; and Rev. Samuel Newman, at Rehoboth.

On the 30th of August, 1637, a Synod was convened at Newtown,* on occasion of the antinomian controversy, or spread of "familistical opinions," as they were called. In that large assembly, at which "all the teaching Elders through the country," and Messengers of the Churches, were present, Mr. Mather gave such evidence of his profound theological knowledge, sound judgment, prudence, and moderation, that his counsel had great influence in allaying the party zeal, and in producing a result favourable to the union of the brethren and the peace of the Churches.

As it was usual in those days to have two Ministers settled in a Church, who were distinguished as Pastor and Teacher, an invitation to take part in the ministry with Mr. Mather was given to the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, in 1637, as he was attending the Synod at Cambridge: but, "for the sake of those who came from England with him, who could be better accommodated at Ipswich, he preferred that place."

On the arrival of the Rev. Jonathan Burr, in 1639, the Church gave a call to him, which he accepted. A misunderstanding arose, however, which made it necessary to ask the advice of the neighbouring Churches. A Council was called, which convened on the second of the eleventh

* Afterwards called Cambridge.
month [January], 1640, consisting of Governour Winthrop and another magistrate, and ten Ministers. Four days were spent in examining and discussing the affair. It appeared that Mr. Burr had expressed himself in a manner which was supposed to favour the opinions of the Familists. There was no reason, however, to tax him with professing such opinions; but Mr. Mather having so interpreted some of the effusions of his zeal, had made a representation to the Church, which Mr. Burr and his most ardent friends considered as doing him injustice. The Council, in their result, declared that both these good men had cause to be humbled for their failings, and advised them to set apart a day for reconciliation. The spirit of placability and christian charity triumphed; Mr. Burr was inducted into office, and the peace of the Church was happily established, and its edification greatly promoted.

As a Minister, Mr. Burr was remarkable for humility and meekness, and for solemn and pathetic eloquence; and such was his exalted piety, that, in the opinion of the most experienced Christians, his ministry and his whole deportment breathed much of the spirit of a better world. The eminent Mr. Hooker, once hearing him in the pulpit, remarked, "Surely this man will not be long out of heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already." This prediction was soon verified; for, after a short sickness, he died on the ninth of August, 1641, aged thirty-seven years.*

In 1649 the Rev. John Wilson, jun. was ordained as "coadjutor with Mr. Mather the Teacher." In this office he continued two years, and then removed to Medfield, where he was Pastor forty years.

*Note I.
The Church then gave an invitation to Mr. William Stoughton to take the vacant office. This, though repeated year after year, he persisted in declining; but rendered his occasional assistance during several years, "for which he received a compensation both from the town and the Church." Besides, he was desired and needed in publick affairs; and was fast rising into high repute as a civilian and a magistrate, so that he was sent to England as Agent for the Colony. On his return he was appointed to the office of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court; was at length raised to that of Lieutenant Governour of the Province, and for a number of years was Commander-in-Chief.

Though in his old age Mr. Mather experienced many infirmities; great deafness, the loss of one eye for seven years, and painful attacks from the stone; yet such was his general good health that it is recorded of him that "in fifty years together he was not detained by sickness so much as one Lord's day from public labours."

As he was attending an Ecclesiastical Council in Boston, on the subject of a controversy between the first Church and the third, respecting the call and settlement of the Rev. Mr. Davenport, of which he was moderator, Mr. Mather was taken with a violent fit of the stone, which in five days put a period to his life, April 6th, 1669, in the 73d year of his age, and 33d of his ministry here.

Under the ministry of Mr. Mather the Church and people in this place enjoyed eminent advantages; for his talents were of high order, his knowledge extensive, his theological attainments profound, his piety exalted, and his zeal and devoted-
ness to pastoral duties and the edification of the Church were ardent and persevering.*

After a vacancy of little more than a year and a half, the Church came to the choice of another Pastor, and the Rev. Josiah Flint was ordained on the 27th of December, 1671. It appears by the Church records that though letters of invitation were issued to the three Churches in Boston, to the Church in Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury and Weymouth, to send their Elders and Messengers, "yet the major part did agree by a vote that Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, should be desired to manage the work of ordination, and give the charge; though some of the brethren were not so free thereunto, but would have had it performed by the Church alone; but the Ruling Elder desired to be spared therein, and that some other brethren or a brother might be appointed to lay on hands at the time of ordination, or else some other elders; but the Church appointed only deacon Capen to be added to Mr. Eliot and the Ruling Elder." In the record which is made of the ordination, it is stated that "the work was approved of by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches sent unto; and Mr. Chauncy was appointed in the name of all the Churches to give the Right Hand of Fellowship."

The first ministerial duty, which Mr. Flint performed, was on the succeeding day, at the funeral of the venerable Elder, George Minot, who had deceased on the 24th.

On the 5th day of March, 1676-7, there was a solemn recognition of the Covenant by the Members of the Church; and on the 18th of April following a formal public renewal.

Mr. Flint continued in the pastoral relation for about nine years, when he was removed by

* Note J.
death, September 16th, 1680, in the 35th year of his age. Of his life and ministry there are few memorials; but the testimony of tradition accords with the pathetic epitaph on his tomb, that he was a good scholar, an earnest preacher, and assiduously and zealously devoted to all pastoral duties,—spending his time and talents, and exhausting his strength, health, and life, in ministerial labours.∗

He was succeeded by the Rev. John Danforth, who was ordained on the 23rd of June, 1682.

On the 29th of February, 1703, "a society of Reformation, in Dorchester" was formed. Its design was to restrain prevailing dissipation, to encourage sobriety, to advance good morals, and to promote piety. Their book of records bears honourable testimony to their zeal, their prudent counsels, and kind endeavours to do good. The last meeting set down was on June 20th, 1722: whether it was the last they held I do not know.†

The beginning of the year 1729 was distinguished by numerous additions to the Church.

Mr. Danforth sustained the ministry with great fidelity, in the exercise of very superior talents and graces, for forty-eight years, and, at the age of seventy, departed this life on the 26th of May, 1630, and was buried on the 30th; the day which closed the century from the landing of the first settlers.‡—And here we will pause in the narrative of our History, with only remarking that the memory of those venerable men who laid the foundation of our Church and Town, and that of their pious and learned successors, is deservedly cherished by us. Hallowed is the place of their mortal repose; and though the rude lettered tablet

∗ Note K.
† Their book of records is deposited among those of the Church.
‡ Note L.
on which has fallen many a tear of affection and
gratitude is covered with the moss of age, yet a
voice of counsel seems to arise from their lowly
graves, bidding us consider ourselves as only "pil­
grims and strangers on earth, as all our fathers
were;" but comforting us with the assurance that,
if we imitate their example of piety, faith, and
holiness, we shall, like them, exchange the wilder­
ness of time for the blissful region of eternity.
"Give ear, O my people, to my law; incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
"I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old; which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us.
"He will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord; and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done.

"For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children who should be born, who should rise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments."

A venerable expositor of the Sacred Scriptures, (Mr. Henry,) remarks of these verses,—"Here is the preface to this Church History, commanding the attention of the present age, and recommending it to the study of the generation to come;"—and I will add, the author calls upon those for whose information and instruction it was composed, to pay particular attention to what he was about to narrate, which would consist of a recapitulation, principally, either of events which they might, indeed, have heard others describe; or of facts, some of which, perhaps, had come within their own observation; or sayings of old, the report of ancient times, received by tradition from their fathers. Though, therefore, his recital might not contain any thing new, it would comprise important and interesting particulars, to be treasured up in their memories, and which it was proper should be preserved and transmitted to posterity.

The great events, to which the Psalmist refers, form a part of the history of the Jewish nation;
and, with such as succeeded till the times of the Messiah, are handed down to us in sacred registers, and we peruse them, in the Holy Bible, as constituting those dispensations in which Jehovah has presided over and conducted the affairs of his people and Church.

Next to the ancient Israelites, who were his chosen nation, we are led to believe that our pious ancestors, the first settlers of New England, were his peculiar people. Them he called, as he did the patriarchs of old, from their native country and their kindred, and led them forth to sojourn in a strange land. Them he rescued from sore and grievous oppression, supported under various difficulties and trials, preserved amidst great and threatening dangers, brought over the wide ocean to this remote region of the world, and, casting out the heathen, made room for them, and caused them to prosper. God "remembered them, the kindness of their youth, the love of their espousals, when they went after him in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown." To their posterity, through successive generations, his benefits have continued to flow in a full and uninterrupted current. At one period after another, on various happy occasions, and in many signal instances, his blessings have been liberally bestowed; and distinguished marks of his favour have been conferred on our nation. While one generation has passed away after another, his Church has been preserved, a godly seed perpetuated, and instead of the fathers have come up the children to share in his bounties, to rejoice in his benignity, and to celebrate his praise.

In resuming the History of the Church in this town, which, next to that at Salem, is the oldest in Massachusetts proper, I shall attempt little else than a chronological statement of the succession of
Pastors; because, excepting the events which took place near the commencement of the century, events "of which our fathers have told us," several of the particulars of our later history we have often heard recited, and many we have actually known; and, therefore, a repetition would be alike uninteresting and unnecessary.

Between six and seven months before the decease of Mr. Danforth, the Rev. Jonathan Bowman was ordained his Colleague.* He continued in the pastoral relation rather more than forty years, when an unpleasant misunderstanding arose, which repeated Church meetings served only to increase, till a Council of fourteen Churches, which was convened on the 16th of November, 1773, and continued by several adjournments until December 14th, "advised the Reverend Pastor to ask a dismission, and the Church to grant it." This was the second instance, and has happily been the last, of calling an Ecclesiastical Council to advise upon difficulties in this Church: the first being, (as I stated) in the case of a call given to Mr. Burr, one hundred and thirty years before. May at least as many years have passed, before another shall be needed!

Mr. Bowman is said to have been rather austere in his deportment; but is acknowledged to have been a man of inflexible integrity; and he was venerated by the most eminent of his contemporaries in the ministry, by Chauncy, Mayhew, and Adams, for his piety, his talents, and his enlarged views of the grace and truth in the dispensation of the blessed Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.†

On the 28th of September, 1774, the Rev. Moses Everett was ordained. He continued in

* November 5, 1729.  † Note M.
office until January 14th, 1793, when, in consequence of ill health, he was induced to ask a dismissal. It was still his desire to be useful; and, having served God according to his ability, to serve his generation by the will of God. This desire he was enabled to carry into effect on his restoration to a comfortable, though not uninterrupted state of health; and he was employed, respected, and useful in various departments of civil life, and filled with fidelity important offices in society, as a Representative of the town in the General Court, a Justice of the Peace, and a Judge in the County Court. He deceased on the 25th of March, 1813, in the 63d year of his age.*

On the 8th of July, 1793, the Church voted to give me an invitation to become their Pastor, and, on the 15th following, the town concurred in the election. Upon receiving these votes, I deemed it proper to resign my office in the University at Cambridge, and take up my residence here, that I might give the people an opportunity of being intimately acquainted with me, before I gave my answer. I went to live, in succession, in various parts of the town, for the purpose of visiting familiarly all the families; and when sufficient experience had been obtained to confirm or change the proposition which had been made to me, on the Lord's day, September 8th, my answer of acceptance was given, and on the 23d of October following, I was solemnly ordained.

Of my ministry it becomes me to speak with deep humility; and I greatly lament that its duties have not been better discharged. Thirty-seven years, lacking four days, have passed since I received the call to settle here; and they have been devoted to your service with an earnest desire and

*Note N.
endeavour to promote your spiritual edification and advance your highest interests.

Passing years have brought about great changes in the families and circumstances of those to whom I have ministered. Most of the large assembly to whom I first preached have gone down to the congregation of the dead; and, in the Church which yet remains under my pastoral care, only six survive, who belonged to it at the time of my ordination.*

So great has been the increase of the town, that, whereas, when I was settled, there was but one congregation of worshippers, one Church, and one meeting-house, within what were then its limits, there are now three parishes, together with the large and populous district set off to Boston, and eleven societies of worshippers.†

Thus have I given you, my people, the outlines of our Ecclesiastical History; and through the whole we trace the guidance and special favour of Almighty God towards this ancient Church.

It is affecting to be reminded of the many hardships to which the Puritans were subjected in their native land, the dangers which they encountered in crossing the ocean, and the sufferings which they endured in the wilderness;—to be informed with what exemplary fortitude and patience they sustained their calamities, and with what devout gratitude and praise they acknowledged the providential support and deliverance which they received.

"No ambitious projects of conquest, no deep-laid schemes of commercial speculation, none of the ordinary causes of an overflowing population, or of

*John Pierce, Ebenezer Tolman, James Humphreys, David Clap, Mary Wiswell, and Anna Wales.
†Note O. "Dorchester Neck" was annexed to Boston, by an act of the Legislature, March 6th, 1804.
poverty and infamy at home, conduced to the emigration of our forefathers; but **the high and holy devotion to what they esteemed the cause of pure and undefiled religion.**

They did not come as Israel of old did into Canaan, to enter upon the labours of other men, and to build on foundations already laid. No! they came, expecting neither cities nor houses prepared for their reception; nor gardens, fields, and orchards for their support; but to a great and terrible wilderness.* They came in the exercise of a humble and self-denying spirit, and **in the power of that faith which overcometh the world,** to find an asylum in a foreign region, and peace and liberty in deep solitudes and forests. They came inspired with a resolution, which no difficulties could dishearten, and with a trust in the divine direction and favour, which was strengthened by religious principle, and enlivened by a piety the most ardent and sublime.†

Let me repeat it—and in their own words—their professed design in coming hither was, **that they might have a peaceable enjoyment of religion and its ordinance in their purity, and unincumbered by human inventions and additions; and maintain the profession and observance uncontrolled by the decisions of fallible men:**—and that here, being free from restraint, they might set up Churches, in their worship, matter, form, and discipline, entirely after the New Testament model; enjoy these great and Christian liberties without disturbance, and bequeath them as a precious legacy to all future generations.‡

With such views they laid the foundation of many generations in the Churches that were gathered, and in the provision that was made for the

---

* Rev. Mr. Foxcroft's Sermon, 1630, page 14.
† Note P. ‡ Note Q.
maintenance of the ministry and the support of schools: and the happy effects of their purposes and plans have been experienced in those religious, literary, and civil institutions and privileges, which have been enjoyed among their descendants, which make this Anniversary of our National Independence a commemoration of distinguished advantages and privileges—advantages and privileges thus handed down to us, it becomes us to cherish and preserve, and to transmit unimpaired to those who come after us.

It may be well to remark that though the object of the Plymouth and of the Massachusetts settlers was the same,—that of obtaining the unmolested enjoyment of religious freedom,—yet their opinions of what it consisted in, and the cast of their sentiments, particularly respecting discipline, varied not a little. The Nonconformists, who went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, in Holland, and then to Plymouth, on the Massachusetts Bay, "were more rigid in their practice than the Puritans, and totally separated themselves from the established Church,"—hence they were denominated Separatists, and, as respected ecclesiastical polity, Independents; whereas the Puritans were only Dissenters, and as regarded ecclesiastical polity were Congregationalists, and held an accordace and union of churches. Accordingly the spirit of the Pilgrims was exclusive; and their language "come out from among them, and be ye separate;" while the spirit of the Puritans was that of forbearance and long suffering, and their language "let us co-operate in bringing about a more thorough reformation, and in purposes and means for the furtherance of each other's progress therein, and by our joint endeavours strengthen and establish the common cause."

* Note R.
breathed in the pathetic parting words of one of the first ministers who came to Massachusetts, the evangelical Higginson, when standing on the deck of the vessel as it was about to sail, he exclaimed, "We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, "Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome!"—but we will say, "Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all christian friends there! We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and promote the Gospel in America."

On their arrival at Salem, and also on the settlement of the New England Company, they were desirous of availing themselves of the counsel and experience of the Plymouth people in the gathering and constituting of churches, who delegated Mr. Winslow and Doct. Fuller for this purpose; and the Doctor wrote to Governour Bradford that while on this mission he visited the people at Mattapan, and had conversation with them on church matters "till he was weary;" and he adds that Mr. Warham held that "the visible Church may consist of a mixed people, godly and such as are not so;"* and, from the manner in which he states this, we may infer that his own ideas of the qualifications of Church members were opposite to those of our first Minister.

I mention not this to derogate from the exalted character of the Pilgrims, for they were endowed with a piety and actuated by a zeal for religion, which will never cease to be honoured; but merely to show that the Puritans were less exclusive and illiberal then, whatever they learned to be afterwards."+

† Note S.
The founders of this Church and first settlers of this town, in particular, were distinguished for primitive simplicity of manners; for that faith which works by love and purifies the heart, and for attachment to those great principles of Protestantism, the sufficiency of the Scriptures and the right of private judgment in matters of religion; and there is not a town in the Commonwealth where the spirit of the ancient puritans, the spirit of piety mingled with charity, and of zeal tempered with moderation, has been more prevalent, where there has been a better evidence of enlightened knowledge in Christian truth, with a practical illustration of Christian duty; or where the institutions of the forefathers have been so faithfully adhered to, and so long preserved. Of those institutions, the Society of Heads of Families, and the Young Men's Society, are nearly, if not quite, coeval with the settlement of the town.*

Similar associations for the encouragement and promotion of piety were formed in other towns, but have been discontinued for many years; while these have been kept up without intermission; and, like the pillars of Seth, bear the memorial and the inscription of a purer age. These venerable institutions, so unassuming and unpretending, have so salutary an influence on the spiritual interests of our community, that we are bound to honour and encourage them, and to perpetuate those good influences, by handing them down to the generations to come as samples of the pure principles and devotional spirit of the Christian patriarchs who settled this town, and of the young men they trained up to be their successors.

This town has been favoured with a succession of learned, pious, and faithful Pastors. Those

* Note T.
holy men of God have passed in review before us; and we have seen reason to praise the Father of Spirits, from whom they received their gifts, for the eminent example of virtue and piety which they exhibited, and for the blessed effects produced by their ministry on the people of their charge, whom they instructed in the pure principles of our most holy faith, and built up in righteousness and peace, and on whom and their posterity their prayers have drawn down, and I trust will continue to draw down, rich spiritual blessings.

The second century from the settlement of the town has now come to its close. As its latter months were hastening away, the state of my health led me to the expectation that he who should stand in this place to tell you that they were past, might have a topic with which to conclude like that of his who stood over the grave of the former century. But, though I may adopt the expression of the Apostle, and say, "I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ;" nevertheless, while to abide in the flesh is needful for further employment in the sacred ministry, with the design and hope of greater usefulness, I ought to be thankful that life is prolonged, and opportunity granted for it; and a refreshing satisfaction is still reserved for me in the harmony, peace, and prosperity of this large and respectable Society,—with the assurance that I have never done any thing to disturb it; and these considerations are enlivened by the gratitude that swells my heart under a sense of the kind regard with which you, my beloved people, still honour me. Better to deserve this, your indulgent favour, is my ambition; always to retain it will be my endeavour; and that it may be renewed and perfected in the spiritual world, is my devout prayer. "For what is my hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, at his coming? For ye are my glory, and my joy!"
Finally, By all that this commemoration has brought in review before us, may we be prompted to live in obedience to the precepts of the holy gospel, and worthy the character which we bear as descendants of such eminent ancestors, that we may at length be gathered to our fathers in peace, and be admitted to join the saints in glory everlasting! Amen!

Commemoration of the settlement of the first Church in Dorchester, at the close of the Second Century from the arrival of the Puritans;

LORD'S DAY, JULY 4, 1830.

MORNING SERVICE.

PSALM XC.

FROM THE VERSION USED BY THE PURITAN SETTLERS.

[To be sung, as by them, line by line being read.]

Lord, thou hast been our sure defence:
Still for thy aid we plead;
Show favour to thy servants now,
And help them at their need.

Refresh us with thy mercy soon,
And then our cares shall flee;
And all times, while our life shall last,
In heart rejoice shall we.

As we were vexed oft before,
Now make thou us right glad,
According to the years when sore
Affliction we have had.

O let thy work and power appear,
And on thy servants light;
And show unto thy children dear
Thy glory and thy might.

Lord, let thy grace and mercy stand
On us thy servants thus;
Confirm the works we take in hand;
Lord prosper them to us.
PSALM CVII.

FROM THE NEW ENGLAND VERSION.

Your thanks unto the Lord express,
Because that good is he,
Because his loving kindnesses
Last to eternity.

So say the Lord's redeemed, whom bought
He hath from enemies' hands;
And from the east and west hath brought,
From south and northern lands.

In desert strayed in untrod way,
No dwelling town they find;
They hungry were, and thirsty they,
Theirs souls within them pined.

Then did they to Jehovah cry,
When they were in distress,
Who did them set at liberty
Out of their anguishes.

In such a way as was most right
He led them forth also,
That to a city which they might
Inhabit, they should go.

O that men praise Jehovah would,
For his great goodness then;
And for his wonders manifold
Unto the sons of men.

---

Note. "In the year 1639, there was an agreement among the Magistrates and Ministers to set aside the collection of Psalms then printed at the end of their Bible, and to sing one more congenial to their ideas of religion. The Rev. Mr. Weld and the Rev. Mr. Elliot of Roxbury, and the Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester, were selected to make a metrical translation."—This was adopted in this church and congregation in 1640, and used for more than a century.

The earliest writer of the General History of New England, was the Rev. Mr. Hubbard. This work, after having laid in manuscript one hundred and thirty years, has lately been published; and in it is this remark, p. 210, in connexion with some particulars of the first comers—"The people travelling into New England had occasion, more than others, to meditate, on the 107th Psalm; which, though not penned purposely for them, yet in especial manner is suited to their condition.

The practice of reading line by line for singing was discontinued in the congregation on the 23rd of September, 1781; but retained in the church at the communion service until the 8th of July, 1793.
AFTERNOON.

1st. Singing. XLIV Psalm, C. M., from the version of Tate & Brady; introduced into use here on the first Lord's day in July, 1762.

2d. Singing. CXLV Psalm, C. M., from Dr. Watt's version; introduced on the first Lord's day in July, 1793.

3d. Singing. XC Psalm, L. M., from the Collection of Psalms and Hymns by Dr. Belknap, introduced on Thanksgiving-day, November 6th, 1801.

The day, being that on which the Lord's Supper was celebrated, the following Hymn was sung after the Communion.

Give us, O Lord, the living bread
With which the welcomed guests are fed;
And here the cup of blessing place,
That thirsting, fainting souls may taste.

Thy promised presence grant to-day,
And in this Ordinance convey
Pledges of love that ne'er has ceased,
And foretastes of the heavenly feast.

Those, who, two hundred years ago,
Came here, their labours to bestow
In lonely wilds a Church to rear,
Partook a like refreshment here.

O God! thou then didst deign to bless
Their table in the wilderness;
Bless ours, and us, with heavenly love,
And fit us for the Church above!

Note. The above Hymn was sung, line by line being read, agreeably to the ancient practice in this Church, and which continued in use until Lord's day, 4th of August, 1793.
Dr. Fulke, a distinguished writer of the Church of England, says, "They are called Puritans who would have the Church thoroughly reformed; that is, purged from all those inventions which have been brought into it since the age of the Apostles, and reduced entirely to the Scripture purity." With this agrees the remark of the learned and candid Grotius—"Puritanos in Anglia vocant, qui Ecclesiae statum haud dum satis illis integrum atque sincerum existimant, et puritatis amplius requirant, unde origo nominis." In England they call those Puritans who judge the state of the Church there not sufficiently sound and unmixed, and require greater purity; whence the origin of the name.

Note B.

Johnson says, that "the Reverend and godly Mr. Maverick was their Pastor; and the gracious servant of Christ, the Rev. Mr. Warham, their Teacher." And Mr. Prince observes, that "it appears that Mr. Maverick was the elder person; that they had both been Ministers in the Church of England, and had therefore been ordained by some Bishop or other; as none other in those days were allowed to preach in that kingdom, nor any separate congregation allowed there till the civil wars began in 1642. Nor would Mr. Maverick and Warham have been then allowed to form a Congregational Church at Plymouth in England, were it not of those who had taken their passage for New England, and were just ready to sail thither." Annals, Part II. Sect. 2, p. 41.

Note C.

John White, A. M. This excellent divine was born at Stanton, St. John, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1576, and educated first at Winchester, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen Fellow. In the year 1606 he left the University, and became Rector of Trinity Church, Dorchester, where he continued, with little interruption, above forty.
years. He was a judicious expositor of Scripture; and, during his public ministry, expounded the whole Bible, and went through one half a second time.*

About the year 1624, Mr. White, with some of his friends, projected the new colony of Massachusetts in New England, as an asylum for the persecuted Nonconformists; but, for several years, the object met with numerous discouragements. Indeed, the difficulties became so formidable, that the undertaking was about to be relinquished, and those who had settled on the new plantation were on the point of returning home. At this juncture the worthy settlers, who already had outbraved many a storm, and surmounted the greatest difficulties, received letters from Mr. White, assuring them that if they could endure their painful conflict a little longer, he would procure for them a patent, and all the necessary supplies for the new settlement. They concluded to wait the event; and in all these particulars he made his promise good. Thus, by the blessing of God upon his active and vigorous endeavours, the Colonists were enabled to maintain their ground; and they afterwards greatly prospered.†

About the year 1630, Mr. White was brought into trouble by Bishop Laud, and prosecuted in the High Commission Court. Though it does not appear how long his troubles continued, or what sentence was passed upon him; yet these proceedings against a divine of such distinguished excellence, and one so universally beloved, were sure to bring the greatest odium upon his persecutors. Mr. White was afterwards a great sufferer from the public confusions of his nation, and the destructive ravages of the civil wars. Prince Rupert and his forces being in those parts, a party of horse was sent into the town, when the soldiers plundered his house, and carried away his library. But, upon the approach of these calamities, the good man fled from the storm; and, retiring to London, was made minister of the Savoy.‡

In the year 1640, Mr. White was appointed one of the learned divines to assist the Committee of Religion, consisting of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons.§ In 1643, he was chosen one of the Assembly

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. II. p. 61.
§ This Committee was appointed by the House of Lords, and designed to examine all innovations, as well in doctrine as discipline, illegally introduced into the Church since the Reformation. It was extremely offensive to the intolerant spirit of Archbishop Laud. Wharton's Troubles of Laud, Vol. I. pp. 174, 175.
of Divines, and constantly attended their meetings at Westminster. He was deservedly admired on account of his zeal, activity, learning, moderation, and usefulness, during the whole session. Upon the meeting of both Houses of Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and the Scots Commissioners, in Margaret's Church, Westminster, to take the Covenant, he engaged in the public prayer; and his fervent supplications continued a full hour.* In 1645, upon the revival of the Committee of Accommodation, he was chosen one of its members.† And about the same time he was appointed to succeed Dr. Featley in the sequestered rectory of Lambeth; and to have the care and use of the Doctor's library, until the Doctor should be able to procure his which had been carried away by Prince Rupert's soldiers.§

In 1647, Mr. White was offered the Wardenship of New College, Oxford, but refused the office.

When the public broils of the nation were concluded, he returned to his flock and his ministry at Dorchester, where he continued in peace the remainder of his days. He died suddenly, July 21st, 1648, aged seventy-two years. His remains were interred in the porch of St. Peter's Church, Dorchester, but without any monumental inscription.$

He was a most faithful Pastor; and a divine of sound doctrine, an admirable judgment, and a most powerful genius, being no less eminent for piety, faith, and diligence. He was a person of uncommon gravity, and so universally beloved and respected, that he was usually called "the Patriarch of Dorchester." The Puritans at a distance, as well as those about him (according to Wood) "had more respect for him than even for their diocesan; yet he was a most moderate Puritan."¶ "He was a constant preacher," says Fuller, "and, by his wisdom and ministerial labours, Dorchester was much enriched with knowledge, piety, and industry."‖ Mr. John White, the ejected non-conformist, was his son.**

His works were, I. The Way to the Tree of Life; On the Morality of the Fourth Commandment; and Directions for reading the Scriptures. 1647.††

II. A Commentary on the three first Chapters of Genesis. 1656.

III. Several Sermons; and some other articles.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. II. p. 61. § Wood's Hist. and Antq. I. II. p. 149.
¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. V. II. pp. 60, 61.
** Palmer's Nonconformist Memorial, Vol. II. p. 145.
†† The volume which contains these three treatises, neatly bound in black morocco, with gilt edges, is preserved in our church chest.
Note D.

Mr. Prince says, that "this parting address is commonly understood to have been drawn up by that learned, holy, reverend, and famous man, Mr. John White, of Dorchester." New England Chronology, p. 205.

Note E.

Some particulars of the voyage are narrated in a poem of Governour Wolcott's, son of Roger Wolcott, who was one of the passengers. This poem is printed, from the original manuscript, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. IV. pp. 262—298. It is entitled "A brief account of the Agency of the Honourable John Winthrop, Esq., in the Court of King Charles the Second, A. D. 1662, when he obtained a Charter for the Colony of Connecticut; written by Roger Wolcott, Esq., his successor in the Government of Connecticut." To the inquiries of the King about the first settlers, the Agent replies—

"If to declare their worth is what you ask,  
Then I must beg your pardon: that’s a task  
So worthy due performance, and so great,  
As goes beyond my utterance and conceit.  
But virtue never fails; succeeding days  
Shall much regard their merits, and shall raise  
Men of bright parts and moving oratory,  
Who shall emblazon their immortal glory.  
But if you ask to gain intelligence  
What were the reasons why they went from hence,  
What straits they met with on their way, and there?—  
These facts I think I'm able to declare.  

"Religion was the cause that did incline  
And moved our founders to this great design.  
And sure the Holy Spirit from above  
That first did quickening on the waters move,  
Inspired their minds, and filled them with intents  
To bring to pass such glorious events.  
And now they wholly to this work devote,  
Nor mind the country they are going out.  
Their ancient homes they leave, to come no more,—  
Their weeping friends and kindred on the shore  
They bid adieu to, and with aching heart  
Shake hands; 'tis hard when dearest friends must part!
But here they part, and leave their parent isle,
Their whilom happy seat.—The winds awhile
Are courteous, and conduct them on their way,
To near the midst of the Atlantic sea,
When suddenly their pleasing gales they change
For dismal storms that on the ocean range.*
—Meanwhile our founders in the cabin sat
Reflecting on their truly sad estate,
Whilst holy Warham's sacred lips did treat
About God's promises and mercies great.
—And now a mighty sea the ship o'ertakes,
Which, falling on the deck, the bulk-head breaks;
The sailors cling to ropes, and frightened cry,
'The ship is foundered! O we die, we die!'
Those in the cabin heard the sailors screech,
All rise, and reverend Warham do beseech
That he would now uplift to heaven a cry,
For preservation in extremity.
He, with a faith sure bottom'd on the word
Of Him that was of seas and winds the Lord,
His eyes lifts up to Heaven, his hands extends,
And fervent prayers for deliverance sends.
The winds abate, the threatening waves appease,
And a sweet calm sits regent on the seas.
They bless the name of their deliverer,
Who now they found a God that heareth prayer.”

Note F.

"It was ordered that every town should keep a watch, and be well supplied with ammunition. The Constables were directed to warn the watchers in their turns, and to make it their care that they should be kept according to the direction of the Court. They were also required to take care that the inhabitants were well furnished with arms and ammunition, and kept in a constant state of defence. As these infant settlements were filled and surrounded with numerous savages, the people conceived themselves in danger, when they lay down and when they rose up, when they went out and when they came in. Their circumstances were such, that it was judged necessary for every man to be a soldier."
Note G.

Under March 19, 1632, Governor Winthrop relates, that "Mr. Maverick, one of the Ministers of Dorchester, in drying a little powder, (which took fire by the heat of the fire-pan) fired a small barrel of two or three pounds, yet did no other harm but singed his clothes. It was in the new Meeting-house, which was thatched, and the thatch only blacked a little."

Note H.

Captain Johnson describes the straits of these early settlers at this time, in his Wonder-working Providence, or Sion's Saviour in New England, Chap. xxiv.—"In the absence of bread, they feasted themselves with fish. The women, once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the muscle and clam-banks, which are a fish as big as a horse muscle, where they daily gathered their families' food, with much heavenly talk of the provisions Christ had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness. Quoth one, My husband hath travelled as far as Plymouth, (which is near 40 miles) and hath with great toil brought a little corn home with him; and before that is spent the Lord will assuredly provide. Quoth the other, Our last peck of meal is now in the oven at home a baking, and many of our godly neighbours have quite spent all, and we owe one loaf of that little we have. Then spake a third, My husband hath ventured himself among the Indians for corn, and can get none; as also our honoured Governour hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store, and all the rest; and yet, methinks, our children are as cheerful, fat, and lusty, with feeding upon these muscles, clams, and other fish, as they were in England with their fill of bread; which makes me cheerful in the Lord's providing for us, being further confirmed by the exhortation of our Pastor to trust the Lord with providing for us, whose is the earth and the fulness thereof. And, as they were thus encouraging one another, they lift up their eyes and saw two ships coming in; and presently this news came to their ears, that they were come from Ireland full of victuals. Now were their poor hearts refreshed."

Note I.

The Rev. Jonathan Burr was born in the year 1604, at Redgrave, in Suffolk, Great Britain. He was the son of godly parents, who perceiving his early love of letters, gratified him with a learned education; and says Dr. Mather, "Though literature did much adorn his child-
hood, religion did so much more; for he had from a child known the Holy Scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation." In his earliest years, "so studious was he as to leave his food for his book, and withal so pious as to leave his book for his prayers."

After having spent four years at the University, upon the death of his father he returned to the country, and was employed in keeping a school. Here, however, he pursued his studies with such diligence, that when those of his standing were to take their degrees of Mastership, he was appointed one of the Moderators; an honourable distinction, in which he acquitted himself to great acceptance.

For a while he preached at Horniger, near Bury, in Suffolk; and afterwards was Rector of the Church at Reckingshal. Governour Winthrop remarks, that "he was a Minister of very good repute in England for his piety and learning."

Having been silenced for nonconformity, in the beginning of 1639 he came over to New England, with his wife and three children; and soon after their arrival a fourth was born.

From our Church Records it appears, that on the 21st day of the 10th month, [December] 1639, Mr. Jonathan Burr, and Mrs. Frances, his wife, were admitted as members of the Church, and Rebekah Burr, (probably his sister); and on the 23d of the same month, Mary, daughter of Rev. Jonathan Burr, was baptized.

Of the circumstances attending his call to settle at Dorchester, and of the Council convened for his ordination, a minute detail is given by Governour Winthrop, in his Journal, Vol. II. pages 22, 23.

The following summer he, with his family, had the small pox, which, as inoculation was not then practised, was a very malignant and dangerous disorder; but they all happily recovered, though Mr. Burr was left in a state of debility which shortened his days.

In the Magnalia, Dr. Mather comments largely upon his exemplary piety, bountiful charity to the poor, tender sympathy with the afflicted, amiable disposition, and unaffected meekness of spirit.

His widow married to the Honourable Richard Dummer, with whom she lived happily more than forty years, and died at Newbury, November 19, 1682, aged 70.

His sons were Jonathan, [who was a graduate of Harvard College, 1651] John, and Simon. Peter Burr, [Harv. Coll. 1690] a Judge of the Court of Connecticut, and Samuel Burr, [H. C. 1697] of Charlestown, were his grand-sons. Rev. Isaac Burr, [Yale College, 1717] was son of Judge Peter Burr, and father to Rev. Aaron Burr, the learned President of New Jersey College. Vice-President Aaron Burr is son of Rev. President Burr.
Richard Mather was born at Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, and County of Lancaster, in Great Britain, in the year 1596. His parents, Thomas and Margaret Mather, were of ancient families in that village. Though reduced to low circumstances, they gave their son a good education. So great was his proficiency at school, that he was elected in 1611, being only fifteen years old, to take the instruction of a school at Toxteth-Park, near Liverpool. In this office he acquitted himself so well, “that he was both loved and feared by his scholars, beyond what is usual even where there are aged Masters.” After having fitted several scholars for the University, he removed there himself, and entered a student in Brazen-nose College, at Oxford. He was soon, however, recalled to Toxteth, by a request of the Congregation there, to be their Minister. He accordingly returned, and preached his first sermon on the 30th of November, 1618. Soon after, he received ordination by Dr. Morten, then Bishop of Chester.

September 29th, 1624, he married Katherine, daughter of Edmund Hoult, Esq., of Bury, in Lancashire, with whom he lived in connubial affection thirty years. By her he had six sons; of whom Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel, and Joseph, were born in Great Britain; and Eleazer, and Increase, in New England.

After having preached fifteen years, he was suspended from office and silenced, August, 1633, for nonconformity; but on November following was restored, through the intercession of his friends. Under the more rigorous visitations of the Archbishop of York, Dr. Neale, he again received sentence of suspension in 1634. His having never worn the surplice, and his puritanick principles, were alleged against him. Being thus “inhibited from the exercise of his ministerial functions,” placed again in private life, and apprehensive of the severity of those persecutions which an enraged hierarchy were meditating, he resolved upon a removal to New England. Accordingly he drew up his reasons for such a determination, and exhibited them to the Ministers and others in Lancashire, at several meetings appointed for their consideration. As nothing was objected against them that he deemed satisfactory, in the month of April, 1635, he left his people at Toxteth, and journeyed to Bristol, in order to take ship there. He was obliged to change his outer habit, that he might travel incognito, because pursuants were seeking to apprehend him, and by this method eluded their search. From Bristol he sailed for New England, May 23d, 1635. Two of his sons, who were afterwards Ministers, came with him; also Jonathan Mitchell, then a child of eleven years of age, and after-
wards the famous Pastor of the Church at Cambridge. The ship en¬
countered a most violent and dangerous hurricane on the American
coast, but providentially arrived safe in Boston harbour, August 17th,
1635.

The following account of this gale is extracted from his journal.

« August 15, 1635. The Lord had not yet done with us, nor had he
let us see all his power and goodness which he would have us take the
knowledge of; and, therefore, about the break of day, he sent a most
terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were in as much
danger as I think ever people were. When we came to the land, we
found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of the bole, and
others turned up by the roots, by the fierceness thereof. We lost in
that morning three anchors and cables, one having never been in the
water before: two were broken by the violence of the storm, and the
third cut by the seamen in the extremity of distress, to save the ship
and their and our lives. And when our cables and anchors were all
lost, we had no outward means of deliverance but by hoisting sail, if so
be we might get to sea from amongst the islands and rocks where we
had anchored. But the Lord let us see that our sails could not save
us neither, no more than the cables and anchors; for, by the force of
the wind and storm, the sails were rent asunder, and split in pieces, as
if they had been but rotten rags, so that of divers of them, there was
scarce left so much as an hand-breadth, that was not rent in pieces, or
blown away into the sea. So that, at that time, all hope that we should
be saved, in regard of any outward appearance, was utterly taken aw
r ay; and the rather, because we seemed to drive, with full force of wind,
directly upon a mighty rock, standing out in sight above water; so
that we did but continually wait when we should hear and feel the
doeful crashing of the ship upon the rock. In this extremity and ap¬
pearance of death, as distress and distraction would suffer us, we cried
unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion upon us; for,
by his overruling providence, and his own immediate good hand, he
guided the ship past the rock, and assuaged the violence of the sea and
wind. It was a day much to be remembered, because on that day the
Lord granted us as wonderful a deliverance as I think ever any people
had felt. The seamen confessed they never knew the like. The Lord
so imprint the memory of it in our hearts, that we may be the better for
it, and more careful to please him, and to walk uprightly before him as
long as we live; and I hope we shall not forget the passages of that
morning until our dying day. In all this grievous storm, my fear was
the less, when I considered the clearness of my calling from God this
way: and in some measure, (the Lord's holy name be blessed for it)
he gave us hearts contented and willing that he should do with us and ours what he pleased, and what might be most for the glory of his name; and in that we rested ourselves. But when news was brought us into the gun-room that the danger was past, O how our hearts did then relent and melt within us! We burst out into tears of joy amongst ourselves, in love unto our gracious God, and admiration of his kindness in granting to his poor servants such an extraordinary and miraculous deliverance. His holy name be blessed forever!"

Mr. Mather, with his family, tarried some months in Boston. Immediately invitations were made to him from Plymouth, Roxbury, and other towns, to settle with them, but by the advice of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and other friends, he accepted that of Dorchester.

He assisted Mr. Eliot and Mr. Weld, in 1640, in making the New England version of Psalms.

The usefulness and the praise of this eminent divine was great in all the Churches. He was a member of all the Ecclesiastical Councils and Synods in Massachusetts, that met during his ministry here.

In 1646, a Synod was called to prepare rules for the better ordering of the affairs of the Churches. After various discussions, two clergymen of Massachusetts, and one of Plymouth colony, were appointed to draft, each of them, a model of Church discipline and polity, for the adoption of the succeeding session. These were the Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, and the Rev. Ralph Partridge, of Duxbury. Mr. Mather's model was made choice of, received the sanction of the Synod, in 1648, and, under the name of "the Cambridge Platform," has ever since been considered as the Ecclesiastical law of the Churches of Massachusetts.

Of the Synodical Council, which met at Boston, June 4, 1657, and of the Synod in 1662, Mr. Mather was a very influential member; and the determination of the questions stated in their result, was in a great degree owing to positions which he had advanced and supported.—Indeed such respect was paid to his judgment, that "In Ecclesiastical Councils to which he was frequently invited, and in weighty cases where the General Court frequently consulted ministers, his opinion was much relied upon and generally adopted."

His wife died in 1654; and on the 26th of the 6th month, 1656, he married Sarah, the widow of the famous John Cotton, who survived him.

He left four sons in the ministry; one of whom, Eleazer, pastor of the Church at Northampton, died about three months after his father. Samuel was a teacher of a Church at Dublin, in Ireland; Nathaniel was minister at Barnstable, in Devon, Great Britain, and afterwards at
Rotterdam, in Holland; and Increase, was minister at Boston, in New England, and afterwards President of Harvard College.

The publications of Mr. Richard Mather, were 1. The Discourse about the Church Covenant; and the Answers to xxxii questions, published in 1639, which pass under the name of the Elders of New England. 2. A modest and brotherly answer to Mr. Charles Herles' book, against the Independency of the Churches, 1646. 3. A heart-melting exhortation, &c., to his countrymen of Lancashire, 1650. 4. A Catechism, 1650. 5. A treatise of Justification, 1652. 6. A letter to Mr. Hooker, to prove that it is lawful for a Minister to administer the Sacrament to a congregation that is not particularly under his care. 7. Election Sermon, 1660. 8. An answer to the Essay of Mr. Davenport, against the propositions of the Synod, 1662.* And 9thly, A farewell exhortation to the Church and people of Dorchester. [This last, he distributed in all the families; and yet a copy is not to be now found.]

Mr. Mather left a large number of writings on Church government and controversy, which are preserved in the Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society. Those which I have perused are the following:

1. An answer to objections against imposition of hands at ordination. This is a manuscript of eleven pages; and is dated 26th October, 1635.

2. An apology for the Churches of New England, against the exceptions of Richard Bernard, minister of Batcombe, in Somersetshire, sent to us in two books, one written to the Governor, Magistrates and Commons; the other, to the Ministers, and Elders of the Churches. This is a manuscript of one hundred pages, in the hand-writing of Richard Mather.

Governour Winthrop, in his Journal, records "1638, 8ber. About two years since, one Mr. Bernard, a minister at Batcombe, in Somersetshire, in England, sent over two books in writing, one to the Magistrates, and the other to the Elders, wherein he laid down arguments against the manner of our gathering Churches, &c., which the Elders could not answer till this time, by reason of the many troubles about Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, &c." The original copy of Mr. Bernard's book, which was sent to the ministers, very fairly written, is contained in a volume of manuscripts of Rev. John Cotton, now in the possession of the Hon. John Davis.

* Of this book Mr. Higginson of Salem, remarked "that Mr. Mather shewed himself, a pattern to all answerers to the end of the world." And the late Dr. Eliot pronounces it "an able discussion, and as liberal as it is masterly."
In the same volume is a precious treatise, which has never been printed, entitled, *Considerations brief but necessary about toleration in religion, humbly tendered to them in authority, by John Robinson, Pastor of the English Church at Leyden.*

3. *An answer to nine reasons brought by John Spilsbury, in the 25th and 26th pages of his book, to prove that infants ought not to be baptized.*

This is a manuscript of sixty-six pages. Mr. Spilsbury was Pastor of a Baptist Church in London.

4. A manuscript of ninety-five pages, inscribed *A model of Church Government, 1648.* On the first leaf of which he has made this record—“The Synod at Cambridge having nominated sundry of the Elders to draw up each of them a several model of Church Government; and amongst others, having nominated me for one for that service; to the end that out of those several models there might be one proposed, such as the Synod should jointly agree upon. I therefore, upon this occasion and call, drew up this that follows, and presented it to the Synod at their next meeting, which being then by the Synod deliberately read and perused, they afterwards agreed upon that which is now printed and published; which work of theirs and this of mine being compared, it may appear that the doctrine herein by me expressed and delivered, was well approved of by that reverend and judicious assembly.”

R. M.

The Rev. John Norton was appointed to revise this model, and to insert such amendments as were proposed in the Synod, in order for publication.

5. *The Platform, as it was prepared for the press; in the handwriting of Mr. Mather.*

6. *The answer of the Elders to the exceptions against the Platform.*

This is a manuscript of forty-three pages. It is very curious and interesting, particularly as the names of the principal objectors are placed in the margin. It commences with stating—“According to the order of the much honoured General Court, bearing date 26. 3mo. 1651; and in obedience thereunto, the Elders of this jurisdiction, or so many of them as could be conveniently obtained to come together, have seriously perused the papers imparted to us by the Secretary, as the answers of the Churches concerning the platform of discipline, and divers other papers from particular brethren, &c. &c.”

7. *An answer to xxi questions, sent from the honorable General Court at Hartford to the honorable General Court at Boston, and by them proposed to certain Elders of both jurisdictions, which they called together*
and appointed to confer and debate upon, and present their resolutions concerning them to the said General Courts, respectively.

This is a manuscript of twenty-one pages; and is dated 19th, 4mo., 1657. From a note of Rev. Increase Mather's, it appears that it was sent to London and published. I cannot, however, find a printed copy in any of our public libraries.

8. An answer to arguments for the government of the Churches in the hands of the people.

A manuscript of seventy-eight pages. The title, and two first pages lost.—It is a learned treatise on ecclesiastical polity.

There is also a small quarto volume of 550 pages in manuscript, preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, entitled "A plea for the Churches of New England; divided into two parts, the former containing a survey of Mr. W. R.'s book, entitled a narration of Church courses in New England; wherein the manifold mistakes and misreports contained in the said narration are discovered; and such arguments and objections against the said Churches as are contained in his marginal animadversions are weighed and answered; the other containing positive grounds from Scripture, and reason for justification of the way of said Churches, contrived into an answer to sundry questions collected and raised out of the several chapters of the Narrator's discourse.


This bears the Imprimatur of Joseph Caryl, April 28th, 1646; but was never printed. It is an elaborate vindication of the order and discipline of our Churches against the exceptions of William Rathbone.

Note K.

Rev. Josiah Flint was the son of Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree; born August 24th, 1645; graduated at Harvard College in 1664.

The only publication of his that I have met with, is an Epistle Dedicatory, to Mrs. Bridget Usher, his aunt, prefixed to a Sermon of the Rev. Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College, on the death of Lady Mildmay. Printed at Boston, by John Foster, 1680.

Note L.

Rev. John Danforth was the son of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury; born November 8, 1660; graduated at Harvard College in 1677, and was afterwards a fellow of the Corporation.
The following obituary notice is from the *New England Weekly Journal, for Monday, June 1, 1730.*

"On May 24, last, died at Dorchester, the Rev. Mr. John Danforth, the very worthy and faithful Pastor of the Church of Christ in that place, aged about 70 years; who was one greatly qualified by many bright accomplishments for the Evangelical Ministry, and was eminently a man of God and a man of prayer; a close and profitable preacher of sound principles; a pattern of all the virtues of the Christian life, and zealous for the cause of God and religion among us; greatly beloved and valued while living, and now lamented at his death; and his memory will be always precious to those who had the honour and pleasure of an acquaintance with him."

The following character is extracted from Mr. Blake's Manuscript Annals.

"He was said to be a man of great learning. He understood the Mathematics beyond most men of his function. He was exceedingly charitable, and of a very peaceful temper. He had a good taste for poetry. He took much pains to perpetuate the names of many of the good Christians of his flock, by writing Inscriptions and Epitaphs for their grave stones; and yet the world is so ungrateful that he has not a line written to preserve his memory. He was buried in Lieut. Gov. Stoughton's tomb; and there also lieth his consort, Mrs. Elizabeth Danforth."


Mr. Danforth preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1693, and the Election Sermon in 1697; but I do not know of their being printed.

**Note M.**

Rev. Jonathan Bowman was born at Lexington, in the year 1707; and graduated at Harvard College in 1724. He was ordained at Dorchester, November 5, 1729. The Churches sent to were Lexington, Roxbury, Scituate, Braintree, Milton, and Stoughton. Rev. Mr. Hancock preached from 2 Cor. xi. 28; Mr. Danforth gave the Charge, and Mr. Walter the Right Hand of Fellowship.
Mr. Bowman died March 30th, 1775, aged 68. Though a good scholar, and a handsome compositor, yet such was his diffidence, that he declined preaching on public occasions, and never consented to have any of his sermons printed.

Note N.

The following Obituary Notice is inserted from the public papers.

"Moses Everett, Esq., of Dorchester, whose death was lately announced, was born in Dedham, of respectable parents, July 15, O. S., in the year 1750. He was the youngest but one of nine children. He pursued his studies, with a view to enter College, under the care of Mr. Balch, the Minister of Dedham, (whose daughter he afterwards married) and after the usual course of preparation, was admitted at Cambridge, and received his first degree in 1771. His education had been with a view to the profession of a Christian Minister, which, on leaving College, he adopted. When the Church in Dorchester became vacant by the dismissal of Mr. Bowman, he was invited to preach there; and, September 28th, 1774, was ordained to the pastoral charge of that ancient and respectable town, then consisting of one parish. He remained in this ministry eighteen years, and performed the duties of it to the satisfaction and improvement of his people. At the end of that period, the declining state of his health compelled him to relinquish an office, which he was too feeble to fulfil, and too conscientious to neglect; and in the year 1793, he requested and obtained a dismission.

"The approbation of his townsmen distinguished Mr. Everett in his retirement; and the next year after he left the pulpit, he was elected one of the Representatives of Dorchester, in the General Court, and took his seat accordingly; but the prevalence of different opinions on politics prevented him from being returned again. Afterwards he received a commission of Justice of the Peace, was made Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Norfolk County, and in the year 1808 was appointed to fill the vacancy on the bench of that Court, occasioned by the death of his brother, Oliver Everett, Esq. In this situation he acted with integrity and ability, and held it till the abolition of the Court. This was the last duty, of a public nature, that he was called upon to exercise. His health continued feeble, and by repeated paralytic shocks he was deprived of vigor, and finally of life."

During his ministry he published, *A Sermon before the Society of Young Men in Dorchester*, February 1, 1778; and, *A Sermon at the Ordination of his brother, Rev. Oliver Everett, to the pastoral care of the New-South Church in Boston*. 1782.
He died March 25, 1813, leaving a widow and ten children;—one by his first wife, one by the second, and eight by his relict, the third.

A Sermon was delivered at his funeral, by his successor, on Joshua i. 2, which was printed.

**Note O.**

I. The First Church, gathered in England, March, 1630; removed to New England, and began to settle at Dorchester, June 6th, O.S., of the same year.

II. The Second Congregational Church, was gathered January 1, 1808; a Meeting-house having been built, and dedicated October 30, 1806; and Rev. John Codman, D. D., ordained the Pastor, December 7, 1808.

III. The Third Congregational Society was formed in 1813; its Meeting-house dedicated October 6th, of that year; and the Rev. Edward Richmond, D. D., installed Pastor, June 25, 1817.

IV. An Episcopal Methodist Society, in the South part of the town, was formed in 1811; the first place of worship dedicated May 6th, 1818; and the present place of worship, September 24th, 1829.

V. Hawes' Place First Congregational Society, in South Boston, incorporated February 19, 1818; Church gathered October 17, 1819; Rev. Lemuel Capen installed Pastor, October 31, 1827.


VII. The Roman Catholic Church, dedicated to St. Augustine, South Boston.

VIII. Evangelical Calvinistic Society, South Boston, formed December 10th, 1823; Meeting-house dedicated March 29th, 1825; present Pastor, Rev. Mr. Fairchild, installed November 22d, 1827.

IX. Baptist Society, South Boston, formed January 16th, 1828; Rev. Thomas Driver installed April 16th, 1829; Meeting-house dedicated July 22d, 1830.

X. Village Church, in the South part of Dorchester, gathered March 18th, 1829; Introductory prayer by Rev. E. Beecher of Boston; Sermon by Rev. R. S. Storrs of Braintree; Consecrating prayer by Rev. Samuel Green of Boston; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. John Codman, D.D.; Concluding prayer by Rev. William Cogswell of Dedham. The Church consisted of 27 members, 21 of whom were from the Second Church in Dorchester. Their Meeting-house was dedicated September 1, 1829. The exercises of the occasion were, an Introductory prayer by Rev. Dr. Fay of Charlestown; Lessons of Scripture by Rev. Mr. Fairchild of South Boston; Dedicatory prayer by Rev. Dr.
Codman; Sermon by Rev. Professor Stuart of Andover; Concluding prayer by Rev. Dr. Wisner of Boston.

Rev. David Sanford, a graduate of Brown University, was installed Pastor, July 14, 1830. The Introductory prayer was made by Rev. E. Smith of Hanover; Sermon by Rev. Dr. Jenks of Boston; Consecrating prayer by Rev. Samuel Gile of Milton; the Charge by Rev. Dr. Codman; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Ebenezer Burgess of Dedham; Address to the people by Rev. R. S. Storrs of Braintree; and concluding prayer by Rev. Wm. Eaton of Middleborough.

XI. Universalist Society, South Boston, formed May, 1830.

Note P.

"Vestra autem pietas, Viri Exules, quae maluit patriam, quam Evangelium, deserere, commodisque carere temporariis quam permiscere sacris a Christo alienis, egregiam sane meretur laudem." Bullinger. Pref. in Comment. Apocalypt. p. 16.

Note Q.

The General Court, in their address to CHARLES II. in the year 1661, say, "We supplicate your Majesty for your gracious protection of us in the continuance both of our Civil and Religious liberties, according to the Grantees' known end of suing for the Patent, conferred upon this Plantation. Our liberty to walk in the way of the Gospel, with all good consciences according to the order of the Gospel, was the cause of our transporting ourselves, with our wives, and our little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land, over the Atlantic Ocean, into the vast wilderness; choosing rather the pure Scripture Worship, with a good conscience, in this remote wilderness, than the pleasures of England, with submission to the impositions of the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience. We are not seditious, as to the interest of Cæsar; nor schismatical, as to matters of Religion. We distinguish between Churches and their impurities. We could not live without the public worship of God, nor be permitted the public worship, without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship, without human mixtures, without offence to God, man, and our own consciences, we with leave, but not without tears, departed from our Country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos."
Dr. Cotton Mather, speaking of "that party in the Church of England, who, resolving that the Reformation should never proceed one jot further than the first essay of it in the former century," says, "they made certain unscriptural canons, whereby all that could not subscribe and practice a multitude of, by themselves confessedly, purely human inventions in the worship of God, were accursed, and ipso facto excommunicate; and by the ill obtained aid of bitter laws to back these canons, did, by fines and goals and innumerable violences, contrary to the very Magna Charta of the nation, ruin many thousands of the soberest people in the kingdom; and who continually made as many Shibboleths as they could for the discovering and extinguishing all real godliness, and gave not over till they had thrown all into the lamentable confusions of a civil war. The Churches of New England say, 'come not into their secret, O my soul!' We dare not be guilty of the schism which we charge upon that party in the Church of England. And if any faction of men will require the assent and consent of other men to a vast number of disputable and uninstituted things, and, it may be, a mathematical falsehood among the first of them, and utterly renounce all Christian communion with all that shall not give that assent and consent, we look upon those to be separatists. We dare not be so narrow spirited. The Churches of New England profess to make only the substantial of the Christian Religion to be the terms of our sacred fellowship. We dare make no difference between a Presbyterian, a Congregationalist, an Episcopalian, and an Antipeto Baptist, where their visible piety makes it probable that the Lord Jesus Christ hath received them." Magnalia, Book III. p. 12.

Mr. Hubbard, in his General History of New England, p. 118, declares, "It is certainly known that the old Nonconformists and good old Puritans of Queen Elizabeth and King James his time, did in many things not symbolize with the Separatists, whose way and form of discipline was always disowned and disclaimed, yea, publicly condemned, by the writings of the learned Nonconformists of that age, such as Mr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Hildersham, that malleus Brownistarum, as he used to be called; especially as to their notions about separation from the Church of England, as anti-christian. The one endeavouring only a reformation of some corruptions, retained, or crept into the Church, as they thought, either before or after its
reformed state; the others, not content therewith, stood as stifly to maintain a necessity of abrogating and disannulling their former church state, and begin all anew, as if things had been so far collapsed in the days of our fathers, that, like a vessel once infected with the contagion of leprosy, it must be broken in pieces to be new cast and moulded, or else to be judged unclean and unfit for the service of God. It is affirmed by some who had more reason to be best acquainted with the said Mr. Higginson when he first went over thither, that Mr. Hildersham, upon their first removing, advised him and other Ministers looking this way, to agree upon their form of Church government before they came away from England. The which counsel, if it had been attended, might have prevented some inconveniency that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding Ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles, because they were not publicly professed and declared when the foundation of their Church order was here laid in the beginning of things.”

In further illustration, I here insert a letter from the famous John Cotton of Boston, in Lincolnshire, England, three years before he came to this country, to Rev. Samuel Skelton of Salem, New England. I transcribed it from an ancient manuscript, which bore the endorsement, “copied out June 13, 1631, by me Richard Mather;” and have since collated it with an original in Mr. Cotton’s own handwriting, in a small quarto volume of his adversaria in the possession of the Hon. John Davis, of Boston.

“Beloved Sir,

“T am glad to hear of your health by others, though I do not hear that you have written to any of your friends in these parts by this last return. I thank you for your loving entertainment of Mr. Coddington and his wife, (my loving and Christian neighbours) into your house. Only as the death of so many of the former plantation hath been grievous to me, so hath it not a little troubled me that you should deny the Lord’s Supper to such godly and faithful servants of Christ as Mr. Governour, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Coddington, whereof the three latter were known unto you to be men of an upright heart and unblameable life, and the first might have been evidenced unto you to be no less by their approved testimony. My grief increased upon me when I heard you denied baptism unto Mr. Coddington’s child, and that upon a reason worse than the fact; because he was not a member of any particular reformed Church, though of the Catholic. And that which added wonder to my grief was that I heard you admitted one of Mr. Lathrop’s congregation not only to the Lord’s Supper, but his child to baptism upon sight of his testimony from his Church, whereas
Mr. Coddington, bringing the same from the Chief of our Congregation, was not accepted.

A quartain ague (some fits whereof I have already borne) hath so weakened my body and prostrated my spirits, that I am not fit to write my mind of these things; yet the unfeigned love I bear you, and the desire I have that peace and truth may dwell amongst you, hath constrained me to bear witness against your judgment and practice in a word or two.

Two things I conceive herein to be erroneous; first, that you think no man may be admitted to the Sacrament though a member of a Catholic Church, unless he be a member of some particular Reformed Church. Secondly, that none of the congregations in England are particular Reformed Churches but Mr. Lathrop's and such as his. For the first, we do not find, (neither is it credible) that the Eunuch [Acts viii.] was a member of any particular congregation, yet Philip baptized him; neither yet did he baptize him into any particular congregation which he should betake himself unto after his baptism; his calling, it may be, requiring his necessary absence in a foreign court. But you will say, he made profession of his faith, before baptism, v. 37: neither do I deny that it is meet for parents (whether they be members of a particular Church or no) to profess their Covenant with God to them and their seed, whereof baptism is a seal; and you know all English congregations require it. But this I deny that he made profession to become a member of Philip's particular Church: and besides, such a profession as he made to Philip, I dare say the servants of God whom you have refused have made as great, yea larger unto yourself.

You will say, perhaps, such an example was extraordinary, and not imitable. But, say not so; for though his rapture was extraordinary, yet all the Acts of the Apostles, Evangelists, and Brethren, touching doctrine, or sacraments, or discipline, are preincident to all Churches in all ages; which, further to evidence in this point, see Acts x. 47, 48. What particular congregation was the Centurion, or his devout soldiers, or his friends of, when Peter baptized them? It may be you will say, they were proselytes to the Jewish synagogue. But I believe not; for then had they been circumcised, and then the Christian Jews would not have contended with Peter for eating with them; [Acts xi. 3.] where the text plainly calleth them uncircumcised. And yet when Peter saw they had received the Holy Ghost, he openly pleadeth for them, v. 47. "Can any man forbid water, why these should not be baptized that have received the Holy Ghost as well as we!" And if no man can forbid them the water of baptism, who then can forbid them the Lord's Supper? When
men have received baptism and the Holy Ghost, and have examined and judged themselves, who can forbid them to eat and drink of the body and blood of Christ which is given for them, or who can forbid their children to be baptized!

Your other error requires a book rather than a letter, to answer it.—You went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung from New Plymouth men, whom, though I much esteem as godly and loving Christians, yet their grounds which they have received for this tenent from Mr. Robinson, do not justify me, though the man I reverence as godly and learned. Cyprian of old laboured under a like kind of error, yet held his integrity and zeal in the main. His grounds of dischurching all our congregations are three. First, he saith we want the matter of a visible Church, which are saints by calling. But I demand where had he, or all they that deny the right hand of fellowship to us, their calling to be saints, if not in our English congregations? Say not, all the godly that are begotten here are begotten of adultery, for God is not wont to bless the bed of adultery* with greater increase than the bed of married wives. And if Paul justified his calling to the ministry and Apostleship from the success of his labours in this kind, as he doth 1 Cor. ix. 2; Gal. ii. 7; why may not the saints of God justify the congregations in which they are called, and in which they find the power of God's grace in word and Sacraments to be the Churches of God by the alike gracious and ordinary presence of Christ therein? Say not, (as he doth) that saints are gathered out of the world; for though that be true in the first plantation of the Church, yet, first, they that so gather them are the Ministers of Christ. Now if the congregations be no Churches, then are we that preach to them no ministers, and so no likely instruments to be blessed of God in such a work. Again. When men profess themselves to be the Church of God, and are not, God is not wont to bless the labours of such preachers to such people, but will rather bless the labours of private Christians amongst a world of Pagans. What though many scandalous Gospellers be tolerated amongst us? that argueth the neglect of discipline, not the nullity of a Church. Sardis had but a few names in her, and the Churches of Corinth and Gallatia had sundry scandalous persons both for life and doctrine, yet are styled by Christ and his Apostles Churches, yea and Christ described as walking in the midst of them, as, praised be his name, he hath not withdrawn his presence from us; and where he vouchsaeth his presence, who are we that we should deny ours? Are we purer than he?

*Var. "An adulteress."
His second ground is taken from our want of the essential form of a Church, which, (as he conceiveth) is a right constitution by mutual Covenant between Pastor and people to yield professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ. Whereto I answer, that such an explicit Covenant is rather a solemn vow to bind the members of the Church together in nearer fellowship with God and one another, than any such essential cause of a Church without which it cannot be: and therefore we read that in the Church of the Israelites it was often renewed, whereas their Constitution was set up at the first. Twice was the Covenant renewed in Moses' time; afterwards in Asa's and Josha's time, in Josiah's and Nehemiah's, &c.: nor have we any mention of such a Covenant in the New Testament, in the first Constitution of any Church, unless very obscurely, for indeed the nature and definition of a Church lieth in this, it is a flock of saints, (1) called by God into the fellowship of Christ, (2) meeting together in one place, (3) to call upon the name of the Lord, (4) and to edify themselves in communicating spiritual gifts, (5) and partaking of the ordinances of the Lord. (6) [Acts x. 28; 2. 1 Cor. i. 2; 3. 1 Cor. i. 9; 4. 1 Cor. xiv. 23; 5. 1 Cor. i. 2; 1 Tim. ii. 1; 6. 1 Cor. xiv. 12, 31; 1 Cor. xiv. 26.] Where these things are found there is nothing wanting to the nature, essence, or Constitution of a Church. Nevertheless I easily grant you, such a Covenant is very requisite to the well-being and continuance of a Church; and therefore, I answer, secondly, such a Covenant is not so much wanting to our Churches as you suppose. For, first, it is not a vain thing that the whole State in Parliament, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, did renounce Popery under a penalty to embrace the Gospel of Christ; for such a thing was Asa's Covenant, a law of the chief members of the state in the name of the rest. [2 Chron. xv. 12, 13.] And in this act of Parliament all the people of the land are conceived (as in other laws) to give their free consent, because the law-makers are chosen and appointed by them. Secondly; neither is it a vain thing that generally all the people of the kingdom offer their children unto baptism, and therein openly profess their repentance and faith, and desire to have their children baptized in that faith. Thirdly: in many congregations the people choose their ministers, and in many others willingly accept them; wherein is implied a mutual engagement to perform the duties of minister and people. Fourthly: there be with you (and some of them whom you have refused) that can tell you that in some congregations in England, the ministers and all the professors amongst the people have entered into such a Covenant to yield professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ, so far as they conceive Christ requireth of them in their places in these times.
His third ground is taken from the state of our Church government, which he reporteth to put a heavy yoke upon God's people. What is amiss in any of them or their ways I will not take upon me to justify, but to omit other questions too large for this piece of paper, and to join issue with him upon his own principles, it is neither a false nor a tyrannical government (as he calleth it) of the Prelates of the Church, that can disannul the being of a Church. What more anti-christian than to set up two Churches? Yet so did the Church of Israel, in express type, when they admitted two High Priests together, Annas and Caiaphas. [Luke iii. 2.] And was it not more than a heavy yoke, when the Priests and the Pharisees put upon the people not only their own traditions, [Math. xxiii. 4.] but also made a law that whosoever professed the name of Christ should be excommunicated? [John ix. 22.] Yet did not Christ communicate with that Church? and send his disciples to it? [Math. xxiii. 3.] yea, and yet called it God's vineyard? [Math. xxi. 39.]

I say no more. Reject not the womb that bare you, nor the paps that gave you suck. Till Christ give us a bill of divorcement, do not you divorce yourselves from us.

The Lord Jesus show you as much mercy as he hath done us, and still doth; and so may he do to you and us more and more forever.

Have pity upon those poor creatures that die amongst you, and (as it is said) some for lack of necessaries. Call upon the richer sort for a compassionate heart and hand. We do the like here for yours and ours as we may.

My wife and self commend our hearty love to you and all our friends with you, with your wife. So I rest in much weakness, yet desirous of your best comfort.

J. C.

Boston, October 2, 1630.

Note T.

Dr. Cotton Mather observes, "In the beginning of the country devout Christians had their private meetings wherein they would seek the face and sing the praise of God, and confer upon some questions of practical religion, for their mutual edification: and the country is still full of these little meetings." Magnalia, Book III. p. 6.

This was written in 1696.

The Young Men's Society in Dorchester had been supported more than half a century, when, on the 25th of December, 1698, the members had their articles of fellowship engrossed on parchment, and subscribed.
My Brother Pierce has requested me to state, that, since the publication of his Discourse here, he has ascertained that the Sermon ascribed to Elder Brewster, page 17, was by Robert Cushman; and refers, for the authority, to Dr. Belknap's Biography, Vol. II. p. 269; and Dr. Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, p. 146.
LIST OF THE FIRST SETTLERS IN DORCHESTER, OR THOSE WHO WERE INHABITANTS PREVIOUSLY TO 1636.

[Note. T. R. means the time when the name first appears in the Town Records. F, the time when admitted Freeman.

The first book of Church Records was probably carried to Windsor, Connecticut, by the Pastor, and those of the Church that removed thither in 1636.

"On the 24th of July, 1633, a ship arrived from Weymouth in England, with about 80 passengers, who set down at Dorchester." These are probably those which are noted as mentioned in the T. R. under the years 1634 and 1635.]


Rev. John Warham, came hither with Rev. Mr. Maverick and their Church, in 1630; removed in 1635, with part of the Church, to a place on Connecticut river, which they called Windsor. There he continued about thirty-four years, till his death, 1 April, 1670.

John Moore, came here, as Deacon of the Church, 1630, and removed to Windsor in 1635.

William Gaylord, the other Deacon of the Church, 1630, removed also to Windsor.

Alcock (George). Mr. Prince, quoting the Roxbury records, remarks, that "the people at Roxbury joined to the Church in Dorchester till God should give them an opportunity to be a Church themselves; and Mr. George Alcock, who came in 1630, and lived in a godly sort, was by Dorchester Church chosen a Deacon, especially to regard the brethren of Roxbury, and after he joins to Roxbury Church is ordained their Deacon." [Annals, Part II. Sec. 2. p. 64.] His wife, a sister of Mr. Hooker, died, 1630. He was a delegate in the first General Court, 14 May, 1634; and died 30 December, 1640.
Allen (John) t. r. 1634.
Andrews (Thomas) t. r. 1635 to 1638.
Bascom (Tho.) 1630. t. r. 1634. Removed to Windsor.
Benham (John) 1630. f. 1632.
Biggs (John, Mr.)* 1630; f. 1634. Removed to Boston.†
Branker (John, Mr.) 1630. f. 1632.
Bursley (John) 1630. f. 1631. Removed to Weymouth.
Capen (Bernard) f. 1636; died 8 Nov. 1638, aged 76.
Capen (John) f. 1634; Captain of the Militia; Deacon 1656; Representative 1671, 1673—1678, six years. He died 4 April, 1692, aged 80.
Clap (Roger) 1630. f. 1634; Captain of the Militia, and of the Castle; Representative of the town 14 years; died 2 Feb. 1691, in his 82d year. Author of interesting Memoirs of the first settlement of the town, in an Appendix to which are Biographical notices of him and his descendants, by Mr. James Blake.
Clap (Edward) brother to the Captain, and came over in 1633; was a Deacon of the Church 26 years; and died January 8, 1664.
Clap (Nicholas) 1634; Deacon of the Church.
Clap (Thomas) 1634. f. 1638, [brother to Nicholas, and cousin to Capt. Roger Clap.] Removed to Hingham, and from thence to Scituate, and died 1684.
Clarke (Thomas)‡ 1630.
Clarke (Joseph)‡ 1630. f. 1635.
Clarke (Bray)‡ 1630. t. r. 1634.
Clement (Austin) t. r. 1632. c. 1638.
Cooke (Aaron) 1630. t. r. 1634. f. 1635.
Crab (John) 1630. t. r. 1632. Removed to Connecticut.
Dimmock (Thomas, Mr.) t. r. 1635—1638.

* Mr. was a title of distinction in those days.
† Rev. Increase Mather, in a Sermon published 1677, says, "Most of the members of the Second Church in Boston, when first constituted, were such as did once belong to the Church of Christ in Dorchester." p. 16.
‡ A grave stone was erected to the memory of these three brothers, on which is this Epitaph;—

"Here lie three Clarks, their accounts are even,
Entered on earth, carried up to Heaven."
Denslow (Nicholas, goodman*) 1630. F. 1633.
Duce (Thomas) T. R. 1634.
Dyer (George) 1630. T. R. 1630. F. 1633.
Eelles (John) T. R. 1635—1638.
Eggleston (Bagot, Mr.) 1630. F. 1631. Removed to Windsor.
Fay (Richard) T. R. 1634.
Fenn (Benjamin) 1630. T. R. 1638. Removed to Connecticut.
Filer (Walter) 1630. Lieutenant. F. 1634.
Flood (Joseph) T. R. 1635.
Gallope (Humphrey, Mr.) T. R. 1630.
Gibbs (Giles) 1630. T. R. 1630. F. 1633.
Gibson (Christopher) 1630. F. 1631. One of the founders of the 2d Church in Boston. He bequeathed his property, after the payment of his debts and legacies, to be invested in some real estate, "for the promoting of learning in Dorchester." It amounted to £104, and was expended in the purchase, of Samuel Rigby, in 1680, of what is now called "the School Pasture," containing about 26 acres.
Gilbert (John, Mr.) 1630. One of the early settlers of Taunton. [See Baylies’ Plymouth, Part II. p. 281.]
Glover (John, Esq.) 1630. Captain; Representative in 1637, and for 14 years; first who set up tanning in Massachusetts; was Assistant in 1652 and 1653. [Winthrop, I. 46, 212.] He died in January, 1654. Johnson calls him "a man strong for the truth; a plain, sincere, godly man, and of good abilities." [Hist. N. E. p. 109.]
Gornall (John) 1630. A tanner. He left by his Will, dated 19th Nov. 1673, the value of £40, out of his tan yard, "to be put into the hands of some godly and honest man, to be by him loaned, from time to time, to some poor, honest, and godly mechanick, to assist in setting him up in business."
Grant (Matthew) 1630. T. R. 1630. F. 1631. Removed to Windsor.

* Goodman, was the ancient term of respect, usually given to an aged person.
Hall (Nathaniel) t. r. 1634.
Hannun (William) 1630. t. r. 1635. Removed to Northampton.
Hart (Edmund) 1630. t. r. 1630. f. 1634. Removed to Weymouth.
Hatch (Thomas) t. r. 1635—1638. f. 1634.
Hathorne (William, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1634. f. 1634. Representative, May, 1635, and Dec. 1636; removed to Salem, and was Representative Sept. 1637, and 20 years afterwards; Speaker of the House 1644, and 7 years; Captain of the Militia 1645; Major 1656; Assistant 1662 to 1679, 18 years; and died about 1681, aged 74. [See Farmer's Genealogical Register.]
Hawes (Richard, Goodman) t. r. 1635—1638. f. 1638.
Hawkins (Thomas) t. r. 1636. c. 1636. Captain; Representative 1639; built a Mill on a creek near the mouth of Neponsett river.
Hayden (William). 1630. t. r. 1630—1638. f. 1634. Removed to Windsor.
Hill (John, Mr.) t. r. 1634.
Holcombe (Thomas) 1630. t. r. 1634. f. 1634. Removed to Windsor in 1635.
Holland (John) t. r. 1634—1638.
Holley (Joseph) t. r. 1634.
Holman (John) t. r. 1634.
Hosford (William, Goodman) 1630. t. r. 1633. f. 1634.
Hoskins (John, Goodman) 1630. t. r. 1630. f. 1631.
Hubbard (William) 1630. t. r. 1630.
Hulbert (William) 1630. f. 1632. Northampton.
Hull (George) 1630. t. r. 1630. f. 1633. Representative to the first General Court, 14 May, 1634; removed to Connecticut, and was elected an Assistant in 1637. [Farmer.
Humphreys (Jonas) arrived 1634, with James, his son.
Jeffrey (Thomas) t. r. 1635. f. 1634.
Jenkins (Reynolds) 1630. Removed to Cape Porpus, and was killed by an Indian in 1632.
Johnson (Mr.) 1630. Removed to Roxbury.
Jones (Richard) t. r. 1635.
Kinsley (John) t. r. 1635.
Knight (John, Mr.) t. r. 1634.
Leavitt (John) t. r. 1634. Removed to Hingham.
Lovell (William, Captain) 1630. t. r. 1630. After him, Lovell's Island, in our harbour, received its name.
Ludlow (Roger, Esq.) 1630. t. r. 1630. Was an Assistant four years, until 1634, when he was elected Deputy Governor. He removed with the first emigrants to Windsor; was an Assistant in Con-
necticut in 1636, and also Deputy Governor; removed to Fairfield in 1639, and in 1654 went to Virginia, where he is supposed to have died. The first code of laws of the Colony of Connecticut was compiled by him. [Farmer, and comp. Eliot's Bigor. Dictionary.


Mason (John, Captain) 1630. T. R. 1634. F. 1635. Representative in 1635 and 1636; removed to Windsor, was elected a Magistrate from 1642 to 1659; removed to Saybrook in 1647, and to Norwich in 1659; was elected Deputy Governor in 1660 and the 9 succeeding years; was Major General, and died at Norwich in 1672 or 1673, aged 72. [Farmer.


Miller (Thomas) T. R. 1635.

Minot (George) 1630. F. 1634. Representative in 1635 and 1636; Ruling Elder of the Church 30 years; and died 24th December, 1671, aged 78.

Moseley* (John) 1630. C. 1638.

Moseley (Henry) 1630.

Newbury (Thomas, Mr.) 1630. T. R. 1634.


Parker (James, Mr.) T. R. 1630. F. 1634. Removed to Weymouth, and was the Representative from 1639 to 1643. Being a preacher, he received a call to settle at Portsmouth, which he declined. He left N. E. and went to Barbadoes, whence he wrote, in 1646, a letter to Gov. Winthrop, which is in Hutchinson's Coll. 155—158. [Farmer.

Parkman (Elias) 1635. T. R. 1635. Removed to Windsor 1636; but afterwards became an inhabitant of Boston.

Phelps (George) 1630. T. R. 1630. F. 1635. Went to Windsor.

Phelps (Samuel) 1630. Removed to Windsor.

Phelps (William) 1630. F. 1631. Representative 1634; removed to Windsor, and was elected a Magistrate in 1636.

Phillips (John) 1630. F. 1632. Was one of the founders of the second Church in Boston.


Pierce (Robert) 1630.

Pinney (Humphrey, Mr.) 1630. T. R. 1630. F. 1634. Went to Windsor.

Pitcher (Andrew) T. R. 1634.

Poole (William, Mr.) 1630. Town Clerk 10 years; and often a School Master; died 24th Feb. 1674, aged 81. See his Epitaph, written by

*Sometimes spelled Maudesley.

Pomroy (Eltweed) 1630. t. r. 1630. f. 1633.
Pope (John) t. r. 1634. f. 1634.
Pope (Richard) f. 1635.
Preston (William) t. r. 1635.

Purchase (Oliver) 1633. t. r. 1634. Removed to Lynn, which he represented for 13 years, from 1660, the last time in 1689; was elected an Assistant in 1685, but declined taking the oath. He removed, it is believed, to Concord, in 1691, where he died 20th Nov. 1701, aged 88. [Farmer.]

Rainsford (Edward) t. r. 1633. f. 1637. Brother of Lord Chief Justice Rainsford; removed to Boston, and was Elder of the Church; an island in our harbour named for him.

Randall (Abraham) 1630. Removed to Windsor.
Rawlins (Thomas) t. r. 1634. Removed to Weymouth.
Raymond (Edward) 1630. t. r. 1630.
Rendall (Philip, Goodman) f. 1634. Removed to Windsor.
Richards (Thomas, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1630.
Rocket (Richard) t. r. 1635. Removed to Braintree.
Rossiter (Bray, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1630. Removed to Windsor 1635.
Sandford (Thomas, Goodman) t. r. 1634. f. 1637.
Senson (Matthias) f. 1634.
Sheldon (Isaac) 1634. Removed to Windsor.
Smith (John, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1630.
Southcot (Richard, Captain) 1630. t. r. 1630.
Stokes (Henry) t. r. 1635.

Stoughton (Israel, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1633. f. 1633. Representative from 1634 to 1636; member of the Artillery Company 1637, its Captain in 1642; elected Assistant in 1637, and the seven succeeding years. He returned to England, was a Lieut. Colonel to Rainsborough, and died in the time of the civil wars, at Lincoln, in England. William Stoughton, Lieutenant Governor, &c. was his son. [Farmer.] 

Stoughton (Thomas) 1630. f. 1631. t. r. 1631. Removed to Windsor.
Strange (George) t. r. 1634. Removed to Hingham.
Swift (Thomas) t. r. 1634. f. 1635.
Talbot (Joshua) t. r. 1635.
Terry (Stephen, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1630. f. 1631. Removed to Windsor.
Thornton (Thomas, Goodman) 1630. t. r. 1634. Removed to Windsor.
Tilley (John, Mr.) 1630. t. r. 1633. f. 1635. Killed by the Pequot Indians.
Tolman (Thomas)  
Tuthill (Francis) t. r. 1634.  
Upsall (Nicholas) t. r. 1634.  [See account of him in Farmer's Register.]  
Vose (Richard) 1630.  Removed to Windsor.  
Vose (Robert) 1635.  Milton.  
Wade (Robert, Goodman) t. r. 1635.  
Way (Henry) 1630.  t. r. 1630.  Died in 1667, aged 84.  
Whitfield (John) 1630.  t. r. 1630.  Removed to Windsor.  
Wilton (David) t. r. 1633.  f. 1633.  
Winchell (Robert) t. r. 1635.  

As there is no list remaining of original settlers, I cannot presume that the foregoing is perfect. It is compiled from the Town Records, where names are incidentally mentioned, from Records of the General Court, and from Family Genealogies; and by collating all these with the Genealogical Register, published by Mr. Farmer. After all, there were undoubtedly persons whose names are not inserted.

List, from the Town Records, of Inhabitants in Dorchester, 1637, among whom the land on the Neck, (since called South Boston) was divided. Consisting of those of the original settlers who remained after the removal of some to Windsor, and of those who arrived after the removal of some to Windsor, and of those who arrived with Rev. Mr. Mather, in 1635.

Andrews (Thomas).  
Atherton (Mr. Humphrey).  
Bates (Mr. James).  
Bellingham (Mr.).  
Benham (John).  
Biggs (Mrs.).  
Blake (William).  
Bullock (Edward).  
Butler (Mr. Nicholas).  
Capen (Bernard).  
Capen (John).  
Clap (Edward).  
Clap (Nicholas).  
Clap (Roger).  
Clement (Austin).  

Collicot (Richard).  
Deeble (Robert).  
Dickerman (Thomas).  
Dimmock (Thomas).  
Duncan (Nathaniel).  
Dyer (George).  
Eelles (John).  
Elwell (Robert).  
Farnsworth (Joseph).  
Fenn (Benjamin).  
Flood (Joseph).  
Foster (Widow).  
Gibson (Christopher).  
Gilbert (Mr.).  
Glover (Mr. John).
Greenway (John).
Pierce (Robert).
Hatch (Thomas).
Pitcher (Andrew).
Hathorne (Mr.) house.
Pope (John).
Hayden (John).
Preston (William).
Hawes (Richard).
Price (Daniel).
Hawkins (Mr.)
Proctor (George).
Hill (John).
Purchase (Widow).
Holland (John).
Hathorne (Mr.)
Holland (John).
Proctor (George).
Holman (John).
Hill (John).
Hawes (Richard).
Humphreys (Jonas).
Price (Daniel).
Hutchinson (Mr.)
Samford (Thomas).
Jones (Richard).
Hawkins (Mr.)
Jones (Thomas).
Preston (William).
Knight (Mr.)
Price (Daniel).
Kinnersley (Tho.)
Sensation (Matthew).
Kinsley (John).
Smed (Widow).
Lambert (Thomas).
Smith (John).
Lane (William, Goodman).
Stoughton (Mr.)
Makepeace (Mr. Thomas).
Sumner (William).
Martin (Mr.)
Swift (Thomas).
Mather (Mr.) [Rev. Richard].
Upsall (Nicholas).
Miller (Alexander).
Wade (Richard).
Miller (John).
Wales (Nathaniel).
Millet (Thomas).
Way (George).
Minot (Mr. George).
Way (Henry).
Moore (John).
Weeks (George).
Munnings (Edward).
Whitcomb (John).
Newbury (Mr.)
White (Edward).
Niles (John).
Whitfield (Mr.) house.
Parker (Mr.)
Whitman (Mr.)
Phillips (John).
Wilkins (Bray).
Pierce (John).
Wiswall (Thomas).
Pierce (John).
Withington (Mr.)
Pierce (John).
Wright (Henry).

EARLY SETTLERS NOT NAMED ON THE PRECEDING LISTS.

Baker (Richard) Church member. 1639. p. 1642.
Billings (Roger)
Bird (Thomas)
Blackman (John)
Breck (Edward) Member of the Church, 1636. p. 1639.
Davenport (Thomas) Member of the Church, 1640. f. 1642.
Holden (Nathaniel)
Howe (John & Abraham)
Leeds (Richard) Member of the Church in 1636.
Robinson (William) 1636.
Tilestone (Thomas) t. r. 1637.
Trott (Thomas)
Wiswall (John) f. 1636. Representative 1646; Deacon of the Church; removed to Boston, and was Elder of the First Church, 20 July, 1664; and died 17 Aug. 1687, aged 86.

BAPTISMAL NAMES FROM THE EARLY CHURCH RECORDS.

**Males.**
- Constant
- Comfort
- Consider
- Dependence
- Desire
- Freegrace
- Friend
- Hopestill
- Increase
- Praise-ever
- Preserved
- Purchase
- Rejoice
- Remember
- Return
- Standfast
- True-cross
- Unite
- Vigilance
- Watching

**Females.**
- Amity
- Christian
- Hope
- Repent
- Rest
- Thankful
- Virtue
- Waitawhile
- Waitstill
TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

TO THE FIRST CHURCH,

ON THE

CLOSE OF THEIR SECOND CENTURY,

29 AUGUST, 1830.

BY N. L. FROTHINGHAM.

BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1830.
DEUT. xxxii. 7. — Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations.

PSALM lxxxvii. 5. — I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times.

The life of man is measured by years. The more lengthened existence of communities and states is counted in generations. Is it fanciful to think that in estimating the comparative duration of each, a twelvemonth in one corresponds to an age in the other? Threescore and ten revolutions of the sun fix the limits, that leave to the individual "no portion" or but a feeble one "in any thing that is done under" its beams. And threescore and ten of those periods, which are ordinarily computed to mark the successions of human life, are old age for a nation. None of the kingdoms of Europe yet approach that longevity of two thousand years, and most of them are youthful in comparison with it. If it has ever been surpassed by any of the ancient nations of Asia or Egypt, it was only to see their institutions overthrown, their memory a ruin, their very speech changed, and the stranger and conqueror pressing
upon the remnants of their faculties and the decrepitude of their strength. Thus it is that governments and states and tribes flourish and pass away, as well as the mortal man who mixes for a while his transient interests with them. The very land that we till seems to demand occasional respites of desolation. The great globe itself, if we may credit the testimonies of history and the analogies of reason, must have its alternations of ruin. For every thing there is a longer or shorter period, which we may grow wiser by contemplating. What is gone is always full of instruction for those, who are themselves hastening away. Moses, who lived in the early twilight of the world, commanded his tribes to "remember the years of many generations"; and David, with whom the fame of his nation began, employed himself in considering "the days of ancient times."

When we think of the broad circles of empire that have spread themselves and faded over the earth, we may be ready to look on the space, which the annals of our own community include, as a span. But in truth the two hundred years that it has already stood, are by no means to be accounted an inconsiderable time. Especially when we reflect, that it did not grow up, like most others, from obscure and slow beginnings, but started at once into active, independent, intelligent life;—feeble indeed at first through the smallness of its numbers, but with nothing about it of the ignorance of childhood or the rashness of youth. It was commenced on this side of the sea,
with all the improvement that ages had been working out on the other. Without any thing of the thoughtlessness of young and wild adventure, it was composed of as sober and resolute men as ever staked their all on a holy enterprise. Without any thing of fiction wrapt about its origin, its first words were those of a noble history, and the eyes of the most cultivated portions of Europe watched its growth here in the wilderness. One is impatient of those celebrators of the national independence, who speak as if our civil existence were scarcely to be dated earlier than the declaration of that event. It is as if one should date the deep foundation of England herself from her last revolution, which would make her half a century younger than we. The freest spirits of the freest nation then known founded the colony; and not a man of them but stood as erect on his rights at his first landing as any of his descendants have done since. Those rights were never relinquished for a moment. The fact is deserving of more attention than it has received, that in 1630 the full privileges of as free a charter as could then be framed by those who gave up all for that freedom, were publicly transferred from the soil of Great Britain to these poor shores in the West. The liberty, that was not permitted there, was by some strange concurrence which we hardly know how to explain solemnly guarantied here. And here it came to dwell. And from that day to this, in all the ways of prudence and bravery, it has been steadily maintained.
Two hundred years of such maturity are not to be spoken of lightly. It is a space bearing a good proportion to that, which gave the most refined people of antiquity all their glories of letters and art, and to that which meted out to the mightiest people that have yet risen on earth the most valuable portions of their dominion. With us every year has been a narrative of plain but vigorous life; while a great part of the history of nations is usually the fable of their beginnings or the tedious tragedy of their decline.

I am dwelling, perhaps, too long on a train of reflections, which every one who feels his New-England parentage, having once begun it, must find it hard to quit. As a child, however, of that honorable and pious descent, I must yet add one thought more to so long a preface, and bless God that our land was marked out as by a special Providence for the residence of just such men as came to look over the waters after its rugged but safe asylum. Before they established themselves in it, it was sought by the ambitious, that here they might set up their arbitrary establishments; but these soon went back to climates more congenial to the growth of temporal dominion and ecclesiastical pride. It was sought by the adventurous and licentious, but it repelled those with the rough touch of its deprivations and dangers. The counsels of princes, the plans of the worldly-wise, the efforts of the daring, all came to nothing as they turned towards it. It was reserved in the decrees of the Almighty for those only who were sustained by an inflexible faith, and thus fitted for the
great work which they were commissioned to accomplish. We may dissent from some of the points of that faith. We may wonder at some of them. But it gave those who held it a strength that no earthly principle could inspire. It gave them the success, for which every earthly motive was found vain. It helped them sow the land, when it was but just cleared of its forests, with those pregnant hopes of learning and religion, which no zeal short of their own could have made to grow. We are sitting under the blessed shade, into which those germs have spread; and it would ill become us to find fault with imperfections, without which the great work itself might possibly have been left imperfect. A severe education is often seen to be favorable to the individual man, leaving on his mind an abiding and salutary impression, a strong bent towards the right, while it permits him to forget something of the rudiments of its first instructions. The case is not otherwise with states. Who can doubt that New England owes the elements of her present character, and the institutions that make her peculiarly what she is, to the discipline of her Puritan ancestry,—though it may sometimes have seemed stern like her coasts and gloomy as her early fortunes? Who can endure to think, that instead of the deep principles of those thoughtful men, we might have had laid as the foundations of the country the rotten theories of irreligion and misrule, or any of the shallow devices of modern innovators?
Two centuries have passed since this church was gathered, — the first of the long line of churches in this populous town. Its records are older than those of the town itself, since it was formed before this peninsula was settled, or even the name now given to it was thought of. It was gathered under circumstances of peculiar affliction, when disease was thinning the little company, that had scarcely yet recovered themselves from the weariness of the sea and the desolateness of their new condition. In the spirit of a considerate and courageous sorrow, its first preparations were devoutly arranged. With solemn but humble forms were those preparations completed. Its first members belonged to a class of people, whom a high foreign authority has called "the most remarkable body of men which the world has ever produced."* The first name on its list is that of one, who in any age might be held up as a model of a magistrate and a Christian man. Its first covenant is distinguished only by its superior dignity and simplicity from those which are most commended at the present day. Its first assembly was under the shade of a tree on the other side of Charles River. Its first house of worship was on this side of the stream, and was built with mud walls and a roof of straw. These were lowly accommodations. Yet they corresponded well enough, not only with their situation at the time, but with their sober devotions at any time. For they

had so long felt their minds constrained under high ceilings of chiselled stone, that they were glad of the poorest building which they could raise for themselves, and content with the freedom even of the ill forests which "were God's first temples." They had learned too from their own excited minds an independence of all outward state in religion. They need not of it in their intense communion with heaven. Their feeling of God's presence was too strong upon them to admit of being aided by any magnificence that belonged to this world.

Such were the beginnings of this church. They might seem melancholy to us if they were not so noble. They were like the beginning of the gospel itself,—a voice in the wilderness,—a cry to repent, but at the same time a promise of a kingdom of God's hand. If the history of the church had not been written already by one of its ministers,* this would be the place to enter into any minute details concerning its progress. They might have been looked for a hundred years ago, when the first century sermon was preached by Mr. Foxcroft, whom several of my respected hearers can well remember,—so fast do our generations crowd on one another. They were not entered into then, and they could never be made neither interesting nor manageable. In the place of them, I will ask your attention to a few general results, drawn from a comparison between the elder days of the church and the present;

* The Rev. William Emerson.
with the view of showing, that while we should honor what was well done then, we should be grateful for our own superior privileges. It is natural to celebrate the past. I bless God that we find so much there to applaud and be grateful for. I would that the praise were ten-fold louder and more sincere among us than it is, so far as filial respect, and the most sacred remembrances, and the love of liberty and truth demand it. But let the admiration be discriminating. I would distinguish between the times themselves and the men who lived in those times. It is a distinction that is of the utmost consequence, though perpetually overlooked by panegyrists on one hand and cavillers on the other. We have to learn more reverence perhaps than we yet feel for our fathers and their compeers,—men, whose most eloquent praises have after all been spoken on the other side of the Atlantic. But it is quite another thing to applaud the state of opinions and manners at that period,—and a further extravagance still to depreciate our own as contrary to them. The cry of degeneracy and defection has become too old to be worth attending to. It was uttered from the beginning in various tones of lamentation. "Either I am in an apoplexy," writes one * within seventeen years of Governor Winthrop's landing, "or that man is in a lethargy, who doth not now sensibly feel the heavens trembling over his head and the earth under his feet; so that little light of comfort or counsel is left to the

* Ward's "Simple Cobler of Aggawam."
sons of men." Mr. Foxcroft in his century sermon bewails "the shaking times," as he calls them, in which he was born, and expresses his fears lest "Boston should have the reproachful name of Lost Town bestowed on it." Disregarding all these complaints and evil prophecies, whether of ancient or recent date, and in open dissent from those who would bring us back to the religious opinions and usages which we have forsaken,—I will lay my finger on a few points, which will prove to us that some advancement has been made in the course of two hundred years. "Remember," say some, "the days of old, consider the years of many generations;"—as if our only safety was in the imitation of them. We reply, "I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times," and let us see to what purpose.

I. Two hundred years ago, there prevailed a set of scriptural impressions and interpretations, which our better light has exposed, but which gave a strong shade to opinions on government as well as faith, and threw a sort of spectral influence on the ordinary affairs of life. Rational and philosophical views of the Bible were unknown in the land; and yet the Bible was compelled to speak in all natural and unnatural ways on every subject of concern. The code of Moses was thought to be a fit pattern for modern legislation; and the project of a theocracy, which is in plainer language an administration of priests, was seriously contemplated. The tribes of Judah and Israel were supposed to offer suitable examples for those who had crossed into a new world.
cles of the prophets were believed to be predictions of what the passing and the coming days were to fulfil. Questions of sudden emergency, and difficulties that belonged to their peculiar situation, were settled by a reference to the Book of Kings or the Song of Solomon. I find the famous Mr. Cotton* tasking his acute mind to prove that a liturgy is a breach of the second commandment, which forbids the making of any graven image. Happy would it have been if such ideas of the Scriptures had been confined to verbal disputes, and outward usages, and designs that were never executed. But they had not always so innocent an ending. It was unluckily written in the Pentateuch, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." This law was enforced only fifteen years after the founding of the colony; and in the same century broke out that fatal infatuation, which we are unable to think of without horror and grief. Nothing would be more unjust than to charge this foolish cruelty upon our ancestors, as if the delusion was peculiarly theirs. I charge it against the superstitiousness of the age. The executions in England for that imaginary crime were very far more numerous than here, and it was punished with death by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe. It is not a hundred years since the presbytery at Edinburgh denounced the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. And even this tenacity of error does not seem to me more strange than the words of a

Scottish historian* published but the other day, who suggests that there might have been “an actual appropriation of that mysterious agency, which Scripture assures us did once exist, and which no equal authority has ever proved to be extinguished.” It was not so slowly that the men of New England learned wisdom.

II. Two hundred years ago the civil and religious interests of men were entangled together. The church stretched out its hand to the sword of the magistracy, and the magistracy girt its brows with the terrors of the church. This was no invention of our fathers. It was what they had received from theirs. They only did not wholly disclaim it. It was an impurity and an abuse, which their spirit of liberty, as it refined itself, was gradually to throw off. But there it was,—the occasion of perpetual disorders in their infant community. Theological disputes were accounted matters for civil jurisdiction. The governor and the pastor were seen either to withstand one another, or to join in the exercise of a common sway. The church, while it excluded from its communion all but the regenerate,—an exclusion which is still considered by some to have been a very scriptural and praise-worthy practice,—excluded also all but its members from the freedom of the political body. The rest had not the common rights of citizenship. This tyranny was indeed early resisted, and one

synod after another decided in favor of their disfranchised brethren. I wish I could add that the First Church was found true, on that occasion, to the true cause. I wish there did not lie upon her the reproach of bitter dealings with her more liberal sister the Old South, who nobly went off from her at that time for liberty's sake.

III. Two hundred years ago, there was no such thing as toleration. In practice it was unknown, save of a few mild spirits; and even in open theory it was condemned and derided. "He that is willing," says a writer whom I have already quoted,* "to tolerate any religion or discrepant way of religion, besides his own, either doubts of his own or is not sincere in it. There is no truth but one, and of the persecution of true religion and toleration of false, the last is far the worst. It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance." Another thus expresses himself; † "The outcry of some is for liberty of conscience. This is the great Diana of the libertines of this age. I look upon toleration as the first-born of all iniquities. If it should be brought forth among us, you may call it Gad, a troop cometh, a troop of all manner of abominations." Most of the

* Ward.
† President Oakes's Century Sermon, 1673. Similar opinions might be quoted from Higginson's Election Sermon, 1663; Shepard's Election Sermon, 1672; Cotton's "Bloody Tenent washed," &c.
Puritans of this period thought it impossible that different sects should exist peaceably together in the same community, and even when oppressed themselves they exclaimed against universal toleration. But in this they only took part in a general sentiment. Even the philosophic Lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religious sentiment and worship was essential to the support of government. Who had taught them any better? Where were they to find any worthier example? Was not the whole world in arms against those principles, which they had come into a desert to enjoy? And was nothing to be allowed for men, who had made such dreary sacrifices? They had fled to the ends of the world, that they might have a way of their own. They invited none to share their "poor cottages in the wilderness," where they were "overshadowed," as their own beautiful language ran, "with the spirit of supplication." They warned all, who were not partakers of their own faith and feeling, to spare their tranquillity and leave them to their retreat. We cannot surely confound such men with vulgar persecutors. This would be injustice in any. It would be irreverence and ingratitude in us. Look at Europe, as it was at that moment, instead of inveighing against them. To say nothing of the circumstances that banished them from the land which they never ceased to love, James the First had, but a little while before, burnt at the stake two of his subjects for Arianism; and it was a considerable time afterwards that the great national edict of toleration in France was re-
voked by a bigotted and profligate king. Do not make it too hard against them, that they were not further in advance of the rest of mankind,—that they had not yet attained where none were perfect,—that they sometimes exercised, out of a deep love for what they deemed to be God’s truth and their own right, a small measure of that power, which was employed elsewhere in the full insolence of despotism, by the cunning, the conceited, the ambitious and the dissolute.

We have gone back two hundred years. Change now the point of view. Come forward a short space. Suppose the last of those self-denying men who planted this colony to have rested from their labors. See what was accomplished in the course of that single generation, and you will need nothing beside for their defence or their eulogy. They had begun to build their own ships for their increasing commerce. They had stamped coin, which has always been classed among the exercises of sovereignty. They had founded a university. They had seen many of the most illustrious names in the mother land, even those of prelates and noblemen, associated with their spreading improvements. They left all the interests of the country flourishing. Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families; and intelligent strangers, who visited the provinces of New England, went back to tell of a state of order and enterprise, of refinement and hospitality, equal to their own, beyond the western waters. When was ever a generation that did so much? They have left their
nourishments in the effects which they wrought, in the
institutions which they bequeathed, in the prosperity
which they established, in the characters which they
bore, in the examples which they have made im-
mortal.

I cannot conclude this discourse, already perhaps
so long, without calling up the memories of those,
who have been ministering servants to our church in
the days that are gone. There will be time for little
more than to speak out their names, as their solemn
rain passes before us. The first is Wilson. Asso-
ciated with nobles in the English realm, he came
here for religion’s sake, to be installed teacher of a
church in the open air, just two hundred years ago.
Blessings on his meek head! His zeal had no mix-
ure of sternness with it. He was a pattern of wis-
edom and gentleness, in an age that had great need
of it all.— The next is John Cotton. His fame was
great in the colleges and congregations of his own
country, before he crossed over to this. Boston re-
ceived its name from the English town in Lincoln-
hire where he formerly ministered, and our institu-
tions may almost be said to have been moulded by
his extraordinary influence. Honor to so learned
and commanding a man! though the venerable sweet-
ness of his older colleague has more charms for me
than either his learning or command. Some of his
posterity are still worshippers with us, and the children
of his present successor are his direct descendants in
the seventh generation.— Norton. He had neither
the soft, healing dispositions of the first, nor the bright gifts of the second. But his attainments entitled him to a better fate, than to be thrown into the whirl of political intrigues and disappointments, and to die of a broken heart. — Davenport, the patriarch of New Haven, and of such celebrity as to be invited, together with Cotton, to the great assembly of divines at Westminster. He gave to this place but the feeble residue of his old age, and that little was tormented with disputes, which his best days would probably have done nothing to reconcile. Let him pass in peace.—Allen. His protracted ministry seems to have been rather occupied with silent usefulness than adorned with any renown. Oxenbridge, on the contrary, was honored during a short career. He was struck with death in the very act of conducting the services of the Lord's house. — Moodey was the first child of New England who officiated in this church. His benevolent and intrepid mind should now be commemorated the rather because the sour prejudices of his own times did him wrong. — Bailey and Wadsworth and Bridge were men of a faithful heart, whom no body of Christian believers on earth need have been ashamed to acknowledge. — The labors of the diligent Foxcroft offer much to be commended; though we may well account it a serious exception to the praise, that he admired the fanaticism of Whitefield, and censured the liberality of Tillotson. — With Chauncy a new era commenced. He viewed religion with naked human eyes, and not in unreal visions, or through the discolored and distort-
ing medium of technical systems. He looked upon
the world, and was not afraid to bind up his hopes
in the common hopes of mankind. He looked up to
heaven, and its throne was to him filled with the un-
clouded radiance of love. He beheld the churches
agitated with a storm of religious excitement, and he
rebuked both the winds and the sea.— None of you
need to be reminded of the excellent graces of
Clarke. The regrets for him are still warm, though
his amiable features have long been dust. He had
the virtues of Wilson with a better creed, and like
Oxenbridge he was smitten, as he stood in the pulpit,
by the angel of death.— Emerson follows next.
There are many affectionate recollections among you
of his zeal as a minister and his extraordinary social
worth. You rejoiced but for a little while in his mild
light. He was cut off in the midst of his active and
devoted course, but he has left the characters of his
children to praise him in the gate.— Then, like the
shadow that his early promise has become,— scarcely
seen but to depart, scarcely speaking among you but
to expire,— passes the friendly Abbott, and closes
the line.

There is one more name, however, to which I can-
not refrain from giving utterance. It is that of him,
who was all but yours, and who would have been
wholly so, perhaps, if one less worthy had not been
called to occupy his place. It is McKeen. I see in
your eyes how well you remember that ardent and
noble spirit. He was the friend of us all; and I am
sure there is no one here, who, if called by any cir-
cumstances to the island where he died, would not in­quire for the place where he rests, and piously re­move from his green grave any coarse growths that might make it unsightly.

Brethren, I have endeavoured to fulfil a duty, which, at the return of a new century, seems to be demanded by the living and the dead. I have “con­sidered the days of old, the years of ancient times.” But who can confine his imagination to the past? A hundred years more! What have they in reserve to show after their revolution is ended? Nothing for us. They will scarcely find the children of our children alive. But may they have blessings to shower down on the church of God, whose date is not measured by centuries, and on the immortal cause of human good!
ADDRESS

TO

THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON,

ON THE XVII\textsuperscript{TH} OF SEPTEMBER, M DCCLXXX,

THE CLOSE

OF

THE SECOND CENTURY

FROM THE

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE CITY.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D.

PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BOSTON:

J. H. EASTBURN, PRINTER TO THE CITY.

1830.
CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, Sept. 17, 1830.

Ordered, that the Committee of Arrangements for the Celebration of this day be, and they are hereby, directed to present the thanks of the City Council to the Honorable Josiah Quincy, for the learned, eloquent, and appropriate Address, this day delivered by him, and respectfully request a copy of said Address for the press.

Sent up for concurrence,

B. T. Pickman, President.

In the Board of Aldermen, Sept. 17, 1830.

Read and concurred.

H. G. Otis, Mayor.

A true copy, Attest,

S. F. McCleary, City Clerk.

Boston, Sept. 17, 1830.

Hon. Josiah Quincy,

The undersigned, the Committee of Arrangements for the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Boston, have the honor to enclose you an attested copy of a vote of the City Council, and respectfully ask your compliance with the request contained therein.

H. G. Otis.
Benjamin Russell.
Winslow Lewis.
J. Eveleth.
Th. Minns.
B. T. Pickman.
J. W. James.
John P. Bigelow.
Washington P. Gragg.
Of all the affections of man, those which connect him with ancestry are among the most natural and generous. They enlarge the sphere of his interests; multiply his motives to virtue; and give intensity to his sense of duty to generations to come, by the perception of obligation to those which are past. In whatever mode of existence man finds himself, be it savage or civilized, he perceives that he is indebted for the far greater part of his possessions and enjoyments, to events over which he had no control; to individuals, whose names, perhaps, never reached his ear; to sacrifices, in which he never shared; and to sufferings, awakening in his bosom few and very transient sympathies.

Cities and empires, not less than individuals, are chiefly indebted for their fortunes to circumstances and influences independent of the labors and wisdom of the passing generation. Is our lot cast in a happy soil, beneath a favored sky, and under the shelter of free institutions? How few of all these blessings do we owe to our own power, or our own
prudence! How few, on which we cannot discern the impress of long past generations!

It is natural, that reflections of this kind should awaken curiosity concerning the men of past ages. It is suitable, and characteristic of noble natures, to love to trace in venerated institutions the evidences of ancestral worth and wisdom; and to cherish that mingled sentiment of awe and admiration, which takes possession of the soul, in the presence of ancient, deep-laid, and massy monuments of intellectual and moral power.

Under impulses thus natural and generous, at the invitation of your municipal authorities, you have assembled, Citizens of Boston, on this day, in commemoration of the era of the foundation of your city, bearing in fond recollection the virtues of your fathers, to pass in review the circumstances which formed their character, and the institutions which bear its stamp; to take a rapid survey of that broad horizon, which is resplendent with their glories; to compress, within the narrow circle of an hour, the results of memory, perception, and hope; combining honor to the past, gratitude for the present, and fidelity to the future.

Standing, after the lapse of two centuries, on the very spot selected for us by our fathers, and surrounded by social, moral, and religious blessings greater than paternal love, in its fondest visions, ever dared to fancy, we naturally turn our eyes backward, on the descending current of years; seeking the causes of that prosperity, which has given this city so distinguished a name and rank among similar associations of men.
Happily its foundations were not laid in dark ages, nor is its origin to be sought among loose and obscure traditions. The age of our early ancestors was, in many respects, eminent for learning and civilization. Our ancestors themselves were deeply versed in the knowledge and attainments of their period. Not only their motives and acts appear in the general histories of their time, but they are unfolded in their own writings, with a simplicity and boldness, at once commanding admiration and not permitting mistake. If this condition of things restrict the imagination in its natural tendency to exaggerate, it assists the judgment rightly to analyze, and justly to appreciate. If it deny the power, enjoyed by ancient cities and states, to elevate our ancestors above the condition of humanity, it confers a much more precious privilege, that of estimating by unequivocal standards the intellectual and moral greatness of the early, intervening, and passing periods; and thus of judging concerning comparative attainment and progress in those qualities which constitute the dignity of our species. Instead of looking back, as antiquity was accustomed to do, on fabulous legends of giants and heroes,—of men exceeding in size, in strength, and in labor, all experience and history, and consequently, being obliged to contemplate the races of men, dwindling with time, and growing less amid increasing stimulants and advantages; we are thus enabled to view things in lights more conformed to the natural suggestions of reason, and the actual results of observation;— to witness improvement in its slow but sure progress; in a general advance, constant and unquestionable;—
to pay due honors to the greatness and virtues of our early ancestors, and be, at the same time, just to the not inferior greatness and virtues of succeeding generations of men, their descendants and our progenitors. Thus we substantiate the cheering conviction, that the virtues of ancient times have not been lost, or debased, in the course of their descent, but, in many respects, have been refined and elevated; and so standing faithful to the generations which are past, and fearless in the presence of the generations to come, we accumulate on our own times the responsibility, that an inheritance, which has descended to us enlarged and improved, shall not be transmitted by us diminished or deteriorated.

As our thoughts course along the events of past times, from the hour of the first settlement of Boston to that in which we are now assembled, they trace the strong features of its character, indelibly impressed upon its acts and in its history;—clear conceptions of duty; bold vindications of right; readiness to incur dangers and meet sacrifices, in the maintenance of liberty, civil and religious. Early selected as the place of the chief settlement of New England, it has, through every subsequent period, maintained its relative ascendancy. In the arts of peace and in the energies of war, in the virtues of prosperity and adversity, in wisdom to plan and vigor to execute, in extensiveness of enterprise, success in accumulating wealth, and liberality in its distribution, its inhabitants, if not unrivalled, have not been surpassed, by any similar society of men. Through good report and evil report, its influence has, at all times, been so distinctly seen and acknowledged in events, and
een so decisive on the destinies of the region of
which it was the head, that the inhabitants of the ad-
bining colonies of a foreign nation early gave the
name of this place to the whole country; and at this
time, among their descendants, the people of the
whole United States* are distinguished by the name
of “Bostonians.”

Amidst perils and obstructions, on the bleak side
of the mountain on which it was first cast, the seed-
ing oak, self-rooted, shot upward with a determined
vigor. Now slighted and now assailed; amidst alter­
ing sunshine and storm; with the axe of a native
at its root, and the lightning of a foreign power,
times, scathing its top, or withering its branches,
grew, it flourished, it stands,—may it for ever
and ! — the honor of the field.

On this occasion, it is proper to speak of the foun­
ders of our city, and of their glory. Now in its true
ception, the term glory expresses the splendor,
which emanates from virtue in the act of producing
general and permanent good. Right conceptions
en of the glory of our ancestors are alone to be at­
tained by analyzing their virtues. These virtues,
indeed, are not seen characterized in breathing bronze,
in living marble. Our ancestors have left no Co­
thonian temples on our hills, no Gothic cathedrals
our plains, no proud pyramid, no storied obe­
lisk, in our cities. But mind is there. Sagacious
enterprise is there. An active, vigorous, intelligent,
oral population throng our cities, and predomi­
te in our fields; men, patient of labor, submissive
tlaw, respectful to authority, regardful of right,

2

* See note A.
faithful to liberty. These are the monuments of our ancestors. They stand immutable and immortal, in the social, moral, and intellectual condition of their descendants. They exist in the spirit, which their precepts instilled, and their example implanted. Let no man think that to analyze, and place in a just light, the virtues of the first settlers of New England, is a departure from the purpose of this celebration; or deem so meanly of our duties, as to conceive that merely local relations, the circumstances which have given celebrity and character to this single city, are the only, or the most appropriate topics for the occasion. It was to this spot, during twelve successive years, that the great body of those first settlers emigrated. In this place, they either fixed permanently their abode, or took their departure from it for the coast, or the interior. Whatever honor devolves on this metropolis from the events connected with its first settlement, is not solitary or exclusive; it is shared with Massachusetts; with New England; in some sense, with the whole United States. For what part of this wide empire, be it sea or shore, lake or river, mountain or valley, have the descendants of the first settlers of New England not traversed? what depth of forest, not penetrated? what danger of nature or man, not defied? Where is the cultivated field, in redeeming which from the wilderness, their vigor has not been displayed? Where, amid unsubdued nature, by the side of the first log-hut of the settler, does the school-house stand and the church-spire rise, unless the sons of New England are there? Where does improvement advance, under the active energy of willing hearts and ready
hands, prostrating the moss-covered monarchs of the
wood, and from their ashes, amid their charred roots,
bidding the greensward and the waving harvest to
upspring, and the spirit of the fathers of New Eng­
land is not seen, hovering, and shedding around the
benign influences of sound social, moral, and religious
institutions, stronger and more enduring than knotted
oak or tempered steel? The swelling tide of
their descendants has spread upon our coasts; ascended our rivers; taken possession of our plains.
Already it encircles our lakes. At this hour the
rushing noise of the advancing wave startles the wild
beast in his lair among the prairies of the West.
Soon it shall be seen climbing the Rocky mountains,
and, as it dashes over their cliffs, shall be hailed by the
dwellers on the Pacific, as the harbinger of the com­
ing blessings of safety, liberty, and truth.
The glory, which belongs to the virtues of our
ancestors, is seen radiating from the nature of their
design; — from the spirit in which it was executed; —
and from the character of their institutions.
That emigration of Englishmen, which, two centu­
ries ago, resulted in the settlement, on this day, of
his metropolis, was distinguished by the comparative
greatness of the means employed, and the number,
rank, fortune, and intellectual endowments of those
engaged in it, as leaders, or associates. Twelve
ships, transporting somewhat less than nine hundred
souls, constituted the physical strength of the first
enterprise. In the course of the twelve succeeding
years, twenty-two thousand souls emigrated in one
hundred and ninety-two ships, at a cost, including
the private expenses of the adventurers, which can­
not be estimated, in our currency, at less than one million of dollars. At that time the tide of emigration was stayed. Intelligent writers of the last century assert that more persons had subsequently gone from New England to Europe, than had come to it during the same period from that quarter of the globe. A cotemporary historian* represents the leaders of the first emigration, as "gentlemen of good estate and reputation, descended from, or connected by marriage with, noble families; having large means, and great yearly revenue, sufficient in all reason to content; their tables abundant in food, their coffer in coin; possessing beautiful houses, filled with rich furniture; gainful in their business, and growing rich daily; well provided for themselves, and having a sure competence for their children; wanting nothing of a worldly nature to complete the prospects of ease and enjoyment, or which could contribute to the pleasures, the prospects, or the splendors of life."

The question forces itself on the mind, Why did such men emigrate? Why did men of their condition exchange a pleasant and prosperous home for a repulsive and cheerless wilderness; a civilized for a barbarous vicinity? Why, quitting peaceful and happy dwellings, dare the dangers of tempestuous and unexplored seas, the rigors of untried and severe climates, the difficulties of a hard soil and the inhuman warfare of a savage foe? An answer must be sought in the character of the times; and in the spirit, which the condition of their native country and age had a direct tendency to excite and cherish.

The general civil and religious aspect of the English nation, in the age of our ancestors, and in that immediately preceding their emigration, was singularly hateful and repulsive. A foreign hierarchy, contending with a domestic despotism for infallibility and supremacy, in matters of faith. Confiscation, imprisonment, the axe and the stake, approved and customary means of making proselytes and promoting uniformity. The fires of Smithfield, now lighted by the corrupt and selfish zeal of Roman pontiffs; and now rekindled, by the no less corrupt and selfish zeal of English sovereigns. All men clamorous for the rights of conscience, when in subjection; all actively persecuting, when in authority. Everywhere religion considered as a state entity, and having apparently no real existence, except in associations in support of established power, or in opposition to it.

The moral aspect of the age was not less odious than its civil. Every benign and characteristic virtue of Christianity was publicly conjoined, in close alliance, with its most offensive opposite. Humility wearing the tiara, and brandishing the keys, in the excess of the pride of temporal and spiritual power. The Roman pontiff, under the title of "the servant of servants," with his foot on the neck of every monarch in Christendom; and under the seal of the fisherman of Galilee, dethroning kings and giving away kingdoms. Purity, content, and self-denial preached by men, who held the wealth of Europe tributary to their luxury, sensuality, and spiritual pride. Brotherly love in the mouth, while the hand applied the instrument of torture. Charity, mutual forbearance,
and forgiveness chanted in unison with clanking chains and crackling faggots.

Nor was the intellectual aspect of the age less repulsive than its civil and moral. The native charm of the religious feeling lost, or disfigured amidst forms, and ceremonies, and disciplines. By one class, piety was identified with copes, and crosiers, and tippets, and genuflexions. By another class, all these were abhorred as the tricks and conjuring garments of popery, or at best, in the language of Calvin, as "tolerable fooleries"; while they, on their part, identified piety with looks, and language, and gestures, extracted or typified from scripture, and fashioned according to the newest "pattern of the mount." By none were the rights of private judgment acknowledged. By all, creeds, and dogmas, and confessions, and catechisms, collected from scripture with metaphysical skill, arranged with reference to temporal power and influence, and erected into standards of faith, were made the flags and rallying points of the spiritual swordsmen of the church militant.

The first emotion, which this view of that period excites, at the present day, is contempt or disgust. But the men of that age are no more responsible for the mistakes, into which they fell, under the circumstances in which the intellectual eye was then placed, than we, at this day, for those optical illusions to which the natural eye is subject, before time and experience have corrected the judgment and instructed it in the true laws of nature and vision. It was their fate to live in the crepuscular state of the intellectual day, and by the law of their nature they were com-
pelled to see things darkly, through false and shifting mediums, and in lights at once dubious and deceptive. For centuries, a night of Egyptian darkness had over­spread Europe, in the “palpable obscure” of which, priests and monarchs and nobles had not only found means to enthrall the minds of the multitude, but absolutely to lose and bewilder their own. When the light of learning began to dawn, the first rays of the rising splendor dazzled and confused, rather than directed the mind. As the coming light penetrated the thick darkness, the ancient cumulative cloud severed into new forms. Its broken masses became tinged with an uncertain and shifting radiance. Shadows assumed the aspect of substances; the evanescent suggestions of fancy, the look of fixed realities. The wise were at a loss what to believe, or what to discredit; how to quit and where to hold. On all sides sprang up sects and parties, infinite in number, incomprehensible in doctrine; often imperceptible in difference; yet each claiming for itself infallibility, and, in the sphere it affected to influence, supremacy; each violent and hostile to the others, haughty and hating its non-adhering brother, in a spirit wholly repugnant to the humility and love inculcated by that religion, by which each pretended to be actuated; and ready to resort, when it had power, to corporal penalties, even to death itself, as allowed modes of self-defence and proselytism.

It was the fate of the ancestors of New England to have their lot cast in a state of society thus unprecedented. They were of that class of the English nation, in whom the systematic persecutions of a concentrated civil and ecclesiastical despotism had
enkindled an intense interest concerning man's social and religious rights. Their sufferings had created in their minds a vivid and inextinguishable love of civil and religious liberty; a fixed resolve, at every peril, to assert and maintain their natural rights. Among the boldest and most intelligent of this class of men, chiefly known by the name of Puritans, were the founders of this metropolis. To a superficial view, their zeal seems directed to forms and ceremonies and disciplines, which have become, at this day, obsolete or modified, and so seems mistaken or misplaced. But the wisdom of zeal for any object is not to be measured by the particular nature of that object, but by the nature of the principle, which the circumstances of the times, or of society, have identified with such object. Liberty, whether civil or religious, is among the noblest objects of human regard. Yet, to a being constituted like man, abstract liberty has no existence, and over him no practical influence. To be for him an efficient principle of action, it must be embodied in some sensible object. Thus the form of a cap, the color of a surplice, ship-money, a tax on tea, or on stamped paper, objects in themselves indifferent, have been so inseparably identified with the principle temporarily connected with them, that martyrs have died at the stake, and patriots have fallen in the field, and this wisely and nobly, for the sake of the principle, made by the circumstances of the time to inhere in them.

Now in the age of our fathers, the principle of civil and religious liberty became identified with forms, disciplines, and modes of worship. The zeal
of our fathers was graduated by the importance of the inhering principle. This gave elevation to that seal. This creates interest in their sufferings. This entitles them to rank among patriots and martyrs, who have voluntarily sacrificed themselves to the cause of conscience and their country. Indignant at being denied the enjoyment of the rights of conscience, which were in that age identified with those sensible objects, and resolute to vindicate them, they quitted country and home, crossed the Atlantic, and, without other auspices than their own strength and their confidence in Heaven, they proceeded to lay the foundation of a commonwealth, under the principles and by the stamina of which, their posterity have established an actual and uncontroverted independence, not less happy than glorious. To their enthusiastic vision, all the comforts of life and all the pleasures of society, were light and worthless in comparison with the liberty they sought. The tempestuous sea was less dreadful than the troubled waves of civil discord; the quick-sands, the unknown shoals, and unexplored shores of a savage coast, less fearful than the metaphysical abysses and perpetually shifting whirlpools of despotic ambition and ecclesiastical policy and intrigue; the bow and the tomahawk of the transatlantic barbarian, less terrible than the flame and faggot of the civilized European. In the calm of our present peace and prosperity, it is difficult for us to realize or appreciate their sorrows and sacrifices. They sought a new world, lying far off in space, destitute of all the attractions which make home and native land dear and venerable. Instead of cultivated fields and a civiliz-
ed neighbourhood, the prospect before them presented nothing but dreary wastes, cheerless climates, and repulsive wildernesesses, possessed by wild beasts and savages; the intervening ocean unexplored and intersected by the fleets of a hostile nation; its usual dangers multiplied to the fancy, and in fact, by ignorance of real hazards, and natural fears of such, as the event proved to be imaginary.

"Pass on," exclaims one of these adventurers,* "and attend, while these soldiers of faith ship for this western world; while they and their wives and their little ones take an eternal leave of their country and kindred. With what heart-breaking affection did they press loved friends to their bosoms, whom they were never to see again! their voices broken by grief, till tears streaming eased their hearts to recovered speech again; natural affections clamorous as they take a perpetual banishment from their native soil; their enterprise scorned; their motives derided; and they counted but madmen and fools. But time shall discover the wisdom with which they were endued, and the sequel shall show how their policy overtopped all the human policy of this world."

Winthrop, their leader and historian, in his simple narrative of the voyage, exhibits them, when in severe sufferings, resigned; in instant expectation of battle, fearless; amid storm, sickness, and death, calm, confident, and undismayed. "Our trust," says he, "was in the Lord of hosts." For years, Winthrop, the leader of the first great enterprise, was the chief magistrate of the infant metropolis. His

prudence guided its councils. His valor directed its strength. His life and fortune were spent in fixing its character, or in improving its destinies. A bolder spirit never dwelt, a truer heart never beat, in any bosom. Had Boston, like Rome, a consecrated calendar, there is no name better entitled than that of Winthrop to be registered, as its "patron saint."

From Salem and Charlestown, the places of their first landing, they ranged the bay of Massachusetts to fix the head of the settlement. After much deliberation, and not without opposition, they selected this spot; known to the natives by the name of Shawmut, and to the adjoining settlers by that of Trimountain; the former indicating the abundance and sweetness of its waters; the latter, the peculiar character of its hills.

Accustomed as we are to the beauties of the place and its vicinity, and in the daily perception of the charms of its almost unrivalled scenery,—in the centre of a natural amphitheatre, whose sloping descents the riches of a laborious and intellectual cultivation adorn,—where hill and vale, river and ocean, island and continent, simple nature and unobtrusive art, with contrasted and interchanging harmonies, form a rich and gorgeous landscape, we are little able to realize the almost repulsive aspect of its original state. We wonder at the blindness of those, who, at one time, constituted the majority, and had well fixed elsewhere the chief seat of the settlement. Nor are we easily just to Winthrop, Johnson, and their associates, whose skill and judgment selected his spot, and whose firmness settled the wavering minds of the multitude upon it, as the place for their
metropolis; a decision, which the experience of two centuries has irrevocably justified, and which there is no reason to apprehend that the events or opinions of any century to come will reverse.

To the eyes of the first emigrants, however, where now exists a dense and aggregated mass of living beings and material things, amid all the accommodations of life, the splendors of wealth, the delights of taste, and whatever can gratify the cultivated intellect, there were then only a few hills, which, when the ocean receded, were intersected by wide marshes, and when its tide returned, appeared a group of lofty islands, abruptly rising from the surrounding waters. Thick forests concealed the neighbouring hills, and the deep silence of nature was broken only by the voice of the wild beast or bird, and the warwhoop of the savage.

The advantages of the place were, however, clearly marked by the hand of nature; combining at once, present convenience, future security, and an ample basis for permanent growth and prosperity. Towards the continent it possessed but a single avenue, and that easily fortified. Its hills then commanded, not only its own waters, but the hills of the vicinity. At the bottom of a deep bay, its harbour was capable of containing the proudest navy of Europe; yet, locked by islands and guarded by winding channels, it presented great difficulty of access to strangers, and, to the inhabitants, great facility of protection against maritime invasion; while to those acquainted with its waters, it was both easy and accessible. To these advantages were added goodness and plenteousness of water, and the security afforded by that
once commanding height, now, alas! obliterated and almost forgotten, since art and industry have levelled the predominating mountain of the place; from whose lofty and imposing top the beacon-fire was accustomed to rally the neighbouring population, on any threatened danger to the metropolis. A single cottage, from which ascended the smoke of the hospitable hearth of Blackstone, who had occupied the peninsula several years, was the sole civilized mansion in the solitude; the kind master of which, at first, welcomed the coming emigrants; but soon, disliking the sternness of their manners and the severity of their discipline, abandoned the settlement. His rights as first occupant were recognised by our ancestors; and in November, 1634, Edmund Quincy, Samuel Wildbore, and others were authorized to assess a rate of thirty pounds for Mr. Blackstone,* on the payment of which all local rights in the peninsula became vested in its inhabitants.

The same bold spirit, which thus led our ancestors across the Atlantic and made them prefer a wilderness where liberty might be enjoyed, to civilized Europe where it was denied, will be found characterizing all their institutions. Of these, the limits of the time permit me to speak only in general terms. The scope of their policy has been usually regarded as though it were restricted to the acquisition of religious liberty in the relation of colonial dependence. No man, however, can truly understand their institutions and the policy on which they were founded, without taking as the basis of all reasonings concerning them, that civil independence was as

truly their object, as religious liberty;* — in other words, that the possession of the former was, in their opinion, the essential means — indispensable to the secure enjoyment of the latter, which was their great end.

The master-passion of our early ancestors was dread of the English hierarchy. To place themselves, locally, beyond the reach of its power, they resolved to emigrate. To secure themselves, after their emigration, from the arm of this their ancient oppressor, they devised a plan, which, as they thought, would enable them to establish, under a nominal subjection, an actual independence. The bold and original conception, which they had the spirit to form and successfully to execute, was the attainment and perpetuation of religious liberty, under the auspices of a free commonwealth.† This is the master-key to all their policy, — this the glorious spirit which breathes in all their institutions. Whatever in them is stern, exclusive, or at this day seems questionable, may be accounted for, if not justified, by its connexion with this great purpose.

The question has often been raised, when and by whom the idea of independence of the parent state was first conceived, and by whose act a settled purpose to effect it was first indicated. History does not permit the people of Massachusetts to make a question of this kind. The honour of that thought, and of as efficient a declaration of it as in their circumstances was possible, belongs to Winthrop, and Dudley, and Saltonstall, and their associates, and was included in the declaration, that “THE ONLY CONDITION ON*

* See note B.  † See note C.
WHICH THEY WITH THEIR FAMILIES WOULD REMOVE TO THIS COUNTRY, WAS, THAT THE PATENT AND CHARTER SHOULD REMOVE WITH THEM." *

This simple declaration and resolve included, as they had the sagacity to perceive, all the consequences of an effectual independence, under a nominal subjection. For protection against foreign powers, a charter from the parent state was necessary. Its transfer to New England vested, effectually, independence. Those wise leaders foresaw,† that, among the troubles in Europe, incident to the age, and then obviously impending over their parent state, their settlement, from its distance and early insignificance, would probably escape notice. They trusted to events, and doubtless anticipated, that, with its increasing strength, even nominal subjection would be abrogated. They knew that weakness was the law of nature, in the relation between parent states and their distant and detached colonies. Nothing else can be inferred, not only from their making the transfer of the charter the essential condition of their emigration, thereby severing themselves from all responsibility to persons abroad, but also from their instant and undeviating course of policy after their emigration; in boldly assuming whatever powers were necessary to their condition, or suitable to their ends, whether attributes of sovereignty or not, without regard to the nature of the consequences resulting from the exercise of those powers. Nor was this assumption limited to powers which might be deduced from the charter, but was extended to

* See Note D.  
† See Note E.
such as no act of incorporation, like that which they possessed, could, by any possibility of legal construction, be deemed to include. By the magic of their daring, a private act of incorporation was transmuted into a civil constitution of state; under the authority of which they made peace and declared war; erected judicatures; coined money; raised armies; built fleets; laid taxes and imposts; inflicted fines, penalties, and death; and, in imitation of the British constitution, by the consent of all its own branches, without asking leave of any other, their legislature modified its own powers and relations, prescribed the qualifications of those who should conduct its authority, and enjoy, or be excluded from its privileges. The administration of the civil affairs of Massachusetts, for the sixty years next succeeding the settlement of this metropolis, was a phenomenon in the history of civil government. Under a theoretic colonial relation, an efficient and independent Commonwealth was erected, claiming and exercising attributes of sovereignty, higher and far more extensive than, at the present day, in consequence of its connexion with the general government, Massachusetts pretends either to exercise or possess. Well might Chalmers assert, as in his Political Annals of the Colonies he does, that "Massachusetts, with a peculiar dexterity, abolished her charter;" * that she was always "fruitful in projects of independence, the principles of which, at all times, governed her actions." † In this point of view, it is glory enough for our early ancestors, that, under manifold dis-
advantages, in the midst of internal discontent and external violence and intrigue, of wars with the savages and with the neighbouring colonies of France, they effected their purpose, and for two generations of men, from 1630 to 1692, enjoyed liberty of conscience, according to their view of that subject, under the auspices of a free commonwealth.

The three objects, which our ancestors proposed to attain and perpetuate by all their institutions, were the noblest within the grasp of the human mind, and those, on which, more than on any other, depend human happiness and hope; — religious liberty, — civil liberty, — and, as essential to the attainment and maintenance of both, intellectual power.

On the subject of religious liberty, their intolerance of other sects has been reprobated as an inconsistency, and as violating the very rights of conscience for which they emigrated. The inconsistency, if it exist, is altogether constructive, and the charge proceeds on a false assumption. The necessity of the policy,* considered in connexion with their great design of independence, is apparent. They had abandoned house and home, had sacrificed the comforts of kindred and cultivated life, had dared the dangers of the sea, and were then braving the still more appalling terrors of the wilderness; for what? — to acquire liberty for all sorts of consciences? Not so; but to vindicate and maintain the liberty of their own consciences. They did not cross the Atlantic, on a crusade, in behalf of the rights of mankind in general, but in support of their own rights and liberties.

* See Note F.
Tolerate! Tolerate whom? The legate of the Roman Pontiff, or the emissary of Charles the First and Archbishop Laud? How consummate would have been their folly and madness, to have fled into the wilderness to escape the horrible persecutions of those hierarchies, and at once have admitted into the bosom of their society, men brandishing, and ready to apply, the very flames and fetters from which they had fled! Those who are disposed to condemn them on this account, neither realize the necessities of their condition, nor the prevailing character of the times. Under the stern discipline of Elizabeth and James, the stupid bigotry of the First Charles, and the spiritual pride of Archbishop Laud, the spirit of the English hierarchy was very different from that which it assumed, when, after having been tamed and humanized under the wholesome discipline of Cromwell and his commonwealth, it yielded itself to the mild influence of the principles of 1688, and to the liberal spirit of Tillotson.

But it is said, if they did not tolerate their ancient persecutors, they might, at least, have tolerated rival sects. That is, they ought to have tolerated sects, imbued with the same principles of intolerance as the transatlantic hierarchies; sects, whose first use of power would have been to endeavour to uproot the liberty of our fathers, and persecute them, according to the known principles of sectarian action, with a virulence in the inverse ratio of their reciprocal likeness and proximity. Those, who thus reason and thus condemn, have considered but very superficially the nature of the human mind and its actual condition in the time of our ancestors.
The great doctrine, now so universally recognised, that liberty of conscience is the right of the individual,—a concern between every man and his Maker, with which the civil magistrate is not authorized to interfere, was scarcely, in their day, known, except in private theory and solitary speculation; as a practical truth, to be acted upon by the civil power, it was absolutely and universally rejected by all men, all parties, and all sects, as totally subversive, not only of the peace of the church, but of the peace of society.* That great truth, now deemed so simple and plain, was so far from being an easy discovery of the human intellect, that it may be doubted whether it would ever have been discovered by human reason at all, had it not been for the miseries in which man was involved in consequence of his ignorance of it. That truth was not evolved by the calm exertion of the human faculties, but was stricken out by the collision of the human passions. It was not the result of philosophic research, but was a hard lesson, taught under the lash of a severe discipline, provided for the gradual instruction of a being like man, not easily brought into subjection to virtue, and with natural propensities to pride, ambition, avarice, and selfishness. Previously to that time, in all modifications of society, ancient or modern, religion had been seen only in close connexion with the state. It was the universal instrument by which worldly ambition shaped and moulded the multitude to its ends. To have attempted the establishment of a state on the basis of a perfect freedom of re-

igious opinion, and the perfect right of every man to express his opinion, would then have been considered as much a solecism, and an experiment quite as wild and visionary, as it would be, at this day, to attempt the establishment of a state on the principle of a perfect liberty of individual action, and the perfect right of every man to conduct himself according to his private will. Had our early ancestors adopted the course we, at this day, are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy. It cannot be questioned, that all the fond hopes they had cherished from emigration would have been lost. The agents of Charles and James would have planted here the standard of the transatlantic monarchy and hierarchy. Divided and broken, without practical energy, subject to court-influences and court-favorites, New England at this day would have been a colony of the parent state,* her character yet to be formed and her independence yet to be vindicated.

The non-toleration, which characterized our early ancestors, from whatever source it may have originated, had undoubtedly the effect they intended and wished. It excluded from influence in their infant settlement all the friends and adherents of the ancient monarchy and hierarchy; all who, from any motive, ecclesiastical or civil, were disposed to disturb their peace or their churches. They considered it a measure of "self-defence." And it is unquestionable, that

* See Note G.
it was chiefly instrumental in forming the homogeneous and exclusively republican character, for which the people of New-England have, in all times, been distinguished; and, above all, that it fixed irrevocably in the country that noble security for religious liberty, the independent system of church government.

The principle of the independence of the churches, including the right of every individual to unite with what church he pleases, under whatever sectarian auspices it may have been fostered, has, through the influence of time and experience, lost altogether its exclusive character. It has become the universal guarantee of religious liberty to all sects without discrimination, and is as much the protector of the Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, and the Presbyterian, as of the Independent form of worship. The security, which results from this principle, does not depend upon charters and constitutions, but on what is stronger than either, the nature of the principle in connexion with the nature of man. So long as this intellectual, moral, and religious being, man, is constituted as he is, the unrestricted liberty of associating for public worship, and the independence of those associations of external control, will necessarily lead to a most happy number and variety of them. In the principle of the independence of each, the liberty of individual conscience is safe under the panoply of the common interest of all. No other perfect security for liberty of conscience was ever devised by man, except this independence of the churches. This possessed, liberty of conscience has no danger. This denied, it has no safety. There can be no greater human security than com-
mon right, placed under the protection of common interest.

It is the excellence and beauty of this simple principle, that, while it secures all, it restricts none. They, who delight in lofty and splendid monuments of ecclesiastical architecture, may raise the pyramid of church power, with its aspiring steps and gradations, until it terminate in the despotism of one, or a few; the humble dwellers at the base of the proud edifice may wonder, and admire the ingenuity of the contrivance and the splendor of its massive dimensions, but it is without envy and without fear. Safe in the principle of independence, they worship, be it in tent, or tabernacle, or in the open air, as securely as though standing on the topmost pinnacle of the loftiest fabric ambition ever devised.

The glory of discovering and putting this principle to the test, on a scale capable of trying its efficacy, belongs to the fathers of Massachusetts,* who are entitled to a full share of that acknowledgment made by Hume, when he asserts, “that for all the liberty of the English constitution that nation is indebted to the Puritans.”

The glory of our ancestors radiates from no point more strongly than from their institutions of learning. The people of New England are the first known to history, who provided, in the original constitution of their society, for the education of the whole population out of the general fund. In other countries, provisions have been made of this character in favor of certain particular classes, or for the poor by way

* Neal’s History of the Puritans. Vol. i. p. 438 and 490.
of charity. But here first were the children of the whole community invested with the right of being educated at the expense of the whole society; and not only this,—the obligation to take advantage of that right was enforced by severe supervision and penalties. By simple laws they founded their commonwealth on the only basis on which a republic has any hope of happiness or continuance, the general information of the people. They denominated it "barbarism" not to be able "perfectly to read the English tongue and to know the general laws."* In soliciting a general contribution for the support of the neighbouring University, they declare that "skill in the tongues and liberal arts, is not only laudable, but necessary for the well-being of the commonwealth."† And in requiring every town, having one hundred house-holders, to set up a Grammar School, provided with a master able to fit youth for the University, the object avowed is, "to enable men to obtain a knowledge of the Scriptures, and by acquaintance with the ancient tongues to qualify them to discern the true sense and meaning of the original, however corrupted by false glosses." Thus liberal and thus elevated, in respect of learning, were the views of our ancestors.

To the same master-passion, dread of the English hierarchy, and the same main purpose, civil independence, may be attributed, in a great degree, the nature of the government which the principal civil and spiritual influences of the time established, and, notwithstanding its many objectionable features, the willing submission to it of the people.

† Records of the Colony, p. 117. 19th Oct. 1652.
It cannot be questioned that the constitution of the state, as sketched in the first laws of our ancestors, was a skilful combination of both civil and ecclesiastical powers. Church and state were very curiously and efficiently interwoven with each other. It is usual to attribute to religious bigotry the submission of the mass of the people to a system thus stern and exclusive. It may however, with quite as much justice, be resolved into love of independence and political sagacity.

The great body of the first emigrants doubtless coincided in general religious views with those whose influence predominated in their church and state. They had consequently no personal objection to the stern discipline their political system established. They had also the sagacity to foresee that a system, which by its rigor should exclude from power all who did not concur with their religious views, would have a direct tendency to deter those in other countries from emigrating to their settlement, who did not agree with the general plan of policy they had adopted, and of consequence to increase the probability of their escape from the interference of their ancient oppressors, and the chance of success in laying the foundation of the free commonwealth they contemplated. They also doubtless perceived, that with the unqualified possession of the elective franchise, they had little reason to apprehend that they could not easily control or annihilate any ill effect upon their political system, arising from the union of church and state, should it become insupportable.

There is abundant evidence that the submission of the people to this new form of church and state com-
bination was not owing to ignorance, or to indiffer-
ence to the true principles of civil and religious lib-
erty. Notwithstanding the strong attachment of the
early emigrants to their civil, and their almost blind
devotion to their ecclesiastical leaders, when, pre-
suming on their influence, either attempted any thing
inconsistent with general liberty, a corrective is seen
almost immediately applied by the spirit and in-
telligence of the people.

In this respect, the character of the people of
Boston has been at all times distinguished. In every
period of our history, they have been second to none
in quickness to discern or in readiness to meet
every exigency, fearlessly hazard ing life and for-
tune in support of the liberties of the commonwealth.
It would be easy to maintain these positions by a re-
currence to the annals of each successive age, and
particularly to facts connected with our revolutionary
struggle. A few instances only will be noticed, and
those selected from the earliest times.

A natural jealousy soon sprung up in the me-
tropolis as to the intentions of their civil and ec-
clesiastical leaders.* In 1634 the people began to
fear, lest, by re-electing Winthrop, they “should
make way for a Governor for life.” They accord-
ingly gave some indications of a design to elect an-
other person. Upon which John Cotton, their great
ecclesiastical head, then at the height of his popu-
larity, preached a discourse to the General Court,
and delivered this doctrine; “that a magistrate ought
not to be turned out, without just cause, no more
than a magistrate might turn out a private man from

---

* Winthrop, Vol. i. p. 299.
his freehold, without trial." * To show their dislike of the doctrine by the most practical of evidences, our ancestors gave the political divine and his adherents a succession of lessons, for which they were probably the wiser all the rest of their lives. They turned out Winthrop at the very same election, and put in Dudley. The year after, they turned out Dudley and put in Haynes. The year after, they turned out Haynes and put in Vane. So much for the first broaching, in Boston, of the doctrine that public office is of the nature of freehold.

In 1635, an attempt was made by the General Court, to elect a certain number of magistrates as counsellors for life.† Although Cotton was the author also of this project, and notwithstanding his influence, yet such was the spirit displayed by our ancestors on the occasion, that within three years the General Court ‡ was compelled to pass a vote, denying any such intent, and declaring that the persons so chosen should not be accounted magistrates or have any authority in consequence of such election.

In 1636, the great Antinomian controversy divided the country. Boston was for the covenant of grace; the General Court, for the covenant of works. Under pretence of the apprehension of a riot, the General Court adjourned to Newtown, and expelled the Boston deputies for daring to remonstrate. Boston, indignant at this infringement of its liberties, was about electing the same deputies a second time. At the earnest solicitation of Cotton, however, they chose others. One of these was also expelled by

---

the Court; and a writ having issued to the town ordering a new election, they refused making any return to the warrant,—a contempt which the General Court did not think it wise to resent.

In 1639, there being vacancies in the board of assistants, the Governor and magistrates met and nominated three persons, "not with intent," as they said, "to lead the people's choice of these, nor to divert them from any other, but only to propound for consideration (which any freeman may do), and so leave the people to use their liberties according to their consciences." The result was, that the people did use their liberties according to their consciences. They chose not a man of them.* So much for the first legislative caucus in our history. It probably would have been happy for their posterity, if the people had always treated like nominations with as little ceremony.

About this time also the General Court took exception at the length of the "lectures," then the great delight of the people, and at the ill effects resulting from their frequency; whereby poor people were led greatly to neglect their affairs; to the great hazard also of their health, owing to their long continuance in the night. Boston expressed strong dislike† at this interference, "fearing that the precedent might enthrall them to the civil power, and, besides, be a blemish upon them with their posterity, as though they needed to be regulated by the civil magistrate, and raise an ill-savour of their coldness, as if it were possible for the people of Boston to complain of too much preaching."

The magistrates, fearful lest the people should break their bonds, were content to apologize, to abandon the scheme of shortening lectures or diminishing their number, and to rest satisfied with a general understanding that assemblies should break up in such season, as that people, dwelling a mile or two off, might get home by daylight. Winthrop, on this occasion, passes the following eulogium on the people of Boston, which every period of their history amply confirms; — "They were generally of that understanding and moderation, as that they would be easily guided in their way by any rule from Scripture or sound reason."

It is curious and instructive to trace the principles of our constitution, as they were successively suggested by circumstances, and gradually gained by the intelligence and daring spirit of the people. For the first four years after their emigration, the freemen, like other corporations, met and transacted business in a body. At this time the people attained a representation under the name of deputies, who sat in the same room with the magistrates, to whose negative all their proceedings were subjected. Next arose the struggle about the negative, which lasted for ten years, and eventuated in the separation of the General Court into two branches, with each a negative on the other.* Then came the jealousy of the deputies concerning the magistrates, † as proceeding too much by their discretion for want of positive laws, and the demand by the deputies that persons should be appointed to frame a body of fundamental laws in resemblance of the English Magna Charta.

After this occurred the controversy* relative to the powers of the magistrates, during the recess of the General Court; concerning which when the deputies found that no compromise could be made, and the magistrates declared that, "if occasion required, they should act according to the power and trust committed to them," the speaker of the house in his place replied,—"**Then, gentlemen, you will not be obeyed.**"

In every period of our early history, the friends of the ancient hierarchy and monarchy were assiduous in their endeavours to introduce a form of government on the principle of an efficient colonial relation. Our ancestors were no less vigilant to avail themselves of their local situation and of the difficulties of the parent state to defeat those attempts;—or, in their language, "to avoid and protract." They lived, however, under a perpetual apprehension, that a royal governor would be imposed upon them by the law of force. Their resolution never faltered on the point of resistance, to the extent of their power. Notwithstanding Boston would have been the scene of the struggle, and the first victim to it, yet its inhabitants never shrunk from their duty through fear of danger, and were always among the foremost to prepare for every exigency. Castle Island was fortified chiefly, and the battery at the north end of the town, and that called the "Sconce," wholly, by the voluntary contributions of its inhabitants. After the restoration of Charles the Second, their instructions to their representatives in the General Court, breathe one

---

uniform spirit,—"not to recede from their just rights and privileges as secured by the patent."
When, in 1662, the king’s Commissioners came to Boston, the inhabitants, to show their spirit in support of their own laws, took measures to have them all arrested for a breach of the Saturday evening law; and actually brought them before the magistrate for riotous and abusive carriage. When Randolph, in 1684, came with his quo warranto against their charter, on the question being taken in town meeting, "whether the freemen were minded that the General Court should make full submission and entire resignation of their charter, and of the privileges therein granted, to his Majesty's pleasure,"—Boston resolved in the negative, without a dissentient.

In 1689, the tyranny of Andros, the Governor appointed by James the Second, having become insupportable to the whole country, Boston rose, like one man; took the battery on Fort Hill by assault in open day; made prisoners of the king’s Governor, and the Captain of the king’s frigate, then lying in the harbour; and restored, with the concurrence of the country, the authority of the old charter leaders.

By accepting the charter of William and Mary, in 1692, the people of Massachusetts first yielded their claims of independence to the crown. It is only requisite to read the official account of the agents of the colony, to perceive both the resistance they made to that charter, and the necessity which compelled their acceptance of it.* Those agents

were told by the king's ministers, that they "must take that or none; — that "their consent to it was not asked," — that if "they would not submit to the king's pleasure they must take what would follow." "The opinion of our lawyers," say the agents, "was, that a passive submission to the new, was not a surrender of the old charter; and that their taking up with this did not make the people of Massachusetts, in law, uncapable of obtaining all their old privileges, whenever a favorable opportunity should present itself." In the year 1776, nearly a century afterwards, that "favorable opportunity did present itself," and the people of Massachusetts, in conformity with the opinion of their learned counsel and faithful agents, did vindicate and obtain all their "old privileges" of self-government.

Under the new colonial government, thus authoritatively imposed upon them, arose new parties and new struggles; — prerogative men, earnest for a permanent salary for the king's governor; — patriots, resisting such an establishment, and indignant at the negative exercised by that officer.

At the end of the first century after the settlement, three generations of men had passed away. For vigor, boldness, enterprise, and a self-sacrificing spirit, Massachusetts stood unrivalled.* She had added wealth and extensive dominion to the English crown. She had turned a barren wilderness into a cultivated field, and instead of barbarous tribes had planted civilized communities. She had prevented France from taking possession of the whole of North

America; conquered Port Royal and Acadia and attempted the conquest of Canada with a fleet of thirty-two sail and two thousand men. At one time a fifth of her whole effective male population was in arms. When Nevis was plundered by Iberville, she voluntarily transmitted two thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the inhabitants of that island. By these exertions her resources were exhausted, her treasury was impoverished, and she stood bereft, and "alone with her glory."

Boston shared in the embarrassments of the commonwealth. Her commerce was crippled by severe revenue laws, and by a depreciated currency. Her population did not exceed fifteen thousand. In September, 1730, she was prevented from all notice of this anniversary by the desolations of the smallpox.

Notwithstanding the darkness of these clouds, which overhung Massachusetts and its metropolis at the close of the first century, in other aspects the dawn of a brighter day may be discerned. The exclusive policy in matters of religion, to which the state had been subjected, began gradually to give place to a more perfect liberty. Literature was exchanging subtle metaphysics, quaint conceits, and unwieldy lore, for inartificial reasoning, simple taste, and natural thought. Dummer defended the colony in language polished in the society of Pope and of Bolingbroke. Coleman, Cooper, Chauncy, Bowdoin, and others of that constellation, were on the horizon. By their side shone the star of Franklin; its early brightness giving promise of its meridian splendors. Even now began to appear signs of revolution. Voices of
complaint and murmur were heard in the air. "Spirits finely touched and to fine issues," — willing and fearless, — breathing unutterable things, flashed along the darkness. In the sky were seen streaming lights, indicating the approach of luminaries yet below the horizon; Adams, Hancock, Otis, Warren; leaders of a glorious host; — precursors of eventful times; "with fear of change perplexing monarchs."

It would be appropriate, did time permit, to speak of these luminaries, in connexion with our revolution; to trace the principles, which dictated the first emigration of the founders of this metropolis, through the several stages of their development; and to show that the declaration of independence, in 1776, itself, and all the struggles which preceded it, and all the voluntary sacrifices, the self-devotion, and the sufferings, to which the people of that day submitted, for the attainment of independence, were, so far as respects Massachusetts, but the natural and inevitable consequences of the terms of that noble engagement, made by our ancestors, in August, 1629, the year before their emigration; — which may well be denominated, from its early and later results, the first and original declaration of independence by Massachusetts.

"By God's assistance, we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our families as are to go with us, to embark for the said plantation by the first of March next, to pass the seas (under God's protection) to inhabit and continue in New England. Provided always, that before the last of September next, THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT, TOGETHER WITH THE PATENT, BE FIRST LEGALLY TRANSFERRED AND ESTABLISHED,
TO REMAIN WITH US AND OTHERS, WHICH SHALL INHABIT THE SAID PLANTATION."*—Generous resolution! Noble foresight! Sublime self-devotion; chastened and directed by a wisdom, faithful and prospective of distant consequences! Well may we exclaim—"This policy overtopped all the policy of this world."

For the advancement of the three great objects which were the scope of the policy of our ancestors,—intellectual power, religious liberty, and civil liberty,—Boston has in no period been surpassed, either in readiness to incur, or in energy to make useful, personal or pecuniary sacrifices. She provided for the education of her citizens out of the general fund, antecedently to the law of the Commonwealth making such provision imperative. Nor can it be questioned, that her example and influence had a decisive effect in producing that law. An intelligent generosity has been conspicuous among her inhabitants on this subject, from the day when, in 1635, they "entreated our brother Philemon Pormont to become schoolmaster, for the teaching and nurturing children with us," to this hour, when what is equivalent to a capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars is invested in school-houses, eighty

* See "A true coppie of the agreement at Cambridge, 1629," in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," page 25, signed by

Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson,
Thomas Dudley, John Humfrey,
William Vassal, Thomas Sharp,
Nicko: West, Increase Nowell,
John Winthrop, William Pynchon,
Kellam Browne, William Colbron.
schools are maintained, and seven thousand and five hundred children educated at an expense exceeding annually sixty-five thousand dollars. No city in the world, in proportion to its means and population, ever gave more uniform and unequivocal evidences of its desire to diffuse intellectual power and moral culture though the whole mass of the community. The result is every day witnessed, at home and abroad, in private intercourse and in the public assembly; in a quiet and orderly demeanor, in the self-respect and mutual harmony prevalent among its citizens; in the general comfort which characterizes their condition; in their submission to the laws; and in that wonderful capacity for self-government which postponed for almost two centuries, a city organization;—and this, even then, was adopted more with reference to anticipated, than from experience of existing evils. During the whole of that period, and even after its population exceeded fifty thousand, its financial, economical, and municipal interests were managed, either by general vote, or by men appointed by the whole multitude; and with a regularity, wisdom, and success, which it will be happy if future administrations shall equal, and which certainly they will find it difficult to exceed.

The influence of the institutions of our fathers is also apparent in that munificence towards objects of public interest or charity, for which, in every period of its history, the citizens of Boston have been distinguished, and which, by universal consent, is recognised to be a prominent feature in their character. To no city has Boston ever been second in its spirit of liberality. From the first settlement of the
country to this day, it has been a point to which have tended applications for assistance or relief, on account of suffering or misfortune; for the patronage of colleges, the endowment of schools, the erection of churches, and the spreading of learning and religion,—from almost every section of the United States. Seldom have the hopes of any worthy applicant been disappointed. The benevolent and public spirit of its inhabitants is also evidenced by its hospitals, its asylums, public libraries, almshouses, charitable associations,—in its patronage of the neighbouring University, and in its subscriptions for general charities.

It is obviously impracticable to give any just idea of the amount of these charities. They flow from virtues which seek the shade and shun record. They are silent and secret out-wellings of grateful hearts, desirous unostentatiously to acknowledge the bounty of Heaven in their prosperity and abundance. The result of inquiries, necessarily imperfect, however, authorize the statement, that, in the records of societies having for their objects either learning or some public charity, or in documents in the hands of individuals relative to contributions for the relief of suffering, or the patronage of distinguished merit or talent, there exists evidence of the liberality of the citizens of this metropolis, and that chiefly within the last thirty years, of an amount, by voluntary donation or bequest, exceeding one million and eight hundred thousand dollars.* Far short as this sum falls of the real amount obtained within that period from the liberality of our citizens, it is yet enough to make evident, that the

* See Note H.
best spirit of the institutions of our ancestors survives in the hearts, and is exhibited in the lives, of the citizens of Boston; inspiring love of country and duty; stimulating to the active virtues of benevolence and charity; exciting wealth and power to their best exercises; counteracting what is selfish in our nature; and elevating the moral and social virtues to wise sacrifices and noble energies.

With respect to religious liberty, where does it exist in a more perfect state, than in this metropolis? Or where has it ever been enjoyed in a purer spirit, or with happier consequences? In what city of equal population are all classes of society more distinguished for obedience to the institutions of religion, for regular attendance on its worship, for more happy intercourse with its ministers, or more uniformly honorable support of them? In all struggles connected with religious liberty, and these are inseparable from its possession, it may be said of the inhabitants of this city, as truly as of any similar association of men, that they have ever maintained the freedom of the Gospel in the spirit of Christianity. Divided into various sects, their mutual intercourse has, almost without exception, been harmonious and respectful. The labors of intemperate zealots, with which, occasionally, every age has been troubled, have seldom, in this metropolis, been attended with their natural and usual consequences. Its sects have never been made to fear or hate one another. The genius of its inhabitants, through the influence of the intellectual power which pervades their mass, has ever been quick to detect "close ambition varnished o'er with zeal." The modes, the forms, the disci-
pline, the opinions, which our ancestors held to be essential, have, in many respects, been changed or obliterated with the progress of time, or been counteracted or superseded by rival forms and opinions. But veneration for the sacred Scriptures and attachment to the right of free inquiry, which were the substantial motives of their emigration and of all their institutions, remain, and are maintained in a Christian spirit, (judging by life and language) certainly not exceeded in the times of any of our ancestors. The right to read those Scriptures is universally recognised. The means to acquire the possession and to attain the knowledge of them are multiplied by the intelligence and liberality of the age, and extended to every class of society. All men are invited to search for themselves concerning the grounds of their hopes of future happiness and acceptance. All are permitted to hear from the lips of our Saviour himself, that “the meek,” “the merciful,” “the pure in heart,” “the persecuted for righteousness’ sake,” are those who shall receive the blessing, and be admitted to the presence, of the Eternal Father; and to be assured from those sacred records, that, “in every nation, he who feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.” Elevated by the power of these sublime assurances, as conformable to reason as to revelation, man’s intellectual principle rises “above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,” and, like an eagle soaring above the Andes, looks down on the cloudy cliffs, the narrow, separating points, and flaming craters, which divide and terrify men below.

It is scarcely necessary, on this occasion, to speak of civil liberty, or tell of our constitutions of govern-
ment; of the freedom they maintain and are calculated to preserve; of the equality they establish; the self-respect they encourage; the private and domestic virtues they cherish; the love of country they inspire; the self-devotion and self-sacrifice they enjoin;—all these are but the filling up of the great outline sketched by our fathers, the parts in which, through the darkness and perversity of their times, they were defective, being corrected; all are but endeavours, conformed to their great, original conception, to group together the strength of society and the religious and civil rights of the individual, in a living and breathing spirit of efficient power, by forms of civil government, adapted to our condition, and adjusted to social relations of unexampled greatness and extent, unparalleled in their results, and connected by principles elevated as the nature of man, and immortal as his destinies.

It is not, however, from local position, nor from general circumstances of life and fortune, that the peculiar felicity of this metropolis is to be deduced. Her enviable distinction is, that she is among the chiefest of that happy New England family, which claims descent from the early emigrants. If we take a survey of that family, and, excluding from our view the unnumbered multitudes of its members who have occupied the vacant wildernesses of other states, we restrict our thoughts to the local sphere of New England, what scenes open upon our sight! How wild and visionary would seem our prospects, did we indulge only natural anticipations of the future! Already, on an area of seventy thousand square miles, a population of two millions; all, but
comparatively a few, descendants of the early emi-
grants! Six independent Commonwealths, with con-
stitutions varying in the relations and proportions of
power, yet uniform in all their general principles;
diverse in their political arrangements, yet each
sufficient for its own necessities; all harmonious
with those without, and peaceful within; embra-
cing, under the denomination of towns, upwards
of twelve hundred effective republics, with quali-
"fied powers, indeed, but possessing potent influ-
ences;—subject themselves to the respective state
sovereignties, yet directing all their operations, and
shaping their policy by constitutional agencies;
swayed, no less than the greater republics, by pas-
sions, interests, and affections; like them, exciting
competitions which rouse into action the latent ener-
gies of mind, and infuse into the mass of each so-
ciety a knowledge of the nature of its interests, and a
capacity to understand and share in the defence of
those of the Commonwealth. The effect of these
minor republics is daily seen in the existence of
practical talents, and in the readiness with which
those talents can be called into the public service of
the state.

If, after this general survey of the surface of New
England, we cast our eyes on its cities and great
towns, with what wonder should we behold, did not
familiarity render the phenomenon almost unnoticed,
men, combined in great multitudes, possessing free-
dom and the consciousness of strength,—the com-
parative physical power of the ruler less than that
of a cobweb across a lion's path,—yet orderly, obe-
dient, and respectful to authority; a people, but
no populace; every class in reality existing, which the general law of society acknowledges, except one,—and this exception characterizing the whole country. The soil of New England is trodden by no slave. In our streets, in our assemblies, in the halls of election and legislation, men of every rank and condition meet, and unite or divide on other principles, and are actuated by other motives, than those growing out of such distinctions. The fears and jealousies, which in other countries separate classes of men and make them hostile to each other, have here no influence, or a very limited one. Each individual, of whatever condition, has the consciousness of living under known laws, which secure equal rights, and guarantee to each whatever portion of the goods of life, be it great or small, chance, or talent, or industry may have bestowed. All perceive that the honors and rewards of society are open equally to the fair competition of all; that the distinctions of wealth, or of power, are not fixed in families; that whatever of this nature exists to-day, may be changed to-morrow, or, in a coming generation, be absolutely reversed. Common principles, interests, hopes, and affections, are the result of universal education. Such are the consequences of the equality of rights, and of the provisions for the general diffusion of knowledge and the distribution of intestate estates, established by the laws framed by the earliest emigrants to New England. If from our cities we turn to survey the wide expanse of the interior, how do the effects of the institutions and example of our early ancestors appear, in all the local comfort and accommodation which mark the general condition of the whole coun-
try;—unobtrusive indeed, but substantial; in nothing splendid, but in every thing sufficient and satisfactory. Indications of active talent and practical energy exist every where. With a soil comparatively little luxuriant, and in great proportion either rock, or hill, or sand, the skill and industry of man are seen triumphing over the obstacles of nature; making the rock the guardian of the field; moulding the granite, as though it were clay; leading cultivation to the hill-top, and spreading over the arid plain, hitherto unknown and unanticipated harvests. The lofty mansion of the prosperous adjoins the lowly dwelling of the husbandman; their respective inmates are in the daily interchange of civility, sympathy, and respect. Enterprise and skill, which once held chief affinity with the ocean or the sea-board, now begin to delight the interior, haunting our rivers, where the music of the waterfall, with powers more attractive than those of the fabled harp of Orpheus, collects around it intellectual man and material nature. Towns and cities, civilized and happy communities, rise, like exhalations, on rocks and in forests, till the deep and far-resounding voice of the neighbouring torrent is itself lost and unheard, amid the predominating noise of successful and rejoicing labor.

What lessons has New England, in every period of her history, given to the world! What lessons do her condition and example still give! How unprecedented; yet how practical! How simple; yet how powerful! She has proved, that all the variety of Christian sects may live together in harmony, under a government, which allows equal privileges to all,—
exclusive pre-eminence to none. She has proved, that ignorance among the multitude is not necessary to order, but that the surest basis of perfect order is the information of the people. She has proved the old maxim, that "no government, except a despotism with a standing army, can subsist where the people have arms," is false. Ever since the first settlement of the country, arms have been required to be in the hands of the whole multitude of New England; yet the use of them in a private quarrel, if it have ever happened, is so rare, that a late writer, of great intelligence, who had passed his whole life in New England, and possessed extensive means of information, declares, "I know not a single instance of it." * She has proved, that a people, of a character essentially military, may subsist without duelling. New England has, at all times, been distinguished, both on the land and on the ocean, for a daring, fearless, and enterprising spirit; yet the same writer† asserts, that during the whole period of her existence, her soil has been disgraced but by five duels, and that only two of these were fought by her native inhabitants! Perhaps this assertion is not minutely correct. There can however be no question, that it is sufficiently near the truth to justify the position for which it is here adduced, and which the history of New England, as well as the experience of her inhabitants, abundantly confirms; that, in the present and in every past age, the spirit of our institutions

† Ibid. p. 336.
has, to every important practical purpose, annihilated the spirit of duelling.

Such are the true glories of the institutions of our fathers! Such the natural fruits of that patience in toil, that frugality of disposition, that temperance of habit, that general diffusion of knowledge, and that sense of religious responsibility, inculcated by the precepts, and exhibited in the example of every generation of our ancestors!

And now, standing at this hour on the dividing line which separates the ages that are past, from those which are to come, how solemn is the thought, that not one of this vast assembly — not one of that great multitude who now throng our streets, rejoice in our fields, and make our hills echo with their gratulations, shall live to witness the next return of the era we this day celebrate! The dark veil of futurity conceals from human sight the fate of cities and nations, as well as of individuals. Man passes away; generations are but shadows; — there is nothing stable but truth; principles only are immortal.

What then, in conclusion of this great topic, are the elements of the liberty, prosperity, and safety, which the inhabitants of New England at this day enjoy? In what language, and concerning what comprehensive truths, does the wisdom of former times address the inexperience of the future?

Those elements are simple, obvious, and familiar. Every civil and religious blessing of New England, all that here gives happiness to human life, or security to human virtue, is alone to be perpetuated in the forms and under the auspices of a free commonwealth.
The commonwealth itself has no other strength or hope, than the intelligence and virtue of the individuals that compose it.

For the intelligence and virtue of individuals, there is no other human assurance than laws, providing for the education of the whole people.

These laws themselves have no strength, or efficient sanction, except in the moral and accountable nature of man, disclosed in the records of the Christian's faith; the right to read, to construe, and to judge concerning which, belongs to no class or cast of men, but exclusively to the individual, who must stand or fall by his own acts and his own faith, and not by those of another.

The great comprehensive truths, written in letters of living light on every page of our history, — the language addressed by every past age of New England to all future ages is this; — *Human happiness has no perfect security but freedom*; — *freedom none but virtue*; — *virtue none but knowledge*; and neither freedom, nor virtue, nor knowledge has any vigor, or immortal hope, except in the principles of the Christian faith, and in the sanctions of the Christian religion.

Men of Massachusetts! Citizens of Boston! descendants of the early emigrants! consider your blessings; consider your duties. You have an inheritance acquired by the labors and sufferings of six successive generations of ancestors. They founded the fabric of your prosperity, in a severe and masculine morality; having intelligence for its cement, and religion for its ground-work. Continue to
build on the same foundation, and by the same principles; let the extending temple of your country's freedom rise, in the spirit of ancient times, in proportions of intellectual and moral architecture,—just, simple, and sublime. As from the first to this day, let New England continue to be an example to the world, of the blessings of a free government, and of the means and capacity of man to maintain it. And, in all times to come, as in all times past, may Boston be among the foremost and the boldest to exemplify and uphold whatever constitutes the prosperity, the happiness, and the glory of New England.

Bostonais. The name is thus applied, at this day, by the Canadian French. During our revolutionary war, Americans from the United States were thus designated in France. Nor was the custom wholly discontinued even as late as the year 1795. "We may remark," says a writer in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (Vol. vi, First Series, p. 69,) "that Boston was not only the capital of Massachusetts, but the town most celebrated of any in North America. Its trade was extensive; and the name often stand's for the country in old authors."

Note B., page 22.

The testimony of Chalmers, in his "Political Annals of the United Colonies," to the early and undeviating spirit of independence which actuated the first emigrants to Massachusetts, is constant, unequivocal, and conclusive. Those Annals were written during the American revolution, and published in the year 1780, in the heat of that controversy, and under the auspices of the British government. A few extracts from that work, tending to show the pertinacious spirit of independence which characterized our ancestors, and corroborative of the position maintained in the text, cannot fail to be interesting.

"The Charter of Charles the First, obtained in March, 1628–9, was the only one which Massachusetts possessed prior to the revolution of 1688, and contained its most ancient privileges. On this was most dexterously engrafted, not only the original government of that colony, but even independence itself."—Book I. c. vi. p. 136.

"The nature of their government was now (1634) changed by a variety of regulations, the legality of which cannot easily be supported by any other than those principles of independence,
which sprang up among them, and have at all times governed their actions.”—Book I. p. 159.

Concerning the confederation entered into by the United Colonies of New England in 1643, Chalmers thus expresses himself.

“The most inattentive must perceive the exact resemblance that confederation bears to a similar junction of the colonies, more recent [that of 1775], extensive, and powerful. Both originated from Massachusetts, always fruitful in projects of independence. Wise men, at the era of both, remarked, that those memorable associations established a complete system of absolute sovereignty, because the principles upon which it was erected necessarily led to what it was not the policy of the principal agents at either period to avow!

“The principles, upon which this famous association [that of 1643] was formed, were altogether those of independency, and it cannot easily be supported on any other. The consent of the governing powers in England was never applied for and was never given.”—Book I. c. viii. pp. 177, 178.

“Principles of aggrandisement seem constantly to have been had in view by Massachusetts, as the only rule of its conduct.”—Book I. p. 180.

“Massachusetts, in conformity to its accustomed principles, acted, during the civil wars, almost altogether as an independent state. It formed leagues, not only with the neighbouring colonies, but with foreign nations, without the consent or knowledge of the government of England. It permitted no appeals from its courts to the judicatories of the sovereign state, without which a dependence cannot be preserved or enforced; and it refused to exercise its jurisdiction in the name of the commonwealth of England. It assumed the government of that part of New England, which is now called New Hampshire, and even extended its power farther eastward over the Province of Maine; and, by force of arms it compelled those, who had fled from its persecutions beyond its boundaries into the wilderness, to submit to its authority. It erected a mint at Boston, impressing the year 1652 on the coin, as the era of independence. Though, as we are assured, the coinage of money is the prerogative of the sovereign, and not the privilege of a colony.”

“The practice was continued till the dissolution of its government; thus evincing to all what had been foreseen by the wise,
that a people of such principles, religious and political, settling at so great a distance from control, would necessarily form an independent state." — Book I. c. viii. p. 181.

"The committee of state of the long parliament, having resolved to oblige Massachusetts to acknowledge their authority, by taking a new patent from them and by keeping its courts in their name, that colony, according to its wonted policy, by petition and remonstrance, declaring the love they bore the parliament, the sufferings they had endured in their cause, and their readiness to stand or fall with them, and by flattering Cromwell, prevailed so far as that the requisitions abovementioned were never complied with, and the General Court consequently gained the point in the controversy." — Book I. c. viii. pp. 184, 185.

"But Massachusetts did not only thus artfully foil the parliament, but it out-fawned and out-witted Cromwell. They declined his invitation to assist his fleet and army, destined to attack the Dutch at Manhattan in 1653, and acknowledging the continued series of his favors to the colonies, told him, that, "having been exercised with serious thoughts of its duty at that juncture, which were, that it was most agreeable to the gospel of peace and safest for the plantations to forbear the use of the sword, if it had been misled, it humbly craved his pardon." — Book I. c. viii. p. 185.

"The address of Massachusetts abovementioned, it should seem, gave perfect satisfaction to Cromwell. Its winning courtship seems to have captivated his rugged heart, and, notwithstanding a variety of complaints were made to him against that colony, so strong were his attachments, that all attempts, either to obtain redress, or to prejudice it in his esteem, were to no purpose. Thus did Massachusetts, by the prudence or vigor of its councils, triumph over its opponents abroad." — Book I. c. viii. p. 188.

"After the death of Cromwell, Massachusetts acted with a cautious neutrality. She refused to acknowledge the authority of Richard any more than that of the Parliament or Protector, because all submission would have been inconsistent with her independence."

"She heard the tidings of the restoration with that scrupulous incredulity, with which men listen to news which they wish not to be true." — Book I. c. x. p. 249.
"Prince Charles the Second had received so many proofs of the attachment of the colonies, during the season of trial. *New England* only excepted, that he judged rightly, when he presumed they would listen to the news of his restoration with pleasure, and submit to his just authority with alacrity. Nor was he in the least deceived. They proclaimed his accession with a joy in proportion to the recollection of their late sufferings, and to their hope of future blessings. Of the recent conduct of Massachusetts, he was well instructed; he foresew what really happened, that it would receive the tidings of his good fortune with extreme coldness; he was informed of the proceedings of a society which assembled at Cooper's Hall, in order to promote its interests, and with them, the good old cause of enmity to regal power. And in May, 1661, he appointed the great officers of state a committee, 'touching the affairs of New England.' That Prince and that colony mutually hated and contemned and feared each other, during his reign, because the one suspected its principles of attachment, and the other dreaded an invasion of its privileges."—Book I. p. 243.

"The same vessel which brought king Charles's proclamation to Boston, in 1660, brought also Whalley and Goffe, two of the regicides. Far from concealing themselves, they were received very courteously by Governor Endicott, and with universal regard by the people of New England. Of this conduct, Charles the Second, was perfectly informed, and with it he afterwards reproached Massachusetts."—Book I. c. x. pp. 249, 250.

"The General Court soon turned its attention to a subject of higher concernment; the present condition of affairs. In order rightly to understand that duty which the people owed to themselves, and that obedience which was due to the authority of England, a committee at length reported a declaration of rights and duties, which at once shows the extent of their claims, and their dexterity at involving what they wished to conceal. The General Court resolved,—'That the patent (under God) was the first and main foundation of the civil polity of that colony; that the Governor and Company are, by the patent, a body politic, which is vested with power to make freemen; that they have authority to choose a governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and select representatives; that this government hath ability to set up all kinds of offices; that the governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and select deputies, have full jurisdiction, both legislative and executive, for the govern-
ment of the people here, without appeals, 'excepting law or laws repugnant to the laws of England'; that this company is privileged to defend itself against all who shall attempt its annoyance; that any imposition, prejudicial to the country, contrary to any of its just ordinances (not repugnant to the laws of England), is an infringement of its rights.' — Having thus with a genuine air of sovereignty, by its own act, established its own privileges, it decided 'concerning its duties and allegiance'; and these were declared to consist in upholding that colony as of right belonging to his Majesty, and not subject to any foreign potentate; in preserving his person and dominions; in settling the peace and prosperity of the king and nation, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel. It was at the same time determined, that the royal warrant for apprehending Whalley and Goffe ought to be faithfully executed; that if any legally obnoxious, and fleeing from the civil justice of the state of England, shall come over to these parts, they may not expect shelter.' What a picture do these resolutions display of the embarrassments of the General Court, between its principles of independence on the one hand, and its apprehension of giving offence to the state of England, on the other.” — Book I. p. 252.

"During the whole reign of Charles the Second, Massachusetts continued to act as she always had done, as an independent state."

"Disregarding equally her charter and the laws of England, Massachusetts established for herself, an independent government, similar to those of the Grecian republics." — Book I. c. xvi. p. 400; also c. xxii. p. 682.

It is not easy to perceive on what ground Chalmers supports the charge against our ancestors, of "concealment" of their real intentions, by the General Court in their declaration of rights, above quoted, from page 252 of his Annals. On the contrary, it seems to have been conceived in a spirit of boldness, which, considering the weakness of the colony, might be much better denominated imprudently explicit than evasive. It is difficult to conceive what the General Court could have added to that declaration of their right to independent self-government, unless they had been prepared to draw the sword against the king and throw away the scabbard.

Note C., page 22.

This is apparent from the fact, that they did form and maintain such a commonwealth, and from the further fact that in no other
way could they, in that age, have had any hope successfully to maintain and transmit to their posterity religious liberty, according to their conception of that blessing. Those who reason practically concerning the motives of mankind, must take their data from their master-passions, and the necessities of their situation. Acts best develop intentions. Official language takes it modification from circumstances, and is often necessarily a very equivocal indication of motives.

To escape from the dominion of the English hierarchy, was our ancestors’ leading design and firm purpose. They took refuge in the forms and principles of a commonwealth; trusting to their own intellectual skill and physical power for its support. They were well apprized of the fixed determination of the English hierarchy from the earliest times of their emigration, to subject them to its supremacy, if possible; and this design is distinctly avowed by Chalmers.

"The enjoyment of liberty of conscience, the free worship of the Supreme Being in the manner most agreeable to themselves, were the great objects of the colonists, which they often declared was the principal end of their emigration. Nevertheless, though their historians assert the contrary, the charter did not grant spontaneously to them a freedom, which had been denied to the solicitations of the Brownists; and it is extremely probable that so essential an omission arose, not from accident, but design."

"In conformity to his intentions of establishing the Church of England in the plantations, James had refused to grant to that sect the privilege of exercising its own peculiar modes, though solicited by the powerful interest of the Virginia Company. His successor adopted and pursued the same policy under the direction of Laud, ‘who, we are assured, kept a jealous eye over New England.’ And this reasoning is confirmed by the present patent, which required, with peculiar caution, ‘that the oath of supremacy shall be administered to every one, who shall pass to the colony and inhabit there.’" — Book I. c. vi. p. 141.

Note D., page 23.

The consentaneousness of the views entertained by Chalmers, with those presented in the text, respecting the motives of our ancestors in making the removal of the charter the condition of their emigration, is remarkable.
"Several persons of considerable consequence in the nation, who had adopted the principles of the Puritans, and who wished to enjoy their own mode of worship, formed the resolution of emigrating to Massachusetts. But they felt themselves inferior, neither to the governor nor assistants of the company. They saw and dreaded the inconvenience of being governed by laws made for them without their consent: and it appeared more rational to them, that the colony should be ruled by those who made it the place of their residence, than by men dwelling at the distance of three thousand miles, over whom they had no control. At the same time therefore, that they proposed to transport themselves, their families, and their estates, to that country, they insisted that the charter should be transmitted with them, and that the corporate powers, which were conferred by it, should be executed, in future, in New England."

"A transaction, similar to this, in all its circumstances, is not to be easily met with in story."—Book I. c. vi. pp. 150, 151.

It is very plain from the above extract, that Chalmers understood the transfer of the charter to this country in the light in which it is represented in the text;—that the object was self-government; an intention "not to be governed by laws made for them, without their consent";—a determination that those "should rule in New England, who made it the place of their residence"; and "not those who dwell at the distance of three thousand miles, over whom they had no control."

Two causes have concurred to keep the motives of our ancestors in that measure, from the direct developement which its nature deserves. The first was, that their motives could not be avowed consistently with that nominal dependence, which in the weakness of the early emigrants was unavoidable. The other was, that almost all the impressions left concerning our early history, have been derived through the medium of the clergy, who naturally gave an exclusive attention to the predominating motive, which was, unquestionably, religious liberty, and paid less regard to what the colonial statesmen of that day as unquestionably considered to be the essential means to that end. The men who said "they would not go to New England unless the patent went with them," were not clergymen, but high-minded statesmen, who knew what was included in that transfer. Their conduct and that of their immedi-
ate descendants, speak a language of determined civil independence, not, at this day, to be gainsaid.

Winthrop gives, incidentally, a remarkable evidence of his own sensibility, on the subject of the right of self-government, in the very earliest period after their emigration.

"Mr. Winslow, the late Governor of Plymouth," Winthrop relates, "being this year (1635) in England, petitioned the council for a commission to withstand the intrusions of the Dutch and French. Now this," Winthrop remarks, "was undertaken with ill-advice; for such precedents endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England."—Winthrop, Vol. i. p. 172.

Note E., page 23.

That the early emigrants foresaw that the transfer of the charter would effectually vest independence, may be deduced, not only from the whole tenor of their conduct after their emigration, which was an effectual exercise of independence, but from the fact of the secrecy, with which this intention to transfer the charter was maintained, until it was actually on this side of the Atlantic.

Our ancestors readily anticipated with what jealousy this transfer would be viewed by the English government; and were accordingly solicitous to keep it from being known until they and the original charter were beyond their power. The original records of the General Court, in which the topic of this transfer of the charter was first agitated, speak a language on this subject, not to be mistaken.

The terms of this record are as follows:

"At a General Court holden at London, for the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in Mr. Deputy's house, on Tuesday, the 28th of July, 1629. Present,

Mr. MATHEW CRADOCK, Governor.

Mr. GOFF, Deputy Gov."

Here follow the names of the "assistants" and "generality," who were present.

"Mr. Governor read certain propositions conceived by himself, viz. that for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, to transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall
inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the company here, as now it is. This business occasioned some debate; but by reason of the many great and considerable consequences thereupon depending, it was not now resolved upon, but those present are privately and seriously to consider hereof, and to set down their particular reasons in writing, pro and contra, and to produce the same at the next General Court, where they being reduced to heads and maturely considered of, the company may then proceed to a final resolution therein, and in the mean time they are desired to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged.”—See original records of Massachusetts, p. 19.

What our ancestors thought they had gained, or what practical consequences they intended to deduce from this transfer of the patent, and from their possession of it in this country, is apparent from the reasons, given by Winthrop, for not obeying the court mandate, to send the patent to England.

Winthrop’s account is as follows:

“The General Court was assembled [1638], in which it was agreed, that whereas a very strict order was sent from the Lords Commissioners for Plantations, for sending home our patent, upon pretence that judgment had passed against it upon a quo warranto, a letter should be written by the Governor in the name of the Court, to excuse our not sending it; for it was resolved to be best, not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that thereupon, we should be bound to receive such a Governor and such orders, as should be sent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones, among ourselves, would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a general governor.”—Winthrop, Vol. i. p. 269.

Note F., page 25.

The object of this policy was perceived by Chalmers. Thus, he reprobrates the law, that "none should be admitted to the freedom of the company but such as were church members, and that none but freemen should vote at elections or act as magistrates and jurymen," because it excluded from all participation in the government, those who could not comply with the necessary requisites. He understood well, that it was a means of defence against the English hierarchy, and intended to exclude from influence all who were of the English church; and complains of it as being "made
in the true spirit of retaliation," (Book I. p. 153.) and adds, that "this severe law, notwithstanding the vigorous exertions of Charles the Second, continued in force till the quo warranto laid in ruins the structure of the government that had established it."

To prove the necessity of this exclusive policy of our ancestors, and that it was strictly a measure of "self-defence," it is proper to remark, that as early as April, 1635, a commission was issued for the government of the Plantations, granting absolute power to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to others, "to make laws and constitutions, concerning either their state public or the utility of individuals, and for the relief of the clergy to consign convenient maintenance unto them by tithes and oblations and other profits according to their discretion," and they were empowered to inflict punishments, either by imprisonment or by loss of life and members.

A broader charter of hierarchical despotism was never conceived. The only means of protection against it, to which our ancestors could resort, was that which they adopted. By the principle of making church-membership a qualification for the enjoyment of the rights of a freeman, they excluded from all political influence the friends of the hierarchy. To the same motive may be referred that other principle, that "no churches should be gathered but such as were approved by the magistrate." Notwithstanding that the direct tendency of these principles was to destroy the influence of the crown and the hierarchy in the colony, the obviousness of the motive is unnoticed by Chalmers, for the sake of repeating the gross charge of bigotry; and this too at the very time when he is urging their design of independence against our ancestors as their great crime. Our ancestors could not avow their ruling motive; and they seem at all times to be actuated by the noble principle of being content to submit in their own characters to the obloquy of bigotry, as a less evil than that their children should become subject to the hierarchy of the Stuarts.

It is difficult to perceive how the principles of this commission could have been otherwise resisted by our ancestors, than by putting at once out of influence all those disposed to yield submission to it. Nor was it possible for them to apply their disqualification directly to the adherents of the English hierarchy. They were compelled, if it were adopted at all, to make it general, and to acquiesce in the charge of bigotry in order to give efficacy to their policy.
Note G., page 28.

Lest the consequences of an opposite policy, had it been adopted by our ancestors, may seem to be exaggerated, as here represented, it is proper to state, that upon the strength and united spirit of New England mainly depended (under Heaven) the success of our revolutionary struggle. Had New England been divided, or even less unanimous, independence would have scarcely been attempted, or, if attempted, acquired. It will give additional strength to this argument to observe, that the number of troops, regular and militia, furnished by all the states during the war of the revolution, was 288,134

Of these, New England furnished more than half, viz. 147,674

And Massachusetts alone furnished nearly one third, viz. 83,162


Note H., page 44.

Amounts received from the liberality of the citizens of Boston towards objects of a public nature, of a moral, religious, or literary character, chiefly within the last thirty years, as stated in the text.

I. By the following Societies;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
<th>Amount (in $)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston Athenæum</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humane Society</td>
<td>20,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Dispensary for the Medical Relief of the Poor</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts General Hospital</td>
<td>354,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Charitable Society</td>
<td>16,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Penitent Female Refuge Society</td>
<td>15,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Fragment Society</td>
<td>15,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Mechanics' Institution</td>
<td>6,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Eye and Ear Infirmary</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Female Asylum</td>
<td>79,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge</td>
<td>1,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Instruction of the Poor</td>
<td>23,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitable Mechanic Association</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$667,018
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society/Institution</th>
<th>Amount Brought Up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatherless and Widows' Society</td>
<td>$667.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard Benevolent Society</td>
<td>$16,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitable Fund, placed under the control of the Overseers of the Poor, and derived from private benevolence</td>
<td>$95,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society</td>
<td>$51,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamen's Friend Society</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Education Society</td>
<td>$32,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible Society</td>
<td>$40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvard College and the several Institutions embraced within, or connected with, that seminary</td>
<td>$222,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theological Institution at Andover</td>
<td>$21,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amounts brought up: 488,985

From the above amounts have been as far as possible excluded all sums not derived from the citizens of Boston. Those amounts also must not be understood as expressing the present amount of funds of these Societies, although in many instances it is the case; the object of this recapitulation being not to represent the actual state of each of those Societies at this time, but the amount they have, within the time specified, received from the liberal and public spirited citizens of Boston.

II. Various contributions for the relief of sufferers by fire in Boston:

- in Newburyport: $16,500
- in St. Johns: $8,666
- in Augusta: $2,264
- in Wiscasset: $5,504

Total: $34,528

[The above, although excluding many known contributions, are all of which the amounts could be ascertained with accuracy.]

III. Moneys raised, within the time specified in the text, by various contributions, or by donations of individuals, either from motives of charity, or for the patronizing of distinguished merit, or for the relief of men eminent for their public services,
Amount brought up
the evidences of which have been examined for this purpose, (testamentary bequests not being included,)
8,000
11,000
24,500
10,000
1,400
6,000
2,000
5,000
5,000

In sums between 500 and 1500 - - - 35,500 105,400

[Particular names and objects have been omitted from motives of delicacy or propriety.]

IV. Amount collected for objects of general charity, or for the promotion of literary, moral, or religious purposes by, or under the influence of, various religious societies in the metropolis (not including the particular annual objects of expenditure of each society), communicated by the several officers of those societies, or by individuals having access to their records or to the papers containing evidence of such collections - - - - - 469,425

[The names of the particular societies and objects it is not deemed proper to publish,
1. Because it was the express wish of several officers of the societies, that it should not be done.
2. Because several of the societies could not be applied to, and their omission here might imply that they have not made similar collections, which would be unjust.
3. Because, since the account of the amounts thus collected depends upon the retaining or not retaining (often accidental) of the evidence of such collections, the comparative returns are very different from what there is reason to believe were the comparative amounts collected, as they would have appeared, had the evidence in all cases been equally well retained.

The object, on this occasion, has not been completeness, which was known to be impracticable, but as near an approximation to it as was possible. How far short the statement in this item is from the real amount collected, may be gathered from this
fact,—that information was requested for the amount collected within the last thirty years; yet more than half the sum stated in this item arose from collections made within the last ten years.

As a farther illustration, it may not be improper to state, that, within the last twelve years, five citizens of Boston have deceased, whose bequests for objects exclusively of public interest or benevolence, when united, amount to a sum exceeding three hundred thousand dollars; and that one of these, during the last twenty years of his life, is known to have given away, toward similar objects, a sum equal to ten thousand dollars annually.]
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF WATERTOWN, IN MASSACHUSETTS, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE TOWN TO THE CLOSE OF ITS SECOND CENTURY.

By CONVERS FRANCIS, CONGREGATIONAL MINISTER OF WATERTOWN.

CAMBRIDGE: E. W. METCALF AND COMPANY. M DCCC XXX.
NOTICE.

Such parts of the following narrative, as were suited to the purpose of a public occasion, were contained in an Address, delivered by the writer, on the 17th of September, 1830, in commemoration of the close of the Second Century of the town. The whole is now published in a regular historical form, following the order of time. It is respectfully inscribed to the inhabitants of Watertown, for whose use chiefly it was composed.

C. F.
HISTORY OF WATERTOWN.

We live at a period of patriotic remembrances. It has become the fashion of the times to gather up memorials of the fathers of New England. A more general interest, than ever before, is felt in tracing their footsteps, and in searching their records. This feeling is one of the manifestations of the pleasure we naturally find in the exercise of that wonderful power of retrospection, which enables us almost to antedate our lives, to merge the distinctions of time in a sense of fellowship with the past, to overleap the barriers of years and centuries, and to add to the short span of our own days the days of those who have gone before us. But besides this, it is our good fortune, that the ties of association with the memory of our ancestors are, in a remarkable degree, minutely local. Not only is their general history, in its whole extent, so recent, comparatively, that we are able to trace it in clear and distinct lines quite up to its commencement, without being lost in the shadowy regions of conjecture and fable, but we can identify the men and their doings with the smallest subdivisions of the republic, with our towns and hamlets. Our whole land, in all its youthful strength and vast resources, is a monument to the Pilgrims, who, when they began their cheerless work, would have deemed it the wildest dream of romance, had they been told of the mighty edifice which was to be reared on their labors, and who toiled and suffered with strong patience, and
with a trust in God that never wavered. But, below
these magnificent views, there are other reminiscen-
ces, which, if they have no grandeur, are not without
interest and value. With the names and the deeds
of our fathers we can associate the green fields and
the beautiful groves of our villages, the virtues and the
enjoyments of an industrious neighbourhood, the
schools at which our children seek instruction, and the
sanctuaries where we call upon the name of our God.
Our recollections become domesticated feelings,
and have a lodgement among our most familiar pos-
sessions. Our daily walks seem almost overshad-
owed by the presence of a past generation; for
their footsteps have not long disappeared from the
places, which, in the midst of the cares and pleas-
ures of common life, we recognise and love as our
homes. To cherish and perpetuate some of these
village recollections of our fathers, is the purpose
of the following narrative.

The character of the Puritans has of late been a
favorite topic, both among ourselves and in England.
Its peculiarities have been traced with felicitous skill,
and its merits portrayed with powerful eloquence, by
some of the most gifted writers of our times. The
men of this generation stand in a position favorable
for doing justice to its claims. We are sufficiently re-
 mote from the excitement, in which the Puritans lived
and acted, to estimate fairly their excellencies and
errors, the value of their labors, and the consequences
of their principles. It cannot be a matter of wonder,
that two centuries ago they should have been the
objects of bitter sarcasm and abusive reproach, when
we consider that their faults were precisely such, as
would naturally be met with the most unsparing hos-
tility, and that they themselves in some cases mani-
 fested but little forbearance in applying epithets of
infamy to their adversaries. The nature of the con-
test, in which they were so deeply concerned, was
adapted to bring out the sharp, stern, uncompromis-
ing qualities of human character, to confound a zeal for trifles with a zeal for essential principles, and sometimes to engage the aid of unholy passions in a holy cause. We can hardly be much surprised, therefore, at the foul asperity with which Parker, Whitgift, Dugdale, and others of that day, spoke or wrote of the Puritans,—the poor and pitiful abuse which they heaped upon men, who were struggling for sacred rights against the strong arm of power. We may not conceal or deny their faults; but, at the same time, we may not forget the provocations they endured. We may not forget the iniquitous proceedings of the High Commission and the Star Chamber, those disgraceful instruments of cruel persecution, which brought their terrors to bear on the crimes of not wearing a white surplice, of not baptizing with a cross, and of refusing to kneel at the sacrament. We cannot but remember, that the Puritans were goaded, oppressed, and held in contempt under Elizabeth, who was just as much a Protestant as was necessary to make herself a pope, and no more; that their hopes of protection were grievously disappointed by James, that notable professor of kingcraft, who had said, when in Scotland,—"As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said mass in English,—they want nothing of the mass but the liftings,"—but to whom the possession of the sceptre suddenly taught the bad lessons of intolerance towards all who would not conform to that same kirk; that, under the first Charles, measures were dealt to them, scarcely milder than those of the Inquisition; and that the second Charles paved the way to his restoration with promises to them, which he never meant to keep. These and similar circumstances rise to our remembrance, when we are told of their hard and offensive qualities; and we are disposed to pardon much to the feelings of wronged and injured man. For the want of that amenity, which imparts a fascinating grace to life and manners, there was an ample atonement in
the good which these men effected by their moral heroism in the cause of God, and of the rights of humanity,—by the spirit of self-sacrifice, with which they threw themselves into the pass where the best interests of man were to be defended. It is easy enough to turn into ridicule their harsh and untractable temper, their rigorous adherence to unimportant peculiarities, and their extravagance of religious zeal. But, while these grew out of temporary circumstances, and were shared perhaps in quite an equal degree by the adversaries, from whom the reproach comes, shall we forget that these men sowed that precious seed, from which has sprung the rich harvest of blessings enjoyed by our community? Shall we leave out of the account, that, scorned and flouted as they were by the proud hierarchy of their land, they were still the trusty guardians of that vital principle of freedom, the claims of which have since been so widely felt and respected? The world owes them much; and the progress of time and events is continually developing more distinctly the amount of the obligation. It is not strange, indeed, that while the prejudices of party strife were fresh and strong, it should have been said of the Puritan,—"As he is more generally in these times taken, I suppose we may call him a church-rebel, one that would exclude order, that his brain might rule."* But the dispassionate judgment of England's philosophical historian, at a later day and from a better point of view, has declared the truth of the case in a memorable acknowledgment; "So absolute," says he, "was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."†

But the Puritan character is too wide and fruitful a topic for this place. Its essential elements were

---

noble and praiseworthy. It was the form taken by the strong action of mental energies, not always wisely guided, but aiming with untired perseverance at exalted objects. At the period when New England was settled, the Puritans had for many years been growing in numbers and strength.* But the hope of religious liberty, from time to time disappointed, was so far crushed, that at length many of them turned their eyes away from home, and fixed them on this western region, then lying a mere wilderness under the shade of deep forests, and trodden by no human foot but that of the savage. The enterprise was, strictly speaking, an ecclesiastical concern, and presents the singularly striking case of a nation receiving its existence distinctly and wholly from religious causes.† Our fathers loved their native land with fond affection; they had become attached in no ordinary degree to the soil on which they trod; all the charms of domestic and local associations were there,—their pleasant firesides, and their beautiful fields. They endured and forbore, till endurance and forbearance were in vain. It must have been by a strong moral effect, that they could resolve, in the cause of what they believed to be religious truth and freedom, to sever the ties that bound them to their homes, and to seek a refuge on these shores. While wind and waves were bearing them onward, doubtless they looked back with the exile’s feeling to their father-land; and had they not loved the rights of conscience and their duty to God better than that

---

* In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that the Brownists alone, in their various congregations, were increased to the number of twenty thousand.—Sir Simonds D’Ewes’ Journals of the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. London, 1682, p. 517.

† “It concerneth New England,” said the celebrated John Norton, in a tract printed at Cambridge in 1659, “always to remember, that originally they are a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade.” — And Increase Mather insists with emphasis, that “it was with regard unto church order and discipline, that our pious ancestors, the good old Puritan Nonconformists, transported themselves and their families over the vast ocean to these goings down of the sun.”
land, the hearts of the stoutest must have sunk within them. While they were laying here the foundation of a structure, destined to rise in beauty and greatness of which they could form no conception, they struggled with want and sorrow, and died in loneliness, but in strong faith. When we read the simple, pathetic, and almost childlike story, which they tell of themselves and their doings, we cannot but wish that the veil might have been lifted from the future, and that they might have enjoyed a cheering foresight of the abundant good, that in the course of God's providence was to crown their labors. But the memorial of these undaunted Christians was not forgotten before God. The shield of Heaven was extended over the infant colony, till "a little one became a thousand, and a small one a strong nation."

Previously to the time at which this historical sketch is to begin, settlements had been made at Plymouth and Salem. Of these the object I have in view will not require me to take notice. The accounts of them are familiar to us, or may easily be had from well known sources. I shall accordingly pass to the immediate purposes of this narrative.

The year 1630 was distinguished by the arrival of Winthrop's fleet, bringing a colony, well qualified by the variety of their occupations, and by their spirit of self-denial and perseverance, to form new settlements in the wilderness. Among these were the men, who first visited the place afterward called Watertown. They were from the West of England; and the vessel in which they came (the Mary & John) arrived on the 30th of May, somewhat earlier than the other vessels. Their captain, in defiance of the agreement he had made with them, refused to take them to Charles River, and inhumanly turned them and their goods ashore at Nantasket. The leading men of this company were Roger Ludlow, Edward Rossiter, Esq. Rev. John Maverick, and Rev. John Warham. Having been left in this unceremonious manner to take
care of themselves, they procured a boat from the people at Nantasket, and proceeded to Charlestown. There they found a few English people, who had removed from Salem the year before, and several wigwams. They took with them "an old planter who could speak Indian," and directed their course up Charles River, till they found the stream narrow and shallow, and landed their goods. The bank of the river is said to have been steep, and the place is described as being "well-watered." It was doubtless very near the spot, on which the United States' Arsenal is now situated. As their number was but ten, they might well be not a little alarmed to learn, as they did at night, that three hundred Indians were in their neighbourhood. The planter, whom they had brought from Charlestown, had probably been so well acquainted with the natives, that he knew how to gain their confidence; for when, on this occasion, he went to them and requested them not to come near the English, they readily complied. The next day a friendly intercourse took place between the two parties. Some of the Indians appeared at a distance, and shortly after one of them advanced and held out a bass. The English, probably understanding this as an invitation to a better acquaintance, sent a man with a biscuit, which the Indians took in exchange. After this amusing mode of introduction, there seems to have been perfect amity between them; and, says one of the company in his interesting narrative, the Indians "supplied us with bass, exchanging a bass for a biscuit-cake, and were very friendly unto us." *

*The narrative here referred to was written by Capt. Clap, one of the party, whose adventures he relates. It is entitled "Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap, relating some of God's remarkable Providences to him in bringing him into New England," &c. This pamphlet, distinguished by a pious simplicity, is the original source of the information we have concerning this first visit to Watertown. From it Prince took his statement: See Chron. Hist. of New England, new ed. 1826. p. 277.—also, Holmes's Annals, second ed. Vol. 1. p. 202.

In connexion with the above mentioned traffic for fish with the natives, it may be proper to remark that Bass, which have become so rare in this
No permanent settlement, however, was made by these men. They remained but a few days, and then removed to Mattapan, afterward called Dorchester, "because there was a neck of land fit to keep their cattle on." Hence, that part of Watertown where these first visitors landed took the name of Dorchester Fields, which was its common appellation till a comparatively recent period, and which I have heard some of our oldest inhabitants mention as being in use within their remembrance. It likewise occurs in the earliest town records. Tradition says that these Dorchester settlers were for some time in the habit of resorting to this place, which they had left, to plant corn in the spring and gather it in the autumn; but it is by no means probable, that they would have been at so much trouble for what might have been had near at hand.

Shortly after their removal, a permanent establishment was effected by another company. The colony who came to Massachusetts Bay, "were not much unlike the family of Noah at their first issuing out of the ark, and had as it were a new world to people, being uncertain where to make their beginning." *— They dispersed themselves in various directions, and laid the foundation of several towns in this vicinity.

---

In the course of the summer of 1630, a party of these adventurous emigrants, with Sir Richard Saltonstall and the Rev. George Phillips at their head, selected a place on the banks of Charles River for their plantation. On the seventh of September, 1630, the Court of Assistants at Charlestown ordered that "Trimountain be called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; and the town upon Charles River, Watertown." This is considered, I believe, as equivalent to an act of incorporation. Ten days must be added to the date on account of the difference of style; and then the second centennial anniversary of the day, on which this order was passed, and from which we date the foundation of the town, will be brought to the seventeenth of September, 1830. Hubbard, the historian, seems to have been at a loss to account for the name given to this settlement; "The reason for it," he says, "was not left upon record, nor is it easy to find,—most of the other plantations being well watered, though none of them planted on so large a fresh stream as that was." This last mentioned circumstance probably was the true cause of the selection of the name in question; and perhaps the discovery of some good springs, which might have been made first at this place, may have had some influence, especially with people who are said to have suffered at Charlestown by want of fresh water. There is a traditionary belief, that the name is to be ascribed to the circumstance of the first company, who came hither and landed at Dorchester Fields, having found a spring of excellent water in the vicinity of the river. But it should be remembered, that the name was not selected till some time afterward, and can hardly be

* Prince, p. 315.
† To adjust the differences of style, ten days are to be added to a date occurring in the seventeenth century, and eleven days to one in the eighteenth century.
į Page 135.
supposed to have had reference to this circumstance. The Indian name of the town was Pigsgusset.*

The territory thus called Watertown was, like most of the towns at that early period, very large, and its boundaries on the west side for a considerable time somewhat undefined. Waltham, Weston, and a part of Lincoln, besides what is now called Watertown, were embraced within its original extent.† It appears from the State Records, that the bounds between Watertown and Newtown, now Cambridge, were settled in 1634.‡ We have no means of ascertaining with precision the number of the first inhabitants; but I find by the town records that in 1636 there were one hundred and eight townsmen. Probably the original number in 1638 was considerably less than this.||

One of the first inquiries in a history so largely ecclesiastical, as that of New England, regards the origin and formation of churches. The true date of the Watertown church is a subject of more perplexity and difficulty, than one would expect in a fact of this nature. It has engaged the attention and divided the opinions of some of our most accurate and able antiquarians; and I know not that any thing of importance can be added to their statements and reasoning. The most recent investigation of the subject is by the Hon. James Savage, to whose opin-

---

* Wood, on the last page of "New England's Prospect," gives this as the Indian name of Watertown. Ogilby in enumerating the towns in Massachusetts, says — "The ninth is called Watertown, anciently Pigsgusset." America, being an Accurate Description, &c. Book II. Ch. 2.

† The same Indian name occurs once, at a very early date, in the town records.

‡ A map or plan of Watertown, curious and valuable for its antiquity, was in existence a few years ago, but is now lost. It was sketched in 1640, only ten years after the first settlement of the town, and was obtained by the Rev. Mr. Ripley of Waltham from one of the oldest inhabitants of his parish, to whom it had come through several generations. This map and a copy of it were unfortunately destroyed in the fire in Court Street, Boston, in November, 1825.

§ Dr. Kendall's Century Discourse, p. 18.

|| See Appendix, A.
ion the greatest deference is due, and who makes the First church in Boston and the Watertown church precisely coeval, assigning the origin of both to the thirtieth of July, 1630. In this opinion there is good reason to acquiesce; but it seems difficult, if not impossible, to divest the subject of all uncertainty.*

The first minister of Watertown was the Rev. George Phillips, who continued in that office fourteen years. In connexion with the Rev. Mr. Wilson, he had previously been engaged, since their arrival from England, in preaching in Charlestown and Boston; "their meeting-place," says Roger Clap, "being abroad under a tree, where I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good sermon."† At the first Court of Assistants, held at Charlestown on board the Arbella, it was ordered that as speedily as might be convenient, houses should be erected for the ministers at the public charge. Sir Richard Saltonstall undertook to have this done for Mr. Phillips, and Gov. Winthrop for Mr. Wilson. Mr. Phillips was to have thirty pounds a year, and Mr. Wilson twenty pounds a year till his wife should come. These sums were to be raised, not exclusively from the towns to which the ministers belonged, but by a common charge on all the people, except those at Salem and Dorchester.† They were excepted because they already had ministers of their own, settled with them, for whom they were to provide.

It may readily be supposed that the sufferings and privations of men, who with a noble spirit took the wilderness of a new world for their portion, must

* See Appendix B.
† Memoirs, p. 22.
† Prince, p. 314. On Nov. 30th of this year (1630), an order was passed at the Court of Assistants to collect £60 for the maintenance of the ministers, and the portions of the several settlements in this payment were as follows: Boston £20, Watertown £20, Charlestown £10, Roxbury £6, Medford £3, Winnesemet £1.
have been severe. During the winter after their arrival at Massachusetts Bay, they were greatly distressed by an extreme scarcity of provisions. Shell-fish, ground-nuts, and acorns were the only food, which many could obtain. "One, that came to the Governor's house to complain of his sufferings, was prevented, being informed that even there the last batch was in the oven." * Of the climate some of their writers speak very favorably. One of them affirms, that "a sup of New England's aire is better than a whole draft of old England's ale." Among the wild animals, the wolf was a very common annoyance, and against him they were obliged to keep special watch. On one occasion in the night, we are told the report of muskets, discharged at the wolves by some people of Watertown, was carried by the wind as far as Roxbury, and excited so much commotion there, that the inhabitants were by beat of drum called to arms, probably apprehending an attack from the Indians. In the town records, orders are found at different times, "that whosoever shall kill a wolf in the town shall have for the same five shillings." In some instances, alarm was taken at the report of still more formidable animals in the neighbourhood; and it is not surprising that imagination sometimes supplied whimsical terrors of this sort.†

The sufferings, to which the infant colony were exposed at the outset, carried discouragement to the hearts of many. The settlement at Watertown soon sustained a heavy loss in the departure of its distinguished leader, Sir Richard Saltonstall. On the

† It is not a little amusing at the present day to read the following statement, so gravely made by Wood: — "Concerning Lions, I will not say that I ever saw any myself; but some affirm that they have seen a Lion at Cape Ann, which is not above ten leagues from Boston: some likewise being lost in the woods have heard such terrible roarings as have made them much agast, which must be either Devils or Lions; there being no other creatures which use to roar, saving Bears, which have not such a terrible kind of roaring." — New England's Prospect, p. 22.
29th of March, 1631, in company with his two daughters and one of his younger sons, he went to Boston; and after spending the night there with the Governor, he proceeded the next day to Salem, sailed thence on the 1st of April, and arrived in London on the 29th of the same month. In the same vessel Thomas Sharp and Mr. Coddington, men of distinction, whose names are found among the earliest members of the Court of Assistants, returned to their native land.* Dudley in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, having mentioned that these and others were about to take passage for England, adds, "the most whereof purpose to return to us again, if God will."† With regard to Sir Richard Saltonstall, this purpose, if ever entertained, was not accomplished. He never returned to New England, though he left his two oldest sons to carry on the good work which he had begun. The interests of the colony, however, were always uppermost in his thoughts and affections. He lost no opportunity of rendering them all the service in his power, in the mother country. On several occasions he interposed his efforts and influence against the misrepresentations and false charges of their enemies. When Gardiner, Morton, and Ratcliffe, instigated by personal resentment, endeavoured to injure the Massachusetts plantation by laying complaints against them before the king and council, in which they were accused of disloyal and rebellious intentions, Sir Richard Saltonstall in connexion with others was actively engaged in opposing their malicious attempts, and gave ample answers to all their allegations.‡

His interest in New England extended beyond the Massachusetts plantation. He was engaged in the settlement of the Connecticut colony, as a patentee, in company with Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook,

† Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st Series, VIII. p. 45.
‡ Hubbard. p. 145.
and others. Winthrop informs us, that in 1635 "a bark of forty tons arrived, set forth with twenty servants, by Sir Richard Saltonstall, to go plant at Connecticut."* This vessel on her return was cast away on the Isle Sable, a disaster which Sir Richard ascribed to her having been detained at Boston and at Connecticut River by persons unfriendly to his enterprise, and for which he claimed satisfaction, in a very interesting letter addressed to Winthrop, Governor of the Connecticut colony.† In the political convulsions, which agitated England after his return thither, he espoused the cause of the Parliament with sufficient zeal to secure their confidence; for when a new high court of justice was instituted for the trial of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, he was commissioned with others to sit for that purpose.‡ Among his services to the colony, it may be mentioned that he was one of the early benefactors of Harvard College, and left in his will a legacy to that institution, then in its infancy. He died about the year 1658.

The family of Sir Richard Saltonstall was an ancient and highly respectable one in Yorkshire. He was the son of Samuel Saltonstall, whose brother had been Lord Mayor of London in 1597. With an honorable zeal and disinterestedness, he gave whatever of influence or wealth he possessed to the Puritan cause. When, at the petition of the Massachusetts company, Charles the First confirmed their patent by charter, Sir Richard was named as the first associate to the six original patentees; and when the government was organized before their departure for New England, he was chosen first assistant, in which office he continued while he remained with the colony. He was a gentleman of noble qualities of mind

and heart, and has always been deservedly regarded as one of the venerated fathers of the Massachusetts settlement. His liberal and tolerant spirit in religious matters was truly remarkable for the times in which he lived, and presents to the eye of the historical inquirer a trait of character as honorable and attractive as it was uncommon. When our ancestors, who came hither to find a sanctuary from persecution, were guilty of the melancholy inconsistency of persecuting others, the indignation of Sir Richard was justly moved, and he wrote an admirable letter of expostulation and rebuke to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, ministers of Boston.* This letter is a noble testimony to his charitable and Christian feelings, and seems to me scarcely less to deserve the praise of being beyond the age, than the celebrated farewell address of John Robinson at Leyden.†

The congregation at Watertown, soon after its establishment, was troubled by an altercation, of which notice is taken by most of the early historians. Mr. Richard Brown, a ruling elder of the congregation, and a man of zealous temperament, had the boldness to avow and defend the opinion, that "the churches of Rome were true churches." In this sentiment, as it would seem from the expressions used by Winthrop, the Rev. Mr. Phillips concurred. Brown probably maintained that the Papal church was not so fundamentally erroneous as to render salvation impossible within her communion. This concession, which we should now regard only as an ordinary exercise of charity or justice, must have been exceedingly offensive in those times of bigotry, especially as it was then made only by the high church

* See Appendix C.
† An interesting account of Sir Richard Saltonstall is given in an article on Haverhill, Hist. Coll. 2d Series, Vol. IV. p. 155; where are likewise notices of his descendants. See also Prince, p. 333; Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 21; Eliot's Biographical Dictionary; and Winthrop, in various places.
party in England. The open avowal of the opinion reflects no little honor on the liberality of the elder. Hubbard, however, is disposed to give Mr. Brown no credit for good motives in defending this sentiment; it could not have come, he thinks, from his “charity to the Romish Christians,” but from his love of disputation; “the violence of some men’s tempers,” he observes, “makes them raise debates when they do not justly offer themselves, and like millstones grind one another, when they want other grist.” But we are not bound to receive the historian’s interpretation of motives in this case; and he himself states, that “the reformed churches did not use to rebaptize those that renounce the religion of Rome and embrace that of the Reformation,” — a circumstance, which might have suggested to Brown considerations in favor of his view of the subject. Whatever may have been the grounds of the opinion in the mind of the elder, as we may readily suppose, it was not suffered to pass without notice and reprehension. On the 21st of July, 1631, the governor, deputy-governor, and Mr. Nowell (elder of the Boston congregation), went to Watertown to confer with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Brown on the subject. An assembly, consisting of members from Boston and Watertown, was called; and thinking, as many in other times have thought, that truth is to be decided by vote, they all, except three, declared the arraigned opinion to be an error. But the matter did not rest here. Brown was neither convinced nor silenced, notwithstanding the power of numbers was against him. He still maintained the ground he had taken; and in consequence of this, and other complaints against him, on the 23d, of November 1631, the Court addressed a letter to the pastor and brethren of the Watertown congregation, advising them to consider whether

* It was a part of one of the articles of impeachment in the trial of Archbishop Laud, that he held the church of Rome to be a true church.

† Page 143.
it were proper to continue Mr. Brown in the office of elder. To this they replied, that if the Court would examine the matter and prove the allegations against Brown, they would do all in their power to redress the evil. Much division appears to have prevailed among the people at Watertown, on account of this and other alleged errors of their elder; and on the 8th of December both parties went with their complaints to the governor. Accordingly the governor, the deputy-governor, and Mr. Nowell again repaired to Watertown, and having called the people together, told them they would proceed to act either as magistrates, or as members of a neighbouring congregation, or as having received a reply to their letter which did not satisfy them. Of these three modes Mr. Phillips, the pastor, selected the second, requesting them to sit merely as members of a neighbouring congregation, a choice suggested, perhaps, by jealousy of encroachment on the liberties of the church. To this proposal the governor and his associates consented, and the subject in question was then discussed. After much debate and much complaint on both sides, a reconciliation for the present was effected; they agreed to observe a day of humiliation and prayer; the pastor gave thanks; and the assembly was dismissed.*

The excitement, however, continued, if it did not increase, till it could be quieted only by displacing Brown from his station in the church; and consequently, towards the end of the year 1632, he was removed from his office of ruling elder. He is described as a man of violent spirit, impetuous in his feelings, and impatient of rebuke. But it is no more than justice to him to remember, that during the dispute in which he was involved, he was doubtless exasperated by reproach and severe treatment, and might perhaps

* For these particulars, see Winthrop, p. 67, 95, and Hubbard, p. 143. There is likewise a notice of Brown's case in the valuable "Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts," Hist. Coll. 1st Series. Vol. IX. p. 21.
have retorted on his opponents the charge of acrimonious deportment. He was a man of respectability and importance in the town, and was the representative of Watertown in the first and in several successive courts of deputies. It appears by the Colony Records, that he was "allowed by the court to keep a ferry over Charles River against his house." Before he came to this country, he had been an officer in one of the churches of the Separatists (as they were called) in London, and was much attached to the discipline of that party. This circumstance renders it the more remarkable, that he should have entertained and declared the opinion concerning the Romish church, which awakened so much indignation among his brethren here. He rendered a praiseworthy service in protecting Dr. William Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, two of the most eminent Puritan divines at that time in England,† by carefully secreting them and conveying them on board their vessel, so that they were enabled to escape from their pursuers.

The name of Brown stands among the foremost in connexion with another excitement, which happened in 1634. Mr. Endicott at Salem, in the earnestness of his zeal against Popery, caused the red cross to be cut out of the king's colors, with no warrant but his own authority. This was done, says Winthrop, "upon the opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the Pope as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing and a relique of antichrist." On this occasion, Richard Brown, in the name of the other freemen, complained to the Court of Assistants against the rash proceeding at Salem. He argued that it would be regarded in England as an act of rebellion, and would draw upon the colony the displeasure of the king and the government. After some consultation, the court agreed to send a letter to Mr.

† For an account of these men, see Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. pp. 69, 96, 280, &c.
Emanuel Downing, a friend of the colony in England, expressing their entire disapprobation of the disrespectful transaction, and their determination to inflict adequate punishment. This letter was to be shown, in order to obviate any unfavorable impressions in the mother country. But their expressions were studiously wary; for it was only the impropriety or imprudence of the act, not the principle on which it was done, that they were disposed to censure.

In February of 1631–32,* an altercation of a political nature occurred, which, for the spirit indicated by it, is well worthy of notice. It was the intention of the leading men in the colony to have made Newtown, now Cambridge, the metropolis of the Massachusetts plantation. The project was in a short time abandoned; for among other reasons, it was soon evident that Boston must be the chief place of commerce. But while this plan was in prospect, the Court determined to erect a fortification at Cambridge, and accordingly passed an order “that sixty pounds be levied out of the several plantations, towards making a palisado.”† The portion of this sum, which the people of Watertown were required to contribute, was eight pounds. When the warrant for levying their part was sent, their pastor, elder, and others, taking alarm at what they supposed to be an unjustifiable exercise of power, “assembled the people, and delivered their opinions that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage.” For this resistance they were sum-

* Before the year 1752, when the new style took place, there was sometimes a confusion in dates, owing to the practice of beginning the year in March, so that in some cases a doubt arose whether January, February, and part of March closed the old year, or began the new one. This introduced the mode of double dating as above. After the 25th of March both modes of calculation agree as to the year. In transactions before the 25th of March in any year, it will be most proper to give the dates as if the year began in January. In this way, the date above stated should be February, 1632.

† Prince, p. 390, where the respective parts of the several towns in this tax are given.
moned to answer before the Governor and Assistants. They defended their opposition to the assessment by stating, that they considered the government of the plantation, as it then stood, simply as a mayor and aldermen, who had no power to make laws or levy taxes, without the consent of the people. They were informed, that they had misunderstood the subject, that the government, as it was constituted, partook of the character of a parliament, and might therefore raise money for the public expenditures in the mode which had been adopted. The pastor and his associates were either satisfied with the explanation, or deemed further resistance fruitless and imprudent. They acknowledged their opinion to be an error, and signed a recantation. In order, I suppose, to make their submission the more complete, and to prevent any injurious influence which their weight of character might have given to their opinion, they were required to read this confession in the assembly at Watertown the next Sabbath. But whether their retraction was the result of a change of conviction or not, the view of the subject, on which they grounded their objection to the tax, was doubtless theoretically correct. The charter gave the Governor and Assistants no power to raise money by taxation. This power, however, was assumed for reasons of convenience, perhaps by a sort of necessity; and the people, finding it exercised justly and mildly, silently acquiesced in the assumption.*

It is worthy of remark, that in this occurrence we find the earliest manifestation of that watchful jealousy of unauthorized taxation, which was afterwards developed so strongly, and with such serious consequences, in the disputes between the colonies and the mother country. The grievance complained of in this case, like that of the duty on tea at a subsequent period

* For an interesting and satisfactory elucidation of this point, see Mr. Savage's note on the subject, Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 70.
was in itself inconsiderable. In both cases, the opposition was aimed at the principle, which was thought to be full of danger,—not at the effects of it in an individual instance, which might be trifling.*

In 1632 occurs the first notice of a fishery, which not many years ago was a profitable branch of business in the town, and is of considerable importance at the present day. We are informed, that in April of that year, "a weir was erected by Watertown men upon Charles River three miles above the town, where they took great store of shads." The permission to do this furnished Dudley, the disaffected deputy-governor, with an occasion of accusation against the governor, to whom at that time he bore no good will. When required to specify his charges, among other complaints of an abuse of power, he demanded to be satisfied by what authority the governor "had given them of Watertown leave to erect a weir upon Charles River." The governor replied, that when the people of Watertown asked for permission to build this weir, he told them, as it was not within his official power to grant it, they must petition the Court on the subject; but since the fishing season would be over before the Court should be assembled, he advised them to proceed to their object without delay, assuring them that the Court would doubtless sanction an act so manifestly for the public benefit, and that he himself would use all his influence to secure their approbation of it. He further remarked, as a justification of the proceeding, that the people of Roxbury had built a weir without asking permission of the Court.† The occasion of the application from the inhabitants of Watertown on this subject is worthy of remark. Their crop of corn had failed the preceding summer; and this failure they as-

* Hubbard, regarding only the amount of the tax required, implies, with an air of petulance, that, as their share was but eight pounds, the Watertown people needed not to have stood so much upon their liberty, as to refuse payment." p. 144.
† Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 84.
cribed to the want of fish, which they used for manure. In order to secure a more plentiful supply of this kind of compost for their fields, they petitioned for the abovementioned privilege. The use of fish for manure was common among our fathers, and they are supposed to have learned it from the Indians. This practice, it is thought, impoverished the soil; and instances are mentioned, in which it is said to have rendered the land nearly useless. Whether the opinion be well founded, I must leave to others to determine.

In the difficulties, which grew out of the intercourse between the Massachusetts settlers and the Indians by whom they were surrounded, the inhabitants of Watertown had no very conspicuous share. A few instances are related of wrongs or grievances on both sides. In March, 1631, Sagamore John made complaint to the Court, then in session at Watertown, of two wigwams being burnt by the carelessness of Sir Richard Saltonstall's servant. The court voted that Sir Richard should compensate the Indians for their loss. This he did by giving them seven yards of cloth, for which his servant was required, at the expiration of his service, to pay him fifty shillings sterling.* As the injury appears to have been undesigned, this transaction indicates a solicitude to do justice to the Indians, and to maintain good neighbourhood with them. On another occasion, one Hopkins was convicted of selling fire-arms, powder, and shot to an Indian, and was sentenced to be whipped and branded in the cheek. Of the danger of such a traffic with the natives, the first settlers were, with good reason, exceedingly apprehensive; but all their regulations to prevent it soon proved inefficacious.

The only remarkable instance of Indian vengeance, belonging to this narrative, was in the melancholy fate of John Oldham. Before the settlement at Massachusetts Bay, this man had resided in Plymouth.

* Prince, p. 345.
The violent and disgraceful conduct, of which he in connexion with Lyford was guilty at that place, is well known.* He was banished from Plymouth, after being obliged to pass between two files of armed men, each of whom gave him a blow with a musket, and bade him “go and mend his manners.” He first went to Nantasket, but soon after settled at Watertown, and was a member of the congregation there at the time of his death. He had either learned wisdom from experience, and become a reformed man, or, as has been thought by some, his faults were greatly exaggerated by the Plymouth people; for after his removal to Watertown, he was highly respected, and was a deputy from the town in the first General Court in 1632. He became a distinguished trader among the Indians, and in 1636 was sent to traffic with them at Block Island. The Indians got possession of Oldham’s vessel, and murdered him in the most barbarous manner. The fact was discovered by one John Gallop, who on his passage from Connecticut was obliged by change of wind to bear up for Block Island. He recognised Oldham’s vessel, and, seeing the deck full of Indians, suspected there had been foul play. After much exertion and management, he boarded her, and found the body of Oldham cut and mangled, and the head clef asunder. Two boys, and two Narraganset Indians, who were with Oldham, the murderers had spared. This atrocious deed excited great indignation in the Massachusetts settlements, and was one of the immediate causes of the celebrated Pequot war, in which that brave and fierce tribe was entirely extinguished.†

Instances of superstition, sufficiently amusing at the present day, are of course to be found in the annals

† Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 189, and Hutchinson, Vol. I. pp. 59, 75, &c. Of the combined forces for the Pequot war the Massachusetts colony supplied 160 men, and of this number Watertown furnished fourteen.
of this period. Winthrop tells us, that at Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation; "that the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom." Such pious interpretations were the fashion of the age, and by no means peculiar to New England. We shall be induced to forbear from a smile of contempt at our Puritan fathers on this occasion when we find Archbishop Usher, one of the most profound scholars of his own or of any times, and Dr. Samuel Ward, president of Sidney College and Margaret reader of divinity lectures, gravely intimating to each other in their correspondence, that there must be some portentous meaning in the circumstance of a book entitled "A Preparation to the Cross," being found in the maw of a cod-fish, which was sold in the market at Cambridge.*

It seems a very remarkable complaint, so early as 1635, that "all the towns in the bay began to be much straitened by their own nearness to one another, and their cattle being so much increased." This is said to be accounted for by the government having at first required every man to live within half a mile from the meeting-house in his town.† The want of room appears, from some cause, to have been peculiarly felt in Watertown; and on several occasions the inhabitants emigrated and formed new settlements. The first of these was in 1635, at the place afterward called Weathersfield in Connecticut, where, as we are told, some people of Watertown, before they had obtained leave to go beyond the jurisdiction of the

† See Mr. Savage's note, Winthrop, Vol. II. p. 152.
Massachusetts government, "took the opportunity of seizing a brave piece of meadow." This brave piece of meadow, it seems, was coveted likewise by their neighbours of Cambridge, some of whom, being about to remove, had fixed their eyes upon this attractive spot, and were vexed at having been anticipated in the possession of it. The consequence was not a little contention and ill-will. Indeed the Watertown plantation at Weathersfield was a scene of dissension, both within and without. In the course of three or four years, the church at that place, which consisted of but seven members, fell into such a state of discord, that the parent church at Watertown thought it necessary to send two of their members to confer with them. Mr. Davenport and others of New Haven were also called in to effect a reconciliation; but in vain; the dissension was not quelled for many years.*

Some scanty notices occur, which indicate the condition and management of affairs in Watertown at this early period of its history. It appears from the town records, that a vigilant attention to the general interests of the settlement was required of every individual; for in 1639 it was ordered, "if any of the freemen be absent from any public town meeting, at the time appointed, sufficient warning being given, he shall forfeit for every time to the town 2s. 6d." In the same year, it was ordered, that "the two fairs at Watertown, the one upon the first Friday of the 4th month, the other upon the first Friday of the 7th month, shall be kept upon the trayning-place," — an intimation that there must have been more business in the town, than one would expect at so early a date. Soon after this, an order is found in the records, by which "the meeting-house is appointed for a watchhouse to the use of the town,"† and which may lead

* Hubbard, pp. 177, 307, 314.
† Here is the first mention of a meeting-house in the town. It is pretty well ascertained, that it stood on a rising ground between the
to the inference, that it was thought necessary to maintain a patrol in the night, probably for fear of the Indians.

Mr. Phillips was the sole minister of Watertown till 1639. In that year the Rev. John Knowles, "a godly man and a prime scholar," arrived in New England, and on the 19th of December was ordained second pastor of the Watertown church in connexion with Mr. Phillips. The peculiarity of the proceeding on this occasion drew upon the church the notice and animadversion of their brethren in other places. At that time it was the custom, when two were associated in the ministry in the same place, to induct one into office as pastor, and the other as teacher. This ecclesiastical distinction, whatever it was, seems to have been deemed important by many. But Mr. Knowles, as well as Mr. Phillips, was ordained as pastor;* so that the Watertown church had two pastors, and no teacher, which was thought to be a censurable anomaly. Another irregularity was, that at the ordination of Mr. Knowles no notice was given of the transaction to the neighbouring churches, nor to the magistrates. It was conducted wholly as an affair of their own, and by themselves. This mode of proceeding was probably owing to a very jealous solicitude to maintain and to manifest their entire ecclesiastical independence. The Congregational principle, which recognises in every religious society the right to choose and ordain its own ministers (though the assistance of others, by a general and laudable custom, of Deacon Moses Coolidge and Mr. Daniel Sawin, on the north side of the road to Cambridge. There was a common before it, which was used as a training-field.

*Dr. Kendal is therefore incorrect in saying that Mr. Knowles "was teacher with Mr. Phillips." Cent. Discourse, p. 22. The fact, that he was not so, was the very ground of complaint. It is true he is called teacher in Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial; but surely the statement of Winthrop (II. 18), and others of the early New England writers, is of higher authority with regard to a matter which came under their personal knowledge.
is requested on such occasions, as a matter of courtesy and fellowship), was doubtless espoused and defended by Mr. Phillips, whose notions concerning subjects of this sort were for some time regarded with suspicion, and who was unsupported in his views till Mr. Cotton arrived and gave his sanction to the same principles. It is probable, that Mr. Phillips was willing to carry his theory into practice, at the ordination of his colleague, and persuaded his church to adopt the course for which they were blamed. The right, which they assumed, in proceeding without giving notice to other churches, appears not to have been generally recognised at that time.*

Mr. Knowles did not long remain at Watertown. In 1642, in company with other clergymen he went to Virginia, in consequence of the earnest intreaties of some people in that colony, that their spiritual wants might be supplied by faithful ministers from New England. Mr. Phillips had been requested to go on this distant service; but he declined the

*See the case of the Malden church (in 1671). Hubbard, p. 550.

With respect to the distinction of office in the ministry, before mentioned, Lechford in treating of the ecclesiastical usages of the Massachusetts colony has the following remarks: "Generally, for the most part, they hold the Pastors and Teachers offices to be distinct; the Teacher to minister a word of knowledge, the Pastor a word of wisdom; but some hold them all one; as in the church of Watertown there are two pastors, neither will that church send any messengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination." Plain Dealing, p. 4. What Lechford meant by the word of knowledge and the word of wisdom, as designating separate duties, I confess myself unable to comprehend. Probably the distinction between pastor and teacher, founded on Ephesians, iv. 11., was at no time very clear or well defined. If the one was devoted chiefly to parochial duties, while the peculiar business of the other was to study and expound the instructions of sacred truth, or if, as has been said, the teacher's office was principally to explain doctrines, while the pastor was to enforce them with suitable counsels and exhortations, it is easy to see that their respective duties would be continually running into each other, and that, as the line of separation could not be much observed in practice, the distinction would soon become merely titular. Such doubtless was the case; and it may be presumed that pastor and teacher sustained towards each other, in fact, only the relation of colleagues or assistants, with no specific department belonging to each. On this subject, see Mr. Savage's note, Winthrop, I. 31, and Hist. Coll. 1st Series, VII. 271.
invitation, and his colleague took his place. Knowles and his assistants were heartily welcomed by the people in Virginia, and their preaching was blessed with an abundant success. But the Episcopalian influence, which prevailed in the government of that province, soon put a stop to their labors. As they would not conform to the orders and usages of the church of England, they were compelled to leave Virginia. Mr. Knowles returned to Massachusetts, and was again in the ministry at Watertown, associated with Mr. Phillips's successor. He continued there but a short time, and then returned to England after an absence of more than eleven years. Few men were held in so high respect for piety, learning, and talents. He was a native of Lincolnshire, and after having been a student at Magdalen College, Cambridge, was chosen fellow of Katherine-Hall in 1625. In this situation he was employed as a tutor, and had at one time forty pupils, many of whom afterwards became distinguished as members of parliament, or as eminent preachers. In a moment of weakness, he suffered himself to join others in giving a vote for one of Archbishop Laud's bell-ringers, who had been proposed as candidate for a fellowship in Magdalen College,—an act which he never remembered, or spoke of, but with sorrow and repentance. Some time after, he received an invitation to be lecturer at Colchester, which he accepted, and performed the duties of the office with great ability and success. In that place he formed an intimate acquaintance with the Rev. John Rogers of Dedham, one of the most gifted and awakening preachers of his age.* He was with him at his death, and preached his funeral sermon. About this time, the schoolmaster's place at Colchester became vacant, and Mr. Knowles used his influence.

*This was the man of whom Bishop Brownrigge used to say,—"Mr. Rogers does more good with his wild notes than we [the bishops] with our set music."
to have a person chosen in opposition to the recommendation of Laud. On this account, the Archbishop was so angry, that he would suffer him to remain there no longer; and as his license was revoked, he departed for New England. After his return to his native country, he was a preacher in the cathedral at Bristol, and was useful and greatly respected. Being one of the many, who were silenced by the act of uniformity, he went to London, and there preached in private. He remained in the city during the desolating plague in 1665, fearless of danger, and rendered great service by his labors and visits in that distressing extremity. In 1672 he became a colleague with the Rev. Thomas Kentish, and preached at St. Katherine's. The attachment of Mr. Knowles to the duties of his profession was strong, and unshaken by suffering. It was his fate to meet persecution and severe trials, while in London; and to the suggestions of his friends, who were alarmed for his safety, he used to reply, — "In truth I had rather be in a jail, where I might have a number of souls, to whom I might preach the truths of my blessed Master, than to live idle in my own house, without any such opportunities." It is said he was so fervent and earnest, that he sometimes preached till he fainted and fell down. He died on the 10th of April, 1685, at a very advanced age.*

* Mather (Magnar. Book iii. Chap. 3) and Johnson (Wonder-Working Providence, Book ii. Chap. 15, and iii. 11,) have, each in his usual style, given an account of Mr. Knowles and his doings. See also Winthrop, II. pp. 18, 78, 96; Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, ii. 349; and Wilson's History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, I. 154. Knowles's letters to Gov. Leverett in 1674 and 1677, evincing the interest he felt in the colony and in Harvard College, may be found in Hutch. Coll. 447, 514. Other letters from him are published in Hist. Coll., 3d Series, I. 62, 65. — Lechford's passing notice of him leads us to infer, that he was thought to be peculiar in some of his ideas concerning ecclesiastical matters: "And also I remember Master Knolles, now one of the pastors at Watertowne, when he first came to be admitted at Boston, never made any mention, in his profession of faith, of any officers of the church in particular, or their duties; and yet was received." Plain Dealing, p. 10.
The mode of supporting ministers gave rise, about this time, to some dispute. In Boston, and for some years in other places, their support was derived from voluntary weekly contributions. But this was found to be too precarious a dependence, and in many places recourse was had to taxation. The introduction of this mode gave great offence to those, who did not like to be compelled to pay for the maintenance of the clergy. Among others, "one Briscoe of Watertown" was so indignant at the supposed grievance, that he wrote, and circulated privately, a book against this way of supporting ministers. This book, of which I presume no copy is now to be found, assumed a tone not only of argument, but of severe and bold reproach. The magistrates thought, that such an offence was not to be overlooked. Briscoe was summoned before the Court, and acknowledged his fault in the use of contumelious expressions, and indeed in having published the book before he had presented his complaints on the subject to the proper authorities. He was fined ten pounds, and one of his publishers was fined forty shillings.

*So says Hutchinson, I. 376. The notice which Josselyn takes of these contributions, as he witnessed them, is too curious to be omitted. After remarking that the clergy lived upon the "bounty of their hearers," he proceeds to the following particulars: "On Sundays in the afternoon, when Sermon is ended, the people in the Galleries come down, and march two abreast up one side and down the other, until they come before the desk, for Pulpit they have none; before the desk is a long pue where the Elders and Deacons sit, one of them with a money box in his hand, into which the people, as they pass, put their offering; some a shilling, some two shillings, half a Crown, five shillings, according to their ability and good will; after this, they conclude with a Psalm." -Account of Two Voyages to New England, p. 180. It is easy to see that cases would not be infrequent, in which the "good will" would by no means be equal to the "ability."

†Winthrop, II. 93, and Hubbard, 412. See appendix D. This book excited no little commotion. Hubbard gives vent to his indignation against Briscoe by saying, that such an absurd reasoner "fuste potius erudendi quam argumento." Mr. Briscoe was a tanner; and the year before this dispute, his barn was burnt, which was deemed a retribution for his refusing "to let his neighbour have leather for corn, saying he had corn enough." However churlish or unkind this refusal might have been, yet surely here was no dignus vindice nodus. But these special
The disposition to emigrate still continued among the Watertown people. In 1642, Thomas Mayhew, whose name appears very early among the first settlers of Watertown, and who in the year just mentioned was chosen one of the Selectmen (as the office was afterwards designated), began the settlement of Martha's Vineyard, and removed his family thither. Lord Stirling laid claim to this and other islands. From his agent, James Forett, Mayhew had, on the 10th of October, 1641, obtained a grant of the land, and he was for many years governor of the island. His son, Thomas Mayhew Jr., was pastor of the church gathered there. This name is much and deservedly honored in the annals of New England. From these ancestors descended the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, one of the most enlightened theologians and most energetic patriots our county has ever produced.*

Another plantation was commenced, by some of the people of Watertown, at Nashaway, which was called Lancaster. But the settlement was unprosperous, and its progress slow.†

On the first of July, 1644, died the Rev. George Phillips. The loss was heavily felt not only by the town, but by the colony in general; for he was one of their best and most venerable men. He was born at Raymond, in the county of Norfolk, England. Having given early indications of deep piety, uncommon talents, and love of learning, his parents sent him to the university,‡ where he distinguished himself by remarkable progress in his studies, especially in

‡ Prince (p. 375) supposes it to have been the University of Cambridge.
theological studies, to which he manifested an early partiality. He was settled in the ministry at Boxsted, Suffolk, and his strong attachment to the principles of the old Nonconformists brought him into difficulty with some of his hearers. They laid their complaints on this subject before Mr. Rogers, of Dedham, who gave this honorable testimony of his confidence in his highly esteemed fellow-laborer, that “he believed Mr. Phillips would preach nothing without some good evidence for it from the word of God.” As the storm of persecution grew darker and more threatening, Mr. Phillips resolved to take his lot with the Puritans, who were about to depart for New England. He joined the company, who arrived in 1630. On board the vessel, by his religious ministrations, (as Gov. Winthrop testifies in a letter written at that time) he “gave very good content to all the company, as he did in all his exercises, so as they had much cause to bless God for him.” Soon after his arrival, he was smitten with deep affliction in the loss of his wife, who, though an only daughter, had left her parents, to share cheerfully and affectionately the sufferings of her husband. She died at Salem, and was buried by the side of the lady Arbella Johnson, “who,” as Mather says, “also took New England in her way to heaven.” The ministry of Mr. Phillips at Watertown was fruitful of religious blessings to his flock, and he gave himself to his work with unwearied assiduity and devout zeal. His church expressed very happily and laudably their affectionate respect for the memory of their pastor, by providing for the education of his eldest son, Samuel Phillips, who was afterward the min-

* There is no little confusion in the old writers respecting this place of Phillips’s ministry. “Mr. Hubbard” (says Prince, p. 375) styles him an able and faithful minister of the Gospel at Boxsted in Essex, near Groton in Suffolk: but Boxford being in Suffolk, and Boxsted in Essex, and both near Groton, I suppose that Boxford, in Dr. C. Mather is a mistake of the printer.” Prince, in correcting Mather about the town, has himself fallen into an error about the county, for Boxsted is in Suffolk about 60 miles N. N. E. from London.
ister of Rowley. Mr. Phillips is said to have been an able controversial writer. One of his hearers obtained from him a written copy of arguments, which he had used in conversation concerning the baptism of infants and church discipline, and sent it to England where it was printed, accompanied with an answer. Mr. Phillips thought it necessary to take notice of this book, and he published a "Reply to a Confutation of some Grounds of Infant Baptism; as also concerning the Form of a Church, put forth against me by one Thomas Lamb." A preface for this work was written by the Rev. Mr. Shepard of Cambridge. I have been able to discover no copy of this publication, and I presume it is not now to be found. Phillips also engaged in a controversy, by letter, with his neighbour Mr. Shepard, on some points of church discipline. The discussion is said to have been distinguished by candor and urbanity on both sides, but was never published. This subject was one, in which the minister of Watertown was deeply versed and peculiarly skilful. He was the earliest advocate in Massachusetts for the Congregational order and discipline; and his views were for a time regarded as novel and extreme.* He seems to have been more thorough and decided in renouncing the ecclesiastical forms of the church of England, than others were at that time; for he declared, that "if they would have him stand minister by that calling, which he received from the prelates in England, he would leave them." † It is mentioned

---

* "It is said that Mr. Phillips of Watertown was at the first more acquainted with the way of church discipline, since owned by Congregational churches; but, being then without any to stand by him (for woe to him that is alone), he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who by his preaching and practice did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form, which Mr. Phillips labored to have introduced into the churches before." Hubbard, p. 186.

† This is stated on the authority of a letter from Samuel Fuller, the physician of Plymouth, found in Gov. Bradford's Letter Book. See Hist. Coll. 1st Series, Vol. III. p. 74. And yet, notwithstanding this apparently uncompromising spirit, the name of Phillips is found among the
as a singularity in Mr. Phillips’s ecclesiastical conduct, that he administered the ordinances to the churches in Boston, when their pastor Wilson had gone to England; for, strange as it may seem, the right of a minister to administer the ordinances to any church but his own, was at that time so much denied or doubted, that Phillips is said to have been the only man, who was willing to venture upon such an exercise of the sacred office. He was evidently a man of firmness and independence, conscientious in forming and fearless in maintaining his opinions. He was noted for his learning in the original languages of the Scriptures, which he is said to have read through six times every year, and to have remarked that he always found something new in them. It is recorded of him, with beautiful simplicity, that he was “a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others.”

There is a tradition, that he lived in the house now occupied by Mr. Daniel Sawin, opposite the old burying-ground. Among his descendants was the late Hon. William Phillips of Boston, Lieut. Governor of this Commonwealth.*

Mr. Phillips’s successor in the ministry at Watertown was the Rev. John Sherman. The date of his settlement cannot be ascertained. Our records make no mention of the transactions concerning it. We only know from them, that he was in the pastoral office in the town as early as 1648. In that year is recorded a grant of 120 pounds, to be equally divided

* The most ample account of Mr. Phillips is given by Mather, (Mag- nal. Book iii. Chap. 4,) from which others have for the most part drawn their information. The sorry muse of Johnson (Wonder-Working Providence, Book i. Chap. 23,) has endeavoured to grace his name with a well meant effusion of panegyric. Frequent notices of him occur in Winthrop. Eliot & Allen (Biographical Dictionaries) have given short accounts of him. See also Holmes’s Annals, Vol. I. p. 276, and Brook’s Lives of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 493.
between him and Mr. Knowles, who was then associated with him in the ministry. Mr. Sherman came to New England in 1634, and preached at Watertown as an assistant to Mr. Phillips for a few weeks only. The first sermon he delivered was on a day of thanksgiving, kept by the people of the town in the open air under a tree. There were several clergymen present; and, we are told, they "wondered exceedingly to hear a subject so accurately and excellently handled by one, who had never before performed any such public service." Shortly after this, he removed to New Haven, and was earnestly requested to settle as a colleague at Milford. This invitation he declined from motives of delicacy towards the person who was already settled in that place. He then, for a while, quitted his professional duties entirely, went into civil life, and was chosen a magistrate of the colony. In this office he continued two or three years. After the decease of Mr. Phillips, the church at Watertown, anxious to form a permanent connexion with a man, whose services, for the short time he was among them, had been so very acceptable, invited Mr. Sherman to become their pastor. He returned to the duties of the sacred office, and accepted the invitation, though about the same time he was solicited to settle in the ministry by one church in Boston, and by more than one church in London.

The contest between the king and the Parliament, by which England was at this time convulsed, excited of course a very lively interest in New England. The feelings, which the people had brought to this western world, would not suffer them to be neutral in such a conflict; and they would naturally espouse with zeal the cause of the Parliament. One Jenyson, however, who was captain of a military company at Watertown, and a man of considerable repute, seems not to have sympathized with the general feeling on this subject. He ventured, in conversation to call in
question the lawfulness of the proceedings of the English Parliament; and for this offensive freedom of speech he was in 1644 cited to answer before the magistrates. He did not deny that he entertained scruples respecting the conduct of the Parliament, but complained that he should have been so suddenly called to answer in public for a mere matter of opinion, before any inquiries had been made, or any conversation held with him, in a private and friendly way. The Court were conscious that they had proceeded too rashly with him; but still they feared that with such opinions he would be an unsafe man to hold a military commission, though he acknowledged the Parliament party to be the better and more honest men, and was only not quite sure that, if he were in England, he should feel authorized to appear in arms against his king. One would suppose, that this expression of loyalty was sufficiently guarded and moderate, to save Capt. Jenyson from the censure of his brethren. But such was the spirit of the times, that he found it prudent to retract even this testimony of allegiance to his sovereign; and after the court had given him time to consider the subject, he satisfied them by declaring that, on further examination, he believed the cause of the Parliament to be entirely just, and that, if he were in England, he would engage in its defence.

In the year 1647 there occurs, in the town records, the first notice of some complaint and difficulty about what was called "the remote meadow." Some alleged that their portion of it was not laid out, and others that what was assigned to them was bad. The remote meadow was probably some tract of land in the distant western part of the town, of which a division had been made among the first settlers on some principle deemed equitable. It is likely that the interfering claims and jealousies, which are common in such cases, caused much dissatisfaction. From the transactions at the town meetings, it appears that the
meadow land was a source of uneasiness, and a subject of votes, for several years.

At a meeting of "the seven men," or Selectmen, on the 28th of December, 1647, "Mr. Biscoe and Isaac Stearnes were chosen to consider how the bridge over the river shall be built, and to agree with the workmen for the doing of it according to their best discretion." This is the earliest mention of a bridge over Charles river at Watertown. Till this time, we may presume, the stream had been crossed only by ferries. It has already been mentioned, that Richard Brown was empowered by the court to keep a ferry opposite his house. The first bridge was doubtless a rude and temporary structure. Twenty years after the above date, the land "upon the meeting-house common" was ordered to be sold to defray the expense of a bridge at the mill, which was "to be built with baskets;" and the selectmen were directed "to order the number of baskets, and the plan and manner of placing them."

The term here used in relation to the architecture of the bridge, I have been informed, was employed to designate certain frames of wood, like boxes, placed at regular distances, filled with stones, and connected by timbers. Perhaps the term was borrowed from military affairs. At sieges, use has sometimes been made of baskets filled with earth, and ranged on the top of the parapet. These are about a foot and a half in height, about the same in diameter at the top, and eight or ten inches at bottom; so that, when set together, they leave a sort of embrasures at the bottom. It would seem from subsequent notices, that the bridge spoken of in the above extract was not designed for the passage of carriages of any kind, but was merely a foot or horse bridge. At that early period, commodities were transported almost entirely in panniers on horseback. Wheel-carriages were very rarely, if ever, used; and when they did pass the river, they doubtless forded it, as may now be done at low tide. With
this foot or horse bridge the people were satisfied for more than fifty years after this date. It was placed a few rods further down the stream, than the present bridge.

It is recorded in 1647, that the town disposed of their right "in the palisado that inclosed the woulfe pen." I know not what we are to understand by "the wolf pen," unless it were an enclosure surrounded by a high and strong defence, into which the sheep and cattle were driven for security from the wolves in the night, and which was owned and used by all the town in common.

At a meeting of the seven men in 1648, it was "ordered that Mr. Biscoe and John Sherman* shall mark certaine trees in the highway with a W, that shall continue for shade; and that whosoever shall fall any trees so marked shall forfeit 18 shillings to the town for every tree so fallen." It is somewhat remarkable, that such a provision should have been made only eighteen years after the first settlement of the place. The example is worthy of imitation.

There are few things, which contribute more to the beauty and comfort of a village, than rows of trees by the road side; and it is a matter of surprise and regret, that a mode of improvement so agreeable to good taste, and attended with so little expense or trouble, should be so much neglected at the present day.

In 1649 a vote was passed to build a school-house. Whether this was the first school-house erected in the town, cannot be ascertained. Schools had been kept, and teachers employed, several years before this time. At the same meeting, it was agreed to build a gallery in the meeting-house. Before and about this time.

* The name of this individual appears frequently in the transactions of the town from the beginning, and he seems to have been in high repute. Whether there was a family relation between him and the Rev. John Sherman, I know not. There probably was, however; for they both came from the same place, Dedham in England. He held at different times the offices of captain, town clerk, and representative.
votes were likewise passed about the mill; and in 1653 it was ordered that “the mill shall be rated to the ministry for this year, at a hundred and forty pounds.”

At a public town meeting held in October, 1654, a movement was made, though it seems to have proved ineffectual, towards erecting a new house of worship. It was “ordered by the inhabitants that there should be a new meeting-house builded.” They fixed upon the place where it should stand, and voted to raise 150 pounds “to begin the work withal.” It was likewise ordered, “that Cambridge meeting-house shall be our pattern in all points.” Soon after this an agreement was made by the Selectmen with John Sherman to build a meeting-house for the town, “like unto Cambridge in all points.” It was to be finished by the last of September, 1656, and Mr. Sherman was to receive for it four hundred pounds, together with some parts of the old house. From notices of votes at subsequent meetings in 1654, it appears there was difficulty or disagreement about the place, where the new house should stand; and at last this point was left “to the determination of three of the honoured Magistrates,” whose decision was to be final. But, notwithstanding these preparatory measures, the meeting-house was not built. The purpose was abandoned for the present; but was resumed at different periods afterward, till it was accomplished.*

* As Johnson’s Wonder-Working Providence was published in 1654, the following extract seems to belong to this place. He describes Watertown as “scituate upon one of the branches of Charles River, a fruitfull plat, and of large extent, watered with many pleasant springs and small rivulets, running like veins throughout her body, which hath caused her inhabitants to scatter in such manner, that their Sabbath-Assemblies prove very thin, if the season favour not, and hath made this great town (consisting of 160 families) to shew nothing delightfull to the eye in any place.” B. I. ch. 23. If the latter part of this description be correct, perhaps it may furnish an explanation of the abovementioned attempt to have a new meeting-house; for if the population were thus scattered, a great part of them must have found it very inconvenient to attend worship in a house situated at the eastern
In 1662, "the proprietors of the farm lands" are mentioned as holding separate meetings for the regulation of certain affairs of their own. By this designation is doubtless meant the same part of the town, the inhabitants of which, as will be seen, were afterwards called The Farmers, and which is now Weston.

It would seem that, at this early period, the meeting-house was not divided into pews, held by individuals as their property. It was probably filled with long and undivided seats, which were considered as the common property of the whole town, and in which places were assigned to individuals and families according to some authorized arrangement. That such was the case would appear, at least, from the record of a town-meeting in 1663, when a committee "made their return of what they had jointly agreed upon about the seating of the inhabitants in the meeting-house; which being twice read, it was accepted by the town." At the same time, it was ordered, "that the next Sabbath day every person shall take his or her seat appointed to them, and not go into any other seat where others are placed; and if one of the inhabitants shall act contrary, he or she shall for the first offence be reproved by the deacons; and for the second offence to pay a fine of two shillings, and the like fine for every offence after." The provision on this subject was extended still further, by ordering that for the future Nathaniel Treadaway and Joseph Tainter, with the deacons, are chosen and empowered to act in all emergent occasions, to place people in the meeting-house, as need do require."

extremity of so large an settlement. What Johnson means by placing Watertown on one of the branches of Charles River, I cannot tell; he blundered in this statement, and it is to be hoped that he blundered in saying the town presented "nothing delightful to the eye in any place."

* The watchful care of our ancestors to secure the quiet and good order of the Sabbath services from all annoyances, is manifest from the following amusing notice, at the same meeting with the above: "Thomas Whitney was chosen to take care that no dogs come into the meeting-house upon the Sabbath days, or other times of public worship, by
Minute and careful regulations as to the duties of the Sabbath were enforced from high authority, as will appear from the following record at a meeting of the Selectmen in 1665: "The pastor being present, the two Constables were chosen to take care of the youth upon the Sabbath days and other times of public worship in reference to the order of Court." And that a vigilant guardianship was exercised over manners and morals is evident from a notice, that "James Hollen appearing before the Selectmen to answer for his living from under family government, and mispending his time by idleness, the Selectmen gave him a fortnight's time to provide himself a master; and in case he did it not in that time, that then they would provide one for him."

In October, 1674, an attempt was made to procure assistance in the ministry for the Rev. Mr. Sherman. "The town declared by vote, that they do desire Mr. Thomas Clark to be helpful to Mr. Sherman in preaching of the word amongst us; and this in order to a further proceeding with him in reference to settling amongst us by way of office, if God make way for it." We learn nothing more concerning this Mr. Clark, and nothing is said of the result of this vote. It is probable, that Mr. Clark did not comply with the request of the town, and that in consequence of his refusal, the proposal to obtain an assistant for Mr. Sherman was for the present dropped.

In the summer of 1676* a very remarkable mortality

whipping them out of the house, or any that be near to the house at such times; and to have for his pains and care thirty shillings the yeare." A severe vote of a similar kind was passed against the dogs so late as the year 1746.

* According to Hubbard, p. 648. But the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury, in a letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle, places it in 1670. The letter is dated September 30th of that year, and gives the following curious particulars: "There hath been a rare work of God this summer in a great pond at Watertown, where all the fish died, and were not willing to die in the waters, but as many as could, thrust themselves on shore, and there died; not less than twenty cart load, by estimation, lying dead all at once round about the pond. An eel was found alive in the
happened among the fish "in a great pond in Watertown," (by which is meant what is now called Fresh Pond.) It is stated that they died in immense numbers and were floated to the shore, or swam to the shore and died there. Some, in the spirit of the times, regarded this singular phenomenon as an extraordinary and inexplicable interposition of Providence; while those, who were disposed to speculate about it, conceived it to be "the effect of some mineral vapour, which at that time had made an irruption into the water." Whether this be a satisfactory account of the matter may be questioned; but of the occurrence of the fact, as related, there seems no reason to doubt.

After the Restoration in England, many from whatever cause had neglected to take the oath of allegiance. At a town-meeting a committee was appointed to see that every one, who had not taken the oath of fidelity and allegiance, as the law required, should do so. There was probably a general feeling in the colony, that it was politic or necessary to remove from themselves all suspicion of being unfriendly to the king and government in the mother country.

What kind of oversight was taken of the young people, at this time, may be learned from the record of some meetings in 1679. The Selectmen agreed that "they would go two and two through the town to see that all the children be taught to read the English tongue, and some orthodox catechism, and to take the names of all youths from ten years old unto twenty years old, that they may be publickly catechized by the pastor in the meeting-house." Soon after this, a vote was passed to do "something for placing of the sandy border of the pond, and being cast into the water, she wriggled out again as fast as she could, and died on the shore. An inhabitant of the town living by the pond, his cattle used daily to drink there; but then, for three days together, they refused there to drink, but after three days they drank of the pond as they were wont to do. When the fish began to come ashore, before they died, many were taken and eaten, both by English and Indians, without any hurt; and the fish were very good." Hist. Coll. 1st Series, III. 177.
youth, that so they may be the better inspected in time of public worship." A committee was chosen for this purpose, and also to enlarge the meeting-house, that it might accommodate as many as possible "both of the youth and grown persons." This was to be done by building galleries in the meeting-house, and twenty-five pounds were added to the town rate for that object. It would seem from this arrangement, that the children and the younger portion of the congregation had distinct seats assigned to them on the Sabbath, in order to place them more effectually under the watch and care of the older people. The time, when such regulations were thought useful and judicious, has passed away; but they deserve to be mentioned here as proofs of the solicitude, with which our fathers attended to the interests of the rising generation.

In the record of a meeting of the Selectmen, April 5, 1680, the following notice is found: "In reference to a late order from Honoured General Court, in which the Selectmen of several towns were ordered to make a return concerning what was done, or further to be done, referring to the subscription to the New College, Deacon Henry Bright and William Bond were by the Selectmen appointed to go down to Boston to make said return." The sum contributed by Watertown was £41. 16s. 3d. "The New College" must have been the edifice called Harvard, which stood on the spot where the building now bearing that name stands, and was built in 1672 by contribution from the different towns in the colony. If the record refers to this contribution, however, it is strange that it should be so late as eight years after the erection of the college.

The growing infirmities of the Rev. Mr. Sherman again turned the attention of the town to the subject of procuring assistance for him. In November, 1680, it was voted, "in regard of the bodily weakness that is upon pastor Sherman, that he stands in need of a helper to carry on the work of the ministry." It is not mentioned
that any measures were taken to obtain the proposed help till November, 1634, when the town agreed to employ for this purpose one of three, whose names were specified; Mr. Cotton, Mr. Leavitt, and Mr. Brattle.* The first application was to be made to Mr. Cotton, and "the utmost endeavours were to be used to gain him." Whether the application was actually made to him, or to either of the three, or, if made, was successful, we are not told. It appears however, that assistance was obtained for the pastor, since money was appropriated to defray the expenses for that purpose.

But all further provision of this kind was soon rendered unnecessary by the death of the Rev. Mr. Sherman. He was seized with a severe illness at Sudbury, where he preached his last sermon from Ephesians ii. 8. He recovered from the first attack sufficiently to be able to reach home. But his disease, which was an intermitting fever, returned with violence, and he expired on the 8th of August, 1685, aged nearly seventy-two years.

It is but justice to say, that a tribute of high praise is due to the memory of Mr. Sherman. Few divines, in the early history of New England, were so eminently distinguished by intellectual gifts and Christian graces. He was born December 26, 1613, in Dedham, in the county of Essex, England. The parental influence under which his first years were passed, implanted and strengthened the principle of piety in his breast; and he received deep religious impressions, at an early period, from the ministry of the celebrated John Rogers, whose friendship he, as well as his two predecessors in the ministry at Watertown, possessed and prized highly. It is related, that he was never chastised at

* This Mr. Brattle, I suppose to be the same, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1680, and was ordained in 1696 pastor of the Cambridge church, (See Hist. of Cambridge, in Hist. Coll. 1st Series, VII. 55.) Two persons of the name of John Cotton appear in the College Catalogue, in 1678 and in 1681, both clergymen; and one of these was probably the person abovementioned. Of Mr. Leavitt I have met with no notice.
school but once, and then it was "for giving the heads of sermons to his idle school-mates, when an account thereof was demanded from them." He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, but received no degree, because conscientious scruples compelled him to refuse compliance with the required subscription. This refusal appears to have been the result of a faithful and anxious consideration of the subject. The consequence was, that he retired from the University "under the persecuted character of a College Puritan." He soon left England, and sought an asylum in the western world. When he came to New England (1634), he was but twenty-one years of age; but, young as he was, his eloquent preaching and powerful mind gave him a very high reputation, insomuch that when he was at New Haven, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, the clergymen of Hartford, said in an assembly of ministers, before whom Sherman had preached, "Brethren, we must look to ourselves and our ministry, for this young divine will outdo us all."

After his settlement at Watertown, he maintained fully the distinguished rank which he had before acquired, and was considered a great blessing to his people and to the neighbouring churches. He was chosen fellow of the corporation of Harvard College, and rendered various and important services to that institution. Once a fortnight he gave lectures, which were attended by the students of the College, who walked from Cambridge to Watertown to hear him, and by many other persons from the vicinity. These lectures he continued for thirty years, and they were regarded as peculiarly able and valuable. Mr. Sherman improved the powers of his mind, naturally strong and penetrating, by profound and indefatigable study. His philosophical learning is reported to have been much beyond the usual attainments even of such as were considered good scholars. But his favorite studies, out of his professional course, were the mathematical and astronomi-
cal sciences. In these pursuits he was the first man in the country, at that time.* He left many astronomical calculations in manuscript, which were never published. So desirous was he of being useful, that he sometimes undertook the humble task of preparing almanacs for the community. In these he inserted pious and pertinent reflections, instead of that frivolous and useless matter with which these publications are so often filled.† The study of the exact sciences, on which he bestowed so much attention, while it sharpened his powers of reasoning and discrimination, did not impair the energy or eloquence of his preaching. His sermons are said to have been so distinguished by the beauties of a rich and fervid imagination, and by an unaffected and impressive loftiness of style, that he was commonly called “the golden-mouthed preacher.” Though his discourses were frequently extemporaneous, they were always well arranged and full of thought. Being a devout and unwearied student of the Scriptures, his public instructions enlightened the minds as well as warmed the hearts of his hearers. In conversation it was his habit to say but little. But what he said was pointed, and likely to be remembered; and when he was told by his more loquacious companions, that he had learned the art of silence, he sometimes advised them to attend more to that art themselves. So strong was his memory, that his own mind, it was said,

* We are not informed what were the subjects of Mr. Sherman’s lectures to the students of the College; but it is probable, they were connected with the studies, to which he was so partial, and in which he became so distinguished.

† The following is a specimen of these reflections:—“Let me entreat one thing of thee, and I will adventure to promise thee a good year: the request is in itself reasonable, and may be to thee eternally profitable. It is only this; duly to prize and diligently to improve time, for obtaining the blessed end it was given for, and is yet graciously continued unto thee by the eternal God. Of three hundred and sixty-five days allowed by the making up of this year, which shall be thy last, thou knowest not; but that any of them may be it, thou oughtest to know, and so consider, that thou mayest pass the time of thy sojourn ing here with fear.”
became his library; and so highly respected was his judgment, that when he was consulted, as he very frequently was, his opinion was generally considered final. His mental powers remained vigorous and keen to the time of his death; and his last discourse was listened to with admiration for its richness of thought and energy of language. When the reforming synod, as it was called, convened at Boston, in September, 1679, he was one of the joint moderators of that body during the greater part of the session. In 1682 he preached the sermon before the convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts; and this is the first sermon on that occasion, now upon record.*

Mr. Sherman was the father of twenty-six children in two marriages; six in the first, and twenty in the other. His second wife was granddaughter of the Earl of Rivers, whose family belonged to the Roman Catholic party in England.† Her mother, daughter of the Earl of Rivers, was married to Mr. Launce, a Puritan gentleman, and was herself a Puritan, though of a Popish family. The lady, to whom Mr. Sherman was married, was at that time under the guardianship of Gov. Hopkins of Connecticut. She survived her husband many years.‡ Among the descendants of this minister of Watertown, the Hon. Roger Sherman, one of the memorable committee who drew up and report-

---

* See a list of the preachers in the "Historical Sketch of the Convention," c. p. 30.
† Clarendon relates that the house of the Countess of Rivers, near Colchester, was plundered in 1642 by the rabble, on account of her being a Papist. Vol. III. p. 1086.
‡ Mrs. Sherman died in 1710; and in the town record of that year is the following notice of her funeral: "The selectmen being informed that Mrs. Mary Sherman is deceased, being the widow of the Reverend pastor Sherman, who was the pastor of the town for many years, from a sense of the honour and respect the town had to their Reverend Pastor and his widow since his decease, and to express the same in their last office of love, do order that Capt. Jonas Bond, Esq., who is one of the said Selectmen, do provide wine and gloves sufficient for said funeral at the town's cost, not exceeding the sum of ten pounds, and Mr. Bond to be seasonably repayed out of the present town rate."
ed the Declaration of Independence, has sometimes been erroneously reckoned. That distinguished patriot descended from Capt. John Sherman, who came from Dedham, England, and settled in Watertown in 1635, and who, as has been already mentioned, was probably a relative of the minister.*

Mr. Sherman was succeeded by the Rev. John Bailey, with whom his brother, Thomas Bailey, was for a while associated. One of these brothers, about two months before Mr. Sherman’s death, had been invited to become his assistant; but whether he came to Watertown at that time does not appear. A committee was chosen at a town meeting on the 24th of August, 1685, to treat with “Mr. Bailey the elder,” i.e. Mr. John Bailey, on the subject of settling in the ministry at Watertown. Subsequently to this, there was much debate about procuring a residence for the expected clergyman. It was proposed to build a parsonage; but the report of the committee, appointed to select a place for this purpose, was not accepted. The next proposal was to hire a house for the minister; and the persons, to whom that business was entrusted, found a suitable one. But neither does this step seem to have given satisfaction. A vote was then passed, “that if a number of persons would build a convenient house to entertain the minister in near to the meeting-house, the town would pay them that build it rent for the said house, until the town do agree and have actually removed this meeting-house, or built another in the room of this, more convenient for the inhabitants, somewhere else where the town shall agree upon.” From this vote, it would seem that the difficulty in procuring a dwelling for the clergy-

---

*Mather has furnished the most elaborate account of the Rev. Mr. Sherman, (Magnal. Book iii. Chap. 29.) See also Brook’s Lives of the Puritans, III. 482, and Eliot’s and Allen’s Biographical Dictionaries. Allen has committed the error of making Mr. Gibbs the successor to Mr. Sherman in the ministry at Watertown. See Appendix E.
man was connected with a proposal, then under discussion, for a new place of worship. This subject, as we have seen, had been before the town in 1654; it was now revived, but was again set aside for the present.

The proceedings relative to the settlement of Mr. John Bailey are stated, in the town records, with considerable exactness. He was requested, through a committee, to give the town an opportunity, at a general meeting of the inhabitants, “to discourse a little with him” on the subject. He complied with the request; and a meeting of the people was called, at which certain persons were designated by vote “to discourse with Mr. Bailey.” At this conference, he declared himself ready and willing to become their minister, “if peace and love should continue amongst them, and they would make his life comfortable.” Soon after, the town provided means to remove him and his family from Boston, where he then resided, to Watertown. In the month of August a call was formally given him “at a general town meeting,” which he accepted, and was ordained October 6th, 1686.* Within a month after this date, measures

*In Judge Sewall’s manuscript Journal is the following record: “July 25, 1686, Mr. John Bayley preaches his farewell sermon, and goes the 28th to Watertown. Oct. 6, Mr. Bayley ordained at Watertown. Mr. Bayley not ordained as congregational men are.” The informality on this occasion, to which Judge Sewall alludes in the last sentence, was, I presume, the omission of “the laying on of hands,” a circumstance which intimates that Mr. Bailey regarded his previous ordination in England as valid, and therefore did not think it necessary to have the token of consecration to the sacred office renewed. This circumstance Mr. Bailey has himself mentioned in the following notice found in his book of records, in which, it will be observed, he does not call the ceremony of his induction into office at Watertown an ordination: “Upon the 6th of October, 1686, I was solemnly set apart for the pastoral work at Watertown, without the imposition of hands. I am sick of it, and unfit for it; but the many particulars that attended this work I wholly omit.” These last expressions indicate the feeling of dread and responsibility, with which this good man entered on his work. On this occasion, he preached the sermon himself from 2 Cor. ii. 16. compared with 2. Cor. xii. 9. The manuscript of this sermon I have seen; from the commencement of it we should infer that he was settled as a teacher, not as pastor; it is as follows: “Some other Scriptures I had thought
were taken to procure his brother to be his assistant, it being declared, "with a very full vote, that the town did earnestly desire that they might enjoy Mr. Bailey the younger to be helpful to his brother in the ministry." Indeed, before this time, the same desire had been expressed. Mr. Thomas Bailey delayed his acceptance of this invitation for a considerable time, if we may judge from the date of his first coming to reside at Watertown, which was November 2d, 1687. But it is not unlikely, that he had before this, while living in Boston, acted as assistant to his brother. His ministry was of short duration. He died January 21st, 1688-9, aged 35 years, and was interred in the old burying ground in Watertown, where a humble monument now stands over his grave. His brother John, in his diary, says of him, "He died well, which is a great word,—so sweetly as I never saw the like before." *

We learn from our records, that the mode of supporting the public school at this time was somewhat different from the present. The salary of the schoolmaster was twenty pounds. Every person who sent children to the school, was required to pay three pence a week for each child he sent; and whatever was wanting of the teacher's stipend from this source was made up by a payment from the town.

When in consequence of the troubles resulting from the government of Sir Edmund Andros, a meeting of representatives from all the towns in the colony was called at Boston, each town was required to give

to have given you, and partly had in my thoughts begun; as that in Zech. ii. 7, and that in 2 Cor. v. 20. But tho' these might better suit others, yet the words I have read do best suit myself; a pastoral work being always dreaded by me, I could never get inclined to it, nor ever looked upon myself as fit for it.

* Scarcely any thing worthy of special notice is recorded of Thomas Bailey. Some of his writings are preserved, in manuscript, in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. They consist of Latin odes, or poems in various kinds of measure, and verses on the Gunpowder Plot in his own hand-writing, dated November 5th, 1609.
instructions to its members, whether to vote for reassuming the charter or not.* The people of Watertown chose two representatives to appear for them at this meeting on the 22d of May, 1689, and instructed them to maintain "the charter rights," and to agree to the declaration set forth at a previous meeting of representatives, till further orders should be received from the English Government. The same course was taken by a large majority of the towns on this occasion. The alarm, spread through the colony at this time, was however soon quieted by the change which took place in affairs, when William and Mary ascended the British throne.

October 14th, 1690, the town voted to request Mr. Henry Gibbs to be an assistant in the work of the ministry, Mr. Bailey being by the death of his brother now left alone. In the application to procure this assistance, they say, "in this time of our great want, that the town might not be destitute of one to administer the word and ordinances of Christ among us." These expressions lead us to suppose that the labors of Mr. Bailey must have been frequently interrupted by ill health, or some other cause, and the town consequently left destitute of pastoral services. Mr. Gibbs signified his acceptance of the invitation. His salary, as assistant pastor, began on the 3d of the following November.

In 1692 Mr. Bailey left Watertown, and returned to Boston.† There he became, the next year, assistant

---

† The following is Mr. Bailey's own notice of the last Sunday he preached in Watertown, as inserted in his book of records. The minute detail of his farewell, while it excites a smile, indicates an affectionate interest, that is pleasing. "I did particularly bid farewell to my house, old walks, all the three parts of the town, my assistant Gibbs, the schoolmaster, deacons, selectmen, military persons, two constables, the burying-place, my servant that lived with me formerly, this old church, the three or four meetings in the town, this neighbourhood of mine, saints but sinners also, old but young also, all my children which grieved me most, friends and foes, the sweet singers of Israel, all widdows and fatherless familyes, all moralized persons, all that heard me not now,
minister in the First Church. In that office he continued till his death, which took place the 12th of December, 1697, in the 54th year of his age. The reasons, which induced him to remove from Watertown, are not stated. No indications of dissatisfaction on his part, or on the part of the people, are to be found.* Mr. Bailey has left on record, during his residence in Watertown, 39 marriages, 361 baptisms, and 117 admitted to the church.

The Rev. John Bailey was born near Blackburn in Lancashire, England, on the 24th of February, 1644. His mother was a woman of remarkable piety, and she early imbued his mind with a serious sense of God and of religion. An extraordinary instance is recorded of the happy effect of his youthful piety upon his father, who is represented to have been a licentious and profligate man. The mother one day called the family together, and persuaded her son John to pray with them. When the father returned probably from one of his haunts of vice, and was told of the affecting manner, in which the child had led the devotion of the household, he was smitten to the heart.

the pulpit, pue-seats, and galleryes (the cushion I left as a token of my love), all my administrations, him that digs the graves, neighbouring towns and churches.” What Mr. Bailey alludes to by “the three or four meetings in the town,” I know not.

* A diary was kept by Mr. Daniel Fairfield of Braintree, from 1697 to 1711, with the following extract from which I have been furnished by the kindness of the Rev. and learned Dr. Harris of Dorchester. We learn from it, that depression of mind, and disease, were among the causes of Mr. Bailey’s removal to Boston. “1697, Dec. 12th. Died in Boston the Rev. Mr. John Bailey, who for many years preached the Gospel of peace in the city of Limerick, in the kingdom of Ireland, but being persecuted and silenced he removed to N. E. 1684. He was highly honoured at his arrival, as he well deserved, being a more than ordinary lively preacher. He was for some years the officer of the Church in Watertown, where his wife died, and his dear brother Thomas, who was also a famous minister. Then, being very melancholy and having the gout, he moved to Boston about the year 1693. He preached in Boston at the South Church once a month, and at the Old Church almost every Sabbath, and his turn in the Lecture; till, falling sick last fall, he died as above written, and was honourably interred on the 10th day in the tomb of Mr. Thomas Deane.”
by the touching circumstance. He became thoughtful and contrite, and proved at last a sincere, devoted Christian. Among the many encouraging evidences of the redeeming influence of maternal piety, there are few more impressive than this. Young Bailey, having received a good classical and general education, began to preach at the age of twenty-two. His first services in the ministry were at Chester. But he soon went over to Ireland, and about fourteen years of his residence in that country were spent at Limerick. There he labored with such an assiduous and self-sacrificing spirit, that he laid the foundation for that infirm state of health, from which he never afterward wholly recovered.* His fidelity was severely tried by such persecutions, as were the usual price of nonconformity at that time. He was more than once thrown into jail for attending the administration of the ordinances at private meetings. Persecution was not the only, nor perhaps the hardest, trial to which his constancy was exposed. An effort was made to draw him, by tempting promises, into the bosom of the Episcopal Church. While he was at Limerick, his ministry was attended by persons of distinction, who were related to the Duke of Ormond, the lord lieutenant of Ireland. This circumstance provoked his enemies not a little; and upon occasion of this excitement, the office of chaplain to the Duke of Ormond was offered to him, if he would conform, with the promise of a deanery immediately, and of a bishopric so soon as a vacancy should occur. The man, whom it was thought expedient to silence by winning him over to the hierarchy at such a price, must have possessed no common influence. But severity and allurement were alike lost on him. He adhered to what he believed to be the cause of truth,

* Mather describes the abundant success of Bailey's ministry at Limerick, by saying, that "he seemed rather to fish with a net, than with an hook, for the kingdom of God."
unterrified and unseduced. He continued to preach and to labor with untiring earnestness, and soon became again the victim of the spirit of persecution. The irreproachable purity of his character afforded him no protection. The hardships of a long imprisonment were inflicted on him. In the course of his trial he said to his judges, “If I had been drinking, and gambling, and carousing at a tavern with my company, my lords, I presume that would not have procured my being treated thus as an offender. Must praying to God and preaching of Christ, with a company of Christians that are as peaceable, and inoffensive, and serviceable to his Majesty and the government, as any of his subjects, — must this be a greater crime?” And so far was common decency set at defiance, that the recorder replied, “We will have you to know that it is a greater crime.” During his imprisonment, he was visited constantly by the members of his flock, to whom he continued to impart religious instruction, in such manner as his confinement would permit. He was finally released, upon giving a pledge that within a certain time he would leave the country. Mr. Bailey accordingly looked to New England, as the refuge of persecuted nonconformity. He and his brother came hither, probably in the year 1684. In that year he wrote a very earnest and affecting address “to his loving and dearly beloved Christian friends in and about Limerick.” This was afterward printed at Boston in the same volume with sketches of some of his discourses, entitled “Man’s Chief End to glorifie God, or Some brief Sermon-Notes on 1 Cor. x. 31.” To this volume was prefixed an Address to the Reader, signed with the initials J. M. The writer of this prefatory address, whoever he was, remarks, that in publishing these pieces Mr. Bailey was “purely passive, utterly refusing (whether out of melancholy, modesty, or bodily infirmity I say not) to be any otherwise concerned than barely to allow of their publica-
tion."* In 1692 Mr. Bailey preached the Artillery Election Sermon in Boston; but this discourse, I believe, was not published.

The distinguishing traits of Mr. Bailey's character were ardent piety, great tenderness of conscience, and an absorbing interest in the spiritual welfare of his fellow men. His religious sensibility was exceedingly keen and active; and it was his prayer (to use his own words) that "he might not be of the number of them, that live without love, speak without feeling, and act without life." It is evident that his temperament was hypochondriacal, and that he had a strong habitual tendency to melancholy and despondence,—a state of mind, which was doubtless aggravated, if not caused, by the scenes he had passed through in Ireland, and by the miserable condition of his health. He delighted to urge powerful and heart-searching appeals upon the consciences of men, more than to

*This volume was printed by Samuel Green in 1689. I have read it with no little interest, partly for the good sense, but more for the warm and hearty feeling, which it displays. The farewell exhortation to the congregation in Limerick is peculiarly affectionate and pungent. It is written with remarkable simplicity and directness. To this circumstance Mr. Bailey himself alludes in the Postscript: "The plainness of its dress," says he, "I take for granted will never offend you; for I only now write to you just as I used to preach to you, and talk with you. It is the market language that must save souls." In speaking of leaving them, he remarks, "It hath been my resolution of old, rather to wear out than rust out; and it would quickly kill me to go on spending Sabbaths as of late I have done, and I suppose the offer of a thousand pound per annum, to lead such an idle life, would signify little to me. Many offers and invitations have I had elsewhere; yea, to places that might seem at the first blush to please me; but for your sakes they were in vain, and took me up few thoughts." Again; "The broadest seas cannot hinder the mutual visits of our prayers: though we may never meet more betwixt these old pleasant walls of the Abby (which grieves my very soul, to turn my back on), yet let us often meet at the Throne of Grace," &c. Further he remarks, "Conversion hath been the business of my life these twenty years: by conversion I do not mean turning men to an opinion, but from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. You have often heard me say, that I had rather turn one to Jesus Christ, than ten to my opinion." It is to be wished, that this noble sentiment were more heeded amidst the religious strife of the present day. The "Sermon-Notes," likewise, are full of solemn counsels, good thoughts, and apt illustrations.
address the understanding, or to administer the consolations of Christianity; "choosing rather," as he said of himself, "to convert one sinner, than to comfort ten saints." His sermons were not so much didactic or argumentative, as hortatory and exciting; and he seems to have thought it far the most important part of his duty, as a preacher, to bring the awful considerations connected with the sanctions of religion to bear on his hearers with stirring power. But he dealt as severely, at least, with his own heart, as with the hearts of others; and the rigorous standard, to which he brought his feelings and conduct, may be seen in the extracts preserved from his diary. His services were much sought, and highly valued, both in Boston and Watertown. That minister must be considered a happy man, who at the last hour has as little reason, as had Mr. Bailey, to reproach himself with the want of fidelity and devotedness to duty.†

Mr. Gibbs was now the only clergyman in the town and was engaged from time to time, but not ordained.†

* John Dunton, in the curious account of his visit to Boston, has recorded the following notice of the Baileys: "I went next to visit Mr. John and Mr. Thomas Bailey. These two are popular preachers, and very generous to strangers. I heard Mr. John upon these words,—'looking unto Jesus,'—and I thought he spake like an angel. They express a more than ordinary kindness to Mr. Wilkins, my landlord, and (being persecuted in Limerick for their nonconformity) came over with him from Ireland. Reader, I might be large in their character; but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesly (whom they count a second St. Paul) 'tis as high as I need go." Life & Errors, Vol. I. p. 95.

† See Appendix F. Mather preached the funeral sermon of John Bailey, and in that has given many particulars of his life: Magnalia, Book iii. Chap. 7. See also Middleton's Evangelical Biography, Vol. IV. p. 101.; Emerson's History of the First Church, p. 146.; Eliot, and Allen. Dr. Eliot has fallen into an error in speaking of Thomas Bailey as if he were the stated minister of Watertown, and in saying that John "only preached occasionally there." John Bailey was the principal and stated minister of the town: his brother was only an assistant, and had a short ministry.

† About this time an order was passed by the town, providing that certain persons named "shall the next Sabbath day, and after, as they shall see reason, gather the contribution, and out of it satisfy the minister, keeping an account what every person contributes."
That ever-fruitful source of dissension in a village, the erection of a new meeting-house, began at this period to kindle strife among the inhabitants of Watertown. We have already seen, that thirty-eight years before this time some movements had been made towards providing a new place of worship. After Mr. Bailey’s removal to Boston, the subject was called up afresh. In 1692, the Selectmen passed an order, that on the 18th of November, the people should be assembled in order to fix upon such a place for this purpose, as should be “most convenient for the bulk of the inhabitants.” At this meeting nothing was effected. Some were earnest to change their place of worship, others equally earnest to have it remain where it was. Neither party was disposed to yield; and in this dilemma the Selectmen agreed to refer the matter to the governor of the province, Sir William Phipps, and the Council, requesting them to appoint a committee to investigate and settle the difficulty. The town concurred in this measure, and declared, “that they would sit down by the determination of that committee.” This mode of bringing the disputes of a town to an issue, by referring them to the magistrates of the State, would be deemed singular indeed at the present day; but it seems then to have been not uncommon. The proposed committee was appointed by the Governor and Council. It consisted of William Stoughton, John Phillips, James Russell, Samuel Sewall, and Joseph Lynde, names of high reputation in the affairs of the province at that time. They made a report on the 18th of May, 1693. The Selectmen, to whom it was sent, were dissatisfied with some particulars in it, and designated certain persons to wait on the committee, and treat with them on these points. After a conference with these persons, a majority of the committee acknowledged that it was necessary to amend their report in some respects, and requested to have it left with them for that purpose.
They took ample time for revising it; for it was not returned and made known to the town till April 17th, 1694.*

This report, notwithstanding the high source from which it came, did not allay the prevalent excitement. A protest against it was put on record, and signed by about 120 names. They utterly refused to bear any part of the expense of building a meeting-house in the place recommended by the committee, but declared at the same time that if a house of worship should be erected in the west part of the town, so as to be convenient for "the Farmers,"† they would gladly "be helpful therein." It is remarkable that the protest denies that the town had ever requested the interference of the magistrates in this matter, notwithstanding that a vote to that effect is on record. On the appearance of this opposition, the Selectmen applied to the committee to know whether they would "stand by their advice," or had any thing to say about the protest. It does not appear that any answer was received. But the building of the new house on the proposed spot proceeded in defiance of the opposition. It was finished, and on the 4th of February, 1696, it was accepted, by a vote of the town, as the place of public worship, "according to the advice and determination of the honoured Committee."

The town was now considered as divided into three parts, namely, the East end, the Middle part, and the Farmers, or the West end. The abovementioned dispute was principally between the two first of these. It was soon determined by vote, that the new meeting-house should in future be the place for all public town meetings. Unhappily, the heated state of feeling seems not to have abated for a considerable time, and

*See Appendix G.
† By this title were designated those, who inhabited that part of the town which afterward became Weston, and its vicinity. Among the protestors on this occasion, thirty-three were of "the Farmers," whose names are placed separately from the rest.
its influence was seen in occasional disorders attending the management of public affairs. On the 26th of June, 1696, the town determined that "a day of humiliation" should be observed. The Rev. Samuel Willard and the Rev. Cotton Mather, both of Boston, were requested to fix upon a time for this purpose, and to perform the religious services of the occasion.

Meanwhile repeated invitations had been given to Mr. Gibbs to become the minister of the town. These he so far accepted as to officiate statedly in the old meeting-house; but there was, as yet, no permanent settlement. In the summer of 1693, he was, it seems, residing in Boston; for at that time the metropolis was visited with an infectious and fatal distemper, which compelled many of the inhabitants to remove into the country; * and on this occasion, we learn from the records, that the people of Watertown, fearing Mr. Gibbs would remove to so great a distance that they should not be able to enjoy his services, voted to transport his goods and to establish him among themselves in the house built for the minister. His engagements were renewed, at short intervals, by special applications; and this circumstance, with some others, may lead us to infer, that Mr. Gibbs consented to the arrangement somewhat cautiously and reluctantly. If so, it was probably owing to the divided and unquiet state of the town at that time. During the progress of the dispute, he had been repeatedly requested to engage himself for the new meeting-house, when it should be completed. No answer to these invitations is on record; but when the new house was at length finished, he decisively refused to transfer his services to that place, on account, as he said, of the great dissatisfaction in the minds of many with regard to the several votes that had been passed. Accordingly he remained with the

* For the occasion of this sickness see Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 71.
East part of the town; and those who belonged to the new place of worship were left to seek another clergyman. From Mr. Gibbs's general character, and from the caution manifested in his conduct, it is to be presumed that he acted from a sense of duty in this case.

Measures were soon taken to procure a minister for the new meeting-house. The church gave notice to the Selectmen, that having met for that purpose on the 28th of August, 1696, and having chosen the Rev. Samuel Angier for their pastor, they requested a meeting of the town for concurrence. A meeting was held on September 28th, and the town voted to co-operate in giving a call to Mr. Angier to the work of the ministry among them.* Previously to this, on the 21st of September, there had been a meeting for debate and compromise. Persons had been appointed by the East end, and by the Middle part of the town, respectively, to discuss their interests, and reconcile, if possible, their contending claims. Proposals were made by each party; but they were uniformly rejected by their opponents. They parted, each more strongly convinced than ever, of the injustice of the claims of the other.

Mr. Angier accepted the invitation, and was inducted into office May 25th, 1697. The Rev. Mr. Easterbrook of Concord had been chosen by the church “to give the pastoral charge, and to be the mouth and moderator of the church in the publick

*Here for the first time in our records the church is mentioned as acting separately from the town in the preliminaries to the settlement of a minister. This practice was not always adhered to after this time in Watertown. At the present day it is, in many places, entirely abandoned, the whole society acting as one body in giving a call. And that the usage of ancient times was not always in favor of the distinct and separate power of the church in this affair, is evident from the statement of Mather, that "many people would not allow the church any privilege to go before them in the choice of a pastor. The clamour is, we must maintain him." Ratio Discipline, p. 16. The clamour, as Mather calls it, was not very unreasonable, one would think.
management of the whole affair." A committee had been appointed to treat with other ministers "for their assistance in the settlement of Mr. Angier;" but a provision was made, that if their assistance could not be obtained, the church would proceed without it. It was not obtained; and Mr. Easterbrook was the only clergyman, who appeared at the ceremony of Mr. Angier's settlement. He presided in the business of the occasion; "with much gravity and seriousness gave a most solemn and Scriptural charge to Mr. Samuel Angier, and concluded by recommending the whole to the favour and blessing of God." The public exercises of prayer and preaching were performed by Mr. Angier.* For what reasons the ministers who were invited refused to attend, we cannot now discover; but probably they either judged the proceedings of the Middle part of the town to be improper, or they were unwilling to have any concern in a transaction which had been preceded by so much dissension. Mr. Angier had been ordained before, and settled in another place; and in proceeding to his installation without the assistance of other churches, which, as a matter of custom and Christian friendship, had been solicited, and refused, his church manifested an independence worthy of praise, and in conformity with the provisions of the Cambridge Platform.

At this time, Mr. Gibbs had not been ordained; so that Mr. Angier was the only regularly settled clergyman in the town. An attempt was made to unite them in the work of the ministry. July 2d, 1697, a meeting of "the two precincts"† was held, at which

---

*These particulars are taken from a book of records kept at that time by the church at the new meeting-house. This book was committed to the Rev. Warham Williams, Mr. Angier's successor, by his son, the Rev. John Angier of Bridgewater, and is now in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ripley of Waltham, as constituting a part of the records of his church. It contains little, except the particulars about the call and settlement of Mr. Angier.

†This term, used to designate the different parts of the town, here occurs for the first time in the records.
Mr. Gibbs was invited to become an assistant to Mr. Angier in the new place of worship. Of this proposal Mr. Angier expressed in writing his entire approbation. No answer to the application on the part of Mr. Gibbs is on record. It is to be presumed, that he refused to concur in the proposed measure.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of that section of Watertown, which was afterward called Weston, appear to have had a separate interest of their own in ecclesiastical matters. October 2d, 1694, a vote was passed as follows: "Our neighbours, the Farmers, being upon endeavours to have a meeting-house among themselves, the town consents that they may come as far as Beaver Brook* upon the county road leading to Sudbury," &c. Nothing however seems to have been done at that time in consequence of this vote. February 1st, 1697, "the Farmers" were by vote released from all obligations to pay ministerial rates in the town, "any further" (as it is expressed) "than by way of contribution when and so often as they come to hear the word preached; because they live so remote that they cannot come without much difficulty to the meeting-house in the town, but do commonly at present go to other towns which are nearer, and do contribute there towards the support of the ministry where they go to hear the word." It is also mentioned as a reason for the exemption, that they would probably soon have a house of worship and a minister of their own. That part of Watertown had indeed now become, in everything but legal form, a distinct precinct, and orders were passed from time to time in public meetings for settling its boundaries. On the 16th of March, 1698, a tax of two hundred and ninety-five pounds, to defray the expenses of the meeting-house recently erected in

*The name of this brook is still retained, and familiarly known. It was given by Gov. Winthrop and his attendants, "because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams across the brook." At the same time Master's Brook and Mount Feake were named. See Winthrop, Vol. I p. 68.
the Middle part, was assessed upon all the inhabitants, "the Farmers only excepted, because they have built a meeting-house more convenient for themselves." The house here referred to was then in progress, but was not sufficiently finished to be used for religious services till March, 1700. In the interval, the people in this part of Watertown had chosen their officers, and acted as a distinct parish. Mr. Thomas Symms, Mr. Joseph Mors, Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, Mr. Thomas Tufts, and Mr. William Williams were successively called to the work of the ministry among them, before they were entirely separated from Watertown. In January, 1713, this precinct was in due form incorporated, as a distinct town, by the name of Weston.* The people of Watertown consented to this separation on certain specified conditions, one of which was, that "the Farmers" should still be bound, as before, to pay their proportion in the expense of repairing or rebuilding the bridge over Charles River.

To return to the ecclesiastical affairs of the two societies in Watertown. The attempt to unite them was, as we have seen, ineffectual. The East part now took measures to have their clergyman formally and permanently inducted into the pastoral office. In Judge Sewall's manuscripts,† the following record, relating to this subject, is found: "October 6, 1697. A church is gathered at Watertown East End, and Mr. Gibbs ordained. Mr. Fox ordains, Mr. Sherman gives the Right Hand of Fellowship. This was done in the afternoon in the open aer, tho' a cold day.

* For some remarks on the precise date of this incorporation, and for the history of Weston subsequently, see Dr. Kendal's Century Sermon, January 12, 1813.
† Chief Justice Sewall, here and before mentioned, was a man of high reputation, and is said to have been an intimate friend of the Rev. Mr. Gibbs. He was great-grandfather of the late Chief Justice Sewall of Massachusetts, and died January 1st, 1730, aged 78. The manuscripts, from which extracts are often taken, were journals of such occurrences in his times as seemed to him worthy of notice, and frequently afford valuable information.
The Western party, having the Select-Men on their side, got possession of the Meeting-house, and would not suffer the assembly to enter there. The Lord be mercifull to his people, pardon our sins, and heal our gaping Wounds!' Of the disorderly conduct here alluded to, one of the effects of the lamentable strife which had prevailed, I find no other notice.

Difficulties soon arose concerning the support of public worship. In 1700, the government of the province, probably in consequence of some petition, interposed, and passed a resolve on the subject. In 1712, the town was assembled to hear the advice of the General Court, which was issued on the 4th of November in that year; and they then expressed their desire to maintain the public worship of God according to the rules of the court in 1700, but said nothing about the advice of 1712. At another meeting on the 4th of May, 1713, they determined that it was improper for the town, as such, to act upon the advice and direction of the Court, but that each congregation must act upon it separately. Soon after, however, there was a vote, at a general meeting of the town, to submit to the advice of the Court. Still an attempt was made to disturb the arrangement, which had thus been agreed upon, and the East precinct entered on record an earnest protest against any such attempt. It was long before the strife, awakened by this subject, was entirely appeased. The salaries of Mr. Angier and Mr. Gibbs, it appears, were both paid from the common treasury. Although an effort was made by the East congregation to effect a division into two distinct towns, it was unsuccessful, and the two parts continued, as before, one town.*

The foot bridge, which had for many years been the only one over Charles River in Watertown, having gone to decay so much as to give occasion for complaints against the town, a question arose at a public meeting

*See Appendix H.
on the 5th of September, 1718, whether it were better to repair the old bridge, or to build a new one in the same or another place. A committee was appointed to consider the question. They reported, that "to repair the old bridge or build another in the same place will be labour lost, or money sent down stream in a very little time." They then advised to build one at a place somewhat further up the river. This report was accepted; and furthermore the town voted, that they were desirous that the proposed bridge "should be a good and sufficient cart bridge for the accommodating the public, and especially some particular towns." This however was considered so great an enterprise, that they would not consent to undertake it without the assurance of assistance from the public; "the charge thereof being," as they express it, "unavoidably great, far greater than Watertown and Weston can bear of themselves." They applied to the General Court for help in the affair, with what success does not appear. In January, 1719, the town entered into contract with Mr. Thomas Learned and Capt. Thomas Prentice to build the proposed bridge under the superintendence of a committee appointed for that purpose, and voted to give them £160 for it. Besides this, they were to have what they could obtain from the other towns that were interested in the undertaking. This bridge seems to have been regarded as the common cause of nearly all the towns west of Watertown, and with some reason, for a very great proportion of the people from that quarter passed the river at this point, and went to Boston over Roxbury Neck. Capt. Prentice and Mr. Learned built the bridge faithfully, according to the terms of their contract, and at the same place where our bridge is at present. But when they had finished their engagement, they found themselves losers by it, and petitioned the town, through the Selectmen, for compensation or relief. In this petition, dated November 6th, 1721, they acknowledged, that the money promised
by stipulation had been honestly paid,” but complained that “the bounty from other towns was far less than what they might reasonably expect, considering the great benefit they receive thereby.” The consideration of their petition was deferred, in order that they might bring in an exact account of their expenses and receipts. Such an account they presented, by which it appeared that the bridge had cost £309. 17s. 11d., and that they had received from Watertown, Weston, and some other towns and private persons, the sum of £184. 15s. 11d., leaving the amount of their loss £125. 2s. At the next town meeting, the petition was again taken up, and again deferred, and finally appears not to have been acted upon at all. Thus was completed the first bridge for wheel-carriages in the town about 110 years ago. The place of the bridge, it is believed, has remained the same from that time to this. Within the memory of some now living, the bridge was so narrow that only one carriage could pass at a time. When we consider how common and trifling an affair it is deemed to build such a bridge now, we are amused to see how great and even perilous an enterprise it was thought to be when first undertaken. But it should be remembered, that the contrast between their ability for such a work, and ours, is at least equally striking.

The Rev. Samuel Angier died on the 21st of January, 1719, aged 64, and was buried in a grave-yard now belonging to Waltham. He was the son of Edmund Angier of Cambridge, and was born in that town March 17th, 1655. He was a descendant, on the maternal side, from the celebrated Dr. William Ames of England, author of “Medulla Theologiae.” He was graduated at Harvard College in 1673, and was ordained at Rehoboth, October 19th, 1679. From this place he was dismissed, and afterward settled in Watertown as before mentioned. Of his character and ability as a clergyman, I know not that any account is to be found. There are however many evidences, that he was
highly esteemed by the people of his charge. During his ministry in Watertown, which lasted nearly twenty-two years, he received into the church 95 members, and baptized 706 persons. He has very often, but erroneously, been considered as minister of Waltham.* The mistake will be obvious, if we remember that Waltham was not incorporated till nearly twenty years after his death; although when it was incorporated, it included most of the society over which he had been settled. His son, the Rev. John Angier, was the first minister of the East parish in Bridgewater; and a daughter of his was married to the Rev. John Shaw, minister of the South parish in Bridgewater.

The efforts made to compose the difficulties existing in the town seem, for the most part, to have resulted in mutual complaints, rather than in any approximation to a good understanding. May 13th, 1715, it was voted to build a “new meeting-house in some convenient place, where it may accommodate the inhabitants of the most westerly part of the town better than either of the other meeting-houses do that are already erected”; and the next year a committee was chosen to fix upon a spot for that purpose. This was after the incorporation of Weston; of course, “the westerly part,” here spoken of, must mean what is now Waltham. The inhabitants of this part, it would seem, might have been well accommodated at the new meeting-house already erected in the middle of the town, which was much nearer to them than the old one; and as the town had now two places of worship, the support of which was the cause of much trouble, if not burdensome, it is not easily to be explained why they should wish for a third.

*Thus Mr. Farmer, in his valuable “Genealogical Register,” says, that Mr. Angier was “installed at Waltham,” and in the Index to the 2d Series of Hist. Coll. he is referred to as minister of Waltham. The place where Mr. Angier’s meeting-house stood is even now (after the separation of Waltham) within the bounds of Watertown. The house, in which he lived, is said to have been that now occupied by Mr. James Gillpatrick, opposite the widow Harrington’s.
The plan, however, was not carried into effect for several years; indeed never in its original form.

After the death of Mr. Angier, the western congregation continued to maintain preaching, and employed several individuals at different times to supply their pulpit. Among these are mentioned the names of Mr. Timothy Minut, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. Robert Sturgeon.

A definite division between the eastern and western parts of the town was, at length, found necessary. November 19th, 1720, the General Court, on application from the inhabitants of Watertown, appointed a committee* to run a dividing line between the two precincts, and to decide on the expediency of removing either or both of the meeting-houses to such places, I suppose, as should be more central to their respective congregations, when the proposed boundaries should be fixed. This committee made a report the next month, which was accepted. Samuel Thaxter, Esq. was directed by an order of the Court, in conformity with the report, to run the line between the two precincts. This he did, and a notice of his doings was entered in the town records. The line is described as beginning on Charles River, proceeding "on a north course forty-nine degrees east," and terminating at the southwestern bounds of that part of Cambridge which is now called West Cambridge. The committee likewise decided, that within two years the new or west meeting-house should be removed to a rising ground near the house of Nathaniel Livermore, which, I believe, was in the vicinity of the place where the Rev. Mr. Ripley's meeting-house in Waltham now stands, and that within ten years, the old, or east meeting-house should be removed to an eminence called School-house Hill;*

* This committee was composed of Isaac Winslow, John Cushing, and Samuel Thaxter, of the Council; and John Clark, William Dudley, John Chandler, and William Throop, of the House of Representatives.
† The hill here mentioned bore this name for a long time. It is now called Meeting-house Hill, and is immediately behind our present place of worship. It is the highest point of land within the limits of Watertown.
or, that in each of the places thus designated a new house of worship should be erected. With the order of the General Court, issued in consequence of this report, the town voted to comply. But, from the doings of "the easterly congregation," which were placed on record by their request, it would seem that they entertained suspicions of some collusion on the part of their western neighbours, or of a disposition to thwart the course of proceeding recommended in the report.

Nothing of this kind, however, was attempted. Ecclesiastical councils were called, and gave their advice on the occasion; and both parts of the town soon took measures to accomplish the object designated in the order of the Court. Besides granting money, to be raised by a levy, they appropriated to this purpose the town's proportion of the 50,000 pounds of bills of credit issued by the government.* The western precinct made proposals for the new meeting-house (that, in which Mr. Angier had officiated,) in order to remove it to the spot which they were directed to occupy; but they could not obtain it. They next appointed a committee to treat for the purchase of the Newton meeting-house, which was then to be sold. This purchase was effected, for not more than eighty pounds. The materials of the building were transported to the appointed place, and there set up anew. This was in 1721. On the 14th of August in the next year, this part of the town invited Mr. William Welsteed to be their minister. But he declined the invitation, and was afterward settled at the Old North Church in Boston. They next applied (December 18th, 1722) to Mr. Warham Williams, who accepted their call, and was ordained June 11th, 1723. He was a son of the Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, Mass., and in his

* The Act for this purpose was passed in 1720. See "Acts and Laws of the General Court and Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, &c. Anno Regis Georgii Septimo."
childhood was, with the rest of his father's family, in captivity among the Indians in Canada for two or three years.* He died June 22d, 1751, aged 52.

The eastern precinct likewise proceeded, on their part, to comply with the direction of the Court. Several meetings were held, in which it was determined to erect a house for public worship on the height of land, which (as before observed) was then called School-house Hill; and measures were adopted accordingly. This part of the town, as well as the western part, endeavored to purchase the new or middle meeting-house, choosing rather to remove this, if it could be had, than to build a new one: but their proposal for this purpose, like the other, failed of success. Accordingly, on the 14th of January, 1723, they voted to build a new house for worship on the hill before specified, leaving the dimensions of the building to be settled by a committee, providing only that it should not be less than 50 feet long and 40 feet wide. The object of this vote was to be effected within twelve months; and though no notice is taken of the completion of the work, yet doubtless it was finished within that time. It appears, that in consequence of the extraordinary expense, which the town was now obliged to incur, the minister of the eastern parish, Mr. Gibbs, relinquished a certain amount of the salary which was due to him.

Watertown was now regularly divided into two distinct parishes, the eastern and the western, each of which had erected a new meeting-house. This was a preliminary step to the final separation of the two parishes into distinct towns; for several years, however, they remained together, as one town. In what manner the society, to which Mr. Angier had ministered, disposed of their meeting-house, we are not informed. They had refused to sell it to either of the two precincts when application was made for it. The society,

* An account of this captivity, in detail, may be found in "The Deemed Captive returning to Zion."
it is probable, finding themselves too feeble to exist separately, were gradually dispersed and joined themselves to the other two parishes. Their meeting-house being abandoned was, we may presume, in the course of a few years demolished. It appears, however, that for some time they acted as a distinct church and society, and that their proceedings were thought to be irregular and censurable. That this was the fact, I infer from a vote recorded by Mr. Gibbs's successor concerning a Mr. Daniel Whitney, in which it is mentioned, as an offence, that he "owned the covenant among and submitted himself to the watch and discipline of those who acted as a third church in Watertown, and that he had a child baptized by Mr. Robert Sturgeon after the result of the council of churches met at Watertown on May 1st, 1722." *

The Rev. Henry Gibbs died on the 21st of October, 1723, having just entered on the 56th year of his age, and the 27th year of his ministry, reckoned from the date of his ordination. He was buried on the 24th of October, in the old grave-yard in Watertown. His father was Mr. Robert Gibbs,† a merchant of Boston, whose family was of Dorsetshire, England. Mr. Henry

---

* Of the Council here mentioned I find no other notice. Mr. Sturgeon was (as before noticed) one of those who supplied the pulpit after Mr. Angier's death. Persons are living, who remember to have heard him spoken of as having been one of the clergymen in the town.
† Mr. Robert Gibbs was a gentleman of large property, and of considerable distinction, in Boston. His house is mentioned by Josselyn, who, describing Boston in 1653, says: "The buildings are handsome, joining one to another as in London, with many large streets, most of them paved with pebble stone: in the high street towards the Common there are fair buildings, some of stone, and at the east end of the town one among the rest, built by the shore, by Mr. Gibbs, a merchant, being a stately edifice, which it is thought will stand him in little less than £3000 before it be fully finished." New England's Rarities Discovered, p. 1 & 2. In the time of Sir Edmund Andros, this house was once occupied by soldiers, according to Judge Sewall, who records as follows: "1686, Dec. 24. About 60 Red-Coats are brought to town, landed at Mr. Pool's wharf, where drew up, and so marched to Mr. Gibbs's house at Fort Hill." There was a wharf called by Mr. Gibbs's name in that part of Boston where he lived.
Gibbs was graduated at Harvard College in 1685, and in June 1692 was married to Miss Mercy Greenough. His situation at Watertown must have been, in many respects, difficult and trying amidst the strife with which the town was agitated, during a considerable part of his ministry. But it reflects no little honor on his firmness, prudence, and good sense, that he seems to have been held in high respect by all the inhabitants of the town, even by those who abandoned the old place of worship, to which he was attached. No complaint or reproach appears against him, in the midst of transactions which usually make it difficult for a clergyman to escape censure. This was not the result of calculating policy, or selfish pliancy of disposition on his part, but of real kindness of feeling and simple rectitude of conduct. There can be no doubt that he was a devoted and faithful minister. His services were able and highly valued by his own parish, and among the neighbouring churches. Without any pretension to what are commonly considered great or shining qualities, he had, what is far better, sound sense, warm piety, and a well-directed zeal in doing good. Of his peculiarities and habits of life it is not easy, after the lapse of more than a century, to learn much. Tradition has preserved among his descendants the amusing, though trivial particular, that he was accustomed to write his sermons on the bellows in the chimney corner. The strange and melancholy infatuation about witchcraft prevailed in his time; and of some of the scenes connected with this delusion he had an opportunity of being an eye-witness. His feelings on one of these occasions he recorded in the following passages in his diary; and while they intimate the superstitious misgivings, to which he in common with others yielded, they show at least that he was capable of holding his mind in suspense on the subject, which was a degree of moderation and good judgment not very common at that period, even among intelligent men: “1692, 30th
May. This day I travelled to Salem. 31st. I spent this day at Salem Village to attend the publick examination of criminals (witches), and observe remarkable and prodigious passages therein. Wonder'd at what I saw, but how to judge and conclude I am at a loss: to affect my heart, and induce me to more care and concernedness about myself and others, is the use I should make of it.” Mr. Gibbs was a benefactor both to his church and to the College. In his Will, which was proved November 11th, 1723, he made the following bequest, part of which still constitutes a portion of what is called the ministerial fund: “I do give and bequeath to the Eastern Church of Christ in Watertown, to which I have borne a pastoral relation, for the encouragement of the gospel ministry there, my four acres of pasture land and three acres of marsh, situate in the East end of said town, for the use of the said church for ever. And I do give to said Church my silver bowl with a foot.” His legacy to the College he devised in the following terms: “And further it is my will, that within two years after my youngest child comes of age, an hundred pounds be paid by my heirs for the use of Harvard College, forty pounds thereof by my son, and twenty pounds apiece by my daughters; the yearly interests to be exhibited to such members of the College as need it, firstly to my children’s posterity if they desire it.”

The writings of Mr. Gibbs bear a creditable testimony to his talents, piety, and sobriety of judgment. They have that natural and direct character, which indicates that the author’s chief desire was to do good. While they are free from all affectation of style and extravagance of feeling, they breathe the warm and tender spirit that is so well suited for the purposes of edification. In 1721 he published a treatise entitled “The certain Blessedness of all those, whose Sins are forgiven, considered, confirmed and applied, from Psalm xxxii. 1, 2. Boston: printed by S. Kneeland
for D. Henchman." It consists of a number of discourses condensed together in a systematical form. For this book a preface was written by the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, at that time minister of the First Church in Boston, and afterward president of Harvard College, who remarks, "The worthy Author of these Sermons needs no commendation in a preface; being justly most valued by those to whom he is most known." A little volume, full of affectionate and practical counsels, was gathered from Mr. Gibbs's papers, and published after his death, with the title, "Godly Children their Parents Joy; exhibited in several Sermons &c., Boston: printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green for D. Henchman. 1727." The preface was written by Dr. Colman of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston.* In 1704 Mr. Gibbs preached the Artillery Election Sermon: it was published with a title of somewhat formidable length, as follows; "The Right Method of Safety, or the Just Concern of the

---

*Dr. Colman expresses his opinion of the book as follows: "But I forget that I am only writing a preface, and that but to a small book, and a very good one that needs nothing of mine to be added to it. The good people of Watertown, who press'd me to this service, will, I hope, easily forgive me the length I have gone; and having shown this respect to the labours and memory of their deceased pastor as to send this posthumous piece to the press, I trust they will now treasure it up in their hearts, put it into the hands of their households, and teach it diligently to their children, for whom, as well as for themselves, it is well adapted to make saving impressions, if God add his blessing. The very virtuous children of the deceased author will not need to be exhorted to receive these instructions of their father with a double reverence, and teach their children after them to rise up and call him blessed. Yea I will presume to add my wish, that the students at Cambridge (where the learned author was so well known and honour'd while he lived) would wear this little book about them, and make it a Vade mecum; study the plain and easy rules of it, and weigh well the powerful and strong motives in it; till their whole soul receive the rich leaven of it, and they go into that wisdome taught in it, which will render 'em the joy and crown as well of their country, as of their parents. Such are the sermons here commended to you; and such sermons as these, in the ordinary course of preaching, will give a man character and praise eno' in the churches of Christ, as a wise and faithful pastor, and as a judicious and learned preacher. To say more of the gifts of one of the most modest and retir'd men while he liv'd would be to offer some kind of violence to him now he is dead."
People of God to join a due Trust in Him with a diligent Use of Means. As it was propounded in a Sermon preached at Boston to the Artillery Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, on the 5th of June, 1704, being the Day for their Election of Officers.” The text was Psalm xli. 6.* These, I believe, are the only published productions of Mr. Gibbs’s pen. He is said to have had a turn for poetry; and a specimen of it is appended to a manuscript collection of his sermons, now in the library of the Essex Historical Society. It is an “Attempt at Versification on the Word of God,” in twenty-four stanzas, and manifests the piety much more than the poetical gifts of the writer.†

The records kept by Mr. Gibbs are defective, extending only from 1697 to 1703. During this time, the number of his admissions to the church was 31, of marriages 21, and of baptisms 143.

January 14th, 1723, a committee was chosen by the town to address the General Court for the purpose of obtaining “the 2000 acres of upland and 1500 acres of meadow formerly granted to Watertown, and not yet taken up.” It does not appear when, or for what purpose, this grant had been made. The land,

---

* Judge Sewall has recorded that, in 1720, he “propounded Mr. Gibbs for election preacher.” This refers to the General Election; but the proposal seems to have been unsuccessful, for Mr. Gibbs never preached the sermon on that occasion.

† For many of the above particulars concerning Mr. Gibbs I am indebted to the politeness of one of his descendants, Mr. William Gibbs of Salem, a diligent and careful antiquarian. It should also be mentioned that Mr. Josiah W. Gibbs, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College, and distinguished as an Oriental scholar and Biblical critic, is among the descendants of this minister of Watertown. His daughter, Margaret, was the wife of the Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge; she was married June 25th, 1719, and died January 17th, 1771. He had a son William, who was drowned in Charles River in Cambridge, where he was at school, August, 1715; of which event Judge Sewall has taken notice in his MSS. In a list of the eminent ministers of New England, made by the Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead, the name of Mr. Gibbs of Watertown is placed in the second class. Hist. Coll. 1st Series, Vol. X. p. 170. See Appendix I.
if obtained, was to be divided between Watertown and Weston, according to the proportion of each in the Province Tax. Their right to this grant, it would seem, had become obsolete, or was disputed; for they speak of recovering it, in the records of the town meetings of 1725 and 1726, in which the subject comes up again more than once. They made but slow progress in gaining the attention or consent of the Court to their petition. But that finally they did succeed, in part at least, we learn from the fact, that in August, 1728, persons were appointed “to seek out and survey the 2000 acres of land granted to Watertown and Weston,” and likewise to procure a plan, or sketch, of the land under the hand of the surveyor, to be presented to the General Court, at their next session, for their confirmation. The next year, a proposal to sell the town’s right in these 2000 acres was rejected by vote. In connexion with the abovementioned petition, it was voted (March 14th, 1726,) “to address the General Court for a suitable tract of land to settle their young people on.” About ten years afterward (December 1st, 1735), the representative of the town was instructed to bring the subject again before the Court, and to ask for a township, out of the unappropriated land of the Province, to furnish a settlement for their youth, “for such reasons as may justly be offered.” How cogent these reasons were, we cannot judge; for they are not stated. The necessity, whether real or imaginary, for such a petition, implies that the young men of the town were supposed to have become too numerous to find room at home; but why a special provision was necessary to procure a settlement for them, instead of leaving them to take care of themselves, it is difficult to discover.

The successor of Mr. Gibbs in the ministry of the Eastern parish was the Rev. Seth Storer, who was ordained July 22d, 1724. Of the proceedings in relation to his settlement nothing is said in the town
records, since it was a concern belonging only to the precinct.*

In January, 1731, the representative of the town was directed to petition the General Court "to demolish the great bridge over Charles River in Cambridge, and to erect a ferry in lieu thereof, under such regulations as they shall see meet." The occasion or reasons for this petition are not assigned. It may be conjectured that the obstruction of navigation was the grievance, of which the Watertown people complained; if so, their business on the river must at this time have been of considerable amount. A vote was passed in 1734, to ask of the Court a grant of some of the unappropriated land belonging to the Province, "to enable them to support the bridge over Charles River in Watertown"; and it should be mentioned here, that about twenty years before this time they had applied to the Court for an order to have this bridge maintained at the expense of the whole county of Middlesex. These applications were doubtless unsuccessful. In 1734, also, another petition to the General Court was agreed upon, the object of which was to obtain a grant of land "to enable Watertown the better to support the two grammar schools in the town." This request, I presume, likewise failed of success. In order, as it would seem, to effect the same object (partially at least) in another way, certain tracts of land, lying by the highways and belonging to the town, were sold; and in March, 1735, a vote was passed to create, out of the money accruing from these sales, a stock or fund, the interest of which should be annually appropriated "for the support of the Grammar and English schools in the town." Whether this fund was in fact ever constituted, or, if so, how it was afterward dis-

*The following is Mr. Storer's own notice of his settlement, in the book of church records: "I was called to the work of the ministry by the church and congregation in the Easterly precinct in Watertown on February 3d, 1723-4, and was solemnly set apart for that work by prayer and the imposition of the hands of the presbytery on July 22d, 1724."
posed of, are questions which I suppose we have no means of settling. There is no such school fund in existence at the present time.

An ineffectual attempt was made by the Western precinct, in 1731, to obtain an incorporation, as a separate township. In April of that year, at a meeting of both precincts, agents were appointed to appear before the General Court in opposition to the attempt, and to show reason why the prayer of the petitioners should not be granted. An incorporation was not effected till seven years after this time.

A meeting of the town was called on the 10th of September, 1731, “to hear the representation of the honorable House of Representatives relating to the publick estate of the affairs of this Province now laboured under, which representation is recommended to the several towns by said House, for their serious consideration: and for the town to give their advice or directions with relation to said affairs laboured under.” At the time here specified, the great and engrossing topic of public interest was the discussion between Governor Belcher and the House, concerning the support of the governor by a fixed salary; and to this subject, or to some question growing out of it, the representation mentioned in the above statement probably referred. It does not appear by the records, that the people of Watertown took any measures whatever in relation to the subject.

The jurisdiction, or at least the advice, of the Provincial government seems to have been extended not only to meeting-houses, but to school-houses. In 1733, certain measures were recommended by the House of Representatives, to which the town gave their consent, for the purpose of having two school-houses, and employing two schoolmasters.

In 1734, a singular and somewhat amusing inter­ruption of traffic, amounting to a sort of act of non-inter­course, took place between Watertown and the
metropolis. There had been, till this time, no established and regular market in Boston; but in the spring of 1734 measures were adopted to provide three places for this purpose in parts of the town distant from each other.* What there was in this proceeding, or in the arrangements connected with it, that gave offence to the country towns, we are not told. But, from some cause, the establishment of the Boston markets excited not a little indignation. On the 17th of May, the following vote was passed by the people of Watertown: “Whereas the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, have of late set up a market in the said town, which by many is thought will prove prejudicial to people in the country: voted, that whatsoever person, or persons, belonging to Watertown, shall within the space of twelve months from the 11th day of June next presume to carry any wares or provisions from out of Watertown, and expose them to sale in the markets that are voted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston to be set up there, shall be subject to pay a fine of twenty shillings for each offence; one fourth part thereof to the informer, and the remainder to be for the use of the poor of the town of Watertown, to be recovered by the Selectmen of said town before any of his Majesty’s justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex.” This vote was to be presented to the General Sessions of the peace for the county of Middlesex for their confirmation. The formal and strong manner, in which it is expressed, intimates the determined feelings of men resisting what they suppose to be an injurious oppression. It is not easy to perceive in what consisted the mighty grievance, which led to this interdict of traffic. Probably, the people from the country, having been before accustomed to sell their commodities wherever they pleased in the metropolis,

*See Snow’s History of Boston, p. 225.
regarded this restriction to certain places of sale as an infringement upon their rights, and resented it accordingly. This agreement, on the part of the inhabitants of Watertown, to suspend all intercourse of sale with the people of Boston at their markets, must have soon proved as ineffectual, as it was foolish; for, in defiance of votes, people would not long refrain from selling wherever and whatever they found it for their interest to sell. It is to be presumed, that the prohibition shortly became a dead letter. Such a union among all the neighbouring towns, as would amount to a coercion upon the inhabitants of Boston, could hardly have been expected. The whole affair is an instance of that unwise jealousy, with which the country is apt to regard the city.*

A successful effort was at length made by the Western parish in Watertown to become a distinct town. At a meeting of the people of that precinct on the 8th of December, 1737, a committee was appointed to petition the General Court for an act of incorporation, chiefly on account of the difficulties and inconveniences arising from the necessity of transacting the

---

* That some opposition or resentment was anticipated from the country people, on this occasion, may be inferred from the pains taken to obviate any unfavorable impressions, in the following notice of the opening of the markets, in the News-Letter (a paper published at that time in Boston) of June 6th, 1734: "It's tho' the said markets, carried on conformable to the restrictions, limitations, and regulations of the said order, will by experience be found very beneficial, as to this great Town in general, and to our Country Friends in particular, in many respects, but more especially in having certain fixed places of resort both for selling and buying the necessaries of life from day to day: And the cheaper and better the commodities brought for sale are, certainly the more vendable they will be; which no doubt will induce our Country Neighbours to endeavour to bring as good to the market as they can: their interest, as well as the town's, has been jointly consulted and aimed at herein." It may be added, that the abovementioned experiment in Boston was unsuccessful at that time, and seems indeed to have been nearly or quite as unpopular there, as in the country. In the course of three years, "the South End market was converted into shops, the North was taken down to be used in constructing a work-house, and the one at the Town-dock was demolished by a mob." Snow's History of Boston, p. 226.
business of the two parishes together. The petition was granted, and the western precinct was incorporated as a town, by the name of Waltham, on the 4th of January (corresponding in new style to the 15th), 1738.*

Our narrative has now brought us to the period when the original territory of Watertown was divided into three towns. Notices of transactions resulting from their former connexion, or from the conditions on which they separated, frequently occur. That portion of the whole, which remains under the old name of Watertown, is of much smaller extent than Weston or Waltham.

In 1738 mention is made, for the first time, I believe, of an altercation resulting from conflicting claims about the fishery. In that year, two complaints, one from people in Newton, Needham, Weston, Medfield, and Sherburne, the other from the Indians in Natick, were presented to the General Court against the inhabitants of Watertown, for stopping the course of the fish in Charles River. The representative of the town was directed to defend their cause in opposition to these complaints. Instances of a similar difficulty, from the interfering claims of neighbouring towns in this business, have since been not infrequent.

About this time a proposal was under discussion among some of the towns in this vicinity, to combine for the purpose of making a joint provision for their poor. They appointed a committee to confer on the subject of building a work-house at the common charge and for the common benefit of the towns concerned. The report of this committee in favor of the project, when read at a public meeting in Watertown, was accepted, and a vote was passed to unite with Cambridge, Waltham, Newton, Weston, and Lexington in building such a work-house. The repre-

sentatives of the towns concerned were instructed to apply for an Act of the Court, which should enable them to accomplish this object effectually and advantageously. Whether this plan was ever executed, I am unable to tell. Probably it was not; for, eleven years after this time, the people of Watertown appointed persons "to enquire of the neighbouring towns, and see who of them will come into the affair or scheme of the building of a work-house," an inquiry which implies, that the previous proposal had failed of success. And at a still later period, (March, 1760,) a vote was passed "to join with Cambridge, Newton, and Waltham in raising a sum of money, by lottery or otherwise, for building a work-house." But the project does not appear to have been accomplished. It has been thought by some reflecting men, that large establishments of this kind, in which several towns, perhaps a whole county, should have a common interest, would possess many advantages over the usual mode of supporting the poor.

The practice of arranging places for the people at public worship, by the authority of the town, still continued. May 15th, 1741, persons were chosen "to new seat the meeting-house forthwith by such rules as the town agrees on." In performing this duty, they were instructed "to have regard to age, honour, and usefulness, and to real and personal estate, as it stands in the last invoice." This deference to the distinctions of rank and property seems to us, at the present day, not a little singular. But it was then very common; and one instance of it may be observed in the arrangement of the Catalogue of the graduates of Harvard College, till 1773, when the names began to be placed in alphabetical order. The business of seating the people in the meeting-house recurs, in the records, in 1748 and 1749.

At a public meeting in Watertown, June 29th, 1741, it was proposed "to know the mind of the
town, whether they are willing to encourage the building of a bridge over Charles River from Cambridge to Boston, and what they will do for that end." The proposal was rejected by a negative vote. From this record it appears, that the plan of a bridge between Boston and Cambridge was under consideration at a much earlier period, than is commonly supposed. The proposal for a bridge from Boston to Charlestown was made as early as 1720; but I am not aware of any account, which states one to have been distinctly projected from Boston to Cambridge at so early a date as the above mentioned notice.*

The people of Watertown regarded the support of their own bridge over Charles River as a burdensome grievance, and complained heavily of the expense. They made several efforts to obtain relief, in some way, from the government of the Province. In May, 1744, the town, in connexion with Weston and Waltham, voted to apply to the General Court for a grant of land, for this purpose. More than thirty years before, they had endeavoured to procure an Act requiring the whole county of Middlesex to support the bridge. These applications were unavailing; but they persevered from time to time in their attempts to get assistance. It has been already remarked, that when the town claimed of the Court the fulfilment of certain grants of land, they obtained the 2000 acres of upland; but they do not appear to have been equally successful with regard to the meadow land. In May, 1752, they renewed their attention to this subject in connexion with the bridge. Their representative was instructed to join with the representatives of Weston and Waltham in searching the Prov-

* We are however informed by Snow in his History of Boston, that "there had been considerable effort to have the first bridge carried from West Boston to Cambridge; but the expediency of making the experiment across the narrower part of the river was so apparent, that the town of Boston had expressed an opinion almost unanimous (1238 to 2) in favor of it." p. 318.
ince Records to find the grant of 1500 acres of meadow, and having thus proved their right to such a tract, to ask of the General Court an equivalent for it in some of the unappropriated lands belonging to the Province, which might be applied for the relief of "their great burden relating to said bridge, that they may be the better enabled to bear that burden, which the public in general enjoy and reap so great benefit and advantage by." It does not appear that the town ever obtained the 1500 acres of meadow, or the equivalent for which they petitioned; and probably, the expectation of help from the Provincial Government in maintaining the bridge was abandoned.

It was owing, I suppose, to the state of the currency,* that in March, 1749, the town voted to defer the usual grant for the Rev. Mr. Storer's salary, and appointed a committee to inquire, meanwhile, "into the contract made with Mr. Storer at the time of his settlement, and to make diligent enquiry what silver was per ounce then, and what the necessaries of life then cost, and how things are at this present time." This committee reported at the next May meeting; and sixty pounds were then granted by vote as Mr. Storer's salary for the year from the first of March, larger sums having been previously proposed, and rejected. This appropriation was deemed insufficient by a considerable part of the town; and their opinion prevailed so far, that when the Selectmen soon after called another meeting on the subject, the salary was raised to what seems to have been its regular amount at that time, £66. 13s. 4d.

In 1753 the First Parish in Cambridge presented a petition to the General Court, "that some of the Easterly inhabitants of Watertown with their estates might be annexed to said parish." The people of Watertown appointed a committee to oppose this petition. It was nevertheless granted; and the next

*See Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 392, &c.
year, the inhabitants of Watertown petitioned for a part of Cambridge and a part of Newton, as an equivalent for what had been taken from them to be annexed to Cambridge. No grant corresponding to this petition appears to have been made. Watertown was thus finally reduced, from its originally large territory, to the small extent included within its present boundaries.* In 1754, it was proposed to make an exchange with Waltham in such a manner, that the inhabitants of some of the extreme parts of each town might be better accommodated in attending public worship; but the proposal was rejected. A committee was chosen to petition “that a number of the inhabitants of Newton might be set off to Watertown.” This petition probably related to what was called Angier’s Corner, which still remains a part of Newton.†

At this period a warm and acrimonious dispute began in the town, and lasted for a considerable time. December 17th, 1753, a proposition was submitted to remove the meeting-house from the hill, on which it stood, to some other place not specified. At that time the proposition was rejected. But the rejection seems only to have given new excitement to the friends of the measure; for, on the 20th of the next February, a meeting was called, chiefly with reference to this subject, and it was then voted that the meeting-house should be removed from School-house.

*Watertown still owns a part of a wharf on Charles River in the western quarter of Cambridge.
†It may be worth while to insert here the following curious record, as a specimen of the superintendence exercised by the Selectmen at that time with regard to schools: “At a meeting of the Selectmen at Mr. Jonathan Bemis’s on the 4th of Dec. 1752, Mr. Sam’l Coolidge was present, and the Selectmen gave him a thorough talk relating to his past conduct, and what he might expect if he did not behave well in the school for the future: they declar’d unto him that they put him into the school again for tryal, and if he behaved well he should not be wrong’d, and that he was to begin the school the 11th day of this December. Mr. Coolidge complained that he wanted a winter coat: desired Mr. Bemis to get him a bear-skin coat, and get Mr. Meed to make it: and to give the Selectmen an account thereof.”
Hill “to the half acre of land lately given by Nath’l Harris Esq. to the town, and that the said house be erected there anew,” &c. There was evidently a trial of strength on the question, and the vote passed only “by three odds.” The removal was agreed to, it seems, only on the condition, that the town, as such, should be at no expense about it. Accordingly seven men undertook it on their own responsibility, and gave a security that the town should be free from all charge. These men were appointed a committee to see the business executed, and were directed to proceed as speedily as might be. The old house was accordingly taken down, and the materials transported to the destined spot, to be again set up; but before the work could be completed, the building in its unfinished state was burnt to the ground. This took place in May, 1754. No doubt was entertained that the fire was the work of an incendiary: several persons were examined and brought to trial, but evidence could not be found sufficient to convict any one.

The people were thrown into a sort of consternation by this event. The religious services of the Sabbath were at first attended at the Rev. Mr. Storer’s house: but another more convenient place was soon provided to answer the present purpose. They next proceeded, “under the present awful frown of Heaven” (as they called the sad effects of their own contention), to appoint a day of fasting and prayer, and to apply to Mr. Storer for advice and direction on the subject. The day was observed, and several of the neighbouring ministers were invited to attend and assist in the services.

A town meeting was held June 13th, 1754, at which it was determined by vote to build a new house for public worship, fifty-six feet long, and forty-two feet wide, on the same place as before, viz., the half acre of land given by Nathaniel Harris, Esq. Six hundred pounds were at first appropriated for this object,
and a building committee chosen, with directions to have the house finished as soon as possible. A protest against all these proceedings, by those who had from the outset been opposed to the removal of the meeting-house from the hill, was presented and placed on record. The asperity of the language used in this protest sufficiently indicates the irritated state of feeling between the two parties. They, who signed it, complained that their wishes had been slighted, and their rights violated, in the whole business; a grievance, which they thought the more intolerable, as they claimed to be "the owners and possessors of much the greater part of the rateable estate in the town." They protested against paying any part of the cost of the new house, among other reasons, because they conceived that the persons, who had at first given a formal pledge to save the town from all expense on account of the removal and rebuilding of the meeting-house, were still bound by that engagement, since, when they took upon themselves that obligation, they voluntarily incurred the risk of all accidents and hazards; and consequently that the town ought not to be burdened with any charge whatever. Notwithstanding this argument, the town did not require the committee, formerly appointed, to fulfil their bond, probably because the fire, in which the meeting-house had been destroyed, was believed to have taken place under such circumstances, as would not allow it to be fairly considered as one of the hazards incurred by the engagement. The bond was soon after relinquished into the hands of the committee.

The building of the new meeting-house proceeded, without any regard to the protest. It appears to have been completed as early as February, 1755. Till very recently, it was the only one in the town, and with an addition hereafter to be mentioned, it is the place of worship still used by the Congregational Society. This house is consequently somewhat more than
seventy-five years old.* It may easily be supposed, 
that the former situation of the meeting-house, on the 
summit of a high hill, must have been exceedingly 
inconvenient, especially in the winter; nor can we 
waiter that a majority of the people were in favor 
of the removal. It is to be regretted, however, that 
this could not have been done in the spirit of peace 
and of mutual concession. The effects of the unhap-
ppy dispute, in one form or another, are said to have 
lasted several years.

The meeting-house being finished, the pews were 
soon disposed of, being assigned, by the town, to in-
dividuals, according to their proportion in the sched-
ule of taxes. It was voted, that “they should be 
settled upon real and personal estate,” the valuation 
used for this purpose being the same by which the 
rate for building the house had been made. The 
object of this vote was, I suppose, to regulate the or-
der of precedence in choice. When any one should 
wish to sell his pew, the town was to have the refu-
sal of it; and when any person should remove from 
Watertown, his pew was to revert to the town, upon 
their reimbursing the money which he had paid for 
it. Other regulations concerning the mode of obtain-
ing and transferring the pews were established, though 
evidently with much opposition.

Arrangements were made for selling “the minis-
terial place,† exclusive of the marsh,” if Mr. Storer's

* The account of cost of this meeting-house, as reported by the com-
mittee, stands as follows:
To the contract with Messrs Pierpoint and Evans . £4840 Old Tenor.
To services done by persons, and materials procured . 360 : 1
To allowance for finishing the meeting-house . . . 51 : 0
Granted by the town . . . £4500 Old Tenor.
Materials of former house sold . 151 : 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£4651 : 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£600 : 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sum of six hundred pounds, old tenor, was raised on the pews to 
cancel the remainder due in the account.

† The parsonage here mentioned was, I am told, the place recently 
occupied by Mr. David Livermore, and now in the possession of his 
family.
consent could be obtained. He consented, and the place was sold. The committee, to whom the business was entrusted, were instructed to offer Mr. Storer the interest of the money arising from the sale, or to procure another place, as he should choose. It seems he preferred the latter proposal; and the town purchased the parsonage which was occupied by him and his successors.*

At this time, Watertown owned a share in a tract of land near Wachusett Hill, as we learn from a vote, passed May 12th, 1755, to sell "their right in the farm near Wachusett Hill." Mr. John Hunt, Lieutenant Daniel Whitney, and Ensign Jonathan Bemis were appointed a committee to effect the sale. It is not said in the records how the town came into possession of this land; but it was doubtless their part of the 2000 acres before mentioned, which they had claimed and received in consequence of an old grant made by the General Court. Waltham and Weston had each a right in that grant, because it was made before they were incorporated; and accordingly these towns are mentioned as having claims in the tract near Wachusett. When Watertown's part in this land was sold, the sum of £66. 13s. 4d., from the proceeds of the sale, was (by vote, October 6th, 1755,) appropriated towards the purchase of the new parsonage, although the committee, who were to buy that estate for the town, had been expressly instructed to give no more for it than would accrue from the sale of the old parsonage. It does not appear on record, nor have I been able to learn, what disposition was made of the rest of the money, for which Watertown's right in the land near Wachusett was sold.

Much dissatisfaction (on what ground, we are not

* The buildings, and a small part of the land, belonging to this ministerial place, were sold in 1823. There is now no parsonage in the town.
informed) was expressed concerning the choice of a moderator at a town meeting on the 5th of March, 1759. In consequence of that uneasiness, and with the consent of all parties, application was made to the General Court, requesting them to set aside the proceedings of that meeting, and to appoint a moderator to act for the town. The Court complied with the request, and appointed for moderator the Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., father of that distinguished officer and patriot, General Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln came to Watertown, and presided at the town meeting. Here is another curious instance of an appeal to the Provincial government on town matters. We do not learn what the difficulty was, which produced the necessity of resorting to this expedient. At the meeting of which Lincoln was moderator, nothing but the ordinary business of the town was transacted.

A notice occurs, March 15th, 1762, that the Second Precinct in Cambridge had petitioned to have a part of Watertown annexed to them. The people of Watertown opposed this petition; and it appears to have been rejected.

In 1767 an application was made to the General Court “to have the fishery in Watertown put under some regulations, to prevent the many quarrels and disputes that arise thereby.” Legislative enactments respecting this subject have been frequent in more recent times.

The dark and stormy period of the Revolution was now fast approaching. The excitement, by which it was preceded, doubtless reached every village in the land. The indignation called forth by the act imposing certain duties on tea, paper, glass, and other articles imported into the colonies, is familiarly known. When, towards the close of the year 1767, a meeting was held in Boston for the purpose of promoting the use of home manufactures, and preventing, as far as possible, the importation of Europe-
an articles, sympathy and support in the measure were sought by an appeal to the other towns. At a public meeting in Watertown, January 11th, 1768, a letter was read to the inhabitants from the Selectmen of Boston, inclosing a copy of the votes, which had been passed there in relation to the abovementioned purpose. After some debate, the people of Watertown appointed a committee to report on the subject, and at an adjourned meeting on the 18th of January, they passed the following vote, the phraseology of which is somewhat amusing, as well as spirited. “The town of Watertown, being alarmed at the late impositions on the colonies, and perceiving the streights and difficulties the people of this Province must be brought into by lessening the medium of trade, have considered with pleasure the attempts made for laying aside the use of foreign articles we may well do without, and the resolutions many towns have come into for the promotion of industry and the encouragement of their own manufactures; we do also cheerfully and unanimously vote, that we are ready to join in any patriotick endeavours to lessen our importations, and thereby prevent our gold and silver from giving us the slip, that we consent to lay aside the use not only of the articles enumerated by the town of Boston in their resolves, but of all foreign teas as expensive and pernicious, as well as unnecessary, this continent abounding with many herbs of a more salubrious quality, which, if we were as much used to as the poisonous Bohea, would no doubt in time be as agreeable, perhaps much more so; and whilst by a manly influence we expect our women to make this sacrifice to the good of their country, we hereby declare we shall highly honour and esteem the encouragers of our own manufactures and the general use of the productions of this continent; this being in our judgment at this time a necessary means, under God, of rendering us a happy and free people.” It may
excite a smile at the present day to observe the strong
terms, in which our fathers thought it necessary, in
their zeal for resisting what they considered aggres
sion, to denounce that refreshing beverage, the praises
of which Dr. Johnson has celebrated by describing
himself as one “who with tea amuses the evening,
with tea solaces the midnight, and with tea welcomes
the morning.” They seem to have been apprehen
sive that their measures of hostility against tea would
be least likely to find a cordial acquiescence on the
part of the ladies; and if tradition do not misinform
us on this point, their apprehensions were not with
out foundation. At the same meeting they gave in
structions to their representative, which, while they
manifest a warm determination to resist encroach
ments on their rights, indicate, by the respectful men
tion made of the king and the mother country, how
far they were at that time from any thought of re
nouncing their allegiance to Great Britain. After
charging him to conduct himself agreeably to the di
rections given by the town of Boston, “who to their
immortal honour took the lead,” they proceed as fol
lows: “we desire you would be upon your guard
against any who, under false pretences of patriotick
zeal to their country, may endeavour to draw you into
any rash or disorderly measures, either disrespectful to
the best of Sovereigns or undutiful to our Mother Coun
try; but that you coolly and dispassionately join, and re
peatedly join if expedient, in all firm, vigorous, but most
legal and peaceable measures in ascertaining our char
ter privileges, and for obtaining relief of those grievan
ces which otherwise threaten us with impending ruin.”

September 21st, 1768, Mr. John Remington was
chosen by the town to attend the Convention, sum
moned at Boston to take into consideration the state
of public affairs, when a military force from England
was daily expected to be stationed in the metropolis.*

Votes and resolves for the purpose of discouraging importations from England were again passed, March 8th, 1770, by Watertown, and a copy of them transmitted to "the committee of merchants in Boston."

In November, 1772, a committee of correspondence was appointed, at a town meeting in Boston,* to write circular letters to the several towns in the province, enumerating the wrongs and grievances inflicted by the British Parliament, and calling upon the people to be active and watchful. The inhabitants of Watertown, like those of most other places in the colony, replied to this appeal in a tone of earnest and cordial sympathy. A committee was chosen, and on the 5th of February, 1773, an answer to the circular was reported, which was accepted, and put on record. This answer states, in very strong and solemn expressions, the conviction entertained of their dangers and duties at the momentous crisis; but it contains nothing sufficiently peculiar to be extracted.

The agitating excitement, which led to the destruction of the tea in Boston harbour, was of course felt with peculiar intensity in the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis. The people of Watertown met, January 3d, 1774, and expressed their sentiments and purposes in relation to the whole subject, in the resolves common at that period, preceded by a spirited preamble. Adverting to the meeting which had been held in Boston,† they say, "We are fully of opinion the people had a right thus to meet and consult for their common safety. We read that the Jews in a state of captivity and slavery, under an arbitrary king, when a decree was gone forth to destroy them, had liberty to assemble together and defend themselves, and consult how to ward off the blow that was coming upon them, by preventing the wicked edict being carried into execution; under Providence they were

---

wonderfully succeeded, having the kind influences of a
good Mordecai in their favour, who, not accusing
them of riot, sought their welfare, and was accepted of
the multitude of his brethren. And we are also fully
of opinion, that the people assembled at Boston on the
14th and 16th of December last had no design or
desire, that the tea on board the vessels in the harbour
should be destroyed, or any way damaged; but on
the contrary were very desirous, and used their utmost
endeavours, that said tea might be safely returned to
the owners thereof. But that the destruction of the
tea was occasioned by the Custom House officer's and
the Governor's refusing to grant a clearance and pass
for the vessel, that was designed to carry said tea
back to the owner from whence it came." The
resolves following this preamble, proscribed, with all
possible strength of expression, the use of tea in any
mode or quantity.

August 22d, 1774, the Selectmen were requested
by the town "to meet such persons as may appear at
a proposed meeting, to be held at Concord on the 30th
day of this present month, from the several towns in
this county, to consult what may be proper to do in
order to preserve the charter rights." In the next
month of the same year, the town ordered that their
militia should be exercised two hours every week, for
the three autumn months, and that a view should be
taken of the arms and ammunition in the town, to be
reported at a subsequent meeting.

Inconformity with the resolutions and advice of the
county of Suffolk,* the people of Watertown voted
(October 3d, 1774,) that their collectors of taxes
should pay no more money into the treasury of the
Province till further orders, but that the money should
all be paid into the town treasury. A pledge was
given to the collectors, that they should be protected

and supported in carrying this vote into execution. At the same meeting, their representative was directed to unite with the representatives of the several towns, in forming a Provincial Congress.

November 21st, 1774, a committee consisting of nine persons was appointed to carry into effect the association and the resolutions entered into by the General Congress at Philadelphia in the preceding October, and likewise the resolutions of the Provincial Congress.

On the 27th of November, 1774, the Rev. Seth Storer died, in the 73d year of his age, and in the 51st year of his ministry. He was born at Saco, Maine, May 27th, 1702, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1720, at the early age of eighteen. His father was Colonel Joseph Storer of Wells in Maine, who was much distinguished in the Indian wars at that time.* The ministry of Mr. Storer, was the longest, which occurs in the history of Watertown. I am not able, after a diligent inquiry, to record any particulars of his life or ministry. The general impression which I have received of his character, is

*He is mentioned by Belknap, who tells us (Hist. of N. H. Vol. I. p. 211), that on the 9th of June, 1691, the Indians “attacked Storer’s garrison at Wells, but were bravely repulsed”; and by Mather, (Magnal. Book vii. Chap. 6th, Appendix,) who likewise speaks of “Storer’s garrison at Wells.” His brother, Samuel Storer, was also distinguished for his bravery and good conduct in the same war. Their father was William Storer, one of the earliest settlers on the Eastern shores. It is not clearly ascertained whether the family came from England or Scotland. The name is said to have been formerly written sometimes Storer and sometimes Story, even in the same instrument, when the same individual was intended. An instance of this variety is found in the name of Augustine Story in the famous deed from four Sagamores to John Wheelwright and others, which is given in the Appendix to Belknap’s New Hampshire, Vol. I., and the authenticity of which has been so fully discussed and denied by Mr. Savage in the Appendix to Winthrop, Vol. I. Benjamin Storer, who is said by Hubbard (p. 631) to have been killed by the Indians at Wells, in April, 1677, was doubtless one of this family. The Rev. Seth Storer had a sister named Mary, who was carried away by the Indians from Wells, or Saco, to Canada; she was brought up near Montreal, was married to a Frenchman, Jean St. Germaine, and died August 25th, 1747. Ebenezer Storer, Esq., treasurer of Harvard College from 1777 to 1807, was a nephew of the clergyman.
honorable to him as a man, and as a Christian. He discharged the duties of his office, for half a century, in a quiet, unobtrusive manner, but with scrupulous diligence and fidelity. Moderate in his wishes and fond of retirement, he never coveted applause or sought to attract notice. He found his happiness in the conscientious performance of his regular, tranquil duties; and he seems to me to have possessed much of the spirit manifested by Hooker, when, with beautiful simplicity of expression, he solicited his Archbishop for "some quiet country parsonage, where," he said, "I may see God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread in peace and privacy."

The few, who remember Mr. Storer, testify that his people regarded him with affectionate respect; and they recollect that in his old age he was beloved by young people and by children, which is one of the best evidences, that could be had, of the goodness of his heart and the excellence of his character. His intellectual powers were respectable, and well employed. As a theologian, he was candid and mild in his sentiments, and loved "the doctrine which is according to godliness," much better, than "questions and strifes of words." As a preacher, he was judicious, practical, and edifying, his chief end being to produce that religious improvement which is founded upon permanent principles. I do not find that he ever published even a single sermon, or any other production of his pen. In the warm controversy, which arose in the town concerning the removal of the meeting-house, during his ministry, an occasion of offence to one or the other of the parties was scarcely to be avoided; and however prudently and firmly he may have conducted himself, he is said, for a time, to have fallen under the displeasure of a part of the town, in consequence of that transaction. It may easily be conceived, that this was owing rather to the spirit with which the dispute was carried on, than to any blameworthy feelings or
behaviour on his part. It was in the course of his ministry, that New England was agitated by what was called the great Revival of religion, a period of strong excitement, when many a clergyman was ready to say, in the exulting language used by Whitefield, that he had every day “a constant levee of wounded souls, and many quite slain by the Law.” In this commotion Mr. Storer and his parish seem to have had no share. His name does not appear among those of the pastors, who gave their testimony at the meeting in Boston, July 7th, 1743, nor among those who, having been absent from that meeting, afterward communicated their attestations in letters. He had too much sobriety and calmness to be carried along by the force of sympathy or spiritual rivalry, in an excitement, the result of which, he might foresee, would at least be of a doubtful character.

Mr. Storer has left on record 1419 baptisms, and the names of 328 persons received into the church, during his ministry.*

We come now to the period, in which Watertown became more intimately connected with the public proceedings of a fearful crisis. The second Provincial Congress assembled at Cambridge on the 1st of February, 1775.† Their session was continued till the 16th of that month, when they adjourned to meet at Concord on the 22d of March. At that time and place, accordingly they were reassembled; and after transacting the important business before them, they again adjourned to the 10th of May. In specifying the time, however, they made a provision, that, if circumstances should require it, they might be called together sooner, and that, if this should be necessary, notice should be given by the members in Cambridge and

* For the particulars, which I have stated concerning his family, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. P. B. Storer of Walpole, Mass., one of the descendants of a brother of this Watertown minister.
† Jonathan Brown represented Watertown in this Congress.
the vicinity. In consequence of the expedition of the British troops from Boston on the 19th of April, and its bloody result, a meeting was suddenly summoned at Concord on the 22d; and having appointed a chairman and clerk, they immediately adjourned to Watertown. Here the Congress assembled, during the remainder of the session, in the meeting-house. Joseph Warren, Esq., the early and lamented martyr in the cause of freedom on the memorable 17th of June, presided at their deliberations after the Hon. John Hancock had been chosen delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. A committee of nine persons was chosen to collect the most exact evidence concerning the facts in the affair of the 19th, at Lexington; and another committee to draw up an account of all the transactions of that day.

The third and last Provincial Congress, consisting for the most part of the same members who composed the second, was chosen, and met at Watertown on the 31st of May. They held their sessions, as before, in the meeting-house. The Rev. Dr. Langdon, president of the College, preached a sermon before them, appropriate to the occasion, from Isaiah i. 26. Joseph Warren, Esq.* was chosen President, and Samuel Freeman, Jr., Secretary. This session lasted till the 19th of July. The Congress were busy in adopting such measures, as the distracted state of the Colony required. The suffering poor of Boston were particularly objects of attention; and every thing was done that could be done, to provide for their removal and support. Means were likewise adopted to procure arms, and to save provisions and supplies from falling into the hands of the British.

*Warren went from Watertown, with all the alacrity of patriotic feeling, on the morning of the 17th of June. Just before his departure, I am informed, he entreated the ladies of the house, in which he boarded, to prepare and procure as great a quantity of lint and bandages as possible, observing, "The poor fellows will want them all before night." He was succeeded, as President of the Congress, by the Hon. James Warren of Plymouth.
This Provincial Congress was succeeded by a General Court, or General Assembly of the Colony (as it was sometimes styled), chosen in conformity with the colony charter. They convened at the meeting-house in Watertown on the 26th of July.* The Hon. James Warren was chosen Speaker, and Samuel Freeman, Clerk. The General Assembly continued their sessions at Watertown till the 9th of November, 1776, when they adjourned to meet at the State House in Boston on the 12th of the same month. Their measures were such as the state of the times required. In the first session, acts were passed confirming the doings of "the several Provincial Congresses," making and emitting bills of public credit, declaring the rights of certain towns in Massachusetts Bay to elect representatives, removing officers, civil and military, who held their places by the appointment of any Governor or Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts Bay, &c. At a subsequent session, measures were adopted to encourage the manufacture of powder and fire-arms, to fit out armed vessels to defend the seacoast, to provide for a more equal representation in the General Court, to raise troops from time to time, and such other proceedings as are familiarly known in the history of that period.

Among the few newspapers printed at that time, was "The Boston Gazette and Country Journal." It had been published for some time in Boston by Edes & Gill,† and was distinguished by the spirited and fearless tone, in which it defended the American cause. The paper obtained, as we may readily suppose, great popularity and a wide circulation. Such a publication, of course, could not be continued in

*The Council met in the house of the late Mr. Edmund Fowle, now occupied by his widow. This house was selected for the purpose on account of its vicinity to the meeting-house, which enabled the two bodies to have easy and immediate intercourse.

†For an account of these printers, see Thomas's History of Printing in America. Vol. I, p. 341.
Boston, while the town was in the possession and power of the British. Notwithstanding the avenues between the metropolis and the country were as much as possible closed, Edes found means to escape by night in a boat. Gill, who had less zeal or courage than his partner, remained in Boston, and lived in seclusion till the danger was over. When Edes fled from Boston, he took with him a press, and a few types. With these he established himself at Watertown, where he opened his printing-house, continued the publication of the Gazette, and was employed as printer by the Provincial Congress and the General Assembly. Though his facilities for printing were but poor and slender, his zeal and diligence enabled him to surmount all difficulties.* "The Boston Gazette and Country Journal" was published in Watertown from June 5th, 1775, to October 28th, 1776, when, the British having evacuated Boston, the editor returned and again established his paper there.

In this Gazette were published those letters of Hutchinson, which were discovered at his house in Milton, and inflamed into stronger violence the obloquy

*"The printing he executed at Watertown did not, indeed, do much credit to the art; but the work, at this time, done at other presses, was not greatly superior. The war broke out suddenly, and few of any profession were prepared for the event. All kinds of printing materials had been usually imported from England; even ink for printers had not, in any great quantity, been made in America. This resource was, by the war, cut off; and a great scarcity of these articles soon ensued. At that time, there were but three small paper-mills in Massachusetts; in New Hampshire, there were none; and Rhode-Island contained only one, which was out of repair. The paper which these mills could make, fell far short of the necessary supply. Paper, of course, was extremely scarce; and what could be procured was badly manufactured, not having more than half the requisite labor bestowed upon it. It was often taken from the mill wet and unsized. People had not been in the habit of saving rags, and stock for the manufacture of paper was obtained with great difficulty. Everything like rags was ground up together to make a substitute for paper. This, with wretched ink and worn-out types, produced miserable printing." Thomas's History of Printing. Vol. I. p. 343. The appearance of Edes's paper, at the time referred to, corresponds to what might be expected from this description.
which the Governor had before incurred.* The publication of these letters began in the first number of the paper which was printed at Watertown, and continued nearly a year. They were occasionally accompanied with comments, intended to expose the duplicity of Hutchinson, and to keep the public indignation warm. Political essays of the most spirited character, exhortations and addresses to the people, were continually appearing in the Gazette, some of them marked with talent and fairness, and some with that heedless violence which is always the growth of strong political excitement.† It is remarkable that no particular account is given in this paper of the affair at Lexington and Concord on the 19th of April, nor of the battle of Bunker Hill. Brief allusions are sometimes made to these events; and in July a short statement occurs of the killed and wounded on both sides at Charlestown on the 17th of June, but without comment. It seems difficult to account for the omission of all details con-

† The following: "Extract of a letter from a gentleman in America to his friend in London," copied from the Gazette for November 6th, 1775, is an illustration of the pleasantry, with which the resolute spirit of the times occasionally displayed itself: the person alluded to in the letter, I suppose to have been the celebrated Dr. Price:

"Tell our dear friend, Dr. P——, who sometimes has his doubts about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous, a very few tories excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed 150 Yankees this campaign, which is £20,000 a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she has since lost again by not taking post on Plough'd Hill. During the same time, 60,000 children have been born in America. From these data, his excellent mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense requisite to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory."

In the paper of April 1st, 1776, is the following jeu d'esprit in reference to the evacuation of Boston: "We hear that last Lord's day se'nnight, the Rev. Mr. Bridge of Chelmsford preached a most animating discourse from these words in the 2d of Kings, vii. 7. 'Wherefore they arose, and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life.' This passage of Scripture is a good description of the late flight of our ministerial enemies; for they left their tents, and their horses, and a number of tories for asses."
cerning matters of such deep and agitating interest, as these must have possessed.

The inhabitants of Boston, when they were driven from home, and dispersed in the country, had several town meetings in Watertown, which were summoned by means of notifications in the Gazette. At one of these, September 5th, 1775, Mr. William Cooper was chosen representative of Boston in place of the Hon. Samuel Adams, who had been elected to a seat in the Council. Another meeting was held November 28th, 1775, to choose a representative for Boston in the room of the notorious Dr. Church, who had been expelled from the House, for attempting to carry on a secret and criminal correspondence with the enemy. Committees, appointed to manage affairs for the people of Boston, frequently met and transacted their business at Watertown. In 1776 the anniversary of the fifth of March was observed, in the usual form, by the people of Boston at the meeting-house in Watertown. The Hon. Benjamin Austin was moderator of the meeting on this occasion; the Rev. Dr. Cooper offered the prayers; and the Rev. Peter Thacher of Malden delivered an oration on the dangerous tendency of standing armies in time of peace, which is said to have been received with warm and universal approbation.*

The inhabitants of Watertown bore their part of the losses and burdens of the country, at this perilous period. One of their number was killed on the 19th of April†; and many others, during the war, either died by sickness in camp, or fell on the field of battle.

*This oration was printed at Watertown by Edes, and the following fable from Phaedrus was affixed to it for a motto:

Asellum in prato timidus pascebat senex:
Is, hostium clamore subito territus,
Suaedebat Asino fugere, ne possent capi.
At ille lentus: "Queso, num binas mihi
Cittellas impositurum victorem putas?"
Senex negavit. "Ergo, quid refert mea,
Cui serviam, cittellas dum portem meas?" Lib. I. 15.

†This was Mr. Joseph Coolidge.
Early in 1775 they granted money "to encourage the learning of the military art," bound themselves by covenants to promote in certain specified modes the interests of liberty, collected and secured arms* and ammunition, and in general entered heartily into the measures for defence and protection, which were common at that time. They raised their proportion of soldiers, and granted them the usual bounty in addition to the pay they received from the public chest.†

In the first stage of the great contest, the object of the Americans unquestionably was not independence, but the restoration, on just principles, of the ancient and peaceful union between the colonies and the mother country. But the natural consequence of open hostilities was to carry the feelings of people rapidly beyond this point; for the absurdity of continuing to profess allegiance to a government, against which they were in arms, must have pressed itself on their notice. Indications, not to be mistaken, of a strong wish for bold and decisive measures to sever the tie of allegiance, which had now lost all its charm, were manifested early in 1776. When the Continental Congress sounded the feelings of their fellow citizens on this subject, through the medium of the Provincial Assemblies, they found themselves anticipated, or at least promptly supported, by the people in the disposition to take the final step. One of the many instances of this state of feeling we find in the following vote at a town meeting in Water-

* A committee was appointed "to mount the great guns," &c. This expression refers, I presume, to certain cannons, for which some British officers came to Watertown to search; but they searched in vain, the pieces being effectually concealed in a barn. At the beginning of the war, there was a depository of arms and military stores, under guard, at the house of Mr. Edward Richardson, who kept an inn at the Eastern part of the town, where one is kept now.

† In March, 1777, the sum which had been granted by the town, in this way, to officers and soldiers, amounted to £604. At a later date, May, 1778, the town "voted a further sum of £5 to each of the men that went to the White Plains in the year 1776; and that the men that went to the Northward in the year 1776 with Capt. Edward Harrington be allowed a further sum of £1. 13s. 4d. each."
town on the 20th of May, 1776: "A resolve of the late House of Representatives, relating to the Congress of the Thirteen United Colonies, declaring them independent of Great Britain, being read, the question was put to know the mind of the town, whether they will stand by, and defend the same with their lives and estates; and it passed in the affirmative unanimously." Congress had likewise, in May, 1776, recommended to the several colonies to frame and adopt such governments, as their circumstances might require. These were to be not temporary regulations, such as had been resorted to before, but so far permanent as to be unlimited with respect to time. The subject came before the Massachusetts Legislature in September of the same year, and some preparatory measures were adopted. On the 7th of October, the people of Watertown "took into consideration a resolve of the General Court of the 17th of September last, relating to a form of government; and after some debate thereon, they voted unanimously, that they give their consent that the present House of Representatives, with the Council, should form a plan of government for this state, to be laid before the several towns in the same, for their consideration, before it be ratified."

After the capture of Burgoyne's army, Watertown was selected as one of the places, at which it was proposed to quarter the officers. This proposal was zealously resisted by the inhabitants. Taking alarm at the prospect of having such inmates in their houses, at a meeting in December, 1777, they declared their opinion "that the quartering the British officers among the inhabitants of Watertown at this time would be very dangerous to the peace and safety of the town, as well as the publick, and therefore they cannot give their

* The effort at this time made towards obtaining a Constitution for the State was unsuccessful. See Bradford's Hist. of Mass. from July 1775 to 1789, p. 117 and 158. The Constitution proposed in 1778 was rejected by Watertown, as it was by a great majority of other towns.
consent thereto." Some of the people, however, were inclined to furnish accommodations for the officers in their families. To such the above-mentioned vote was intended as a prohibition. It was also communicated to the Deputy Quarter Master by the Selectmen. The objection made by the Watertown people on this occasion amounted probably to nothing more, than the repugnance naturally felt by plain and sober citizens to having military strangers and foreigners in the midst of them. Some of the officers were quartered among them, notwithstanding their remonstrances, and some of them were stationed at Angier's Corner in Newton, and other places in the neighbourhood.

January 17th, 1778, the representative of the town was instructed to use his influence and give his aid towards ratifying and confirming the Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union among the United States of America, as agreed upon and proposed by Congress. It is time to return to the ecclesiastical affairs of the town, which, in the midst of the momentous political transactions of the period, lost the prominence usually belonging to them in a New England village. Immediately after Mr. Storer's death, the town voted, according to the custom of the times, "to set apart a day for fasting and prayer, to seek the Divine presence and direction relating to the settling another Gospel minister." They invited those clergymen, who had borne the pall at Mr. Storer's funeral, to officiate on the occasion.* From that time the services of the pulpit were performed by various preachers, engaged from time to time, as they were wanted. Among these was Mr. Samuel Henshaw, who was paid "the sum of thirty pounds in full for his preaching." Dr. Cooper, pastor of the church in Brattle Square, Boston, resided in the

* These were the Rev. Mr. Cook of Cambridge (now West Cambridge), the Rev. Mr. Cushing of Waltham, the Rev. Mr. Clarke of Lexington, the Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Woodward of Weston, and the Rev. Mr. Merriam of Newton.
country on account of the troubles in the metropolis, and preached in Watertown for a considerable time.*

It was not till November, 1777, that any movement was made towards the settlement of a minister. At that time, the town voted unanimously to concur with the church in the choice of Mr. Daniel Adams. He accepted the invitation, and was ordained on the 29th of April, 1778. "In consideration of the extraordinary price of the necessaries of life," he was to have £150 in addition to his salary for the first year. A promise was also given him that such grants should be made, from time to time, as the state of the medium, or other circumstances, might render just and reasonable. At the ordination of Mr. Adams, I have been informed, the sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Prettiss of Medfield, and the charge delivered by the Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge. I have not learned who performed the other services of the occasion.

In 1778 Watertown again became the seat of government for a short time. The small-pox prevailed in Boston to such a degree, as to excite no little alarm; and it was on that account (as appears by the State Records) that the House of Representatives requested the Council to grant them an adjournment. On the 30th of May, 1778, they were accordingly adjourned to meet on the next Tuesday, June 2d, at Watertown. There they assembled, and held the remainder of the session. They resumed their session at Boston in September, 1778.

The settlement of Mr. Adams was regarded by his people as an event of happy promise; but their pleasant hopes were doomed soon to be struck down by the premature death of their pastor. In August following his ordination he fell sick of the dysentery, which was then prevalent, and after a violent and

* February 12th, 1776, the Selectmen "signed an order on the treasurer to pay the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper £20 in part for his service in the work of the ministry in Watertown."
painful illness of about six weeks died, on Wednesday, the 16th of September, in the thirty-third year of his age. His ministry, consequently, was of less than half a year’s duration. On the Saturday following his death, he was buried in the tomb of Mr. Capen, one of his parishioners, and his funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Cushing of Waltham. He was cut off in the morning of usefulness and of hope, and his valuable labors were remembered with a melancholy and touching interest, for the brevity which God was pleased to assign to them.

The Rev. Daniel Adams was the only son of Elisha Adams, Esq., of Medway, where he was born in January, 1746. He was of the fifth generation from Henry Adams, a Puritan emigrant, who came from Devonshire, England, about the year 1630, and settled in Braintree, now Quincy.* He was prepared for college under the tuition of the Rev. Jonathan Townsend of Medfield, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1774. Being then of mature age, he immediately began the study of theology, which he pursued, partly with the Rev. Mr. Bucknam of his native town, and partly with the Rev. Mr. Brown of Sherburne. He was received, as a preacher, with general and high approbation; and about the time when he was called to Watertown, he also had an invitation to settle at Princeton. Short as was his connexion with his people, he won their confidence and attach-

* To the memory of this man, the late venerable and eminent John Adams, the second President of the United States, who was one of his descendants, erected a monument in Quincy with an inscription. From this inscription the following is an extract. “In memory of Henry Adams, who took his flight from the Dragon persecution, in Devonshire, England, and alighted with eight sons near Mount Wollaston. One of the sons returned to England; and, after taking some time to explore the country, four removed to Medfield and the neighbouring towns; two to Chelmsford. One only, Joseph, who lies here at his left hand, remained here, who was an original proprietor in the township of Braintree, incorporated in 1639.” See Farmer’s Genealogical Register.
ment in no common degree; and those, who now re-
member him, bear witness to the great respect, in
which his services and character were held. His ear-
ly death was deeply and sincerely lamented by his
parishioners, and the kind attention, with which they
had treated him, especially during his sickness, was
continued to his family after his decease. His preach-
ing is said to have been of the most edifying and im-
pressive character. When the General Court, as be-
fore mentioned, met in Watertown in 1778, Mr. Ad-
ams was their chaplain; and his fervor and power in
discharging the duties of that station were long remem-
bered, evincing the earnestness with which he enter-
ed into the public interests of that anxious and trying
period. His power as a singer was very remarkable;
and it is related that at his funeral the choir of sing-
ers, whom he had been accustomed to lead from the
pulpit, were so much affected, that it was with great
difficulty they could proceed in the performance of
their part at the solemnity. He left a widow, and
one son. Another son was born after the father's
death. Both his children are now living.* During
his short ministry, eight were baptized, and two ad-
mitted to the church. I do not find, that any of his
writings were published.

The following obituary notice of Mr. Adams, which
is believed to do no more than justice to his memory,
appeared in Edes's Boston Gazette for September
28th, 1778.

"From Watertown we have the melancholy news
of the death of the Rev. Daniel Adams, who, after a
most distressing illness of six weeks, resigned his val-
uable life into the hands of that God who gave it,
with the most pious submission, in the 33d year of
his age, after having been settled in the ministry only

* One of these is Daniel Adams, Esq., of Medfield, who has obliging-
ly furnished me with most of the abovementioned particulars respect-
ing his father.
five months. He was the only son of Elisha Adams, Esq., of Medway, who for a long time represented that town in the Great and General Court. Those, who knew the deceased, knew his many virtues. His publick and private character were such, as did honour to mankind, to the holy religion he professed, and to the sacred order to which he belonged. ‘From his first appearance, as a preacher, he was almost universally admired. He never puzzled his own nor his hearers’ minds with nice metaphysical disquisitions in polemick divinity, but preached and enforced, with peculiar energy, the well known acknowledged precepts of the New Testament, with such meekness and simplicity as became a disciple of the blessed Jesus. His genius for vocal musick was extraordinary; and in that part of divine worship, his harmonious voice was heard from the sacred desk with a degree of rapture. The inexpressible grief of a fond wife, mourning the loss of a most agreeable partner; the parental distress of elderly worthy parents, bemoaning the fate of their most engaging only son; the undissembled sorrows of a whole town, lamenting the bereavement of their much respected pastor, demand a sympathetic tribute of sorrow from every humane and feeling heart. He has left a little son, too young to feel his irreparable loss.

To him 'tis given to die: to us 'tis given
To live! Alas, one moment sets us even.
Mark! how impartial is the will of Heaven.”

In November 1778, the town ordered an investigation to be made into the doings of the committee, who were chosen in 1755 to sell the old-parsonage and the farm in Princeton, near Wachusett. The persons appointed to inquire into the affair made a report to the town in March, 1779, which was ordered to lie on file. This report I have not been able to find, and consequently cannot state the result. Whatever might have been the circumstances, which led to the inves-
tigation, no further discussion of the subject seems to have taken place. At the last mentioned meeting, a committee was likewise chosen, to join with some of the inhabitants of Newton in a petition to the General Court to annex them to Watertown.

In conformity with a resolve of the General Court relating to a new Constitution of government for the State, the town on the 24th of May, 1779, took the subject into consideration, and voted by a large majority against having a new form of government at that time.* At the same meeting, the fishery was brought under discussion, and the town seem to have been in doubt what might be the nature and extent of their rights respecting it. Persons were appointed to inquire whether the town had power to let out the fishery; if they had, it was to be leased for one year; if not, the committee were to petition the General Court to grant the power in question, for the benefit of the town. From this notice, we may presume, that the fishery had not been let out before. It probably began to be leased annually about the time when the inquiry, which has just been mentioned, was instituted.

The well known depreciation of the currency at this period was the cause of much embarrassment and alarm. The perplexity and distress occasioned by it are still fresh in the remembrance of many. On the 7th of July, 1779, a meeting was held in Watertown on the subject, and a committee appointed to take the matter into consideration. They reported in favor of acting in accordance with the resolutions that had recently been passed in Boston, and of sending delegates to a Convention to be held at Concord, the next week, for the purpose of devising some means of relief.

* A majority of the votes in the State were in favor of calling a Convention for this purpose. Delegates were accordingly chosen, and met the next September at Cambridge. See Bradford's Hist. of Mass. from 1775 to 1789, p. 177
Other measures were recommended, and the report was accepted. After the meeting at Concord, prices were fixed by a committee, on all the most important articles of traffic, produce, labor, &c.; and no departure from these prices was to be allowed.*

August 23d, 1779, the town appointed two persons to represent them in the Convention, which was to be held on the first of the ensuing September at Cambridge, in order to frame a new constitution, or form of government. Subsequently, instructions were given to these delegates respecting their attendance at the Convention. At the same meeting, delegates were chosen to appear at a meeting to be summoned at Concord on the first Wednesday of the next October, in order to institute further regulations concerning the currency and the prices of articles.

Since the death of the Rev. Mr. Adams, the care of supplying the pulpit had been entrusted to a committee. Among those, whose services were procured at this time, were Mr. Laban Wheaton, who afterward studied the profession of law, and the now venerable Dr. Prince, the present senior pastor of the First Church in Salem, to whom the cause of science among us owes so much, and who is permitted to enjoy the bland and happy old age of the Christian scholar. On the 13th of March, 1780, a meeting was called to make choice of a minister. Mr. Richard Rosewell Eliot, who had officiated in the pulpit during the winter, was unanimously chosen. As nothing is said of any concurrence between the church and society, as separate bodies, on this occasion, perhaps they acted together by one vote. Mr. Eliot, having signified his acceptance of the invitation, was ordained June 21st, 1780. The Rev. Mr. Cushing of Waltham preached the sermon on this occasion: the names of those, who performed the other services, are not remembered.

* See Appendix K.
It may give us some idea of the state of the currency, at that time, to learn that the town appropriated £1600 to defray the expenses of the ordination.

In April, 1781, the town agreed to establish a poor-house upon the south bank of the river, above the bridge. A building was purchased for this purpose, and a vote was passed to remove it to the place designated. It would seem that this was the first poor-house in the town. So long before as May, 1761, it had been determined to erect a work-house: at that time, however, it was not effected; and when, in January, 1768, the proposal was renewed at a public meeting, it was rejected, and nothing more is said of any similar undertaking till the date above stated.

At an adjournment of the same meeting, it was voted “That their representative be directed to use his endeavour in the General Court that the Tender Act, which was lately repealed, be revived so far as it concerns the Tender.” The vote was taken by yeas and nays, and the names of the voters on each side were entered on the town records.

Another attempt was made, in March, 1782, to have a part of Newton annexed to Watertown. A committee was appointed to confer with the people at Angier’s Corner on the subject, and to join with them, and other inhabitants of Newton, in a petition for this purpose. Nothing appears to have been effected by this movement.

In 1784, a notice occurs of a lottery granted in aid of a plan for enlarging the bridge; and on the 20th of September, in that year, the town gave the following pledge: “Whereas the General Court have voted a lottery to enlarge the great bridge over Charles River 12 feet,—Voted, that we, the inhabitants of Watertown, will engage to indemnify and save harmless our managers, and that they will agree to take on their own risque, their proportionable part of those tickets, that may remain unsold after the expiration of the
term of time that hath or may be allowed by the General Court; provided the managers account with the town for the expenditure of the money raised by said lottery." The attempt to raise money in this way proved a failure; the tickets were not sold, and the lottery was given up. The matter lingered along till 1791, when the town chose a committee "to look into the affairs of the Watertown Bridge Lottery, and see what losses the managers have sustained"; and soon after they appropriated money to compensate them for these losses, to redeem the tickets, and to pay the charges.

On the 20th of September, 1784, the town voted "to choose a committee to join with the several towns, who are desirous of petitioning the General Court for a repeal of a late act, empowering, or allowing, the town of Boston to exact a toll of persons that supply their market with the necessaries of life." This refers to "An Act for regulating the market in Boston," passed February 18th, 1784, and repealed February 11th, 1785. The Act was opposed and complained of by many of the towns in the country.* In December following, Watertown appointed another committee "to apply, in behalf of the town, to the Corporation of Harvard College to lower the price for passing the ferry between the towns of Charlestown and Boston."

Measures were adopted in town meeting, in 1792, to prevent the spread of the small-pox. Houses were

---

*The Hon. Mr. Savage has furnished me with a copy of the following "order of notice" on this subject:
"Tuesday, 9 Nov. 1784. Upon the petition of the agents of the towns of Roxbury, Braintree, Stoughton, Dedham, Newton, Weston, Brooklin, Watertown, Needham, Lexington, and Walpole, — Ordered, that the petitioners serve the Selectmen of the town of Boston with an attested copy of this order by leaving the same with some one of the said Selectmen, 14 days at least before the next setting of the General Court, to appear on the 2d Wednesday of the said next setting of the General Court, to make answer to the said petition if they see cause."
In the margin it is said, "Relative to the Market Act."
provided, to which persons infected with that disease by inoculation were to be removed; and in case they refused to remove themselves, or their families, to the places thus designated by a committee, then the committee were directed to prosecute them, as offenders, at the expense of the town.

The bridge over Charles River had been supported by the joint contributions of Watertown, Waltham, and Weston, the two last mentioned towns having, from the time of their incorporation, borne their share in this expense. In 1797 and 1798, they both made an effort, by petitions to the Legislature, to be liberated from this burden. These petitions were opposed by the people of Watertown, who appointed agents to meet and answer them before the General Court. The relief, which these towns claimed, seems not to have been obtained. But on the 2d of March, 1798, the General Court passed an Act, authorizing the inhabitants of Weston and Waltham, as well as of Watertown, to regulate the fishery "within the limits of the said towns"; and the proceeds accruing from this source were to be divided among the three towns, according to the proportion which each town bore in the expenses of the bridge. This Act, which made the right in the fishery in each town a joint concern of the three towns, appears to have been considered by the people of Watertown as unjust and oppressive.

At a meeting on the 20th of January, 1800, they voted "to appoint a committee to make serious enquiry into the constitutionality of the Act empowering Weston and Waltham to lease the fishery in Watertown." This vote, however, they reconsidered; and in March of the same year, they proposed, through a committee, to Weston and Waltham, to refer the determination of the question respecting the constitutionality of the Act of March 2d, 1798, to the Judges of the Supreme Court, and to bind themselves to abide by the decision of the Judges. This proposal, it would seem, failed
of success; for in May following, the same committee, who had been appointed in March, were empowered and directed by Watertown to bring an action against Weston or Waltham, which might be the means of putting to test the constitutionality of the disputed Act. In August, however, the people of Watertown voted to make a proposition to Weston and Waltham for "a settlement or compromise respecting the bridge and fishery"; and the committee designated for this purpose were empowered, in March, 1801, to give to Weston and Waltham a complete and sufficient discharge for ever from any further expense in maintaining the bridge over Charles River, provided those towns would give up to Watertown all the privileges in the fishery, which were granted to them in common with Watertown by the Act of March, 1798. On the basis of these conditions a mutual agreement, or obligation, was drawn up with great formality and precision, and signed by the agents of the three towns respectively. This agreement was read to the people of Watertown at a public meeting on the 15th of March, 1802, when they voted to accept the contract, and place it on record. The dispute was thus adjusted satisfactorily to all parties, and their subsequent proceedings were governed by this contract for several years. At length, by an Act of the General Court, dated February 3d, 1816, the right in the fishery was secured and appropriated to Watertown within the limits of the town, and Weston and Waltham were discharged from any further cost or charge towards the support of the bridge over Charles River in Watertown. This is the footing, on which the matter now stands.

The manner in which the property in the pews had been disposed of when the meeting-house was finished in 1755, proved the occasion of some difficulty, after the lapse of nearly fifty years. The pews had not been purchased by those who occupied them, but
had been assigned to the individuals by the town, according to the proportion each one had borne in the whole cost of the meeting-house. This mode of conveying the pews to the individual owners appears to have been vague and informal; and in process of time cases occurred, which gave rise to the question, whether the property in the pews obtained in this way was of such a nature that it could be transmitted by inheritance, or whether it was limited to the lifetime of the original owner. The difficulty growing out of this question was probably before the town in May, 1795, when they voted “to take council concerning the state of the pews in Watertown meeting-house.” The committee chosen at that time were directed to consult Mr. Parsons and Mr. Dexter, and to obtain a written opinion from them on the subject. “Some other gentlemen at the bar” were likewise to be consulted. From some cause the business seems to have proceeded very slowly; for it was not till March, 1799, that Mr. Parsons and Mr. Dexter communicated their written opinion, in which they said that the original manner of assigning the pews did not appear to them to have the forms “necessary in deeds to create an estate of inheritance,” and that the votes of the town alone “could not be legally construed as giving an estate beyond the life of the grantee.” In consequence of this opinion from such high sources, and in order to obviate all future uncertainty and difficulty, the town passed a vote, whereby they “give, grant, and confirm” to the original proprietors, and to their heirs and assignees for ever, the pews which they severally drew or held in the meeting-house, excepting those pews which had reverted to the town; and these were in like manner confirmed to the individuals who had purchased them of the town, and to their heirs, &c. This vote was in April, 1800.

In 1811, a proposal to build a new meeting-house for the town was under discussion. But the commit-
tee, to whom the subject was referred, reported against the project, and it was abandoned.

The site of the United States' Arsenal in Watertown was selected early in 1816, by Major Talcot, who was stationed in the vicinity for the purpose of taking the charge of the establishment. In June of the same year, the State of Massachusetts ceded to the United States the jurisdiction usual in such cases over an extent of territory, which should not exceed sixty acres. The work was begun immediately after this cession; and in 1820, the buildings were completed. Mr. Alexander Parris of Boston was employed as architect; and the whole was finished under the superintendance of Major Talcot, the first commander of the post. At present, somewhat more than forty acres of land are in possession of the United States at this place. A new magazine has been erected during the last year. The two magazines are of stone, and of the best construction; the other buildings are of brick. There are two large storehouses, two buildings for officers' quarters, two barracks, two workshops, and a few other small buildings. They are placed on the four sides of a parallelogram, which face the cardinal points, the spaces between the buildings being filled by a wall fifteen feet in height. The area enclosed is about three hundred and fifty feet by two hundred and eighty feet. The magazines are placed at the distance of several hundred feet from the other buildings. This establishment is both a depot and an arsenal of construction.*

In May, 1817, two hundred dollars were assessed, in addition to the usual tax, for the supply of the pulpit during the ill state of the Rev. Mr. Eliot's health.

The name of Dr. Marshall Spring was so much and so long connected with public interests, both in his profession and in civil affairs, that the notice of it may

*These particulars respecting the Arsenal were communicated by Major Craig, the present much respected commander of the post.
with propriety belong to this narrative. He was born in Watertown, February 19th, 1741-2, was graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and died on the 11th of January, 1818, aged 76 years. After leaving college, he selected the profession of physic and surgery, to the study of which he devoted himself with assiduity. He resided for a short time at St. Eustatia, and then returned to Watertown, where he spent the remainder of his life. He received great assistance from Dr. Josiah Converse, his maternal uncle, and afterward inherited his property. Dr. Spring became one of the most distinguished physicians in the country; and perhaps no one can be mentioned, in whose judgment and skill a more unreserved confidence was placed. His practice was very extensive, and his house was the resort of great numbers of patients from the neighbouring and from distant towns. He was remarkable for a peculiar sagacity of mind, and for acute observation of human nature. These qualities influenced his medical practice, which is said to have been, in many respects, original, and so different from established modes as sometimes to draw upon him obloquy from his professional brethren. But the extraordinary success, which so often attended his mode of treating diseases, served to vindicate his judgment, and secured for him confidence. His strong good sense, and directness of mind, gave him a disgust for whatever savoured of pedantry, or of empty formality, in the profession. It was the fortune of Dr. Spring to be somewhat connected with political affairs. At the time of the Revolution, he was a decided tory, and thought the attempt of the colonies to gain independence entirely rash, and inexpedient. He despaired of success in an enterprise, which to the timid or prudent seemed so hopeless, and which even the sanguine acknowledged to be full of perilous uncertainty. He avowed his opinions on this subject so freely and fearlessly, that it is supposed he would
have been sent out of the country, under the law made for that purpose in 1776, had he not been too important, as a medical man, to be spared. In 1739 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Convention on the question concerning the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Dr. Spring was opposed to the Constitution, because he deemed it deficient in the principles necessary for strength and permanence. In the great political division of the country at the change of the administration in 1801, he took the side of the predominant party; and when reminded, by a political opponent, of the inconsistency between this conduct and his former toryism, he replied that "the voice of the people was as much the voice of God now, as in 1776." He was, for several years, a member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, and discharged his duties in that station with talent and fidelity. In the sharp encounter of wit, in the ready and pungent repartee of free conversation, Dr. Spring is said to have had very few equals. He was highly respected and beloved till his death, by a numerous circle of friends and associates; and many there are, who will never forget the benevolence of his character, the playful amenity of his temper, and the charm which he spread over social intercourse.*

The Rev. Richard Rosewell Eliot died on the 21st of October, 1818, aged 66 years, and in the 39th year of his ministry. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Stearns of Lincoln. He was born at New Haven, Con., October 8th, 1752, and descended in a direct line from the Rev. John Eliot, the memorable Apostle to the Indians, whose name and whose praise will never die in the ecclesiastical history of New England. Mr. Eliot was fitted for college under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Frost of Mendon, and was graduated at Cambridge in 1774, being

* A more ample account of Dr. Spring may be found in Dr. Thacher's *American Medical Biography*, Vol. II. p. 98.
a classmate of Mr. Adams, his predecessor in the ministry. After leaving college, he taught a school at Woodstock, Conn., and at the same time pursued the study of divinity under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Leonard of that place. In 1779, he was appointed a tutor in Harvard College, and held that office at the time when he received and accepted the call to settle in Watertown. He then attracted much attention as an orator, and is said to have been surpassed by few in the gifts and graces of good speaking, a power which the infirm state of his health, and other causes, withheld from cultivating in the subsequent part of his life. Mr. Eliot’s theological views were liberal and enlarged. For the harsh and stern features, which are sometimes portrayed as belonging to the countenance of religion, he had no partiality. He dwelt with peculiar pleasure on the benevolence and the paternal character of the Deity, and considered divine truth as presenting, in all its aspects, winning encouragement no less than awful solemnity. Metaphysical and ethical subjects were among his favorite studies; and in these, he is said sometimes to have displayed no inconsiderable acuteness and discrimination. His preaching was judicious, evangelical, and for the most part practical; and if his manner generally failed to be interesting or impressive, it should be remembered that the very feeble condition of his health precluded, in a great degree, that energy of delivery, which to most hearers is necessary to render even truth attractive. The style, in which his sermons were written, was perspicuous, easy, and pure, marked by the good taste of the school of Addison, and free from false ornaments and from the artifices of composition. His mind was active, and his feelings occasionally ardent, notwithstanding the depressing influence of a wasted bodily frame; and he was peculiarly disposed to interest himself in mechanical inventions, and in certain plans of improvement. His life might almost be regarded
as one long disease; and when we consider with what a leaden weight constant illness hangs upon the spirit, how it paralyzes resolution, and wears away drop by drop, as it were, the interest which men take in the scenes and engagements of life, can we wonder, or can we find no apology, if he did not accomplish so much, or labor with so effectual force, as those may, to whom God grants the blessings of a sound constitution and good health? His virtues and his piety were of a retiring, quiet character; his disposition was kind and amiable; and he was a man of sincere and honest heart. He treated with respect and fairness the feelings of others, and he bore suffering and disappointment with the submission of a Christian. Mr. Eliot was reluctant to commit any of his productions to the press. His published writings, accordingly, are few, but are very respectable compositions, both in manner and matter. They are the following: “A Discourse delivered at Athol at the Consecration of a Lodge, Oct. 13, 1803.” “A Discourse delivered at Dedham, at the Consecration of Constellation Lodge, Oct. 19th, 1803.” “Two Sermons preached at Watertown, Sept. 30th, and Oct. 7th, 1810,” from Acts, ii. 47: “Two Sermons preached at Watertown, Sept. 22d, 1816,” from Deuteronomy xxxii. 47. In the third of these is presented a very lucid and judicious view of the nature of a Christian church, and of the character which appertains to the ordinance of the Supper. From the last, published about two years before his death, is taken the following extract, which is honorable to the feelings of his heart, as a minister: “When I look round on the people of my charge, and view them as pilgrims on their passage to a state of recompense and retribution, when I consider that during the space of more than thirty-six years I have been with them, in all seasons and in innumerable vicissitudes, have shared in their griefs, sorrows, and adversities, and have experienced their kind attention and
affectionate aids, when I have been called to pass through the furnace of afflictions,—when I consider how many of my parishioners have already been joined to the congregation of the dead, how soon those who have been brought up under my ministry and who still continue among the living, must pass into the invisible and eternal world, how soon my ministerial labors must come to a close, and how soon I shall be required, by an impartial and unerring Judge, to give an account of my stewardship, my feelings are unutterable!"

There are recorded by Mr. Eliot, during his ministry, 497 baptisms and 118 received to the church.*

After the death of Mr. Eliot the pulpit was supplied by various candidates for the ministry. On the 12th of April, 1819, the town voted to invite the writer of this narrative to settle with them in the Gospel ministry, the church having previously, on the 31st of March, made a nomination to that effect. The invitation was accepted, and the ordination took place on the 23d of June, 1819. The introductory prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Lowell of Boston; the Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford preached the sermon, from 1 Timothy, i. 15.† The Rev. Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard College, offered the ordaining prayer; the Rev. Dr. Ripley of Concord delivered the charge; the Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Boston gave the right hand of fellowship; and the Rev. Mr. Ripley of Waltham offered the concluding prayer.

In the summer of 1819, the meeting-house was enlarged by an addition of 16 feet in width. This enlargement afforded space for the erection of 16 new pews on the lower floor. The alteration was made

* The body of Mr. Eliot was deposited in the tomb of John Richardson, Esq. His widow still resides in Watertown.
† This sermon was printed at the request of the society, and was the last production published by the venerable and eloquent preacher. He died December 12th, 1822.
by persons, who entered into a contract for the purpose with a committee appointed by the town.

The meeting-house erected in Watertown by the Watertown and Newton Universalist society was dedicated on the 15th of August, 1827. On the same day the Rev. Russell Streeter was installed as pastor. The church was publicly recognised July 23d, 1828. The connexion of the Rev. Mr. Streeter with the society was dissolved in 1829; and on the 15th of May, 1830, the Rev. William S. Balch, their present pastor, was installed.

On the 19th of August, 1830, the meeting-house erected by a Baptist society in Watertown was dedicated, and the Rev. Peter Chase was installed as their pastor. A church was formed at the same time.

On the 17th of September, 1830, the inhabitants of Watertown commemorated the completion of the second century from the settlement of the town. An address was delivered by the Congregational Minister, at the request of the Selectmen; and religious services, adapted to the occasion, were performed by the Rev. Mr. Ripley of Waltham, and the Rev. Mr. Balch and the Rev. Mr. Chase of Watertown.

The humble narrative, which has now been brought to a close,* may suggest considerations of some practical importance. The history of a town is indeed but a small item on the broad records of man's doings,—so small, that many will regard the interest taken in it as mere antiquarian trifling. But it is not without its use, at least to those who live on the spot, to which the narrative belongs. Our towns are the minute sections of a great community, each of which has an influence and an interest, however inconsiderable, in the welfare of the whole. They are the nurseries of the state, sending forth a continual supply of members to act and to be acted upon, amidst the complicated trans-

* See Appendix L.
actions and improvements of the country. These little subdivisions are the elementary parts of that mighty and unwieldy mass, which we call the nation; and in proportion as the parts are made sound and pure, the whole receives a firmer and more healthy character. In our community and under our institutions, this is peculiarly true. So free and numerous are the channels of intercourse through a body politic, in which men have equal rights, that scarcely the most inconsiderable fragment of society can be said to stand alone. The village has a bearing on the nation, and the nation on the village. The inhabitants of every town, therefore, should feel that they have relations to sustain, and duties to perform, of no unimportant nature. The sacred interests of knowledge, of rational freedom, and of religion, they should cherish with the deepest solicitude of which the heart of man is capable. They should never forget, that upon the members of every family, upon the inmates of every home, lies a solemn responsibility to their country and to God,—that the domestic establishment is a seminary, which sends forth its pupils through the land, and the influence of which, in extent and duration, can scarcely be measured.

The care of education is a precious trust, for which our towns, each and all, are accountable. While they maintain a watchful concern in the cause of knowledge, they are doing good not only to themselves, but to the whole land. A power is thus put in operation, which seeks out and draws forth the talents of every portion of the community, which reaches forth a helping hand to the minds marked by God for usefulness and distinction, and calls them to the service of society; and by doing this from generation to generation, perpetuates a race of vigorous and enlightened guardians of good institutions. It is this, which fans into a bright and beautiful flame the spark of intellect, that might otherwise be smothered, or burn dimly, in secret places. It is this, which spreads far and wide that enlight-
ened energy of character, upon which must ever rest the strong defence of the high interests of humanity. The memorable example of our fathers, in this respect, is worthy of all praise. Scarcely had they felled the forest sufficiently to prepare room for their poor and scattered dwellings, when they turned their thoughts anxiously to the care of education. In the midst of distress and danger, when, it might be supposed, they had enough to do in procuring bread to eat and in defending themselves from the savages, they laid the foundation of our venerable University and of schools, the blessings of which are now a rich part of our inheritance. The means of learning took root among the deep foundations of the republic, and grew and flourished with it. We may not forget, that they belong essentially, not to its ornament only, but to its welfare, and that they cannot be slighted without peril to all we hold most dear.

It should be remembered, however, that higher interests than those of knowledge are committed, as an inestimable deposit, to every town among us; I mean the interests of morals and religion. Here, too, the state has a claim upon all its parts; for religion belongs to the community, and blesses the community. They make but a defective estimate, who treat it merely as a concern between the individual and his God. It is this; but it is likewise more than this. It is a matter between the members of society, as such, a matter in which they have a strong mutual interest. Religion goes beyond the breast of the individual and beyond the family circle. It travels through society, and scatters blessings as it goes; it gives security to rights, to property, and to enjoyments; it controls if it does not extinguish the passions from which spring encroachment and oppression; it acts upon the whole while it acts upon the parts, and spreads the broad wing of its love over the community at large, as well as over your own dwelling. Such views of its agen-
are too often excluded, or their importance underrated, by the narrowness of sectarian feeling, or in the eagerness of party triumph. The subject was not regarded thus by our ancestors. They considered religion as the best friend and ally of their civil institutions, as the sanctifier and the protector of whatever they valued most highly in their political privileges. And they judged rightly. We surely want something to penetrate the whole mass of society, and operate as a restraint upon that pestilent ambition, which aims only at self-aggrandizement, and, so it can but build a triumphal arch to its own glory, cares not how abject and miserable are the crowds that gaze upon it. We want something that will give a solemn sanction to sound and wholesome laws, and to the sacred institutions of order and justice. We want something, that will prevent passion or selfishness from sweeping away the landmarks of venerable principles, that will not suffer licentiousness, under the abused name of freedom, to confound the essential distinctions, which God has instituted in the very nature of human society. The power, that will do all this, is to be found only in moral and religious influence, an influence guarded and guided so wisely, that it shall surround us like the air we breathe, vitally important, and felt not by its pressure, but by its refreshing and beneficial agency. None of the shackles, imposed by creeds, or by the spirit of a party, can supply the place of this great moral power. The people of every village should feel the solemn obligation of cherishing this guardian of their best possessions, and at the same time they should remember, that the spirit, miscalled religion, which kindles the wildfire of strife and fanaticism from town to town, is as far from resembling the beneficent agency of true Christianity, as the burning fever is from resembling the healthful and natural action of the functions of the body.

The principles, which have been stated, are the essential sources of all the good we can wish for our
country. These are the support of the privileges and institutions, which make our country worthy of our love. They are inseparably associated with the memory of our fathers, who through successive generations watched with pious care over the church of Christ, and kept a sleepless eye fixed on the blessings of freedom. Whatever there is of honest fame, or of virtuous excitement, in their sufferings and deeds; whatever their example affords, to which the nations of the earth point, as to a source of instruction and a beacon of hope; whatever is registered of their high enterprise, their noble daring, their firm endurance; all these become the nutriment of a consecrated patriotism, when they are regarded as the expression of strong devotedness to the cause of knowledge, of truth, and of piety. It is thus that the feeling becomes a hallowed one, which connects us with the men of former days,—men who have left the impression of their wisdom and valor on their own age, and on succeeding ages, who set forth and defended principles, the power of which is now felt in every fibre of the community, and who, in times when the hearts of multitudes quaked within them for fear, looked unmoved on danger and death, resting on a sublime sense of duty, and on the arm of Almighty God.

In the same elevated spirit the Christian citizen can look forward to the future. His blessings rise to a higher value, and glow with a richer beauty, when he can hope that they will be transmitted to his children’s children, encompassed and strengthened by the helps of knowledge and piety. His regard to the public welfare thus acquires something of the nature of parental affection, blending with its serious and perhaps stern expression the mildness of that feeling, which looks with fond care to coming generations. We should love our country, as Christians and as enlightened men. We should show this love, not by hating and reviling other nations, not by idle vaporing and
swelling boasts, not by plunging with mad zeal into
the conflicts of party; remembering that if it be truly
said,

\[
\text{Faction will freedom, like its shade, pursue,}
\]
\[
\text{Yet, like the shadow, proves the substance true,}
\]

it is also the fearful lesson of history, that faction is of-
ten the assassin, as well as the companion, of liberty. We
must manifest a love for our native land in other
and better ways, — by cleaving fast to principles and in-
stitutions established by the labors of the wise, and
sanctified by the prayers of the pious, and by such a
use of our gifts and privileges, that those who are to
come after us, may have as much good and as little
evil to tell of us, as we have to tell of our ancestors.
We must remember, that the good man is the best
patriot; that fidelity in the use of our extraordinary
blessings will teach us most effectually how to prize
and to preserve the fair inheritance transmitted from
the Fathers of New England.
The following is a list of the names, with the quantity of land assigned to each, in a "grant of the Plowlands at Beverbroke Plaines, devided and lotted out by the Freemen to all the Townesmen then inhabiting, being 106 in number." — February 28, 1636.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George Phillips, pastor</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Whitney,</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hastings,</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Woodward,</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Betts,</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Grigs,</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Simson,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Chadwick,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Veazy,</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Goldstone,</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Smith, Sen.,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Tomson,</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Eddy,</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bassum,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Crispe,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Sherman,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bridges,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory Taylor,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Coolige,</td>
<td>sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Patrick,</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Mosse,</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephraim Child,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lockwood,</td>
<td>eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Onge,</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gay,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Eire,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Richard Saltonstall</td>
<td>eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Baker,</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Richardson,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Munnings,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Bright,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholls Knapp,</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Sawtle,</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ellett,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Smith,</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Eaton,</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Loveran,</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Jennison,</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Page,</td>
<td>thirteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Hosier,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Winkell,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Goffe,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Bowman,</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian Pembleton,</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Browne,</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lawrence,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Tucker,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Cakebred,</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Tuck,</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Cuttris,</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Kemball,</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Barnard,</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Dikes,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Brookes,</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Hawkins,</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory Stone,</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Cutter,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cutting,</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Perse,</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnaby Winde,</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kingsberry,</td>
<td>twenty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Feke,</td>
<td>eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Stone,</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Smith,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Rose,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles Nutt,</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hayward,</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Filbrick,</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Stone</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Daniel</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Mixer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward How</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Dangayne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mathew</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Stowars</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Beere</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund James</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Firmin</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Warrin</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Batcheler</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Knop</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Kembell</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Palmer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Lewis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Finch</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Swift</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Winter</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Lam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Smith, Jun.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger Willington</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Grant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Nichols</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dwight</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Pickram</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Springe</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Warner</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emanuel White</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Garfield</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Gutterig</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Mason</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Rogers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bartlett</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Doggett</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence Waters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Underwood</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Paine</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrett Church</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abram Shaw</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the number is stated to be 106, it will be found, on counting, to be 108.

(B, page 13.)

The confusion on this question arises from the apparently contradictory testimonies of the old writers, and from the vague character of some of their expressions. Dr. Kendall, in the body of his Century Discourse, considers the church in Watertown as the sixth in age, among the Massachusetts churches; but in a note of some length, the fruit of subsequent researches, he assigns to it an earlier date, and is disposed even to regard it as second only to that at Salem. In this last estimate he is, however, undoubtedly in an error. The mistakes of Johnson, (Wonder-working Providence,) in his arrangement of the churches, are now generally acknowledged; and if his testimony be set aside, as it probably should be, the opinions which others have built on his authority as to this point, must fall with it. Mather (Magnal. B. III. ch. 4.) says that the Rev. Mr. Phillips and the other settlers of Watertown, on the 30th of July, 1630, “upon a day set apart for solemn fasting and prayer, the very next month after they came ashore, entered into this holy covenant.” He then subjoins the covenant at length, and adds, that “about forty men then subscribed this instrument in order unto their coalescence into a church-estate.” The day here designated was that, which Governor Winthrop had appropriated for fasting and prayer on ac-
count of the prevalent sickness, and on which Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and Wilson "first entered into church covenant, and laid the foundation of the churches both of Charlestown and afterwards of Boston." (Prince, p. 310, &c.) At the same time Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others of the settlement at Watertown, subscribed a covenant. Mather's statement, as to the origin of the Watertown church, would seem to be explicit and decisive of the question. But, in a note at the end of Dr. Kendall's Discourse, Dr. Holmes, to whose faithful and valuable labors on the early history of this country high praise is due, has endeavoured to show that the transaction to which Mather's account relates, was not the actual formation of a church, but merely an exercise preparatory to that act. His reasoning certainly deserves much consideration, and is stated with fairness and strength. Yet it does not seem to me entirely satisfactory and convincing. Although, as he remarks, the fast on the 30th of July related not primarily to ecclesiastical matters, but to the prevalent sickness, yet the strong expressions used by the writers, from whom we have the account, certainly seem to imply nothing less than the actual formation of churches. According to Prince, it was considered an important object in keeping the fast, "that such godly persons among them, as know each other, may publicly at the end of their exercise make known their desire, and practise the same by solemnly entering into covenant with God to walk in his ways," &c.; and though their society consisted of very few, they promised, "after to receive in such by confession of faith, as shall appear to be fitly qualified." This last engagement implies, that they intended from that day to be regarded as an organized church, prepared to receive others into their number. Morton, in relating the same transaction, tells us, that their purpose was to seek "for direction and guidance in the solemn enterprize of entering into church fellowship." (New England's Memorial, Davis's ed. p. 159.) Language like this appears decisively to describe the formation of churches; and if it were not intended to do so, it is unguarded and ambiguous. Mather introduces his account by remarking, that "they [Mr. Phillips and others of the Watertown settlers] resolved that they would combine into a church fellowship there as their first work," &c.; and when he remarks, that "in after time they, that joined unto the church, subscribed a form of the covenant somewhat altered, with a confession of faith annexed unto it," this refers, I conceive, not to a subsequent process of forming a church, but merely to some modifications in their covenant, introduced perhaps to make it more explicit and satisfactory. There is, however, another account given by Mather, which is inconsistent
with his own statement, above quoted, as to the state of the Watertown church. He places (Book I. ch. 5.) the churches at Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Roxbury, and Lynn, before that at Watertown, in the order of time. I know not how this inconsistency is to be explained, but by supposing that Mather, in the arrangement of the churches just referred to, followed, without examination, some erroneous authority. We seem warranted to infer that in the account, which assigns the Watertown church to July 30, 1630, he was more likely to be correct, because, in that account, a specific date is given for the transaction, connected with the well-attested fact of the fast which was observed on that day; whereas, in the other account, a merely general statement is made of one church following another, without any date assigned to either, except the Charlestown church. On the whole, I cannot but conclude, that the true date of the formation of the Watertown church is July 30, 1630, O. S. With regard to the relative positions of the first churches in Massachusetts, in the order of time, information may be found in Dr. Kendal’s Century Discourse, p. 19; Mass. Hist. Collections, 2d Series, Vol. I. pp. 9, 25; and Savage’s note on Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 94.

The covenant mentioned above as recorded by Mather, into which Mr. Phillips and others entered, and which was the foundation of this ancient church of our fathers, is so remarkable for its hearty piety, and its entire freedom from a sectarian spirit, that I have thought proper to insert it in this connexion. It is as follows:

"July 30, 1630.

"We, whose names are hereto subscribed, having, through God’s mercy, escaped out of the pollutions of the world, and been taken into the society of his people, with all thankfulness do hereby, both with heart and hand, acknowledge that his gracious goodness and fatherly care towards us; and, for further and more full declaration thereof to the present and future ages, have undertaken (for the promoting of his glory, and the church’s good, and the honour of our blessed Jesus, in our more full and free subjecting of ourselves and ours under his gracious government, in the practice of and obedience unto all his holy ordinances and orders, which he hath pleased to prescribe and impose upon us) a long and hazardous voyage from east to west, from Old England in Europe, to New England in America; that we may walk before him, and serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our lives; and being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special providence, that we may bring forth our intentions into actions, and perfect our
resolutions in the beginnings of some just and meet executions, we have separated the day above written from all other services, and dedicated it wholly to the Lord in divine employments, for a day of afflicting our souls, and humbling ourselves before the Lord, to seek him, and at his hands a way to walk in, by fasting and prayer, that we might know what was good in his sight; and the Lord was entreated of us. For in the end of that day, after the finishing of our publick duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly, and with all our hearts, personally, man by man, for ourselves and ours, (charging them before Christ and his elect angels, even them that are not here with us this day, or are yet unborn, that they keep the promise unblameably and faithfully, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus,) promise, and enter into a sure covenant with the Lord our God, and, before him, with one another, by oath and serious protestation made, to renounce all idolatry and superstition, will-worship, all humane traditions and inventions whatsoever in the worship of God; and forsaking all evil ways, do give ourselves wholly unto the Lord Jesus, to do him faithful service; observing and keeping all his statutes, commands, and ordinances, in all matters concerning our reformation, his worship, administrations, ministry, and government, and in the carriage of ourselves among ourselves and one towards another, as he hath prescribed in his holy word. Further swearing to cleave unto that alone, and the true sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our power, as unto the most clear light, and infallible rule, and all-sufficient canon, in all things that concern us in this our way. In witness of all, we do ex animo and in the presence of God hereto set our names or marks, in the day and year above written."

(C, page 17.)

The following is the letter alluded to, taken from the Mass. Hist. Coll. 2d Series. vol. iv. p. 171.

"Reverend and deare friends, whom I unfaynedly love and respect. It doth not a little grieve my spirit to heare what sadd things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fyne, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First you compel such to come into your assemblies, as you know will not joyne with you in your worship, and when they shew their dislike thereof or witness against it, then you styrre up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceyve) their publick affronts. Truly, friends, this
your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded is to make them sin, for soe the apostle (Rom 14 and 23) tells us, and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you and wish you prosperity every way, hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God’s people here, and not to practice those courses in a wilderness, which you went so farre to prevent. These rigid ways have layed you very lowe in the hearts of the saynts. I doe assure you I have heard them pray in the publique assemblies, that the Lord would give you meeke and humble spirits, not to stryve so much for uniformity, as to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

“When I was in Holland about the beginning of the warres, I remember some christians there, that then had serious thoughts of planting in New England, desired me to write to the governor thereof to know if those that differ from you in opinion, yet holding the same foundation in religion, as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might be permitted to live among you; to which I received this short answer from your then governor, Mr. Dudley, God forbid (said he) our love for the truth should be grown so could, that we should tolerate errours; and when (for satisfaction of myself and others) I desired to know your grounds, he referred me to the books written here between the Presbyterians and Independents, which if that had been sufficient, I needed not have sent soe farre to understand the reasons of your practice. I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibilitie of judgment, when the most learned of the apostles confesseth he knew but in parte and saw but darkely as through a glass. Oh that all those who are brethren, though yet they cannot thinke and speake the same things, might be of one accord in the Lord. Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be thus minded towards one another, after the example of Jesus Christ our blessed Savyor, in whose everlasting armes of protection he leaves you who will never leave to be

Your truly and much affectionate friend in the nearest union

RIC : SALTONSTALL.

For my Reverend and worthyly much esteemed friends, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, preachers to the church which is at Boston in New-England.”
It is proper here to advert to the use which has been made of the case of Briscoe, in a pamphlet entitled “Vindication of the Rights of the Churches of Christ,” published at Boston, 1828. The writer considers the statement of Winthrop and Hubbard in this instance as furnishing decisive evidence, that the churches (taking the word in its limited sense, as signifying only the communicants,) were regarded as bodies politic, and exercised the power of levying a tax for the support of their pastors. It is not necessary here to go into an examination of this position. The arguments, by which the writer attempts to sustain it, have been most satisfactorily refuted in a very able Review of the pamphlet, published in the “Christian Examiner,” for 1828, vol. v. p. 500, &c. I will only remark, that the writer of the “Vindication” seems to have mistaken the object of Briscoe’s complaint, which was against the tax itself, not against the power by which it was imposed. The support of the ministers had before been drawn from voluntary contributions; and when a tax was introduced compelling every man to pay his proportion for this purpose, Briscoe found fault with the change, as an offensive and injurious innovation. This was the object of his opposition, which therefore furnishes no evidence in favor of the abovementioned position, since the power of the church to raise money was not the point in debate. It is true that Winthrop, and Hubbard who merely copies Winthrop, speak of Briscoe as being grieved because he and others were taxed, when they “were no members.” Much stress is laid on this expression to show that the church, distinctively so called, possessed and exercised the power in question. But the expression, in all probability, was used concerning a relation to the religious society, as such, in Watertown, not to the body of the communicants exclusively. When the tax was introduced, and payment demanded by the proper authorities of the town, it is probable that Briscoe and others, in the warmth of their resentment, separated themselves from their former connexion, and declared they would have nothing to do with the support of the ministry or of public worship. They therefore considered themselves as “no members,” and were angry because the tax was still required of them. It is an extreme jealousy of taxation, and not resistance to a power exercised by the church, which appears in Briscoe’s case. The town records show decisively, that the appropriations for the support of the ministry were made by the town, as such, not by the church, as a distinct body. The tax for this purpose in 1642 (the very year in question) was or-
dered at a town meeting, in which other town affairs were transacted, such as choosing Selectmen, appointing persons to pack and sell leather, &c.; and, in 1648, "at a general towne meeting, the towne granted to Pastor Knowles and Pastor Sherman 120 pounds for the yeare following, to be equally divided between them; the said sum to be raised by rate made by the se­ven men" (meaning the Selectmen). There is nowhere in the records an intimation of the church, peculiarly so called, pretending to hold or exercise the power of raising money by tax for the support of their pastors. On the contrary, this is uniformly mentioned as the town's affair, and disposed of among other town business.

(E, page 50.)

The body of the Rev. Mr. Sherman was deposited in the old burying-ground in Watertown, and a plain monument raised over it, which, having fallen into decay, was rebuilt in 1821. His epitaph is said by the Rev. John Bailey, in a book of records kept by him, to have been written by Mr. Willard, doubtless the Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, who was married to a daughter of Mr. Sherman. It is as follows:—

Johannis Shermanni maxime pietatis, gravitatis, et candoris viri, in theologia plurimum versati:
in concionando verè Chrysostomi:
in Artibus liberalibus prncipue Mathematicis incomparabilis:
Aquitamensis ecclesiæ in Nov. Anglia fidelissimi pastoris:
Collegii Harvardini inspectors et socii:
Qui postquam annis plus minus xlv Christo fuit "Tangeris* in ecclesiâ fidus
Morte matura transmigravit, et à Christo palmà decoratus est,
A. D. mdcclxxv Augusti,
Ætatis suae lxxii:
Memoriae.

Mather, at the close of his account of Sherman, has bestowed

* Immediately after this word Mr. Bailey, who transcribed this epitaph into his manuscript book, has inserted in a parenthesis the following comment: "i. e. one of the underrowers that steer the ship towards the haven." In thus explaining this Greek word according to its derivation, rather than in its common and obvious sense, he has made it present to the mind a metaphor somewhat striking and pleasing.
upon him the following epitaph, borrowed, with the alteration of
the name, from its application to another person:

Ut Pauli Pietas, sic Euclideam Mathesis,
Uno Shermanni conditur in Tumulo.

It may not be improper to insert here an epitaph on the Rev.
Jonathan Mitchell of Cambridge, written, as I suppose, by the
Rev. Mr. Sherman. I am induced to think it to be from his
hand, because Hubbard (p. 606) ascribes it to "a neighbour
minister," and because it is subscribed with the initials J. S. If
it be Sherman's, it may lead us to fear that his philosophy and
mathematics had not altogether fitted him for a poet; although,
if compared with the sepulchral inscriptions in verse which were
common at that period, it will certainly appear very respectable.

Here lies the darling of his time,
Mitchell, expired in his prime,
Who, four years short of forty-seven,
Was found full ripe, and pluck'd for heaven;
Was full of prudent zeal, and love,
Faith, patience, wisdom from above;
New England's stay, next age's story,
The churches' gem, the college glory.
Angels may speak him, ah! not I,
(Whose worth's above hyperbole,)
But for our loss, were't in my power,
I'd weep an everlasting shower.

When Mr. John Bailey came from Ireland to New England,
he brought a manuscript book, to which I have already had oc­
casion to refer. In this book he kept a record of all the com­
munions of his church, first in Limerick, beginning June, 1679,
and then in Watertown, in regular order till he left the town. In
these records are occasionally found some interesting particulars.
The following notice, while he was in Ireland, is worthy of being
transcribed. "The 44th Sacrament was upon the 11th of Oct.,
1683, in the evening, at Mr. Wilkins. It's now too long a storye
to tell all the particular reasons why we had not one sooner;
many have been the exercises, tryals, vexations, we have met
with since July the 1st. There hath a plott broken out
since then that hath occasioned a world of trouble, and some
have suffered, as Russell, Essex, Capt. Wolcott, &c., and others
are like to suffer; it hath made the papists proud, &c., but God will, in his own time, discover the worke of darkness; I say no more of it. We were shutt out of the Abby by the locking of the gates, and it’s sad to think we shall never come more into our old place of worship. Then I was advised by the Bishops not to preach; I promised to forbear a while because of such a critical juncture of time; after 3 Sabbaths I began again, &c., and so the Bishop with the broad seal of his court certified to the Mayor, who is very unwilling to do any thing against me, that I did preach such a day, and so required the Act of Uniformity to be put in force against me in 3 months imprisonment. I was sent for before the Mayor, Recorder, and other justices, to whom I opened my mind fully: the Recorder was for imprisonment, but the Mayor was not only willing to forgive what was past, but not to put me on promising to forbear for the future (for he knew I would not promise it), but to warn me for the future, telling me what to look for if I do so any more. So that now in a sort the very neck of our liberty is broken, for there is little likelihood of doing any thing in private. This is the saddest day I have seen; all their former ways have hitherto been abortive, nothing fledged till this. The Lord is performing the thing appointed for me, and yet what this may come to I know not; but there is just ground of fear, because all things everywhere goe down the wind.” Again he writes:—“The 46th Sacrament was on Jan. 13, 1684, in the morning, at Mr. W’s. I was at one of clock to preach in the Irish town; but I have now nothing to say to this day’s worke, for I was imprisoned in the afternoon, and so I suppose it may be the last Sacrament I may give; many things were said at the Table, which I now being under confinement forbear to repeate,” &c. The next record, Oct. 6th, 1686, speaks of his arrival in New England, and of his being “set apart for the church in Watertown.” From this time notices follow, in a regular series, of all the communions of the church in Watertown while he was with them. He gives the heads of his sermons and remarks on these occasions, and is so particular as to notice the weather, and other minute circumstances. He speaks frequently of the communion being attended by great numbers of people from the neighbouring and even distant towns. At one time, he says, they were “so many, that they put us hard to it to get elements sufficient.”

Mr. Bailey seems to have used this book as a depository for his notes about his private matters, as well as ecclesiastical affairs. It contains the epitaphs upon his wife, who died and was buried in Watertown, and upon his brother Thomas. They were writ-
ten by Mr. Moody, probably the Rev. Joshua Moody, of the First Church in Boston, and are as follows:

Pious Lydia, made and given by God,
as a most meet help to John Bailey,
Minister of the Gospel.

Good betimes, — Best at last,
Lived by faith, — Died in grace,
Went off singing, — Left us weeping,
Walked with God till translated in the 39th yeare
of her age, April 16, 1691.
Read her epitaph in Prov. xxxi. 10, 11, 12, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Here lyes the precious dust of Thomas Bailey
A painful preacher [A most desirable neighbour]
An exemplary liver [A pleasant companion]
A tender husband [A common good]
A careful father [A cheerful doer]
A brother for adversity [A patient sufferer]
A faithful friend [Lived much in little time]

A good copy for all Survivors.
Aged 35 years.
He slept in Jesus the 21. of January 1688.

Among the curious medley contained in this book are some memoranda of Mr. Bailey's expenses; and at the end of one of these accounts he exclaims, “I'll proceed no further, it's enough to make a man mad to take notice of daily expenses,” &c.

The following entry among his marriage records is worthy of notice. “There was by the General Assembly, sitting in October or November, 1692, an order made for Ministers marrying, as well as Justices of the peace, which hath encouraged me to do it at the importunity of friends,” &c. Hutchinson says that, among our ancestors, “there was no instance of marriage by a clergyman, during their charter; but it was always done by a magistrate, or by persons specially appointed for that purpose, who were confined to particular towns or districts. If a minister happened to be present, he was desired to pray.” Vol. i. p. 392.

It may be well to take notice here, that in a blank leaf of Mr. Bailey's book, “Man's Chief End to Glorifie God,” &c., presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, there is the following memorandum respecting his descendants: “Now living of his offspring, in Boston, two great-grand-children, namely, Sarah Belknap and Abigail Willis, and three great-great-grand-children, namely, Charles Willis, Jr., Nathaniel Willis, and Abigail Willis. May 28, 1771.”
This report as then presented, respecting both the ministry and the meeting-house, stands in the town records as follows:

"Whereas in a general Town Meeting of the inhabitants of Watertown, upon the 27th of December last past, it was voted that matters of difference relating to the settling of a minister and the placing of the Meeting-house, should be left to the determination of a committee, to be chosen by the Governor and Council: And whereas upon the application of Mr. William Boyd and Lieut. Benjamin Garfield, the Governor and Council were pleased to nominate us the subscribers to be a committee for the ends aforesaid: We do advise and determine, that forasmuch as you have once and again called the Rev. Mr. Henry Gibbs to labour in the Lord's vineyard at Watertown, which he has so far accepted as to spend some years with you, in which time yourselves and others have had plentiful experience of his ability and real worth, that therefore you do your endeavour that he may speedily be fixed among you in the work and office of the ministry.

"And whereas there has been of a long time, even ever since the days of your blessed pastor Phillips, an earnest contending about the place of meeting for the publick worship of God, having heard and duly weighed the allegations of both parties in your publick meeting, and considering the remoteness of the most of your inhabitants from the place where the meeting-house now stands, our advice and determination in that matter is, that within the space of four years next coming there be a meeting-house erected in your town on a knowl of ground lying between the house of the widow Sterns and Whitney's hill, * to be the place of meeting to worship God for the whole town. And if in the mean time, the minister see cause to dwell in the house where the Rev. Mr. John Bayly dwell'd, the town pay rent to the proprietors, as hath been accustomed since its building. So praying God to unite your hearts in his fear, we take leave, who are your truly loving friends and brethren.

Boston, May 18, 1693.

To our Brethren and Neighbours of Watertown. William Stoughton.

John Phillips.

James Russell.

Samuel Sewall.

Joseph Lynde."

* The spot thus described by the committee was in one of the angles now formed by the intersection of two roads near the houses of Mr. Charles Whitney and Mr. Joel Pierce,—a place sometimes called the Four Corners. It is now remembered in the town, that a meeting-house was said to have once stood there.
By the order of the Court in 1700, it would seem, all the inhabitants of the town (except the "the Farmers") were required to choose which of the two places of worship they would support, and then sign their names to an obligation for that purpose. The names of those, who subscribed for the support of the old meeting-house, were as follows:

N. Barsham.  N. Fiske.  J. Holdin.
J. Stratten, Senr.  T. Train.  C. Grant.
J. Beers.  A. Benjamin.  J. Grant.
R. Goddard.  

The names of those, who subscribed for worship at the new meeting-house, were as follows:

J. Barnard, Senr.  James Barnard  for his land in Watertown.
C. Church.  J. Warren, the Cap- Justice Phillips.
tain's son.  A. Gale.
E. Cutter, Senr.  R. Bloss.
I have been informed, that the monument* now standing over the ashes of Mr. Gibbs and his wife, was erected by the Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, who, as has been already said, was married to their daughter. If this be true, it is probable that the following epitaphs, inscribed on the monument, were written by him.

Hic
Deposita sunt reliquiae viri
verè venerandi
Henrici Gibbs, Ecclesiae Christi
apud Aquitonienses Pastoris
gigilantissimi,
Pietate fulgente, eruditione non
mediocri, gravitate singulari
spectatissimi:
Peritia in divinis, prudentiâ in humanis,
accuratione in concionibus, copia in precibus,
præcellentis:
Qui per aërumnas vitae doloresque mortis
requiem tandem invenit.
die Octobris 21. Anno Domini MDCCXXIII.
Ætatis sue LVI.

Etiam deponitur corpus Mercy Gibbs
Conjungis suæ dilectissimæ,
Quæ expiravit in Domino 24 Januarii
Anno Domini MDCCXVI.
Ætatis sue XLI.

It may be interesting to some to present, somewhat more in detail, the doings of the town on this subject. The report mentioned in the narrative, after a long preamble, recommended the following resolves:

"1st. That we highly approve of the late resolutions of the merchants of the town of Boston, and elsewhere in this State, and also of the doings of the said town of Boston, and their proposal for calling a Convention at Concord, in the County of Middlesex, on the 14th day of this inst. July, for the purpose of de-

* This, and the monument erected to Thomas Baily, and to John Bailey's wife, were repaired and put in order in 1821.
vising ways and means for lowering the prices of all the necessary articles of life, both foreign and domestick, and for the effectually appreciating our currency. 2dly. That the town will, by their committee, meet at Concord on the 14th of July inst. for the purpose aforesaid. 3dly. That, in order to co-operate forthwith with the merchants in their glorious attempt for the lowering the prices of every necessary of life, it is resolved, that the produce of our respective farms shall not advance in price in the least degree from what they now are, upon condition the late resolution of the merchants respecting foreign articles shall continue; but the same shall lower in the same proportion as foreign articles do,—and that we will use our utmost exertions that the several mechanics in this town lower in like proportion; and in order that this vote be carried into complete execution, voted 4thly, That a committee of seven be chosen, whose business it shall be to ascertain, as nearly as may be, the prices of foreign and domestick articles, and to determine what proportion they ought in equity to bear each to the other, and publish their doings monthly, and cause the same to be posted up at the meeting-house and other places of publick resort in the town, which shall regulate the prices of all the articles mentioned in said notification for the time therein specified: And if any person or persons shall be so lost to all sense of honour, love of their country, or their own interest, as to violate in the least degree the true intent and meaning of this resolution, by selling their produce at a higher price than established by said committee from time to time, said person or persons so offending shall be deemed enemies to their country, and cried as such by the town-clerk, for six months after, at every publick meeting of the town:—this resolution to hold good and valid until the State at large shall have adopted some permanent mode of regulating the same. 5thly. That the Selectmen be directed, without loss of time, to transmit copies of the proceedings of this meeting to the towns of Newton and Waltham, praying them to adopt some such method, in order that we may be mutually assisting in the only feasible way possible, that we can think of, for the appreciating our currency, and thereby rendering our independency sure, and securing to us and our posterity peace, liberty, and safety."

On the 26th of July, 1779, the resolves passed in the Convention at Concord were accepted and approved by Watertown, and a committee was appointed "to regulate and settle the prices of such articles as may be thought proper." This committee soon after reported a list of prices for articles, in addition to those agreed upon at Concord. "Hay and milk in Boston market"
were exempted from the regulation. The following is the list of prices, as given in the town records

“For the Innholders: — a dinner 18s. — horse-keeping per night 17s. — oats per pottle 5s. — punch per bowl 30s. — W. Ind. flip per mug 12s. — yoke of oxen per night at English hay 18s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Craft</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanner</td>
<td>sole leather per lb.</td>
<td>20s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>curried calf-skins, single, equal to 6 lbs. sole leather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>a man per day, find himself</td>
<td>60s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a man per day, and found</td>
<td>40s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaming</td>
<td>per mile, not exceeding 90 miles out, per ton</td>
<td>18s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man and team per day, finding themselves</td>
<td>5£. 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man and team, found, per day</td>
<td>£4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>men's best shoes per pair</td>
<td>£6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women's best do.</td>
<td>4£. 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>making a man's best worked coat</td>
<td>£8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. do. waistcoat</td>
<td>4£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. do. breeches</td>
<td>4£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver</td>
<td>for weaving 7-8 cotton and linen cloth per yard</td>
<td>6£. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. yard wide tow</td>
<td>6£. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-4 all wool</td>
<td>9£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>narrow axe</td>
<td>£7. 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shoeing a horse round with refined iron and steel</td>
<td>£5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shoeing oxen in the same manner</td>
<td>£10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>per day, finding themselves</td>
<td>72£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. and found</td>
<td>52£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>best saddle compleat</td>
<td>£70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>best curbed bridle</td>
<td>£12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>best single-reined do.</td>
<td>£6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather-dresser</td>
<td>best sheep's wool per lb.</td>
<td>22£. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>best wash'd leather dress-ed sheep-skins, single</td>
<td>56£. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boating from Boston</td>
<td>per boat-load</td>
<td>£18. 15s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>per hogshead</td>
<td>25£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>per barrell</td>
<td>7£. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>shaving</td>
<td>3£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatter</td>
<td>best beaver hat</td>
<td>£40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>best felt hat</td>
<td>£4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joiner</td>
<td>common mahogany desk</td>
<td>£20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. round top case drawers</td>
<td>£130.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. four foot table</td>
<td>£27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currier</td>
<td>currying calf-skins</td>
<td>24£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. a hide</td>
<td>£4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow-Chandler</td>
<td>candles per lb.</td>
<td>18£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hard soap per lb.</td>
<td>10£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soap per barrell</td>
<td>£15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potter</td>
<td>quart mugs per doz.</td>
<td>50£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do. single</td>
<td>5£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>raw hides per lb.</td>
<td>3£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>best tallow per lb.</td>
<td>9£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>flax per lb.</td>
<td>12£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>milk per quart</td>
<td>2£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oats per bushel</td>
<td>48£.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barley per bushel</td>
<td>£4. 10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malt per bushel</td>
<td>£4. 10s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"
Horse-hire per mile 5s. Chaise-hire per mile 5s. All articles of European manufactures at the same rates, that shall be affixed to them by the town of Boston."

A committee was likewise chosen to carry into effectual and rigid execution the proceedings of the Convention at Concord.

(L, page 125.)

It may not be without use to subjoin to our annals a brief account of the town, as it is at the present time.

Watertown is 6½ miles from Boston, and is bounded on the north by West Cambridge, on the east by Cambridge, on the south by Charles River and by Newton, and on the west by Waltham. It is pleasantly situated on Charles River, which in its beautiful windings decorates the scenery, at the same time that it confers more substantial advantages. In extent of territory, Watertown is one of the smallest towns in Massachusetts, containing only $3833\frac{\text{a}}{10}$ acres, including land and water, as will appear from the following result of a survey taken by Mr. John G. Hales of Boston:

\begin{align*}
\text{Half of Charles River, length} & \text{ 375 chains,} \\
& \text{by} 2 \text{ chains wide} \\
& 75 \text{ acres.} \\
\text{Part of Fresh Pond} & 58\frac{5}{10} \\
\text{Small stream and Mill-pond} & 3 \\
\hline
& 136\frac{5}{10} \\
\text{Amount of land, including roads &c.} & 3697\frac{1}{10} \\
\hline
\text{Whole contents within the lines} & 3833\frac{\text{a}}{10}
\end{align*}

The soil of Watertown is in general remarkably good. A portion of the southeastern extremity of the town is sandy, poor, and barren; but, with this exception, the land is among the best and most productive in the Commonwealth. The soil consists, for the most part, of black loam, having a substratum of hard earth, so that it suffers but little comparatively from drought in summer. There is very little wood-land in the town, nearly all
the soil being cleared and cultivated. A large proportion of the inhabitants, comprising nearly all those who occupy the north part of the town, are employed in agriculture, and their farms are under very good cultivation. The usual productions of the villages in the vicinity of Boston are found here in abundance, and a large supply is furnished for the market of the city. There are a few country seats, beautifully situated, and in a state of high and improved cultivation.

A branch of business, which has been of considerable importance in Watertown, is the fishery of Charles River. It is annually let out by the town for the highest sum that can be obtained. Several years ago, it produced a revenue of between 600 and 800 dollars a year; now it is much less profitable, being commonly let out for 250 or 300 dollars a year. The shad fishery is the only one of much value; and the number of that kind of fish taken in the river is considerably less, than it was 40 or 50 years since. If we go further back, the contrast is still greater. Wood, describing Watertown about 150 years ago, speaks of "the great store of shads and alewives," and then says, that "the inhabitants in two tides have gotten one hundred thousand of these fishes." New England's Prospect, p. 46.*

There are two paper-mills in the town; at one of them, only brown paper is made; at the other, besides brown paper they make printing paper, candle paper, glass paper, &c. Each of these mills manufactures, on an average, 150 reams per week. There are also two manufactories of cloth. "The Watertown Woollen Factory Company" has an establishment near the bridge; this manufactures broadcloths and cassimeres, employs from 30 to 35 hands, and turns out about 250 yards per week. "The Bemis Manufacturing Company" (incorporated in 1827) has a much larger establishment about a mile above the bridge; this consists of two factories, a Woollen Factory, which manufactures about 2500 yards of satinet per week, and a Cotton Factory, which spins and warps for satinet, and makes about 2000 bolts of cotton duck per annum.

The town has four public schools. Two of these are kept the whole year, one by a male teacher, the other by a female. The other two are taught by masters in the winter, and by female teachers in the summer. The number of children in all these schools is, on an average, about 240. There is one flourishing

* After some litigation, the profits of the fishery are now divided between Watertown and Brighton, the proportion of seven tenths to the former and three tenths to the latter town.
private school in the town; and there are two or three, at which reading and spelling are taught to little children. In December, 1829, a Lyceum was established, at a meeting of the inhabitants called for that purpose, and a course of lectures was given, which lasted till the end of April; by a regulation of the society, the lectures or other exercises are to continue for six months from the 1st of November, being suspended during the summer months. Connected with the Lyceum is a scientific and miscellaneous library; there are two libraries besides this, one a Religious Library, the other a Juvenile Library, to which all the children in the town have access.

There are three meeting-houses within the limits of the town; one for Congregationalists, one for Universalists, and one for Baptists.

The number of inhabitants has not increased so rapidly in Watertown, as in many other places. There has been, however, a gradual increase. The following statements exhibit, I believe, the most complete account that can be had of the population of Watertown at different periods. All these, except the census taken the present year, were collected and furnished to me by the Rev. Dr. Freeman, Senior Pastor of King's Chapel, Boston, a name which cannot be mentioned without the remembrance of highly valued services in the cause of pure and rational religion, and of an old age ripe in wisdom and in Christian virtue.

| Number of Negro Slaves in 1754 of sixteen years and upwards: |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Males           | 7               |
| Females         | 5               |
| **Total**       | **12**          |


Census ordered in 1763 and taken in 1764.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of houses</th>
<th>103</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of families</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| No. of males under 16 | 122 |
| No. of females under 16 | 136 |
| No. of males above 16 | 179 |
| No. of females above 16 | 195 |
| No. of negroes | 11 |

Whole number of souls **693**

Census taken March, 1776.

| No. of whites | 1057 |

Census of 1777.

| No. of males of 16 and upwards | 185 |
| Strangers | 21 |
| Blacks | 1 |

Valuation of 1778.

| No. of Polls | 210 |

Valuation of 1781.

| No. of Polls | 222 |

Census of 1783.

| No. of whites | 771 |
| No. of blacks | 9 |

Number of souls **780**

Valuation of 1784.

| No. of Polls | 256 |

Supported by the town | 3 |

Census of 1790.

<p>| No. of families | 164 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Census 1800</th>
<th>Census 1810</th>
<th>Census 1830</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free white males, of 16 and upwards</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. under 16</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free white females</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other free persons</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1091</strong></td>
<td><strong>1207</strong></td>
<td><strong>1518</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Census of 1800.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Census 1800</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free white males under 10 years</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 10 and under 16</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 16 and under 26</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 26 and under 45</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do of 45 and upwards</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free white females under 10 years</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 10 and under 16</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 16 and under 26</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 26 and under 45</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do of 45 and upwards</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other free persons, except Indians not taxed.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1207</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Census of 1810.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Census 1810</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free white males under 10 years</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 10 and under 16</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 16 and under 26</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 26 and under 45</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 45 and upwards</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free white females under 10 years</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 10 and under 16</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 16 and under 26</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 26 and under 45</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do of 45 and upwards</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other free persons, except Indians not taxed</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1531</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Census of 1820.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Census 1820</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free white males under 10 years of age</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 10 and under 16</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 16 and under 26</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 26 and under 45</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. of 45 and upwards</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Census of 1830.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Census 1830</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of males under 5 years</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 5 and 10</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 10 and 15</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 15 and 20</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 20 and 30</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 30 and 40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 40 and 50</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 50 and 60</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 60 and 70</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 70 and 80</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of females under 5 years</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 5 and 10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 10 and 15</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 15 and 20</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 20 and 30</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 30 and 40</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 40 and 50</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 50 and 60</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 60 and 70</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 70 and 80</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 80 and 90</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 90 &amp; 100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of colored males</td>
<td>Number of colored females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 10 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do between 24 and 36</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 36 and 55</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 10 and 24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. between 24 and 30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1643

In addition to the above statements of population, it should be mentioned, that, in the book of church records kept by the Rev. Mr. Angier, and mentioned in the course of the preceding narrative, there is found the following notice, viz., "180 families in Watertown in April, 1733." This seems a much larger number of families, than might be expected at so early a period; but it should be remembered, that this was before Waltham was separated from Watertown, and that consequently the families in both towns were included in the estimate.

Within a few years two new roads from Watertown to Boston have been constructed and opened. One runs to Cambridge Port and West Boston Bridge, and was finished in 1824, but not opened till 1825. The other furnishes a passage to Boston over the Western Avenue, or the Mill Dam (as it is sometimes called), and was finished and opened in 1824. The latter road takes nearly the same direction with one, which many years ago was projected by the Rev. Mr. Eliot and others, but which at that time failed of being accomplished, from unfavorable circumstances, or because the plan was premature. Almost all the travel through and from Watertown to Boston is now performed on these new roads, the old road through Cambridge being much less used than formerly.

Until a recent period, it was the custom to support the town's poor by placing them at board, wherever the cheapest terms could be obtained; but within a few years, buildings have been purchased in the town for an almshouse, to which is annexed a farm of good land. All the poor supported by the town are now placed there. The establishment is under the care of overseers appointed by the town, and is well and carefully regulated.

END.