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MEMOIRS
NOT FOR CIRCULATION
Capt. Roger Clap,
RELATING SOME OF
God's Remarkable Providences to Him,
IN BRINGING HIM INTO
NEW-ENGLAND;
AND SOME OF THE STRAITS AND AFFLICTIONS THE GOOD PEOPLE MET WITH HERE IN THEIR BEGINNINGS.
AND
Instructing, Counselling, Directing and Commanding his Children,
AND CHILDREN'S CHILDREN, AND HOUSEHOLD,
To serve the Lord in their Generations to the latest Mysterity.

Heb. xi. 4.—He being dead, yet speaketh.

PITTSFIELD:
RE-PRINTED BY PHINEHAS ALLEN.....1834.
To the New-England Reader.

UPON my searching for materials for our Chronology, the following piece, with others, coming to hand, I cannot but think it worthy of the publick view. Not that I suppose it will please the eye of the politer world; but because it gives a strong and lively image of the extraordinary pious spirit and design of those English people, who first came over and dwelt in this Indian Wilderness; and in every serious mind cannot but raise a veneration for them, and a pleasure to review their bright examples.

The Author was one among them; an eye-witness of the things he writes of; and by the publick and continued esteem his country paid him in his day, his testimony comes with power upon us; and the style so plain and natural, that in the reading, it seems as if we came over with him, and were living in those pious times.

He shows the mighty spirit of love to God and zeal for his instituted worship, that moved and wrought in our predecessors: How heavenly-minded, how humble, and how contented under all the straits and difficulties of a new Plantation, at so great a distance from any human succour!

He was desirous that God should have the glory of his providence, in bringing him, with so many pious people, into this hideous land, in preserving and supplying them, increasing, prospering, and working wonderful salvations for them. And he was greatly concerned that posterity, and especially his own, should both know these things, and walk in the good ways of their forefathers. To this he therefore most pathetically charges and commands them; warning them of evil, and relating his own experience for their direction and encouragement.
The account subjoined is drawn by another hand, and thought advisable to be published also, that his offspring may know the religious ancestor from whom they come, and their awful obligations to fear and serve the God of their Fathers.

And on this occasion, I cannot but recommend to our grave and pious heads of households, the useful practice of leaving in writing their solemn charges to their posterity; that when the parents speak and live no more on earth, their children after them may frequently review both their examples and instructions, and preserve them better in their minds. I cannot but think that this, with the Divine Blessing, would be an happy method of preventing the declension of many families, and of keeping alive the things that remain among us, and are ready to die. And methinks, as every pious father would, in a lawful way, desire to speak to his children after his decease; he can do no less for the preservation of the life of religion, and for the souls of his surviving offspring. His oral counsels are too like the wind, which quickly passes;—But impressed in written monuments, remain to excite them every day; and if neglected, to witness against them.

Boston, Aug. 16, 1731.

T. PRINCE.
I thought good, my dear children, to leave with you some account of God's remarkable Providences to me, in bringing me into this land, and placing me here among his dear servants, and in his house, who am most unworthy of the least of his mercies. The scripture requireth us to tell God's wondrous works to our children, that they may tell them to their children, that God may have glory throughout all ages. Amen.

I was born in England, in Saltcom, in Devonshire, in the year of our Lord 1609. My father was a man fearing God, and in good esteem among God's faithful servants.—His outward estate was not great; I think not above eighty pounds per annum.—We were five brethren (of which I was the youngest) and two sisters. God was graciously pleased to breathe by his Holy Spirit (I hope) in all our hearts, if in mine; which I am not altogether without hopes of. Four of us brethren lived at home: I did desire my dear father (my dear mother being dead) that I might live abroad, which he consented to. So I first went for trial to live with a worthy gentleman, Mr. William Southcot, who lived about three miles from the city of Exor.

He was careful to keep a godly family. There being but a very mean preacher in that place, we went every Lord's Day into the city, where were many famous preachers of the word of God. I then took such a liking unto the Rev. Mr. John Warham, that I did desire to live near him. So I removed (with my father's consent) into the city, and lived with one Mr. Mosiour, as famous a family for religion as ever I knew. He kept seven or eight men, and divers maid-servants; and he had a conference upon a question propounded once a week in his own family. With him I covenanted. I never so much as heard of New-England, until I heard of many godly persons that were going
there, and that Mr. Warham was to go also. My master asked me, whether I would go? I told him were I not engaged unto him I would willingly go. He answered me, that should be no hindrance, I might go for him, or for myself, which I would. I then wrote to my father, who lived about twelve miles off, to intreat his leave to go to New-England; who was so much displeased at first, that he wrote me no answer, but told my brethren that I should not go. Having no answer, I went and made my request to him, and God so inclined his heart, that he never said to me nay. For now God sent the Rev. Mr. Maverick, who lived forty miles off, a man I never saw before: He having heard of me, came to my father's house, and my father agreed that I should be with him and come under his care, which I did accordingly.

Mind by what I have already expressed, that it was God that did draw me by his Providence out of my father's family, and weaned me from it by degrees. It was God put it into my heart to incline to live abroad; and it was God that made my father willing. God, by his Providence, brought me near Mr. Warham, and inclined my heart to his ministry: God, by his providence, moved the heart of my master, Mossiour, to ask me whether I would go to New-England: It was God, by his providence, that made me willing to leave my dear father, and dear brethren and sisters, my dear friends and country: It was God that made my father willing, upon the first motion I made in person, to let me go: It was God that sent Mr. Maverick, that pious minister, to me, who was unknown to him, to seek me out that I might come hither. So God brought me out of Plymouth the 20th of March, 1629, 30, and landed me in health at Nantasket, on the 30th of May, 1630, I being then about the age of twenty-one years. Blessed be God that brought me here!

Now coming into this country, I found it a vacant wilderness, in respect of English. There were indeed some English at Plymouth and Salem, and some few at Charlestown, who where very destitute when we came ashore; and planting-time being past, shortly after provision was not to be had for money. I wrote to my friends, namely, to my dear father, to send me some
provision, which accordingly he did; and also gave order to one of his neighbours to supply me with what I needed (he being a seaman) who coming hither supplied me with divers things. But before this supply came, yea and after too (that being spent) and the then unsubdued wilderness yielding little food, many a time, if I could have filled my belly, though with mean victuals, it would have been sweet unto me. Fish was a good help unto me, and others. Bread was so very scarce, that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father’s table would have been very sweet unto me. And when I could have meal and water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better?

I took notice of it, as a great favour of God unto me, not only to preserve my life, but to give me contentedness in all these straits; insomuch that I do not remember that ever I did wish in my heart that I had not come into this country, or wish myself back again to my father’s house. Yea, I was so far from that, that I wished and advised some of my dear brethren to come hither also; which accordingly one of my brothers, and those two that married my two sisters, sold their means and came hither.

The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the preaching of the gospel unto poor lost sinners, and the absolute necessity of the New-Birth, and God’s holy spirit in those days was pleased to accompany the word with such efficacy upon the hearts of many, that our hearts were taken off from Old-England and set upon Heaven. The discourse, not only of the aged, but of the youth also, was not, how shall we go to England? (though some few did not only so discourse, but also went back again) but, how shall we go to Heaven? Have I true grace wrought in my heart? Have I Christ or no? O how did men and women, young and old, pray for grace, beg for Christ in those days; and it was not in vain! Many were converted, and others established in believing: Many joined unto the several churches where they lived, confessing their faith publicly, and shewing before all the assembly their experiences of the workings of God’s Spirit in their hearts to bring them to Christ: which many hearers found very much good by, to help them to try their own hearts, and to consider how it was with them; whether any work of
God's Spirit were wrought in their own hearts or no? Oh the many tears that have been shed in Dorchester Meeting-House at such times, both by those that have declared God's work on their souls, and also by those that heard them. In those days, God, even our own God, did bless New-England. I find by what I heard from those that have publickly declared what God had done for their souls in bringing them unto Christ by faith, that God doth work divers ways upon the hearts of men, even as it pleases him; upon some more sensibly, and upon others more insensibly; verifying that text in the 3d chapter of John, 8th verse: The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: So is every one that is born of the spirit. Though we may hear the sound of it, that is, be sensible that the spirit works, or has been at work; yet not know whence it comes, &c. If ever there were the work of grace wrought savingly in my heart; the time when, the place where, the manner how, was never so apparent unto me, as some in their relations say it hath been unto them.

I shall hint a little unto you what I have found. I remember God did long ago convince me of my sin, (I cannot tell you how) and also of a corrupt nature, whereby I feel myself prone to sin. I had in my younger days a love to sin; and had it not been for the fear of hell, and of my parents and friends, I doubtless should have been as vile as the worst of men. The care and counsel of my dear friends, by the restraining grace of God, kept me from committing of those horrid abominations that some fell into; yet am I not thereby justified. I had such a love to play with children and youth, that I did too often play with them upon the Lord's Day, if I could hide it from my dear relatives. But God was pleased to make my conscience to be out of quiet, which made me pray to God many times in secret; yet I had a love to the pleasure of sin, and did love to see others play, though it were on the Lord's Day. But on a time on the Lord's Day, when I was standing by, and seeing some youths play, they gave me those points which they played for, to hold for them until their game was out; and my conscience not being quiet, God
brought that saying of Saul, afterwards Paul, to my mind, who did acknowledge that he was guilty of the death of Stephen; for he stood by, and kept the garments of them that slew him. I then put down that which I had in keeping for them, and went away; and God did help me afterwards to delight more in them that feared him. I did often go to hear the word of God preached, with my brethren and others abroad, when we had no preaching at home; and God inclined my heart to love those that feared him. That text in 1 John, iii. 14, I have often heard alleged: We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren; though I heard, also, it must be because the image of God was on them. Upon examination of myself, whether I did love the saints upon right grounds? I did and do still hope that my love to the saints was, and is rightly grounded; and that for these reasons:

1. In former times I do remember there was a young man came into the congregation where I was, a stranger to me, and a very hard favoured man; I had no love to his person; but not long after I heard, that he feared God; and upon the very report thereof my heart was knit unto him, although I never spake with him that I know of.

2. Because I find my heart doth contemn vile persons. I do not desire their society: But when I am, by God's providence, called to be with such, so that I cannot avoid it, I say in my heart, Wo is me that I am constrained to be with such persons.

3. To this very day, if I perceive, or do but hear of a man or woman that feared God, let him be rich or poor, English or Indian, Portugal or Negro, my very heart closeth with him.

4. Because my heart doth most close with, and most highly prize those that are most excellent, most holy, most worthy instruments of God's glory and his people's good. My earnest desire and prayer is, that God will help me to love his graces more and more in all men wherever the grace of God appears to be.

After God had brought me into this country, he was pleased to give me room in the hearts of his servants; so that I was admitted into the church fellowship at our first beginning in D—.
chester, in the year 1630. Jesus Christ being clearly preached, and the way of coming to him by believing was plainly shown forth; yet because many in their relations spake of their great terrors and deep sense of their lost condition, and I could not so find as others did, the time when God wrought the work of conversion in my soul, nor in many respects the manner thereof; it caused in me much sadness of heart, and doubtings how it was with me; whether the work of grace were ever savingly wrought in my heart or no? How to cast off all hope, to say, and verily to believe that there was no work of grace wrought by God in my heart, this I could not do; yet how to be in some measure assured thereof was my great concern. But hearing Mr. Cotton preach out of the revelations, that Christ's church did come out of great tribulation, he had such a passage as this in his Sermon:

"That a small running stream was much better than a great land flood of water, though the flood maketh the greatest noise: So, saith he, a little constant stream of godly sorrow, is better than great horror." God spake to me by it, it was no little support unto me. And God helped me to hang on that text (and through his grace I will continue so to do) viz. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. God has made me sensible that I am a sinner, and Jesus Christ came to save sinners, and why not me, though a very sinful man? Through the grace of God I desire to rest alone upon Jesus Christ for salvation.

In my saddest troubles for want of a clear evidence of my good estate, I did on a time examine myself upon my bed in the night, concerning my spiritual estate; putting myself upon this trial, how my heart stood affected to sin? The question to my soul was this (pitching upon that sin which I did confess my natural corruption most inclined me to.) The question, I say, which by God's help, I put to my very heart and soul was, whether if God would assure me that I should be saved, although I should commit such a sin, my heart were willing to commit it or no? And my very heart and soul answered, no, I would not sin against God, though I should not be damned for sinning, because God has forbidden it. At that time my conscience did witness to me that my
state was good. And God's holy spirit did witness (I do believe) together with my spirit, that I was a child of God; and did fill my heart and soul with such a full assurance that Christ was mine, that it did so transport me as to make me cry out upon my bed with a loud voice, he is come, he is come. And God did melt my heart at that time so, that I could and did mourn and shed more tears for sin than at other times. Yea, the love of God, that he should elect me, and save such a worthless one as I was, did break my very heart. I say again, when I had most assurance of God's love, I could mourn most for my sins.

Dear Children, slight not serious examination: It is good to commune with your own hearts upon your bed. That glimpse of God's eternal love which I had at that time, was better to me than all the world; yea, far better than life itself. But oh wretched man that I am; I have a body of death that presseth me down, and hinders me from living always in such a heavenly frame. But I do desire to devote myself unto God to be his; resting and relying upon him alone for grace and glory. If God shall be pleased to save me, such a poor worm, from my sins, and at last bring me to himself in heaven at my death, let him have everlasting honour, glory and praise, world without end.—Amen.

The scripture saith, He that believeth shall be saved. I hope God has not only wrought historical faith in me, but also true justifying faith; faith to receive Jesus Christ to be my king, priest and prophet. If my heart do not deceive me, I do prize him above Kingdoms: I desire him more than life, and to be made more and more like him in holiness and righteousness all the days of my life. Oh the riches of his free grace to put any holy desires in my heart! I leave this with you, that you may ponder God's free promises, which are, That he will circumcise our hearts and the hearts of our seed. God's covenant is unto the faithful and to their seed. Pray earnestly that God will be pleased to circumcise your hearts, and cause you to walk in his ways; so shall you be serviceable to him here, and be everlastingly happy in the world to come. I also leave these my experiences with you, not knowing but it may be some support unto you, although you cannot find that methodical work in your conversion, as some
say they find in theirs. Sure God works diversely on the hearts of his children in their conversion. If God works any manner of way for the bringing of you to Christ, to rest on him alone, and fill your hearts with love to God and his people, and help you to be low in your own esteem, and to hate all sin in yourselves and all men; bless God for such an unspeakable gift, though you know not the time, nor the manner of God's working in you.

I now return to declare unto you some of the wonderful works of God in bringing so many of his faithful servants hither into this wilderness, and preserving us and ours unto this day; notwithstanding our great unworthiness, and notwithstanding the many assaults and stratagems of satan and his instruments against God's people here. I say wonderous works! For was it not a wonderous work of God, to put it into the hearts of so many worthys to agree together, when times were so bad in England, that they could not worship God after the due manner prescribed in his most holy word, but they must be imprisoned, ex-communicated, &c. I say that so many should agree to make humble suit unto our sovereign lord the King, to grant them and such as they should approve of, a Patent of a tract of Land in this remote wilderness, a place not inhabited but by very barbarous nations! And was it not a wonderous good hand of God to incline the heart of our King so freely to grant it, with all the privileges which the Patent expresseth! And what a wonderous work of God was it, to stir up such worthys to undertake such a difficult work, as to remove themselves, and their wives and children, from their native country, and to leave their gallant situations there, to come into this wilderness, to set up the pure worship of God here! Men fit for government in the magistracy, and in families; and sound, godly, learned men for the ministry, and others that were very precious men and women who came in the year 1630. Them that came then were Magistrates; men of renown were Mr. Winthrop, Governor; Mr. Dudley, Deputy-Governor; Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Nowel, and Mr. Bradstreet: Mr. Endicott came before, and others came then, besides those named. And there came famous Ministers in that year, and afterwards: as to name
some; Mr. Wilson, Mr. Warham, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Phillips. In our low estate God did cheer our hearts in sending good and holy men and women, and also famous preachers of the word of God; as Mr. Eliot, Mr. Weld, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Bulkley, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, and Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, Mr. Shepard, Mr. Mather, Mr. Peters, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Cobbet, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Brown, Mr. Flint, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Newman, Mr. Prudden, Mr. Norris, Mr. Huit, Mr. Street, and many others. Thus did God work wonderfully for his poor people here.

Then in those days did God manifest his presence among us, in converting many souls, in gathering his dear ones into church-fellowship each with other, by solemn covenants; wherein they gave up themselves and their seed to the Lord, choosing him to be their God, who hath freely promised so to be, and to our seed forever, if we and they do not forsake him. But if any of you (dear children) forsake the Lord, though you were the sons of David, he would cast you off for ever. Cleave to God, and never, never depart from him; and he will never fail you nor forsake you. In those days great was the tranquility and peace of this poor country: And there was great love one to another; very ready to help each other; not seeking their own, but every one another's wealth. Then sin did not so openly abound among us. Drunkenness, adultery, fornication, oppression, and abominable pride, which now abounds among us, and threatens our ruin, was then loathsome almost in every one's eyes. Then God did bless us in the fruits of the earth, but especially in spiritual things; many souls were converted to God, and very often many added to the churches.

But this glorious work of God towards his people here was soon maligned by satan; and he cast into the minds of some corrupt persons very erroneous opinions, which did breed great disturbance in the churches. And he pulled up his instruments with horrible pride, insomuch that they would oppose the truth of God delivered publickly: and some times, yea, most times they would do it by way of query, as if they desired to be informed: but they did indeed accuse our godly ministers of not preaching gos-
pel, saying they were legal preachers, but themselves were for free grace, and ministers did preach a covenant of works; which was a false aspersion on them. The truth was, they would willingly have lived in sin, and encouraged others so to do, &c.—And yet think to be saved by Christ, because his grace is free; forgetting (it seems) that those whom Christ doth save from hell, he also freely of his grace doth save from sin; for he came to save his people from their sins, to give repentance and remission of sins.

In our beginning many were in great straits, for want of provision for themselves and their little ones. Oh the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, and muscles, and fish. We did quickly build boats, and some went a fishing. But bread was with many a very scarce thing; and flesh of all kinds as scarce. And in those days, in our straits, though I cannot say God sent a raven to feed us, as he did the prophet Elijah; yet this I can say to the praise of God's glory, that he sent not only poor ravenous Indians, which came with their baskets of corn on their backs, to trade with us, which was a good supply unto many; but also sent ships from Holland and from Ireland with provisions, and Indian Corn from Virginia, to supply the wants of his dear servants in this wilderness, both for food and raiment. And when peoples wants were great, not only in one town but in divers towns; such was the godly wisdom, care and prudence (not selfishness, but self-denial) of our Governor Winthrop and his assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be bought for a general stock: And so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, and to every person in each town, as every man had need, Thus God was pleased to care for his people in times of straits, and to fill his servants with food and gladness: Then did all the servants of God bless his holy name, and love one another with pure hearts fervently.

Before I proceed any further, I will inform you that God stirred up his poor servants to use means in their beginning for their preservation; though a low and weak people, yet a willing peo-
ple to lay out their estates for the defence of themselves and others. They having friends in divers places, who thought it best for their safety to build a fort upon the Island now called Castle Island; at first they built a Castle with mud-walls, which stood divers years: First Capt. Simpkins was commander thereof, and after him, Lieut. Monish, for a little space. When the mud-walls failed, it was built again with pine trees and earth; and Capt. Davenport was commander. When that decayed, which was within a little time, there was a small Castle built with brick walls, and had three rooms in it; a dwelling room below, a lodging room over it, the gun room over that, wherein stood six very good saker guns, and over it upon the top three lesser guns. All the time of our weakness, God was pleased to give us peace, until the wars with the Dutch in Charles the II's time. At that time our works were very weak, and intelligence came to us that Durother,* a Dutch commander of a squadron of ships, was in the West-Indies, and did intend to visit us; whereupon our battery also was repaired, wherein are seven good guns. But in the very time this report, in July, 1665, God was pleased to send a grievous storm of thunder and lightning, which did some hurt at Boston, and struck dead here at the Castle Island, that worthy, renowned Capt. Richard Davenport; upon which the General Court, in August 10th, following, appointed another† Captain in the room of him that was slain. But behold God wrought for us; for although Durother intended to come here, yet God by contrary winds kept him out; so he went to Newfoundland, and did great spoil there. And again when danger grew on us by reason of the late wars with Holland, God permitted our Castle at that very time to be burnt down, which was on the 21st day of March, 1672, 3. But still God was pleased to keep this place in safety. The Lord enlarge our hearts unto thankfulness.

I will now return unto what I began to hint unto you before; namely, that satan and his instruments did malign us, and oppose our godly preachers, saying they were legal preachers, but them-

* Or, De Ruither, a famous Dutch Admiral.
† It was Capt. Clap himself.
selves were for free grace, and for the teachings of the spirit.—And they prevailed so by their flatteries and fair speeches, that they led away not only silly women laden with their lusts, but many men also, and some of strong parts too; who were not ashamed to give out that our ministers were but legal preachers, and so endeavoured to bring up an evil report upon our faithful preachers, that they themselves might be in high esteem. And many of them would presume to preach in private houses, both men and women, much like the Quakers. They would talk of the spirit, and of revelations by the spirit, without the word, as the Quakers do, talk of the light within them, rejecting the holy scriptures. But God by his servants assembled in a Synod at Cambridge, in 1637, did discover his truth most plainly, to the establishment of his people, and the changing of some, and to the recovery of not a few, which had been drawn away with their dissimulations. Thus God delivered his people out of the snare of the devil at that time. Let us, and do you in your generations, bless the holy name of the Lord: the snare is broken, and we and ours are delivered. There were some that not only stood out obstinate against the truth, but continually reviled both our godly ministers and magistrates, and greatly troubled our Israel. But by order of the General Court they were banished out of this jurisdiction. And then had the churches rest, and were multiplied.

Many years after this, satan made another assault upon God's poor people here, by stirring up the Quakers to come amongst us, both men and women; who pretended holiness and perfection, saying they spake and acted by the spirit and light within, which (as they say) is their guide: And most blasphemously said, that the light within is the Christ, the Saviour; and deceived many to their persuasion. But blessed be God, the government and churches both did bear witness against them, and their loathsome and pernicious doctrine, for which they were banished out of this jurisdiction, not to return without licence, upon pain of death. The reason of that law was, because God's people here, could not worship the true and living God, as he hath appointed us in our publick assemblies, without being disturbed
by them. And other weighty reasons; as the dangerousness of their opinions, &c. Some of them presumed to return, to the loss of their lives, for breaking that law, which was made for our peace and safety.

Dear Children, beware of false teachers, though they come unto you in sheep’s clothing, as some of the Anabaptists do, yet they will prove many of them (I doubt) but as ravening wolves; their doctrine being so corrupt, as appears in their printed books. One of them says; “That it is an article of his faith, that the miseries and death that came by Adam’s fall, extendeth not unto all eternity.” Another cryeth down all learning of sciences and tongues to fit men for the work of the ministry. Others of them deny that the magistrate hath any power to punish the breach of the first table of the Law; although the scripture be plain, that the Magistrate ought to pull down the groves, and overthrow the images set up for idolatry, yea though it were the brazen serpent, and call it Nebushtan.

Now as satan has been a lying spirit to deceive and ensnare the mind, to draw us from God by error, so hath he stirred up evil men to seek the hurt of this country; but God hath delivered his poor people here from time to time. Sometimes by putting courage into our magistrates to punish those that did rebel; and sometimes God hath wrought for us by his providence other-ways. Here was one Ratcliff spake boldly and wickedly against the government and Governors here, using such words, as some judged deserved death. He was for his wickedness whipt, and had both his ears cut off in Boston, A. D. 1631; I saw it done. There was one Morton that was a pestilent fellow, a trouble of the country, who did not only seek our hurt here, but went to England, and did his utmost there, by false reports against our Governor; but God wrought for us, and saved us, and caused all his designs to be of none effect. There arose up against us one Bull, who went to the eastward a trading, and turned pirate, and took a vessel or two, and plundered some planters thereabouts, and intended to return into the Bay, and do mischief to our magistrates here, in Dorchester and other places. But as they were weighing anchor, one of Mr. Short’s men sho
the shore, and struck the principal actor dead, and the rest were filled with fear and horror. They having taken one Anthony Dicks, a master of a vessel, did endeavour to persuade him to pilot them unto Virginia, but he would not. They told him that they were filled with such fear and horror, that they were afraid of the very rattling of the ropes! This Mr. Dicks told me with his own mouth. These men fled eastward, and Bull himself got into England; but God destroyed this wretched man. Thus the Lord saved us, at this time, from their wicked device against us. There was also one Capt. Stone, about the year 1633, or 1634, who carried himself very proudly, and spake contemptuously of our magistrates, and carried it lewdly in his conversation. For his misdemeanour, his ship was stayed, but he fled and would not obey authority; and there came warrants to Dorchester to take him, dead or alive; so all our soldiers were in arms, and sentinels were set in divers places; and at length he was found in a great corn-field, where we took him and carried him to Boston; but for want of one witness, when he came to his trial, he escaped with his life. He was said to be a man of great relation, and had great favour in England; and he gave out threatening speeches. Though he escaped with his life, not being hanged for adultery, there being but one witness; yet for other crimes he was fined, and paid it. And being dismissed, he went towards Virginia; but by the way putting into the Pequot country to trade with them, the Pequots cut off both him and his men, took his goods and burnt his ship. Some of the Indians reported, that they roasted him alive. Thus did God destroy him that so proudly threatened to ruin us by complaining against us when he came to England. Thus God destroyed him, and delivered us at that time also.

About that time, or not long after, God permitted Satan to stir up the Pequot Indians to kill divers English men, as Mr. Oldham, Mr. Tilly and others. And when the murderers were demanded, instead of delivering them, they proceeded to destroy more of our English about Connecticut, which put us upon sending out soldiers, once and again; whom God prospered in their enterprizes, until the Pequot people were destroyed. See Mr.
Increase Mather's relation of the troubles which have happened in New-England by reason of the Indians, from 1634, to 1675. I say nothing to you of the late war, but refer you to the histories in print. Thus was the Lord pleased to deliver us at that time also, and to put a fear and dread of us into the hearts of the Indians round about us: And many of them did voluntarily put themselves under the government of the English.

It also pleased God to put it into the hearts of some of our worthies, to consider that one end of our coming hither was to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Indians, for the saving of God's elect, and for the bringing into Christ's kingdom those that were as in high-ways and hedges. Some did, therefore, set themselves to learn the Indian language, and so taught them to know God and the Lord Jesus Christ, whom they never knew or heard of before, nor their fathers before them; and to know themselves, namely, their misery by nature and by reason of sin. Among others, the principal was that Reverend man of God, Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church of Christ at Roxbury, whose great labour and pains in catechising, preaching the word, and translating the Bible into the Indian language God has blessed, I doubt not, to the converting of many among them. He that converteth souls shall shine as the sun in the firmament. Oh how glorious will the shining of that star be in heaven! I rejoice to think of it.

Furthermore, know ye, that God wrought wonderfully for our preservation, when men abroad (and doubtless some at home) endeavoured to overthrow our government, and prevailed so far, that Commissioners were sent from England hither, with such power and authority, that doubtless put themselves, (and too many among us) in hopes that they had attained their ends. They proceeded so far that they set up a Court, appointed the time and place, and gave out their summons; yea, for our then honoured Governor and Company, personally to appear before them. But the Lord our God was for us, though troubles were very near. He stirred up a mighty spirit of prayer in the hearts of his people; this poor country cried and the Lord heard and delivered them from all their fears. And the Lord put wisdom and cour-
age into the hearts of his servants, then sitting in the General Court, to give such answers, and to make such a Declaration, published by a man appointed on horse-back, with the trumpet sounding before the Proclamation, to give the people notice that something was to be published, which was done in three several places in Boston; that it put an end to their Court, and (through God's goodness) to our troubles at that time, about that matter. And as our Court did assert our privileges granted unto us by Patent, and did adhere thereto, so our God hath hitherto continued the same unto us. Blessed be his glorious name! I humbly beg of God that he will in mercy continue those privileges unto you and yours in your generations, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

I gave you a hint towards the beginning, that I came out of Plymouth, in Devon, the 20th of March, and arrived at Nantasket (now Hull) the 30th of May, 1630. Now this is further to inform you, that there came many Godly families in that ship.—We were of passengers many in number (besides seamen) of good rank. Two of our magistrates came with us, viz. Mr. Rossiter and Mr. Ludlow. These godly people resolved to live together; and, therefore, as they had made choice of those two Reverend servants of God, Mr. John Warham and Mr. John Maverick to be their ministers, so they kept a solemn Day of Fasting in the New Hospital in Plymouth, in England, spending it in preaching and praying: where that worthy man of God, Mr. John White, of Dorchester, in Dorset, was present, and preached unto us the word of God, in the fore-part of the day; and in the latter part of the day, as the people did solemnly make choice of, and call those godly ministers to be their officers, so also the Reverend Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick did accept thereof, and expressed the same. So we 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, by our ministers. When we came to Nantasket, Capt. Squeb, who was Captain of that great ship of four hundred tons, would not bring us into Charles River, as he was bound to do; but, put us ashore and our goods on Nantasket Point, and left us to shift for our-
elves in a forlorn place in this wilderness. But as it pleased
God, we got a boat of some old planters, and laded her with
goods; and some able men, well armed, went in her unto Charlestown, where we found some wigwams and one house, and in the
house there was a man which had a boiled bass, but no bread
that we see: but we did eat of his bass, and then went up Charles
River, until the river grew narrow and shallow, and there we lanced
our goods with much labour and toil, the bank being steep.
And night coming on, we were informed that there were hard by
us three hundred Indians. One English man that could speak
the Indian language (an old Planter) went to them and advised
them not to come near us in the night; and they hearkened to
his counsel, and came not. I myself was one of the sentinels
that first night. Our Captain was a low country soldier, one
Mr. Southcot, a brave soldier. In the morning some of the In-
dians came and stood at a distance off, looking at us, but came
not near us; but when they had been awhile in view, some of
them came and held out a great bass towards us; so we sent a
man with a bisket, and changed the cake for the bass. Afterwards they supplied us with bass, exchanging a bass for a bisket-
cake, and were very friendly unto us.

Oh Dear Children! Forget not what care God had over his
dear servants, to watch over us, and protect us in our weak be-
ginnings. Capt. Squib turned ashore us and our goods, like a
merciless man; but God, even our merciful God, took pity on
us; so that we were supplied, first with a boat, and then caused
many Indians, (some hundreds) to be ruled by the advice of one
man, not to come near us: Alas, had they come upon us, how
soon might they have destroyed us! I think we were not above
ten in number. But God caused the Indians to help us with fish
at very cheap rates. We had not been there many days, (al-
though by our diligence we had got up a kind of shelter, to save
our goods in) but we had orders to come away from that place,
(which was about Watertown) unto a place called Mattapan,
(now Dorchester) because there was a neck of land fit to keep
our cattle on. So we removed and came to Mattapan. The
Indians there, also, were kind unto us.
Not long after, came our renowned and blessed Governor, and divers of his assistants with him. Their ships came into Charles River, and many passengers landed at Charlestown, many of whom died the winter following. Gov. Winthrop purposed to set down his station about Cambridge, or somewhere on the river; but viewing the place, liked that plain neck that was called then Blackstone's-Neck, now Boston. But in the mean time, before they could build at Boston, they lived many of them in tents and wigwams at Charlestown; their meeting-place being abroad under a tree; where I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good sermon.

In those days God did cause his people to trust in him, and to be contented with mean things. It was not accounted a strange thing in those days to drink water, and to eat samp or homine without butter or milk. Indeed it would have been a strange thing to see a piece of roast beef, mutton or veal; though it was not long before there was roast goat. After the first winter, we were very healthy; though some of us had no great store of corn. The Indians did sometimes bring corn, and truck with us for cloathing and knives; and once I had a peck of corn, or thereabouts, for a little puppy-dog. Frost-fish, muscles and clams were a relief to many. If our provision be better now than it was then, let us not, (and do you dear children take heed that you do not) forget the Lord our God. You have better food and raiment than was in former times; but have you better hearts than your forefathers had? If so, rejoice in that mercy, and let New-England then shout for joy. Sure all the people of god in other parts of the world, that shall hear that the children and grand-children of the first planters of New-England, have better hearts, and are more heavenly than their predecessors; they will, doubtless, greatly rejoice, and will say, This is the generation whom the Lord hath blessed.

And now, dear Children, I know not the time of my death; my time is in God's hands; but my age shows me it cannot be far off. Therefore, while I am in health and strength, I thought good to put into writing, and leave with you, what I have desired in my heart, and oftentimes expressed to you with my tongue,
I say, I do here charge you solemnly and every one of you, as if I did charge you every one by name: sons, daughters and grand-children, that now are capable of understanding, and as you shall be capable from time to time; and servants, or any other whom God hath placed within my gates: I say, I charge you that every one of you fear the Lord our God, and obey his commandments; which is the duty of every man, and much more yours, whom he hath graciously taken into covenant with himself, and hath promised to be a God to you in your generations. The promise made to Abraham and his seed in their generations, doth extend itself to the believer and his seed in the gospel times: for the Apostle saith, Acts ii. 39. For the promise is to you, and to your children. He spake this in gospel times, after Christ was gone to heaven: and he doth not say, the promise was, but the promise is, and shall be so hereafter, to those that are afar off also, yea, to as many as the Lord our God shall call, to the end of the world; the promise is to them and to their seed. Oh, then, if God be your God, you are his people. Then see that you fear him, and stand in awe and sin not: See that you do honour him; a son honoureth his father: See that you love him with all your souls and strength. If you do truly love God, you will keep all his commandments, and you will hate evil: Ye that love the Lord hate evil. You cannot love the Lord and love sin too: No man can serve two contrary masters. If you love the Lord, you will very often think of Him: How do lovers think of one another, though far absent? But God is not far absent from a believer. I charge you, think often on God: Those that forget God, are wicked men and women, and shall be turned into hell. And if you truly love God, you will love the word of God, and all his holy appointments, the habitation of his holiness. And if you love God dearly, as you ought to do, it will grieve your hearts to see him dishonoured, and his laws transgressed. David's eyes ran down with tears, because men transgressed God's laws. And if you love God, you will delight to have communion with him, and to pour out your hearts into his bosom. Beg of God, that he would put his fear into your hearts, and that he would cause you to love him. Intreat him to love you freely. God must love us first, before we can love him;
And I can tell you, the love of God unto your souls is better than all the world. His loving kindness is abundantly better than life. Oh prize it; seek for it more than for earthly treasure. Seek and you shall find; God will give his holy spirit to those that ask it. If you ask the spirit of God out of a deep sense of the want of it; if you ask it in Christ’s name and for his sake; if you ask the holy spirit to sanctify you, and cleanse you from your sins; if you ask the spirit to lead you into all truth, and to guide you in all the ways of God, and to enable you to do all that duty God requires of you; doubt not, but know assuredly, God will give his holy spirit unto you.

Oh my dear Children and Grand-Children! For the Lord’s sake labour for better hearts, and to live better lives than your poor parents have done before you! And that you may so do,

1. Study to know your own hearts, to know the plague that there is in them. There is a plague in every man’s heart, the deadly plague of sin; which the Apostle Paul, by study and diligent search found in himself, which made him cry out, Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death: And again, In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. And blessed Job, also, by searching, found it out; which made him say, Behold I am vile: And again, I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes. Surely when men see the plague of sin in their hearts, and the danger of death thereby, (for the plague is a deadly disease) it will make them cry out, What shall we do to be saved?

2. Come to the Lord Jesus Christ. Come as the woman of Canaan did for her daughter, and say as she did, Lord, help me. Oh come you to Jesus Christ, the great physician for help! He can help you, and he is willing to help: He said to the leper, I will: He bids you come to him; and again, Whoever will, let him come, and take freely. And as he is able and willing, so if you come to him for new hearts and holy lives, he will certainly bestow the same upon every one of you. Those that come to me (saith Christ) I will in no wise cast out. And again, If you ask any thing according to his will, he will give it.

3. Labour for true godly sorrow, and grief of heart for sin. If sin be a plague, yea a deadly plague, as in truth it is, (for the
wages of sin is death) and sin be in all your hearts, as indeed it is; will you not mourn and lament your wretched state by reason thereof. Yea, though you are through grace enabled to come to Christ, by faith, for the pardon of your sins, for his sake, through his blood; (as I hope divers of you are) yet what cause is there of sorrow and mourning, because of the remainder of sin dwelling in you: which although it cannot rule and bear sway in your gracious hearts, yet it will make war with your graces, and sometimes catch you at disadvantage, and strike a dart that may deeply wound you. Therefore mourn that you have such an enemy within you.

4. Watch over your hearts, your hands, your eyes, your ears, and your tongues. For sin will assault you in every part, by every sense, and cast in some infection, if possible, to destroy, or at least to wound you, and make your names to stink. Satan, the great enemy of all mankind, labors by sin to ruinate both body and soul.

1. Watch the heart. God's counsel is, that we should keep the heart with all diligence. You will find (if you will observe) when you are praying, or meditating on heavenly and spiritual things, your heart will be in danger of being drawn away to think of carnal things; or grow heavy and dull in the duty; like Moses, his hands, when they were lift up against Amalek.—Watch, therefore; and when you perceive your hearts falling downward and grow heavy, cry unto Jesus Christ to stay up your hearts steady to the end of your lives; that so Amalek (I mean sin and satan) may not prevail, but be at last utterly destroyed.

2. Watch over your ears. So Christ commands us, that we must take heed how we hear. Watch, therefore, Dear Children, and let not your ears receive false doctrine. Hearken to God's word, hear that; that is, receive it, believe it, obey it, and your souls shall live. But as for those that bring another gospel, and serve not the true God, such as the Quakers, do not you hear them, no, not so much as with your outward ears.

3. Watch over your eyes. That adulterous lust got in David's heart through his eyes. So did Achan's covetousness, to
his utter ruin. He saw the wedge of gold with his eye, then cov­
eted it with his heart, and then took it.

4. Watch over your tongues. The tongue is an unruly evil. Do not backbite nor slander your neighbors. Speak not evil of dignities. Do not curse, swear profanely, nor lie. Let no filthy, corrupt communication come out of your mouths. Do not you, my Dear Children, (nor suffer your children to) speak the sinful language of many wicked people, who commonly in their discourse add, I vow, or I swear, when in truth they do not know what a vow or an oath is. Oh let your words be gracious, always such words as may edify the hearers. Remember, and forget not, that Christ, our holy and just Judge, hath himself told us, that for every idle word that men do speak, they must give an account thereof at the day of judgment. And again, by your words you shall be justified, and by your words you shall be con­demned.

5. Another thing which I charge you to observe, is, to wor­ship God in your families. Do not neglect family prayer, morn­ing and evening. And be sure to read some part of the word of God every day in your families, in ordinary course. And be sure to instruct your families in the grounds of religion. And be yourselves patterns, by your holy lives and conversations, unto your children. And as you ought to follow and imitate good examples in any godly men or women, so especially in your parents: you ought to follow them as they followed Christ, and in nothing else. Where you have seen them missing the rule, as doubtless you have often done, let them be your warnings, not your patterns. I say, where I missed the rule in word or deed, (for I am a weak, imperfect creature, one of the worst of men) be you sure to avoid that rock, and follow not me in any evil, but avoid it. And if you observed any virtues in your parents, (though they were but few) imitate them in that which is good, that God may be with you, as he was with your fathers.

6. And I lay it as a solemn charge upon you, that you pray to God in secret, and that often too. Our Lord and Saviour bids us, enter into our closets, and shut the door, and pray to our father in secret. There you may tell God your very hearts, and
lay open to him your worst plague-sore, your vilest sins, which no man knoweth, neither is it meet they should know. Yet all men shall know your vilest, lewdest, most notorious wickedness, both of heart and life, that ever was committed by you, though never so long ago, or never so secretly done; except you confess them to God, and make your peace with him, in and through Jesus Christ, by repentance and faith. Then the blood of Jesus Christ the righteous cleanseth us, and will you from all your sins: Otherwise God will bring every secret thing into judgment. I say again, pray in secret, though you have not a closet or door to shut; you need none: You may pray alone in the woods, as Christ did in the mountain: You may pray as you walk in the field, as Isaac did: When employed in business, you may lift up your hearts in prayer, as Nehemiah did. And when you are alone at any time, think with yourself, assuredly God is present, though none else; I will confess my sins, and I will beg God's favour and grace; I will wrestle with God by faith and prayer. And you may every one of you prevail, if you pray sincerely, and persevere in it. If importunity prevailed with the unjust judge, will it not much more prevail with God.

7. And I do also charge you to live in love and peace among yourselves. Love is of God; but bitter envy and strife is of the devil. Love as brethren; brethren must love one another. Oh! how amiable a thing is it, for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment that was poured on Aaron's head; and that ointment was such, as none might be made like it for other uses. Doth not love exceed other graces? Then strive after that which is most excellent. So strive to live in love and peace with all men, as much as possible in you lies. [*Be at peace with all men:]* That is, if there be any breach of peace, let not the fault be yours. You must not partake of, delight in, nor connive at, the sinful, pernicious, wild practices of men, to be at peace with these. Those that are God's children and must dwell in God's tabernacle, a vile person must be contemned in their eyes. Sure, his vileness will make him loathsome; yet if it be possible, be at peace with him. Endeavour to reclaim him from his wickedness, by reproving him plainly for sinful
practices; and if nothing else will do, complain to authority; and if that will not do, complain to God, and mourn for him.

Finally, be good examples unto others. Walk humbly with God. Be holy in all manner of conversation. Be courteous; be sober; be charitable; ready to distribute, given to hospitality. Be humble minded. Set your affections on things above, not on things below; not on riches, honors and pleasures.—Prize highly the word of God, and the preachers of it. Labour to draw others to love and fear God. Flee the lusts of uncleanness, and the occasions of it. Abhor drunkenness, and excessive drinking. Come not into a tavern, but on just and weighty occasions. Choose God to be your portion; receive Christ by believing on him; so you shall be the children of God.—Amen.
A SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
Author and his Family.

WRITTEN BY ONE THAT WAS ACQUAINTED THEREWITH.

CAPT. ROGER CLAP, the worthy author of the foregoing discourse, was a man generally known, honoured and esteemed by those that were contemporary with him; but most of those are also removed by death, and the present generation, (among whom he hath a numerous posterity of grand-children and great-grand-children) know but little of him: And there being no Memoirs preserved of this good man, and his posterity being likely otherwise to have little or no knowledge of this their progenitor, it is thought highly proper, and desired by some who are no way related, that a short account might be given of him and his family. *The Memory of the Just is blessed*, Prov. x. 7.

He was born in Salcom, in the County of Devon, on the 6th day of April, Anno Domini 1609, of pious and creditable parents, whose religious education God was pleased to accompany with the early strivings and convictions of his holy spirit, that ended in his happy conversion. In his younger years, while he was under the immediate government of his father, he had such a love to the word of God, and the most eminent preachers of it, that he obtained leave of his father to live in the City of Exon, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. John Warham, with whom he afterwards came to New-England.

In the year 1629, when many of the most godly ministers and people were driven out of the kingdom for their conscientious
nonconformity to the established way of worship, and Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, (who were afterwards colleague pastors of the church of Dorchester, in New-England) and with them a considerable number of pious persons were preparing for a remove into this country, Mr. Clap found in himself a strong inclination to go with those good people, and cast in his lot with them. He had taken a great liking unto the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Warham, and was not willing to be left behind, when he was to go: and, therefore, having with some difficulty obtained his father's consent, he set himself to assist in the great and good work the people of God then had in hand. He, with those good people that came over with him, (who were the first inhabitants of Dorchester) set sail from Plymouth, in England, the 20th day of March, 1629,30; and after a comfortable (though long) passage of ten weeks, they arrived at Hull, the 30th of May, 1630. This was the first company that settled on this side Salem: and, therefore, besure they met with trials and difficulties enough, which did not at all dishearten Mr. Clap; for his heart was so taken off from temporal things, and set upon serving and glorifying God, and finding here such advantages and opportunities therefor, beyond what he had in England, that he could not forbear crying out in a sort of extasy of joy, Blessed be God that brought me here!

In the same year that he came over here, he joined himself a member of the church in Dorchester, where he lived, and continued a member of this church for the space of sixty years; being a useful instrument both in church and town. When he had been about two years and a half in the country, in the year 1633, November 6th, in the 25th year of his age, he married the virtuous Miss Johanna Ford, daughter of Mr. Thomas Ford, of Dorchester, in England, when she was but in the 17th year of her age; who, with her parents, came over in the same ship with himself, and settled also here in Dorchester; with whom he lived in the conjugal relation for the space of 57 years. She was a godly and examplary woman, given to hospitality: She abounded in acts of charity; so that when proper objects of pity and charity came to her knowledge, she never failed to relieve them.
herself, or procure them relief from others: *Thus the Blessing of those that were ready to perish came upon her.*

Among other blessings wherewith it pleased God to bless this pious couple, the blessings of the breasts and of the womb were not the least; for they had fourteen children, ten sons and four daughters. But God was pleased to prove these his servants with afflictions also, as well as mercies; for five of their children died in their infancy; their son Thomas died at 15 years of age, and their son Unite at 7 years. And in the year 1686, their son Supply, a hopeful young man, in the flower and prime of his age, was suddenly taken out of the world, by the accidental firing of a Gun at the Castle, where his father was then the Captain, and himself an officer, in the 23rd year of his age.—The rest of their children, being four sons and two daughters, lived to fulfill the ordinary course of nature, and were great blessings in their generations.

Mr. Clap being thus settled, as he himself expresseth it, in God's house and among his people, he set himself to serve God and his generation according to the will of God. His qualifications were quickly observed by the people of Dorchester; and they early improved him in the affairs of their new plantation. He sustained both civil and military offices in the town, being Captain of the Militia, Representative for the town, and authorized to join persons in marriage. And on the 10th of August, 1665, the General Court appointed him Captain of the Castle (the principal Fortress in the Province) upon the death of Capt. Davenport, who was killed with lightning the month before.

Capt. Clap having now the command of the Castle, discharged that trust with great fidelity; and was therein serviceable to the whole Province, and universally respected and honoured. —He continued in that command for the space of 21 years, even until the year 1686; when, by the loss of our Charter, there was a change of government, and some things were required of him that were grievous to his pious soul; and foreseeing a storm of troubles coming on the country, and he now in his old age, voluntarily resigned his command.

There is another instance that shows what an interest Capt. Clap had in the hearts of God's people, and what an extensive
blessing they accounted him: it is this:—In the year 1672, he being then Captain of the Castle, it pleased God to visit him with a fit of sickness; and the good people of Dorchester, unto which church he belonged, kept a day of Fasting and Prayer, to beg his life of God: And God was pleased to hear and answer their prayers; and when he was restored to health, they kept a Day of Thanksgiving.

When he commanded the Castle, he resided there with his family; and a well-ordered family it was. Capt. Clap and his wife were examples of piety: Their light shone before others, to the Glory of their heavenly father. He was a very prayerful man, and was observed to retire often for secret duties: And in his family (unto which all the soldiers under his command also belonged) he daily offered up the sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving; in which, if he understood his prolixity were disagreeable to any, he would be troubled thereat. He, with his family, were constant hearers of the word preached; going (I think) commonly to Dorchester meeting, when the weather permitted, and sometimes to Boston. He bore a universal love and respect to Godly Ministers, honouring them for their works sake: and, also, he bore an endeared love to all the people of God; so that the very Indians, whom he thought to be fearers of God, were welcome to him, and he would instruct them in the principles of religion. He constantly attended the lectures in the towns of Dorchester and Boston; particularly the lecture at Boston; concerning which, if any of the soldiers or young people asked, whose lecture it was? intimating thereby (as Capt. Clap very well knew) that they thought some were not so excellent preachers as others, and so had less inclination to hear them; he would answer, let the preacher be who he will, if he preach the word of God, I will go and hear him. His eyes were upon the faithful of the land, that they might dwell with him: He chose those to serve him that walked in a perfect way; and he would entertain none in his service, but those that he could reduce to good orders. He would often recommend to his young people the example of his pious gunner, Mr. Baxter, when he was absent, saying, the walls of the Castle would testify how many prayers that
good man made to God in secret. In his time it might be seen, that religious and well-disposed men might take upon them the calling of a soldier, without danger of hurting their morals, or their good name, or lessening their advantages and opportunities for the services of religion. He had a great aversion to idleness, would warn his family against it, and made conscience of employing himself and all about him in some lawful business. — He was a hearty lover of his country, a well-wisher to it, one that prayed often for it, being chiefly concerned that pure and undefiled religion might flourish here: and was a good instrument in his place and station to promote and encourage that which was good, and to discountenance evil, and keep out error and heresy.

He was a meek and humble man, of a very quiet and peaceable spirit, not apt to resent injuries; but where he thought the honor of God was concerned, or just and lawful authority opposed, he was forward enough to exert himself. His parts, as well as his piety, and his knowledge of the word of God and the true Christian religion, may be seen in the foregoing discourse; which is only the substance of those verbal councils, warnings and exhortations, which he frequently inculcated on his children, committed to writing; which discourse is doubtless worthy any serious man’s perusal, and especially those of his posterity.

As to his natural temper, it is said, he was of a cheerful and pleasant disposition, courteous and kind in his behaviour, free and familiar in his conversation, yet attended with a proper reservedness; and he had a gravity and presence that commanded respect from others.

When he left the Castle, which was in the year 1686, he removed to the south end of Boston, and associated with the South Church there, where he lived about four years, and after about a fortnight’s sickness, in which he often repeated words to this purpose,* The Lord reigns; blessed be the name of the Lord: The Lord sitteth upon the flood; yea the Lord sitteth King for ever: Blessed be his holy name. He there departed this life, February 2, 1690,91, in the 82d year of his age. He was buried in the old Burying Place in Boston; the military officers

* I suppose in the joyful contemplation of the late wonderful Revolution.
going before the corps; and next to the relations, the Governor
and the whole General Court following after; and the guns fir­
ing at the Castle at the same time.

Mrs. Clap, who was born June 8th, 1617, lived his widow be­
tween 4 and 5 years, and died at Boston, in June, 1695, being
about 78 years old, and was interred by her husband.

Capt. Clap (as was said before) had six children that lived to
old age, and were blessings in their generation. Their names
and the order of their birth is as follows:—Samuel, Elizabeth,
Preserved, Hopestill, Wait, and Desire.

1. Mr. Samuel Clap was born the 11th day of October, 1634,
when his mother was but in the 18th year of her age. He was
a wise and prudent man, partaking of the choice spirit of his fa­
ther, treading in his steps, and making good his ground: He
was eminent for religion, and of a blameless and unspotted con­
versation. He was early and constantly employed in public af­
fairs: He was Captain of the military company, Representative
for the town; and the seven last years of his life a Ruling El­
der of the Church of Dorchester, where he lived. He married
Miss Hannah Leeds, daughter of Mr. Richard Leeds, of Dor­
chester. They had two sons and two daughters that lived to be
grown up. He died about eight days after his wife, on October
16th, 1708, being about 74 years old. His eldest son, Samuel,
deceased in his middle age, a very pious, useful man also. He
was chosen one of the Deacons of the Church in Dorchester,
where he lived, and was Lieutenant of a military company in the
town. His other son died a hopeful young man.

2. Elizabeth Clap was born June 22d, 1638. She married
Mr. Joseph Holmes. She was a virtuous and prudent woman.
They had five children that lived to be grown up. She died at
Boston, December 25th, 1711, in the 74th year of her age, and
was buried by her parents.

3. Mr. Preserved Clap was born November 23d, 1643. He
was a good instrument and a great blessing to the town of North­
ampton, where he lived. He was Captain of the town, and their
Representative in the General Court, and Ruling Elder in the
Church. He married Miss Sarah Newbery, of Windsor. They
had seven children that lived to be grown up. He died at Northampton, September 20th, 1720, aged about 77 years.

4. Mr. Hopestill Clap was born November 6, 1647. He was a very gracious man, endowed with a great measure of meekness and patience; studied and practiced those things that made for peace. He was first a Deacon of the Church of Dorchester, where he lived; and afterwards in the year 1709, he was chosen and ordained a Ruling Elder in the same Church. He represented the town in the General Court for the space of fifteen years. He was much honored and respected by those that had a value for vital piety. He married Miss Susannah Swift. They had two sons and four daughters that lived to be grown up. One of his sons died a young man, the other is now living in Dorchester. Elder Hopestill Clap died at Dorchester, September 2d, 1719, in the 72d year of his age. Upon his grave stone is written by his Pastor as follows:—

His dust waits 'till the Jubilee,
Shall then shine brighter than the Sky;
Shall meet and join to part no more,
His soul that's glorified before.
Pastors and Churches happy be
With Ruling Elders such as he:
Present useful, absent wanted;
Lived desired, died lamented.

5. Miss Wait Clap was born March 17th, 1649. She was a godly woman, following the good example of her parents. She often spake of that charge which her father left his children, viz. Never to spend any time in idleness, and practiced accordingly in a very observable manner. She married Mr. Jonathan Simpson, of Charlestown. They had but two children, one son and one daughter, that lived to be grown up. She lived a widow about twelve years, and died at Boston, in the house that her father and mother lived and died in, May 3, 1717, in the 69th year of her age, and was buried near her parents.

6. Mr. Desire Clap was born October 17th, 1652. He lived in Dorchester, was a sober, religious man. He married Miss Sarah Pend. They had four children that lived to be grown up,
one son and three daughters. In his old age he buried his first wife, and married again to Mrs. Deborah Smith, of Boston, with whom he went to live; and there he died in December, 1717, in the 66th year of his age, and was interred near his relations.

Thus God was pleased to bless this pious family, and make them blessings in their day and generation. They have all of them finished their pilgrimage in this world, and are gathered to their fathers, and entered into the rest that remains for the people of God. Leaving behind them their good names, and their bright examples of piety and virtue. Divers also of the grand-children are removed by death.

May the blessings of these godly ancestors rest upon their posterity, even unto the latest generations: And may their posterity put themselves in the way to inherit those blessings, by continuing steadfast in the covenant of their God, under which their ancestors have brought them; and by walking in, and cleaving to, the good ways of their forefathers, treading in their steps and making good their ground.

Capt. Clap had one brother, and two sisters, with their husbands, that upon his advice and encouragement, afterwards came over and settled themselves here in Dorchester. His brother, Edward Clap, was a godly man, a Deacon of the Church of Dorchester, as two of his grand-sons have been since. His sisters were the wives of Mr. George Weeks and Mr. Nicholas Clap, religious families.

Deut. vii. 9. Know, therefore, that the Lord thy God, He is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him, and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations.

JAMES BLAKE, Jun.
Next to the early records of Salem, this is the *oldest book of Records* in Massachusetts Proper. There are some entries, indeed, of contemporaneous date in a book at Charlestown, but they appear to have been inserted some time after the occurrences had taken place. Not merely, however, for its antiquity, but for facts and illustrations of local history, and passing events, is the Dorchester volume exceedingly interesting. It has often been consulted and referred to, particularly relative to the laying out of town and county roads; to mill privileges; to original grants, assignments, and appropriations of lands, and to the boundaries of towns which have been set off from it, or which, from the first, bordered upon it.

Dorchester, when laid out, was very extensive, being thirty-five miles in length, and, in some places, six or eight in width, and comprehended the whole of the territory now contained in Milton, Stoughton, Sharon, Canton, and Foxborough. To these towns, therefore, the records must be of such concernment, that they should feel specially interested in their preservation.

The apprehension of having a book so venerable and precious exposed to the danger of being lost, or destroyed by fire, together with a desire to render the information which it contains more accessible and useful, led to a vote of the town, that an amanuensis should be employed to transcribe it into a fair and legible hand.
In seeing that this vote was carried into effect, the Selectmen could not readily find a person acquainted with ancient chirography, who would engage in the arduous task. Exceedingly desirous that there should be a copy, the subscriber undertook to make it himself, and has accomplished it with much pains, care and labor. In doing this, he has been particular to mark with red ink, in the margin, the pages of the old Record, so that the volume of Index, made for that book by Mr. James Blake, in 1745, will serve equally well for this. With all his antiquarian perspicacity, however, the copier was often exceedingly puzzled in deciphering the old chirography, rendered almost illegible by the faded state of the ink originally used, and by the decayed condition of many of the leaves, some of which were also much defaced by use. But his perseverance was encouraged by the consideration that he was rescuing almost from oblivion some exceedingly valuable particulars of the first settlement of this ancient town.

The intimate knowledge acquired of these Records, by the very act of copying them, will authorize a few remarks on their value, and the use that may be made of them.

It is greatly to be regretted, indeed, that two leaves at the beginning of the book are lost, as they contained some notice of the affairs of the town from the settlement, in June, 1630, to January 16, 1632; and more, that another book, referred to several times in this, as "the first book," and mentioned in the manuscript annals of Mr. Blake, was burnt in 1657, in the house of Mr. Thomas Millet; for in that were entered the names of the settlers, the location allotted to each family, and the number of acres and the bounds; as, also, a record of the births and deaths.

The town records were again exposed to destruction, when the house of Mr. Noah Clap, was burnt, May 15, 1784, but were fortunately rescued; though a trunk containing old papers, and files of Committees' reports, &c., was consumed. The venerable volume preserved, now for more than two centuries, contains a record of the doings of the freemen at general meetings, for the choice of town officers and the transaction of business; at Selectmen's meetings, for carrying into effect the municipal regulations; an account of taxes, receipts, and expenditures; statements of roads, of grants, and privileges; and includes the period between January 16, 1632, and March 1, 1720, comprised in 636 closely written folio pages.

Left to themselves and their own resources, the first settlers of Dorchester seemed to have been fully aware that they were
commencing a new state of social and civil polity, in most respects different from that of the mother country; and that they were not only taking measures for the ordering of affairs adapted to their present circumstances, but “laying the foundation of many generations.” The course which they pursued was marked by precaution, and all the measures which they adopted were distinguished by strong sense, and practical wisdom; simple, judicious, and well adapted to the exigencies of the passing day, and prospective of times to come.

Their first and chief concern was the furtherance of Christian truth, and Gospel order and institutions, the building a place for public worship, and providing means for the support of the ministry; next, the settlers evinced a deep solicitude for the rising generation, “forasmuch, (as they express it) as the good education of children and youth is of singular benefit to any commonwealth.” They were careful, therefore, that they should be well instructed in the elements of useful knowledge, and in the principles of religion, that they might become intelligent and useful, virtuous and happy. And that the children both of the poor as well as of the rich, might share equal privileges and advantages, the school was not only made free to all, but all were required to attend. This was an entirely new plan for education; in liberality, having no prototype in European countries; and, in consequence of its adoption through the New England States, the means of instruction have been diffused through the community, “and knowledge and wisdom have been the stability of our times.” The school was supported partly by a tax duly apportioned upon the inhabitants, and partly by the appropriation or rent of the land set off at the laying out of the town for this special purpose, and by grants and bequests of individuals afterwards made. The Selectmen were directed to provide able, pious, and faithful teachers; to see that the parents sent their children to school, not detaining any for inconsiderable reasons; and “to have a vigilant eye over the children, that they attend school regularly and punctually, mind their learning, and behave obediently in school, and mannerly out of it.” And it is observable from the register of our school, kept from the beginning, that for more than a century and a half, the masters employed were such as had received a college education.

It is interesting, through these town records, to trace the succession of public officers, and discover who were the leading men of the day; as, also, the business transacted; what the state of society required for its advancement; and to learn the
occurrences that took place, during the eighty-seven years of which this book is the register.

From these documents of the early settlers, we may also gain sketches of the state of manners, the modes of living, the occupations in which men were engaged, the changes in families, reverses in condition, value of property, and other particulars, incidentally noticed, but of considerable use in ascertaining "the form and pressure of the times," and the gradual and progressive improvement of the social state. And many facts are noted, not merely of a local, but of a public nature, and belong to the history of our country.

Finally, in the seasonable provisions for the support of order; the meetings of the freemen for consultation about what was expedient to be adopted and done for the welfare of the rising community; and the election of the most intelligent, trust-worthy and influential men to take the oversight and management of its municipal concerns, we perceive not only a wise forecast, but find the elements and principles of that "liberty with order," from which have emanated the well-defined rights and privileges, which their successors asserted with determination, maintained with firmness, and have established and guaranteed as the chief constituents of our national independence and prosperity.

That this ancient town may continue an honorable record through succeeding generations, is the fervent wish of him who has exercised for forty-one years the ministry in it, and has been affectionately and zealously interested in the advancement of its welfare, temporal and spiritual.

THADDEUS MASON HARRIS.

August 5, 1834.
HISTORY

OF

SHERBURN, MASS.

FROM ITS INCORPORATION,

MDC LXXIV,

TO THE END OF THE YEAR

M DCCC XXX;

INCLUDING THAT OF

FRAMINGHAM AND HOLLISTON,

SO FAR AS THEY WERE

CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THAT TOWN.

BY WILLIAM BIGLOW,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF NATICK.

WILFORD, MASS.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BALLOU & STACY.

1830.
This Pamphlet is compiled chiefly from the Records of the Town of Sherburne, in possession of the present Town Clerk. These records, from the beginning of the settlement to the present time, have been made and preserved with a care, which deserves commendation. They exhibit the transactions of a community of the most independent class of inhabitants, and of that, on which all other classes depend for subsistence; namely, the cultivators of the soil. Though there is nothing found, in their transactions, to excite wonder, or astonishment, yet there is not a little, which may afford amusement and instruction; especially to the descendents of the worthy persons, who redeemed this part of our land from the wilderness, who have "accomplished, as a hireling, their day, and whose sepulchres remain with us."
HISTORY OF SHERBURNE.

BOUNDARIES, TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, &c.

SHERBURNE is situated on the extreme south point of the County of Middlesex, south-westerly from Boston. The ancient milestone at the foot of Meeting-house hill, and within an 8th of a mile from the centre of the town, was marked in olden time, "Boston 22 miles." The distance, as the road now runs, is about 19; and when this shall be straitened, as has been proposed and laid out, it will not exceed 18 miles from the centre of the town to the city.

SHERBURNE is bounded N. by Framingham; N. E. by Natick; E. by Dover and Medfield; S. E. by Medfield; S. by Medway; S. W. and W. by Holliston; N. W. by Framingham. It contains about 10,000 acres, 200 of which are covered with water. According to a plan, taken by Joseph Ware, Esq. its extreme length, from N. to S. is 6 miles and 30 rods; and its extreme breadth, from E. to W. 4 miles and 154 rods. A new survey is begun by Dalton Goulding, Esq. from which a map will ere long be delineated, according to a late act of the General Court.

Principal Road, Mails, &c.—The only mail road through this town is that, which has been called the "Hartford road," from "time which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." It leads from Boston to Hart-
ford, in Connecticut. Mail, stage and accommodation coaches are doing a large and increasing business on this route. For their number, names and other particulars the reader is referred to Badger & Porter's Stage Register, published periodically in Boston. There is a post-office kept, on this road, near the centre of the town, where the mail is opened daily, Sundays excepted. The other roads are numerous and generally kept in good repair.

The only tavern in town is near the center and situated on this road. Its owner, Captain Daniel Paul, is the only person in town licenced to sell liquors by the glass. Here travellers and others may find every desirable accommodation.

On this road there are four or five "variety stores," as they are called in New England, where groceries and dry goods are retailed.

**Surface of the Country, Soil and Productions.**—The land in most parts of the town is very hilly, rocky and stony; but the soil is rich and productive. It amply compensates the husbandman for the labour bestowed on it. Pasture, tillage and upland mowing grounds are happily proportioned throughout the township; and valuable meadows, some abounding in peat, are interspersed in the vallies. There are still remaining many valuable wood-lots, which not only furnish the inhabitants with fuel; but also firewood, charcoal and timber for ship-building and other purposes, for the city market. The inhabitants, like those of many other towns, in this region, are adopting a method to prolong and perpetuate the growth of forest trees, sufficient to supply the present and future generations with this necessary article. They clear a parcel of land entirely of the wood, and leave it to grow up again immediately;
calculating to have it cut down once in about 30 years. The soil is peculiarly well adapted to the growth of the apple and other fruit trees; and the owners of it have availed themselves of this advantage to an extent, which deserves and receives commendation. The apples, cider and vinegar, with which Sherburne furnishes the market, do not suffer in comparison with those of any other town­ship in the commonwealth. The butter from the dairies is highly prized; but the superiority of this deducts from the goodness of the cheese, which is made here; and induces the dealers in this article to purchase that, which is brought to market from a greater distance, where the skimming dish is not so fashionable. Indian corn, rye, barley, oats, and all the culinary roots and vegetables, which in the Yankee dialect are called sauce, are raised here in abundance. There is a meadow washed by Sewal brook, which has afforded, in one season, 2000 bushels of cran­berries, which have been converted into a very palatable sauce, in the English sense of the word.

But few of the hills are distinguished by proper names; and indeed if they were, they are so numerous, that a catalogue would occupy more space, than could well be spared in a pamphlet of ordinary size. The most remark­able is Brush hill, about a mile from the centre of the town, in a northerly direction. This is of a beautiful conical shape, entirely cleared of wood, as elevated, as any other, within many miles of it, and seen at a great distance, in every direction. The prospect from the summit is exten­sive and variegated. Standing on this, one looks down on the handsome villages of Framingham, Natick, Medfield, Medway and Holliston; and in a circle outside of these, the church in Lincoln, and the hill above it, Prospect hill in
Waltham, Blue hill in Milton, the churches and highlands in Hopkinton, Shrewsbury and other towns, the church in Princeton, the Watchusett, Monadnock and many other Mountains, which appear like clouds rising in the horizon. In every point of compass, a tract of country presents itself, exactly suited to an agricultural and manufacturing community. Peters hill is about a mile from Brush hill, in a northeasterly direction. This is remarkable for its steepness, presenting on its westerly side, for about 100 rods in length, a ledge of rocks, almost perpendicular, excepting one place, which is known by the name of the Devil's cart-way, from its resemblance to an artificial road. The perpendicular height on this side is from 40 to 60 feet. At its base a fine thrifty growth of young forest trees hides its ruggedness from the eye of the passenger on the road, that runs parallel to it. Meeting-house hill, about a mile distant from Brush hill, in a south easterly direction, is remarkable only, as the place devoted to public worship from the first settlement of the town. City hill, lately so named, about a mile S. W. from Brush hill, is little else than a pyramid of rocks, piled up by the rude hand of nature. When the magnetic needle is brought near this, there is a local attraction, which causes it to vary about five degrees. A similar attraction is observed in a swamp, through which the boundary line runs between Sherburne and Framingham; and in a less degree in other parts of the town.

At the north west corner of the town, next to Framingham, the land is flat, moist, free from stone and of good quality, about a mile square. There is considerable plain sandy land, round Farm pond in the easterly part, and so free from rocks and stones, that the inhabitants cannot
procure a sufficiency for fencing their grounds, without going to a distance, which renders it inconvenient, laborious and expensive. In the south part there is a plain, elevated considerably above the waters of Charles river, on the easterly side and a hollow on the opposite. The road, leading from Meeting-house hill to the east parish in Medway, passes through nearly the middle of this plain, which is about 1 1-2 miles in length and 1-4 of a mile in breadth. Edwards Plain, about 1-2 a mile in length and 1-3 in breadth, lies S. E. of Meeting-house hill, commencing about 100 rods distant from its base, on the road from Hartford to Boston.

**Ponds, Brooks, River.**—There are two considerable ponds, in the easterly part of the town. Farm pond covers about 160 acres and is well stored with pickerel, perch, pouts and other fish. There is a beautiful island within it, to which anglers frequently resort to cook and feast on their prey, beneath the shade of the forest trees. This pond has no visible inlet; but a perennial rivulet, which empties into Charles river, at the distance of a mile, is constantly supplied by it, and serves to irrigate the lands, through which it passes. Little pond, about 3-4 of a mile north from the above, covering from 40 to 50 acres, contributes to Charles river through Sawin's brook. This affords some sport for the angler. On the south margin of this pond is a mineral spring, which was highly prized by the Indians in former days, for its medicinal qualities; and some white people are supposed to have received essential benefit from it. I know not that its waters have ever been analyzed.

There are three streams, in this town, on which mills are erected; but these are supplied with a sufficiency of
water to move the machinery, only in the winter season. Mr. Isaac Cozens has a saw mill on Chestnut brook, in the north westerly part of the town, and Mr. Jonathan Holbrook on Sewal brook, in the south-easterly section, has a saw mill and corn mill. On Dirty meadow brook there are two sawmills; one owned by Col. Daniel Leland, the other by James and Samuel Leland. The town, however, is well watered with springs and rivulets, and possesses many convenient situations for conveying water by aqueducts into dwelling houses, barn yards and wherever else it is wanted. Of this the inhabitants have availed themselves.

On the southerly side of the dwelling house of Isaac Whitney, Esq. near Holliston line, a number of springs uniting form a rivulet called, in the ancient records, Doppin brook, which runs in a southerly direction, the waters of which are continually accumulating, till they furnish a supply for several mill seats, and finally unite with Charles river, in Medway. On the northerly side of this house, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, similar springs unite and form a like stream, which falls into Sudbury river. On the southeasterly declivity of Brush hill, near the dwelling house of Mr. John Perry, the springs contributing to Chestnut brook, called also Coarse brook, which empties into Long pond in Natick, and eventually into the Merrimack, are only about ten rods distant from those, which unite, in an opposite direction, with Sawin's brook, a tributary stream of the Charles. These waters, of course, mingle with the ocean, at a long distance from each other; namely, at the mouths of the Merrimack, Charles and Neponset. Charles river separates Sherburne from Medfield and Dover on the south and east, and forms the boundary line for nearly five miles.
Remarkable Trees.—An Elm on the farm of Mr. John Leland, in the westerly part of the town, planted there by one of the first English inhabitants of the place, now measures, on the surface of the ground, twenty-seven and a half feet in circumference; at the height of 6 feet, the girth is 14 feet. It tapers very gradually to the height of 20 feet, where its branches spread to all points of the compass, resembling very nearly the celebrated tree of the same kind, on Boston common. There are many other stately elms in all parts of the town. On the farm of John Twitchel, in the N. W. part, there is a cherry tree of the Mazzard species, which measures, at the height of three feet from the ground, eleven feet in circumference. The stone, from which this tree sprung, was brought from the east part of Watertown, near Cambridge line, A. D. 1762. The fruit produced by it in one season, has been sold, in Boston market, for $30. Though it is now decaying, its annual produce is considerable. The inhabitants of this vicinity believe this to be the largest tree of the kind in this Commonwealth. This is the parent of several others, in the town and vicinity, which do honour to their progenitor. The first apple seed, planted in Sherburne, was brought from England in the pocket of the first Mrs Leland, who settled in the place. This became a large tree and produced abundance of fruit, of the kind, known by the name of English spice apple, till A. D. 1815, when one half of it was blown down in the great September gale. The rest of it gradually decayed and fell down about three years since. From the stump another tree has sprung up, which now measures, at 18 inches from the surface of the ground, 2 feet in circumference, and has produced this year two bushels of
apples. Scions from this have been ingrafted in many other places. The origin of the Porter apples, so called, which are highly valued, wherever they are known, is said to be as follows. A tree was found growing spontaneously on the farm of Rev. Mr. Porter, which produced no fruit for several years. At length Mr. P. discovered on it a single apple, which he tasted and found to be of very agreeable flavor. He then paid particular attention to the tree, which became very large and productive; and scions were carried from it, in all directions, and ingrafted on other stocks. The stump of the parent tree is still remaining, on the farm of Hon. Calvin Sanger. Mr. Galim Bullard, not long since, conveyed several sprouts, with part of the parent roots, to his farm, where he set them out. All are now alive, and one of them, at least, bids fair to become a large and fruitful tree. Between 40 and 50 years ago, Rev. Mr. Brown began to procure scions of the best sorts of fruit, and ingrafted them on such stocks, as he found on his farm. In front of his late dwelling house, on the opposite side of the road, the land was overrun with scrub or shrub apple trees, made and kept so by the cattle browsing upon them. Part of these he caused to be removed, and part to be pruned and sawed off, at a suitable distance from the ground, and ingrafted with scions as mentioned above. This is the history of a flourishing and productive orchard. Many of Mr. B's parishioners have, in this particular, followed his laudable example, with equal success. Many trees, bearing excellent apples, have apparently sprung up spontaneously, in various parts of the town.

A large black oak, called the W. tree, from its having this letter carved upon it, served for a landmark, on the
line between Sherburne and Framingham, for a long series of years. It is mentioned in Sherburne records as far back as Jan. 1683. Its decayed remains were removed, A. D. 1822, and a large stone erected in its place, bearing the same mark; which bids fair to answer the same purpose, as its predecessor, to very remote generations.

Inhabitants.—The inhabitants of this place, from its first settlement, have been and still continue to be industrious, frugal and generally skilful cultivators of the soil. A large proportion of farms are owned, occupied and improved by the fifth, sixth and seventh generations, descended from those, who first redeemed them from the wilderness. Among these the name of Leland is most prevalent. Of 165 legal voters, on the list for 1830, no less than 29 bear this name. All the other names, which appear on the list of those, who first “assembled for the ordering the affairs of Shearborn, in 1674,” are still found in Sherburne, Holliston, or that part of Framingham, which was set off from Sherburne; viz, Morse, Fairbanks Babcock, Adams, Holbrook, Bullard, Hill, Perry and Eames. As early as 1679, we find other names, which are still prevalent in these towns; viz. Twitchel, Whitney, Cozens, Learned, Breck, Coolidge, &c.

Among the farmers are interspersed a due proportion of the most common and useful kinds of mechanics.—In this class of citizens, Messrs. Partridge and Babcock rank high, as skilful manufacturers of edge tools and elastic forks, for moving hay, or manure, and Mr. Lemuel Leland, as an ingenious gunsmith; his rifles and smooth-bored muskets, either with flint or percussion locks, being much celebrated. The late Silas Stone Esq. was the inventor of a truss, for the relief of persons afflicted with
Hernia, which has been highly approved by gentlemen of the medical and surgical professions, and for which he obtained a patent. This valuable article is still manufactured by his son, who bears the name and inherits the ingenuity of the father. A number of hammerers of stone are constantly employed, on an inexhaustible quarry of granite, or sienite, owned by Isaac Whitney Esq. and lying partly in Sherburne, but chiefly within the bounds of Holliston.

Till within the last twenty years, the people here generally manufactured their own clothing. Their domestic music was the sound of the spinning wheel and the loom. This, since the introduction of great manufactories, put in operation by water power, has given place to the more silent employment of braiding straw, or palm leaf. Some of the bonnets and hats manufactured here, were they "dear bought and far fetched," would be deemed fit for any ladies or gentlemen in the land.

In 1764, there were 113 families and 630 inhabitants. The number, according to the census of 1820, was 811, and according to that of 1830, it is 900; the increase in 10 years 89. One reason of this slow increase is that, too many of the farmers, like their ancestors, judge of the value of their farms, according to the number of acres instead of the state of cultivation and amount of produce. Hence, instead of dividing a large farm into two, or three to accommodate as many sons, and setting each to cultivate his portion in the best, which is the easiest and the cheapest manner; the whole homestead is inherited by one; and the rest, taking the portion of money, which falleth to them severally, emigrate to a place, where they can purchase much land for little money, half cultivate a
part of it, and let the rest lie unproductive. Others be-
take themselves to our large towns and cities, where they
enter into mercantile, or other employments in those places.
This practice, however, is growing less prevalent, than
it was formerly; improvements are constantly made in
the methods of cultivation; and it is believed, that the
quantity of the most important articles, now produced
annually, is double what it was twenty-five years ago.

Education, &c.—The inhabitants of this town from
its first settlement appear to have been sensible of the
importance of literary instruction. So early as 1684 it
seems that land was granted for this purpose. In 1694,
Edward West was chosen Schoolmaster for the town.—
A. D. 1718, twelve pounds, 1719, eighteen pounds were
granted for the support of a school for the teaching of
children and youth to read, write and cypher. The town
has been divided, from the date of earliest grants for this
purpose, into from three to six districts; and the sums
appropriated have been gradually increased from the "day
of small things" to the present time. The first appro-
priation for building a school house was made A. D. 1727;
and the house finished A. D. 1728, or 1729.

The town is now divided into six school districts, each
of which is accommodated with a convenient school
house, and $700 a year granted for hiring teachers, and
other expenses. Female teachers are employed in the
warm, and male, in the cold season of the year.

In the year 1825, a large and commodious house was
erected by subscription, in which an academy, or school
for the higher branches of education, has been and
continues to be kept; and which has been of no small
advantage to the youth of this and some other towns.
A company for the purpose of purchasing a social library was formed A. D. 1808. There are now belonging to this establishment 250 volumes, and provision is made for its gradual increase.

A Debating Society has been in the practice of meeting for discussing interesting topics, for a number of years; and a Lyceum has been recently established under favorable auspices. Sunday schools have been kept and well attended here, for several years past; and money has been frequently and liberally granted for the defraying the expenses of schools, for the teaching of sacred music.

Sherburne has furnished its full share of students in our universities, some of whom have displayed and are displaying superior talents, both natural and acquired. In the following catalogue, H. U. stand for Harvard University and B. U. for Brown University. Those, whose names are printed in italics, are, or have been ordained ministers of the gospel. Those, with this mark * prefixed, are not living.

**College Graduates.**

* Adam Bullard, H. U. 1742.
* Hezekiah Coolidge, H. U. 1750.
* Joseph Perry, H. U. 1752.
* Eliab Stone, H. U. 1758. Minister in Reading, Ms.
* Enoch Whipple, H. U. 1779.

* Aaron Gardner, B. U. 1799. Schoolmaster on Long Island, N. Y.


Amos Clarke, H. U. 1804. Minister of the first Congregational Church and Society, in his native town.


Elbridge Sanger passed two years in B. U. having entered, A. D. 1822. He left on account of a deficiency in the organs of hearing.

Augustin Leland entered B. U. 1830.

Physicians.—The first physician, in this place, according to tradition, was a Dr. Robinson, who resided in, or near the stone fortified house, at the south end, and was drowned in Charles river, while returning in the night on the ice, from a visit to Medfield. Dr. Hill, who settled near City hill, was celebrated in former days, for his skill
in medicine and surgery, as was his wife, for her skill in the obstetric art.

Drs. Lincoln, Shepherd, Levet, Flagg, Wise and Wight are mentioned, as having been resident here; but, at what time they made their entrance, or their exit, is not ascertained.

Dr. Jonathan Tay became a resident here about the year 1772, and died, in January, 1827, at an advanced age. Samuel Locke, son of the former minister, of the same name, entered on the practice of medicine here, but died in the year 1788, at the age of 27 years.

Tapley Wyeth, a native of Cambridge, and a graduate of Harvard University, in 1786, came to the town 1789, and died 1813, aged 48. William Sweetser, a native of Boston and graduate of H. U. 1815, practiced here a considerable time, and is now a professor, in the medical department of the University of Vermont. Oliver Everett, a native of Dedham, Mass. and graduate of Brown University, 1821, took up his abode here in 1825, and is now the only physician in the town; and such is the salubrity of the situation and the good habits of the inhabitants, that one is amply sufficient.

LAWYERS.—The celebrated Fisher Ames commenced the practice of law in this town, but soon returned to his native Dedham.

"A lawyer, by the name of Daniel Warren, came to Sherburne about A. D. 1812; but his fees were insufficient for his maintenance, and he soon left the place. Since that the town has been wholly free from lawyers, and generally from lawsuits. Several young gentlemen of the green bag have inquired of the inhabitants, if it were
an eligible situation for one of that profession, and have been uniformly and truly assured, that it is an excellent place for a lawyer to starve in, but not one in which he can gain a living. 'They have believed this and kept themselves away.' Thus writes a native of the town.

**Public Buildings.**—There are two houses for public worship and a building for an Academy, near the centre of the town, and six school houses for the accommodation of the free schools, in the several districts. Further particulars, respecting the houses for worship, will be found in other parts of this pamphlet.

**Burying Grounds.**—The old south burying ground is probably the oldest, in the town, as the first settlers located themselves in its immediate vicinity. It lies unfenced in a pasture, is overrun with whortleberry, fern and other bushes, and many of the gravestones are prostrated and exposed to the trampling of horses and cattle. A number of the stones have the following inscription; “died in the memorable mortality, A.D. 1754.” Though the dilapidated state of this repository cannot be supposed to be injurious to the dead, it is calculated to wound the feelings of the living, who are possessed of common humanity, and who may chance to discover it in their solitary rambles.

The Farm grave-yard is undoubtedly nearly, if not quite, as ancient as the Old South, as that part of the town began to be settled almost as early, as the south end. This was unused for many years, after a few had been deposited in it, and was suffered to be overrun with wood. About forty years ago the inhabitants again began to
appropriate it to the use, for which their ancestors designed it, and since that time it has been cleared, inclosed with a substantial stone wall, and now makes a very decent appearance. A number of the ancient graves are covered in their whole length, with rough stones, which is said to distinguish those, which contain the remains of persons, who died of the small pox.

The Central grave yard, near Mr. Joseph Sanger's store, is the third that was laid out. In this are deposited the remains of the first four ministers of the place,—Gookin, Baker, Porter and Locke. I insert the following epitaphs, as curiosities; one determining the time, when this ground was first used as a burying place, and both showing the quaintness of the style of writing, which was fashionable a century and half ago.

ELIZABETH
Daughter of Moses and Lydia Adams.
Born, Sept. ye 18, 1686. Died June ye 17, 1689. Her body was ye first grain sown in this ground.

Under this stone there lies the dust
Of Thomazin Collicut, & just
Besides her her Granddaughter dear,
Bethiah Gookin lieth here.
To threescore years & fourteen more
The one attains, or seventy four.

August 22, 1692.

The other near thrice seven weeks
Beholds the light, the Grave then seeks.

March ye 1st. 1693–4.

A grave stone, found near the dwelling house of Mr. Isaac Cozens, and preserved in a faced stone wall, which
incloses his door yard, it is said was intended to be erect-
ed in the central yard, in memory of the person whose
name it bears; but it was not procured till her friends
had forgotten where they had laid her. It bears this in-
scription.

Here lyes ye Body
Of Grace
Bullen Who
Died August 11
1689 & in ye 26
Year of Her
Age.

There is a burying yard on the north side of Brush hill,
in which the first person interred was Luther Perry,
who died Feb. 22d. 1785.

The next ground appropriated to this use is the New
South grave yard, in which Mrs. Hannah Ware and her
infant child were first deposited. They died, March 2d
1790.

The Western burying yard received for its first deposit,
Mrs. Hannah Twitchel, who died Sept. 29, 1791.

In the Plain burying yard Miss Rebecca Newell was
the first, who was buried. She died, June 29, 1792.

Civil History.—The following is the Act of Incor-
poration, transcribed from the Records of the General
Court of Massachusetts. “At a General Court, held at
Boston, May 27, 1674.—In answer to the Petition of the
Inhabitants and proprietors of Land near Bogestow, the
Court granted the Petitioners the quantity of Six miles
square, not exceeding eight miles in length, to take in as
many Farms with the vacant Launds adjoining or inter-
mixed therewith as that quantity of Land will admit; provided that none of the Farmers shall have any part of the aforesaid vacant Land now granted by this Court;—but the said Land to be distributed amongst such other persons as will come to inhabit in the said Town as the major part of the Farmers think meet; provided that there be a Farm of 200 Acres of meet Land reserved, and by Captain Fisher laid out for a Farm for the Country; and that no Man shall have allotted above fifty Acres, till there be twenty new families settled there, and then the whole that is free to be disposed of as the major part of the Inhabitants, capable by law to vote, shall judge meet. And the name of the Town to be called Shearburne.

A true Copy attested, Edward Lawton, Secretary.

By a plan of the township, delineated on parchment, A. D. 1701, now in the possession of the town clerk, it appears that Sherburne originally extended as far north, as Sudbury river, in Framingham, near the Old burying ground, including part of Great pond in that town, so called on the plan, now known by the name of Farm pond; and the whole of Washacum pond. N.W. it was bounded by Sudbury river and Cold Spring brook, including that part of Hopkinton, called Maguncook, Magunkoog, or Maguncog, as the spelling is various, in Natick and Sherburne records. S. W. it extended to Deer brook, including part of what is now Milford, then Mendon; and the whole of Holliston, as it was bounded previously to 1829. S. and E. the line, between it and Medway, Medfield and Dover, varied but little from that, which now separates it from these towns.

Natick, the aboriginal word for, a place of hills, embraced, at that time, Peters and Brush hills, and that part
of Sherburne, which is vulgarly called Dirty Meadow.—These lands were purchased of the Natick tribe, in exchange for their Maguncook lands and other considerations, as will be found in the sequel. It is also stated, in Worthington’s History of Dedham, that three thousand four hundred acres, in the east part of Sherburne, once belonged to the grantees of that township, by a grant to them of five miles square, north of Charles river, A. D. 1636.

By the map, or plan, abovementioned, it is ascertained that the first inhabitants of Sherburne located themselves, at the southern extremity of the township, on the margins of Bogestow pond and Charles river. Here a stone house was erected, and occupied as a garrison house, on interval land, which, by a late running of the boundary line, between this town and Medway, falls a few rods within the latter. This spot is one of the last, which would be chosen, in these days, for a fortified place, as it is completely overlooked and commanded by a steep hill, within a few rods of it. This house has been taken down, within the memory of many now living.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable situation of this building, it seems to have been of no little importance to our ancestors, as a place of defence. When Medfield including what is now Medway, was nearly destroyed by the Indians, Feb. 21st, 1676, it is said that a number of the inhabitants of that town fled to this garrison. Rev. Dr. Sanders of Medfield observes, in his Historical Sermon, that, “on the 6th of May following, the Indians met with a notorious repulse, at this stone house. On the 2d of July, there was near this a new conflict, in the woods, and more execution was done upon the enemy.” There was another garrison house, near Holbrook’s mills, and a third at Dirty meadow.
Though it is not known that any of the inhabitants were either killed, or captivated, or any of their property destroyed by the Indians, within the settlement; they must have suffered many deaths in apprehension. Three of the adjoining towns were nearly depopulated; namely, Medfield, Mendon and Sudbury; and, in the last mentioned, the brave Capt. Wadsworth, and his company were entirely cut off and sacrificed to savage barbarity. The Natick tribe also, adjacent to them, were suspected of being hostile, though without any real foundation for such suspicion.

Since writing the above, I have been made acquainted with a tradition, which is handed down very directly, that on the morning, on which Medfield was attacked by the Indians two brothers, Jonathan and Eleazer Wood of Sherburne, were sent to the former place, to fetch a pair of oxen. They entered the barn, where the beasts were kept, at day break, heard a noise in the barn, which they mistook for that of swine, let out the cattle, and, while in the act of yoking them, were assailed by a party of Indians, who rushed from the barn, knocked them on the head with their tomahawks and left them for dead.

After the Indians had completed their work of destruction and retired to such a distance from the place, that the surviving English ventured to attend to the dead and wounded, the brothers were found. Jonathan had expired, but Eleazer was alive and survived several years. The former left a wife and children, the latter was afterwards married and had children.

A number of families, in the town, can trace their pedigree back to those men. They owned the farm now belonging to Major John Goulding.
1674-5, Jan. 4th,—Assembled for the ordering the affairs of Shearborn, Daniel Morse, George Fairbanks, Robert Badcock, Henry Adams, Thomas Holbrook, Benjamin Bullard, John Hill, Henry Laland, Joseph Morse, Obediah Morse, Daniel Morse, Jr., Jonathan Morse, John Perry, Jonathan ——, [surname not legible.] Thomas Eames is accepted as an inhabitant of Shearborn.

At this meeting Committees were appointed, to take a view of the Land for the laying out of the Courts grant; to agree with Thomas Thurston, Surveyor, for the laying out that Tract of Land—and assist the measurer about laying out the Land, &c. Also, Henry Adams, Robert Badcock & Thomas Eames are required to treat with Capt. Gookin and whom it may concern else, for the purchasing of some Natick Land to the accommodating the Plantation, and to make return to the Company.

1675.—March 8th—Assembled for the ordering the affairs of Sherborn. “Voted to raise fifty shillings for the Surveyor for his work.” (At this Meeting Committees were chosen) “to take a view where to add to the grants of Land what is yet wanting to make up the complement and to take a view of Natick Land, for the exchanging with them.”

1676-7.—March 15th—Then was Obediah Morse chosen to keep the Records of Sherborn. It was the mind of the Inhabitants and their desire that Capt. Fisher should be treated with, that He would be helpful, or undertake the settlement of the Plantation.

1677.—2d m. 13th day—Assembled to prepare for the exchange of Land between Natick and Sherborn, as encouragement has been given at the Court by Mr. Eliot and Major Gookin.
3d month, 9th day—At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherborn, The Committee chosen by the General Court being then with us—The Committee enquiring where was the place intended for a Meetinghouse. It was then voted and agreed on that the place intended for a Meetinghouse should be on a parcel of Land joining or bordering on the Land of Nicolas Wood and Capt. Hull’s Farm.—Capt. Hull’s house is supposed to have stood a few rods West of Capt. James Bickford’s.

Voted that propositions should be made to Maj. Gookin and Mr. Eliot and to the Indians in referring to the exchange of Lands between Natick and Sherborn, as to give Fifty Pounds in current pay and as much Land as a Committee of the General Court shall think meet.

July 31.—Voted and agreed to by all of us from this time to improve the Liberty of a Town in a Civil Body that the honored Court and Laws of our Country gives to us. At this meeting it was voted that Edward West, as Sergeant, should take the care of the Military in Sherborn.

7 mo.—Voted If any of the Inhabitants shall neglect to attend Town meetings appointed and being warned of it, shall be under the penalty of 3s. 4d. for every such offence, to be for Town use.

78—11 mo.—1 day.—At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherburn 17 persons were present. It was voted that five men be chosen as Selectmen, Daniel Morse, sen. George Fairbanks, Edwd. West, Thomas Eames, Obadiah Morse chosen to keep the Records or as a Clark. N. B. This was the first time the Town chose Selectmen. Voted That the first second day of January should be from year to year held to be a public meeting for the public affairs of Sherburne.
1679.—“For as much as for the further promulgation of the Gospel, the subduing this part of the Earth among the rest given to the Sons of Adam, and the enlargement of the bounds of the habitations formerly designed by God for some of His people in this wilderness; It hath pleased the Lord to move and direct the much Honoured Gen. Court to grant a tract of land in the land adjoining to or near the place called Bogestow with the Farms there in laid as is judged a meet place for the erecting and settling of a Town.”

“We the persons whose names are next under written, for the prevention of questions and mistakes, disorders and contentions that might otherwise arise, do order and determine and resolve as followeth.”

1. “That all persons whatsoever, that shall receive lands by grant from the said Town now called Sherborne, shall become subject to all such Orders in every part and point of Town Government, as are at present, or hereafter by the authority of the said Town shall be made and appointed for the ordering, regulating, or governing thereof: Provided they be not repugnant to the Orders, or any Orders of the general Court from time to time. And that every such Grantee, shall for the firm engagement of himself and his successors, thereunto subscribe his name to our Town Book, or otherwise, his grant made to him shall be of none effect.”

2. “That if questions, differences, or contentions should fall out or arise in any manner or way in our Society, or betwixt any party therein; that they shall really endeavour, to resolve and issue the same in the most practicable way and manner, by Reference, Arbitration, or some other like means before it shall come to any place of publick Judicature except it be in our own Town.”

3. “That we shall all of us in the said Town faithfully endeavour that only such shall be received to our society and Township as we may have sufficient satisfaction that they are honest, peaceable, and free from Scandal and erroneous opinions.”

4. “That none of the inhabitants aforesaid or our successors at any time hereafter for the space of seven years from the date hereof upon any pretence whatsoever without the consent of the Selectmen for the time being first had and obtained, shall alienate, Let, assign or set over for the space of seven whole years any part or parcel of Land formerly granted to him or them by the Town, except to some formerly
accepted of by our Society; always provided that this shall in no sort prejudice or hinder any Heirs at common Law.” (signed)


Mutilated Report of a Committee of the General Court.

2d. “As to the farms adjacent we conceive all those, in Medfield bounds that were granted by this Court and received nothing from Medfield, shall be accounted and liable to all charges and take up priviledges in Sherborn: those in Natick bounds, all the Petitioners Lands shall be accounted Inhabitants in Sherborn: and all other Farms that are nighest Sherborn Meetinghouse, shall be likewise in the bounds of Sherborn, and do duty and receive privelidges therein: but we doubt whether they be like to be a Town, if some considerable tract of Land be not procured from the Indians, either by exchange or purchase or both.

Your Honors humble Servants

DANIEL FISHER,
RICHARD ELLICE,
THOMAS THURSTON.

2—23 (77)

The Court approves of this Returne provided always, that the tract of waste Lands, situate and lying indifferently accommodable for Sudbury and Marlborough as well as Sherborn and are now belonging to Thomas Danforth Esq. Dep. Governor, be excepted.

A true Coppy Attest EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

1679.—Articles of agreement between Daniel Morse, sen. Thomas Eames, Henry Lealand and Obediah Morse in behalf of the Town of Sherburne on the one part. Wabon, Pimbow, Thomas Tray, John Awonssamage sen. Peter Ephraim and Daniel [Takawombpait] on behalf of
the Town of Natick on the other part, concluded and agreed upon this sixteenth day of April 1679.

Whereas, It hath pleased the general Court by their Order bearing date May 12th 1675 to give leave to the People of Sherborn to purchase by way of exchange, from the people of Natick, a quantity of Land belonging to Natick for their furtherance and promoting of Sherborne Plantation.

2. The people of Sherburne above named in behalf of the rest, do desire about four Thousand Acres as it is Plotted, described and bounded on the Northeast with Natick; on the Southeast, South West and West by Sherborn, on the West, and Northwest with a Farm belonging to Mr. Danforth.

3. In compensation for the same they agree to give by way of exchange the like quantity of Land be it 4000 Acres more or less, lying and being adjoining to Maugun-coog Indian Hill, which Land was granted unto Sherborn by the general Court of the Massachusetts; moreover they do promise and covenant to pay unto the persons above named, their Heirs or Assigns, the full and just quantity of 200 bushels of Indian Grain to be paid one half in hand or at demand, and the other half the last of March next ensuing. Moreover, they are willing that Peter Ephraim do enjoy the Land he hath broken up within that Tract of Land they are to have of Natick, at a place called Brush Hill, and to add thereunto so much more as may make the Lot 12 Acres, with an equal proportion of Meadow, to enjoy to him the said Peter Ephraim and his Heirs and Assigns forever; but to be under the government of the Township of Sherburne as the English Are.

4th, Also we agree & consent that on the Lands we are
to have of Natick there be a Lot of Fifty Acres set out where the Commissioners of the Colonies, Major Gookin and Mr. Eliott, and Indian Rulers shall choose within that Tract of Land, to be appropriated forever to the use of a free School for teaching the English and Indian Children there the English Tongue & other Sciences.

In witness whereof &c.

Witnessed by DANIEL GOOKIN,
NATHL. GOOKIN,
EDWD. WEST.

Signed as above.

Copy attested by DANIEL GOOKIN, Senr.

In answer to a motion in behalf of Sherborn Inhabitants this Court does ratify and allow of the exchange of Lands made as above said.

Attest, EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

At the same General Court held at Boston 28th of May 1679.

We whose names are subscribed being appointed by the Genl. Court to consider the case referring to the petition of Sherborn about exchanging of Lands with the Indians and other things contained in that Petition in pursuant whereof & obedience whereunto being desired by Sherborn the 1st. of the III. mo. 1677 when we expected major Gookin & Mr. Eleot with some Indians: but waiting some time only two Indians came with a paper from Mr. Eliot, by which we understood nothing was like to be done. But taking notice of the order referring to the purchasing the Plantation. We find there is but little or no Country Land near the place where they intend to sett their Meetinghouse.

‘79.—At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherburne
HISTORY OF SHERBURNE.

in reference to exchange of Land with Natick; for the paying of 200 bushels of Corn to boot &c. 18 persons present.

Daniel Morse for his Farm do engage 25 bushels of Indian Corn this year. Thomas Eames and that Corner of the Town 25 bushels. Henry Lealand 25 bushels, others assisting him—and in case the other quarter cannot be defrayed, then Obediah Morse do engage for the other quarter upon the desire and promise others to bear him out in either Corn in wheat or money; to be paid wheat at 5s. per bushel money at reasonable abatement.”

Ensign Bullen and Henry Lealand are chosen a Committee with the Selectmen to grant home Lots to those that are come amongst us.

Sherburne granteth to such as shall make a sawmill on a Brook about half a mile on this side the corner rock that was Natick bounds, the sum of 50 Acres of upland adjoining to that brook, and 3 or 4 Acres of Meadow if it may be found upon that Brook as may be convenient—also 10 acres of Swamp, the Cedar timber excepted. This Sawmill to be built by the end of 12 months, and be continued three years, or as the Selectmen then in being and the owners shall agree. So the Land to be settled to the owners.

79—9mo. 29—Thomas Sawin is accepted as one of the new Inhabitants at Chestnut Brook to take up a first Lot as may be convenient for building a Sawmill on it. This is where Mr. Galim Bullard now lives. The mill stood a few rods below where Mr. Isaac Cozens’s now stands. Some of the timber, placed there by Sawin, yet remains in the brook.

I here take the liberty to correct an error, in the His-
HISTORY OF SHERBURN.

tory of Natick. This Thomas Sawin purchased a tract of land at Natick, and the mill seats on the brook, which bears his name, and built the first corn mill there, in 1686. He, or his son John built a saw mill on Charles river, which was the second in that town, and which was afterwards moved up to the brook.

1679.—Ensign Saml. Bullen & George Fairbanks refusing to take the oath of Tytheingmen, the Selectmen in obedience to the Law do choose Thomas Holbrook to have inspection over those families at the widow Leland, Hopestill Lelands &c. 10 Families. And Joseph Morse as tytheingman to inspect over Eleazer Fairbanks and 5 other Families. N. B.—No Officers of that description have taken the Oaths of Office in this Town for many years past!

1680.—June 2d—At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherburne to attend the consultation of the honord Committee, Major Savage Mr.——with the other Gent. of that Committee—did then agree before them and engage to lay down of their lands for needful highways for the use of the Town, and to choose a Committee to lay them out.

October 12th.—Reckoned with Thomas Sawin for his work about the Meetinghouse For framing the Meetinghouse and providing Boards, Shingles and Clapboards, and making Windows and Doors according to bargain about the Meetinghouse. — — £ 50. 0. 0

For Boards and his work laying the Floor of do. 3. 0. 0

Daniel Morse, sen. John Hill, Benj. Bullard, John Death with the Selectmen are chosen to seat the Meeting when seats are made.

1681.—July 4th—George Fairbanks proposed to resign up to the Town all his rights and Interests in
Sherborn with all his former charges from the first petitioning provided they would free him from Sherburne.

1681.—8 mo. 27—Voted by the Inhabitants that there shall be a division of so much of our common Land as is judged meet for a dividend by Daniel Morse, Thomas Holbrook, Jonathan Whitney, John Death and Joseph Morse, If our honored Committee approve of it. Also a Committee was chosen to acquaint the honored Committee with the state of the Town as to the accommodation of the new Inhabitants, and intreat their power and advice which way this Dividend shall be laid out. Also the Committee to obtain a Survey to lay out this Land. Each man shall choose his Lot: and if 2, 3, 4 or more shall pitch upon one place, then they to draw Lots who shall have that Lot. Each Man that shall take up Land shall pay the charges of the laying out his Lot. If any Man do mislike his Lot: then he to choose his Lot out of any part of any of the Towns upland without circumference.

Boston, Nov. 3d, 1681.

Having perused and considered the first vote above written concerning a division of common Land in Sherborne. We the Committee for that Town do approve and confirm the same, And for the way therof We advise that it be first divided into 4 parts, to lye to each quarter of the Town according as they shall find it most convenient as to vicinity, respect being had to the quality of the land, that there may be an equality in each quarter as much as may be; Then each quarter or squadron of the Town to divide their part amongst themselves by lot. We further order, that before any division be made of upland, such new Inhabitants as have not had proportionable meadow
HISTORY OF SHERBURY.

already allowed them, shall have due shares allotted and laid out to them. And according to a former vote of the Town, we adjudge the new Inhabitants to pay two shillings per Acre upon their home lots towards public charges, and then for future to be equally rated with the rest.

(Signed) Thomas Savage, John Richards, William Stoughton.

1682.—Granted to John Awasamug 20 acres of Land to clear all Indian Titles that concern the Land exchanged between Natick & Sherburne.

A list of persons admitted to be Inhabitants of Sherborn since its incorporation with the dates of admission.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Admission Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ensign Samuel Ballen</td>
<td>Jan. 4</td>
<td>1674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward West</td>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>1677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jos. Morse</td>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>1678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Perry</td>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>1678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Allen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Eames Jan. 4</td>
<td>1674</td>
<td>1679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Death 11 mo. 1</td>
<td>1677</td>
<td>1679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Gleason, 8 mo. 5</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopestill Lealand 11-1</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1679</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ebenezer Lealand 11-1</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1679</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Twitchell</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1679</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Pratt sen. 2 mo.</td>
<td>1679</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>William Sheffield May</td>
<td></td>
<td>1679</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1684.—Decem. 8—Voted by the Inhabitants of Sherburn being assembled that the difference that is now between John Hill, J. Eames & John Death for catching Wolves it shall be referred to the Hond. Deputy Governor and Major Gookin to issue the Cause between them.

1694.—June 4—Edward West was chosen Schoolmaster for Sherburn.

1695.—Feb. 3d—At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherburne for to consider and conclude of a inlardgment of our Town bounds by our of some of Natick.
laud that joins to the farm of Henry Rice to make one Township.

It was concluded by the Inhabitants met this day that we shall go on to lay that tract of land that is taken in platt with an enlargement to the farm of Henry Rice, and those Farmers that are willing to join in our Township according as offers have been made to themselves as also to procure a surveyor to run a straight line from the south Corner of Henry Rice’s Farm to the Cartway crossing Cochituate Brook near where Course Brook meets with Cochituate Brook the charges of the whole to be borne by the Town of Sherburne. The Selectmen are chosen a Committee to see this work carried on for the benefit of the Town.

1700—June 25—The town of Framingham was incorporated and seventeen Families belonging to Sherborn were annexed to that town. A copy of the Grant of Framingham is preserved in a queer pamphlet, recently published, purporting to be a history of that town. This Pamphlet mentions “a controversy between Sherborn and the new town, respecting certain rights and privileges, which, without legal process, was at last settled to the mutual satisfaction of the parties.”

1705—6—Jan. 8th.—Then was granted by the Inhabitants 20£, money for the repairing and better finishing our Meetinghouse. The Committee chosen are Sergt. Sawin, Lt. Morse, Deacon Benoni Learned, Corpl. Isaac Learned and Richard Sanger.

1707.—May 28th—It was Ordered, That whosoever shall take bring or convey any Cattle from other towns to feed on the Commons in Sherburn, and such Cattle being taken up; the Person or persons who conveyed the
said Cattle into Town, or the owner of the Cattle, shall pay a fine of 5 shillings per head, the one moiety to the person who took up said Cattle and the other moiety to the use of the Town.

These orders were allowed of by the Court of quarter Sessions at Concord, June 17th 1707, till further order.

1708.—At a meeting of the Selectmen. Then was chosen and appointed widdow Mary West to take the care of and keep the Pound in said Town.

1708-9.—March 7th—At a Town meeting &c. It was then manifested to the town what had been offered to the Hon. General Court by our Representative Saml. Bullard concerning the seventeen Families on the north part of the Town: with the acceptance and Concurrence of the Court therewith; and was consented to by a general vote.

N. B. In consequence of the loss of the Seventeen Families which were incorporated with the Town of Framingham, the General Court granted 4000 Acres of Land lying westward of Mendon as an equivalent. These Lands were called “Sherburn New Grant.”

1709.—Dec. 5th—Voted that the Selectmen should agree with a Man or Men to keep School in three parts of the Town viz. Plain, Southend & Distymeadow, three months; and granted Eight pounds for its support.

1715.—June 17th—At a meeting &c. To state a Rule whereby the 4000 acres of Land late granted and confirmed to the said Town by the General Court in lieu of the 17 Families sett off to Framingham, may be orderly and regularly divided to and among the said freeholders & Inhabitants, and choose a Committee &c.

Voted, That the Invoice of Polls and ratable Estate
taken in August 1714, shall be the Rule whereby the said 4000 Acres of Land shall be proportioned to and among the present Inhabitants of the said Town being Freeholders and such other Inhabitants that have lived upon hire in the Town for some years past.

The abovementioned New Grant was divided amongst 105 Persons "being Freeholders and such other Inhabitants that have lived upon hire" &c. 17 of whom were of the name of Morse. December 29th 1721, the proprietors granted to Ephraim Hill and his heirs forever, 20 acres of Land in the said 4000 acres, in consideration of his being the first settled Inhabitant there.

Two further grants of Land 6700 acres were obtained of the General Court by purchase. In 1730, these Lands were divided among the Inhabitants of said Town in the same manner as the other Grant had been. They are described as being situated "at a place called New-Sherburne lying westward of Uxbridge." These lands retained this name, till they were incorporated, as a township, A. D. 1746.

1718.—Sept. 26—A Committee was chosen to inspect the timber at Badluck Swamp, within the late grant of 3000 acres of land, made by the general court to the town, and to impower them to prosecute any person, or persons, that shall presume to cut, make strip or pillage of any wood or timber upon said premises.

1720.—Feb. 20—A committee viz. 3 from the west and 3 from the east part of the town, were chosen to consult together and report at the next meeting, respecting the building of a new meetinghouse near dirty meadow bridge, and to deliberate and make report of what they may think may be for the best for the town to act upon
in the premises; and to propose any method, that may be likely to conduce to the peace and well being of the town refering to the concern of the meetinghouse, &c.

March 20. The report of the above committee was not accepted. It was then voted to run a direct line from Framingham corner to Dopping brook, and then the brook to be the bound till it come into Bogestow brook, and then that to be the bound till it come to Medway line.

1721—2.—Feb. 5. Voted by a majority that money be raised by way of rate, (sufficient with the old meetinghouse) to build a new meetinghouse within and upon that spot of land that the town formerly set apart for that purpose, near or upon the place the old meetinghouse is now standing.

1722.—Nov. 12. It being moved to reconsider and nullifie the above vote, the motion was negatived by a considerable majority.

1722—3.—March 6. The qualified voters met at the meetinghouse, and immediately adjourned to meet at “the platt seventy or six score Rods Easterly from Dirty meadow Bridge, or Thereabouts,” when and where it was voted unanimously by all present, “that a meetinghouse be built for the town to worship God in, on Lord’s Days upon a certain hill by the road side, where was laid a heap of stones to know the place by, &c. and made null and void and of no effect the former vote of the town above, and bearing date Feb. 5th, 1721—2, so that the town remain together for the strengthening thereof.”

1723.—Nov. 18th. The inhabitants “voted to nullifie and make void the above vote of March 6, in consideration that the Form and Situation of the Town is so ill Convenient, that one Meeting house Cannot be so placed
as to Suit the Whole town, but that in time there will be need of two to accommodate the Inhabitants." Also voted to build on or near the spot where the old meeting house is standing a new one, "ye Demensions to be about forty foot in length, about thirty two foot in bredth and about twenty foot post." Also voted "that the sum of one hundred and sixty pounds be Levied on ye Inhabi­tants by way of Rate upon Polls & Estates to be Em­proved towards the defreving the Charge of the said Building." A committee of five was chosen to carry the above vote into effect.

"At said Meeting after Sundry votes had passed, re­lating to the building, or rebuilding of ye publick Meet­ing house in Sherborn, &c. The following motion was made by Sundry of ye Principle Inhabitants of ye said town, Who are Dwellers on ye West side of Dopping Brook, in behalfe of themselves and others, on ye west side of the town of Sherborn, now Convened, The re­quest of us the Subscribers in behalf of Our Selves and the Other Western Inhabitants of ye town on the West Side of Dopping Brook; Do desire that the following arti­cles may be put to vote, viz. Whether they will not be free to Grant us ye Liberty of Having that part of ye Sheffield's Farm Lying on ye East Side of Boggestow Brook and Edmond Morses Land and possessions on ye East side of Dopping brook aforesaid over and above ye Dividing line projected between the Eastern and West­ern parts of the town from Colonel Buckminsters Cor­ner, &c. Then We will do all publick Duty to the town as heretofore 'till the Genll. Court Shall Set us off Ex­cept in ye Cost of Building or rebuilding the meeting
house, as it has been this day voted. And if so We'll ask for a Dividing line no further Eastward."

Jonathan Whitney
Timothy Lealad
Aaron Morse
Moses Adams jr.
Joseph Johnson
Ebenezer Pratt
Gershom Eames

John Goulding
Joshua Underwood
Thomas Jones
Isaac Adams
John Twitchell
John Larnit.

On the above the following vote is recorded. "The town by their vote do save to the said Western Inhabitants over Doppin Brook whencesoever they are sett off, their proportion in ye £160 this day granted towards ye Building ye publick Meeting House where it now stands." The remainder of the above motion passed in the affirmative, "for the sake of future peace and good Neighbourhood."

1724.—Dec. 3—"The Dwellers on the west side of Dopping brook, &c." were incorporated, as a town, by the name of Holliston. For an account of this town, since its incorporation, see Rev. Charles Fitch's Century Sermon delivered Dec. 4, 1826.

1725.—Sept. 13. "One hundred and forty pounds was granted to Defray ye Cost & Charge of Building & finishing the Meetinghouse in Sherborn."

Dec. 6th. Voted that "the room round the sides of the meetinghouse below (except the alley room) be Em­proved for the building of Pues, and that Such persons unto Whome the Town Should See reason to grant the liberty of the room for pues, Should do it at their own Cost." This grant was on condition that if any one, who had built a pew, should remove with his family to
dwell out of town, the room should revert to the town; and if any to whom this liberty was granted should neglect to build a pew, within one year, then the place granted for that purpose should revert to the town.

1726.—Sept. 26. Leave was granted to all persons in ye said town that are disposed to build stables or houses for their conveniences on Lords Day, to build on ye sides of ye Meetinghouse Common, so as not to Discommode the Same.

1726—7—Jan. 27—Voted that what persons payed in ye last Meetinghouse rate be a rule to seat ye meeting house by allowing but one head to an Estate having respect to old age; that the third seat below and ye fore front be equal in dignity and ye fourth seat below and ye second front be equal in dignity. Deacon Hopestill Lealand, Deacon Benoni Lerned and William Greenwood chosen a committee to seat the meetinghouse.

1727.—Dec. 29. A vote passed to build a schoolhouse 13 feet wide and 20 feet long, and to set it on Meetinghouse Common on the South easterly side of the Meetinghouse.

1728—April 16—A committee was chosen to sell ye school land in the town towards defraying the Charge of building and finishing the school house.

1728—9.—Jan. 6. The school lands were sold to Obediah Morse and Deacon Benoni Learned, the former paying forty and the latter ten pounds.

1731.—Dec. 8. Voted and granted that ten shillings be assessed in the next town rate to repair the old, or build new stocks.

1733.—Dec. 7th. Granted to Capt. Death the sum of ten shillings which is now in his hands to pay the
Cawse he was owt for Entering a petition at the Ginnral Court on the towns behalf relateing to their being Doomed for Not sending a representative.

Granted to Mrs. Rebecca Baker the sum of three pounds to make up a Deficiency in the late reverd. Mr. Bakers salary.

1736.—May 13. Several other grants were made to individuals, "to be paid out of the fine the Genll. Court sent back to the town."

1737.—May 13. Several ether grants made to individuals to be paid out "of the fine the Genll. Court returned to the town."

1751.—Sept. 10. Then the town granted 6 shillings to purchase a book for the town's use to record births and deaths in.

1752.—May 19. Isaac Coolege, Esq. was Chosen to serve for and represent the town of Sherburne in a Great and General Court or Assembly appointed to be Convened held and kept for his Majesty's service at Concord, upon the twenty Seventh day of may 1752, and so De die in diem during their session and sessions.

1758.—March 6. Granted thirteen pound six shillings and Eight pence to Recrutet he town stock of Ammunition. Granted to Elisha Kendal for ye Locks to Lock up the ammunition eight pence. Granted to the Selectmen that Ware at Expence in Geting of a fine for the towns not sending a Representative at the Last year 13s. 4d.

1754.—This year is particularly remarkable, for the prevalence of an uncommon disorder, which prevailed in this town and Holliston, denominated in the latter place, the Great Sickness, and, in Sherburne, the Memorable Mortality. The number of deaths recorded in January
is 12; February, 6; March 2; April 5. During the next six months no deaths are recorded. November 3, Dec. 5. For a particular description of the "symptoms, which peculiarly marked the disease," the reader is referred to the "Century Sermon, delivered in Holliston, by Rev. Charles Fitch, December 4, 1826."

The whole number who died of this fatal malady in Holliston, was 53; in Sherburne, between 20 and 30. This visitation upon Holliston has been considered by some, as a special judgment of Providence upon the inhabitants, for the litigious spirit, which was then prevalent among them, which fled before the pestilence, and which, since that time, has seldom made its appearance. What was the crying sin in Sherburne, that brought a similar visitation on the people of that place, I have never heard conjectured.

1767.—Oct. 17. Granted to be assessed on Polls and Estates to pay ye fine and Cost of a Presentment for not Having a Gramer School in said Town Nine Pounds.

1768.—Granted to Esqr. Perry 6s. & to Jos. Twitchell 18s. for the cost and charge they ware at in Giting a fine granted by sessions to the town to be spent in a Gramer School.

1768.—Feb. 15. Gave order to the Treasurer to pay Mr. Thomas Prentice, ye School Master and the several Persons that Borded him at the Several Parts of the Town their Proportion of Eighteen Pounds—the School-master to Have after the Rate of twenty six Pound thirteen shillings and four pence a year, and those that Borded him four shillings per week.

1769.—May 22. Voted to put in twenty feet in the length of the Meeting house, and that the Peace be put
in the middle. Granted one hundred pounds for this purpose: Chose a committee of five to See How they would Git it Done.

1770.—Jan. Joseph Bacon was engaged to enlarge the meeting house, and £150 lawful money granted to him, as a full compensation. This was done by sawing the house in two in the middle, moving the western half to the distance desired, and connecting the two parts together by a new piece.

1774.—May 19. The following men were chosen a committee of correspondence, Rev. Samuel Locke, Capt. Richard Sanger, Capt. Joseph Twitchell, Mr. Samuel Bullard, Mr. Daniel Whitney, Mr. Benjamin Fasset and Mr. Jedediah Phipps. This Mr. Phipps was employed by the provincial government, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, to manufacture

"Villainous salt petre——
Which many a good tall Briton hath laid low."

July 8th.—The Selectmen and commissioned officers examined and tried the Town's stock of Ammunition and there is 200 lbs. of Powder, 150 lbs. of Bullets and 295 flints. One cask of powder bought A.D. 1702, one do. 1722, one do. without date, two do. 1774. Lead 200 lbs. bought, Sept. 1774.

August 24.—Chose Capt. Richard Sanger, Mr. Samuel Bullard and Mr. Benjamin Fasset to meet committees of the several towns in this county, on the 30th instant.

Sepr. 20.—Mr. Samuel Bullard and Mr. Jonathan Lealand were chosen a committee to send to Concord — Voted to git a six pound field piece, or cannon, and chose Joshua Lealand, Daniel Whitney and Benjamin Bullard to procure it. Granted £18 to procure said piece and necessaries.
Oct. 18.—Voted to accept the three pieces of cannon, which the committee procured instead of a six pounder, that the committee prove them at the town's expense, and fire the biggest, as soon as may be, with all the necessaries that may be needed.

1775.—Jan. 9. Chose Mr. Benjamin Fasset and Capt. Richard Sanger to represent the town in Congress at Cambridge, on the 1st day of Feb. next. Voted to consent to the Resolves of the Continental and Provincial Congresses—-to give a bounty to encourage the raising of sheep and flax—-that the Constables pay the Province money to Henry Gardner, Esq. of Stow—-to choose a committee of Inspection, to see that the Resolves of the Congress be complied with.

Feb. 6—Chose a Committee of five to receive donations and subscriptions for the poor people of Boston.

March 6.—Voted that those that have and shall inlist as minute men, to the number of fifty three be a company intire by themselves—to grant eight pound to provide ammunition for the cannon—that the cannon be under the care and direction of the militia officers of this town; that the cannon be shot three times with powder and ball at the cost of the town.

May 24.—Chose Daniel Whitney Esq. to represent the town in Congress at Watertown, to be held on 31st instant.

Oct 2d.—Granted £30 for the support of the poor of Boston.

1776.—March 5. Voted to choose a committee of five to procure places for the poor of Boston to live in.

May 21.—Voted, that if the Hon. Continental Congress should in their wisdom declare the Colonies in-
dependent of great Britain, we, the inhabitants of the
town of Sherburne will, with our lives and fortunes, en-
deavour to support them in that measure; and we do here-
by instruct Mr. Daniel Whitney, now Chosen our rep­
resentative for the year ensuing to act in conformity to
the above said vote.

July 5.—Voted to give £7 per man, in addition to the
bounty that is given by the colony, to twenty one men
that shall enlist to go to Canada.

August 26.—The last vote was reconsidered. Voted
that the Selectmen procure a hospital for inoculating for
Small-pox, if they can get liberty from the court.

1776.—Nov. 28. Voted that the present General
Court of this State should form such a Constitution and
form of Government, as they judge will most conduce to
the happiness, peace and safety of the Inhabitants there­
of, and that the same be made publick for the inspection
and approbation of the Inhabitants of this State, before
the ratification thereof.

The votes of the Inhabitants of this town, during the
whole of the revolutionary struggle, prove that they were
animated, to a high degree with that spirit, which achiev­
ed our independence. These votes are too numerous to
be published in a pamphlet of this kind, and there is in
them so much sameness, as to render them to most read­
ers uninteresting and tiresome. They relate to hiring
men for the army; granting money to pay them, and
maintain their families in their absence; procuring arms,
ammunition, clothing and provisions for those in service,
and for promoting all the great and good objects, which
presented themselves in those times of perilous magna­
nimity.
As soon as the news reached them of the massacre at Lexington, on the 19th of April 1775, the minute men proved themselves worthy of their title, by marching immediately to meet the assailants, and the rest of the able bodied men, of all ages, followed with all possible alacrity. But the distance was so great and the route of the enemy so uncertain, that they had not the satisfaction of meeting and helping to chastise them. They, however, furnished their quota to assist in the besieging of Boston; and a number of them displayed their heroism, in the battle of Bunker hill. Four of these are living, viz. Capt Benjamin Bullard, now of Hopkinton, John Ware, now of Deerfield, Deacon William Clarke and Mr. Barak Leland, still residing in Sherburne.

How many were engaged in actual service, in the various campaigns, during this arduous and successful contest, and who they all were, I am not able to ascertain. Two of them are worthy to be particularly mentioned with honour and commiseration. Jonathan Holbrook and Joseph Ware were wounded at the battle of White Plains. The same cannon ball deprived the former of his right arm, and the latter of his left. Holbrook survived but a short time, and was buried near the scene of action. Ware returned home; has been a very useful citizen, as a teacher of youth, surveyor, town officer and magistrate; and is now living, at the age of 90 years.

1786.—This year was remarkable on account of an insurrection, in the western counties of Massachusetts, in opposition to the government of the Commonwealth; commonly called "Shays's rebellion." On this occasion the inhabitants of Sherburne proved themselves to be firm friends of liberty and order, by readily furnishing their pro-
portion of officers and privates, to join the troops under
the command of General Lincoln, who marched on a
winter campaign, and speedily gained an almost bloodless
victory.

Mr. John Ware acted as adjutant in this expedition.
Being sent with orders to a distance from Lincoln’s
army, he stopped for refreshment, at a tavern in, or near
Brookfield, where there happened to be a small party of
insurgents, who took him prisoner and confined him in an
upper room of the house, while they kept guard below.
In the course of the day, Ware saw from his prison a
company of cavalry approaching, which he soon recognized
as being on the side of government. He hailed them
from a window of his apartment and made them acquainted
with his situation. The house was immediately surround­
ed, the Shaysites surrendered at discretion, and W. was
enabled to accomplish the object of his mission.

1787.—Dec. 10. Daniel Whitney, Esq. was chosen
a delegate to represent the town in the convention, to be
held in Boston, on the 2d Wednesday of January next,
for the purpose of approving, or disapproving the Consti­
tution, or Frame of Government for the United States of
America. Voted, to give the delegate instructions, which
conclude thus.

"But, sir, we mean not to give you positive instruc­
tions, relative to your voting for or against the reported
Constitution. When assembled, you will have the collect­
ed wisdom of the State before you; will hear all that can
be said on the subject, and consequently be able to form
a judicious opinion. And, having the fullest confidence
in your political wisdom, integrity and patriotism, we cheer­
fully, on our part, submit the all important question to
your decision. And we beseech the Allwise Governor of the world to take the Convention under his holy influence, that so the result may be the best good of the people of the United States of America."

This truly honorable member was one of the majority, who voted in favour of this invaluable instrument.

1793.—Dec. 2d. A vote was asked whether the town will accept of the bell, on the terms proposed by the subscribers, viz. That the town shall hang the said bell handsomely, and cause it to be rung, as usual in towns; then said bell to remain for the use of the town, so long as they shall remain a religious society. Passed in the affirmative.

1797.—Nov. 6. Voted to make up the wages of the militia, that shall be detached from this town, according to a resolve of Congress, ten dollars a month, provided they march, and also one dollar bounty, whether they march or not, for non-commissioned officers and privates. Also to give them two dollars more bounty, if they march out of the Commonwealth.

1807.—Voted to give the officers and soldiers, that are or may be detached, as our proportion of one hundred thousand militia, ordered by the President of the United States, to be detached and held in readiness to march at a moment's warning, at the rate of twelve dollars per month, including the pay allowed them by the U. S. provided they are called into actual service.

1808.—Dec. 11. Voted to allow and pay to the officers and soldiers, that were detached, in the course of the present month, as our proportion of one hundred thousand militia, &c. such sums, as shall, together with the pay allowed them by the U. States, be equal to twelve-
dollars per month, during the time they shall be in actual service.

1814.—Voted to allow and pay to the soldiers that are or may be detached from this town, previous to the first Monday of March next, to serve in the armies of the U. S. such sums as shall, together with the pay allowed them by the State and General government, be equal to $15 per month, during the time they shall be in actual service. Also voted to pay the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, the same sum granted to the soldiers, in addition to the pay allowed them by the State and General government.

1820.—Hon. Calvin Sanger was chosen a delegate to meet in convention for the purpose of revising the Constitution of this Commonwealth.

N. B. The compiler has been much more particular in making copious extracts from the ancient records, which are now scarcely legible, and ere long must be wholly obliterated, than from those of more modern date, which bid fair to last for centuries, and to enable some historian, yet unborn, to glean from them such facts, as shall be interesting, when they shall have become ancient.

Eclesiastical History.—There are no Church Records found, separate from those of the town, previous to the settlement of Rev. Mr. Porter, their third minister. These commence October 27, 1734. At what time a church was formed here does not appear in any document, which I have examined. Some have supposed, on perusing the town records, that the church and congregation formerly voted in convention, in ministerial matters.
However this may have been, the church members seem not to have considered themselves as “chosen out of the world,” as the primitive disciples were, but acknowledged themselves to be a part of the world; and did not confine the congregation merely to hearing, believing and paying the pastor; but permitted all, who contributed to his support, to have a voice in his election. I have extracted most of the votes, relative to the settlement and maintenance of the several ministers, which have come into my possession, and here present them to the reader in chronological order.

1677—8th. Month 26th day. Then was consultation and consideration in way of preparation for a Minister &c.
Voted to raise thirty pounds per year by the present Inhabitants, one third part to be paid in money, and two thirds to be paid in current country pay as may be raised by us. N. B. Only 15 persons were present at the meeting when the above vote passed.

1779.—13th. mo. In reference to the settling a Minister; Voted, that we shall pay to the Maintainance of the Minister £40 per year by the Inhabitants; £20 in money & £20 in good country pay as is most suitable to the Minister and to build a suitable house.

Voted, that Daniel Morse, sen. Thomas Eames, Henry Lealand, and Edward West be chosen as a committee to act as the town for the settling the Minister amongst us, Mr. Gooking or some other Minister as God shall direct.

Voted, to Ewd. West that in case he do stay in Sherburne one year from the date hereof then he shall have that land and meadow formerly granted to him by the Town, in the same state as the Petitioners land is; if
the Town have not a Minister settled. If there be a Minister settled, then to be in the same state and condition with other Inhabitants.

July 18th.—At a meeting &c. to choose a Committee to treat with Mr. Nathaniel Gookings to settle amongst us. Then was chosen this Committee, Daniel Morse, sen. George Fairbanks, Thomas Eames, Ensign Bullen, to act representing the Town to engage & settle a Minister amongst us.

7 mo. 18th.—Voted, That this Committee Capt. Prentice, Deacon John Stone, & Mr. William Bond which are chosen by the Councell 12th present month to act according to the Law published since the last session, in 19th this present month this Committee concerning the place they have determined for the settled place for the Meeting house. For their satisfaction desiring should be voted by the Inhabitants of the town, the place voted was and thereby determined on a hill. Mr. the Committee and the Inhabitants made a second stand to look about on that account near Edwards Plain.

8 mo. 29.—Then was chosen four Men to be undertakers for ourselves in building a suitable House for a Minister, viz. Edward West, Thomas Eames, Joseph Morse & John Hill, these 4 to call others to assist in that work as they shall see meet, and as Men are capable to help. Also, that all shall bear equal charges on their house Lots according to their proportion of Acres.

And concerning the Ministers House that is to be built it is voted and concluded that it shall be built according as is agreed with the 4 Men chosen as undertakers to see it done. The length 38 feet the breadth 20 feet.

It was also concluded that the undertakers shall see
that this House be covered and inclosed by the last of May next; and that this House be thoroughly finished by the last of September next.

Also, that the place concluded upon by the Committee for the Meetinghouse near Edwards plain be reserved for the accommodation thereof to the quantity of 20 rods square as may suit.

1630.—9th mo. 15. The Committee that formerly was chosen and impowered to act as the town for the settling Mr. Gookin or some other Minister as God should direct, making their return to the town that except the Inhabitants do agree to what was done by that Committee in '79, 7 mo. they see no likelyhood of obtaining Mr. Daniel Gookin to settle among us.

Voted, that John Hill, Thomas Holbrook & George Fairbanks is desired to assist a Committee to settle a gospel Orthodox Minister on the place obtained for a Minister according to what is voted by the town for Ministers maintenance &c. Edward West chosen Town Clerk.

1681.—Voted, that Daniel Morse, senr. Joseph Morse and Edward West are chosen to treat with Mr. Cusheon or some other Minister to settle in Sherburne. And Thomas Holbrook was chosen to go to speak to Mr. Cusheon for an answer from him in reference to his settling in Sherburne.

1681.—April 29. Whereas we the Inhabitants of Sherborn having formerly applied ourselves to the Rev. Daniel Gookin to be our settled Minister of Sherborn, he was pleased to give us his mind and word and writing to be willing to come amongst us, provided that we could agree to have the Meetinghouse on that place appointed by Capt. Prentice, but some not willing for it, did put us upon further trouble and the impeding that work amongst us wherefore having a meeting
of the Inhabitants & proposals being made if we would adhere to the
settling a Minister on that place commonly amongst us called the Lot
place, we, being desireous of not only the setteling a Minister amongst
us, but also peace and concord, did yield to the motion, and made
choice of some of those (that did oppose our former proceeding) to
act accordingly: but now we perceiving their fruitless endeavors in
that respect, and being desireous, if God permit to have one amongst
us to break the bread of life to us and ours, and especially the Rev.
Mr. Daniel Gookin, do if authority permit of it, bind ourselves to
these particulars under written in the full sum of Ten pounds Sterling
to be paid by us upon every wilful neglect or refusal.

1st, That application be made to the Rev. Mr. Daniel Gookin, to be
the settled Minister of Sherborn, by those three Men the town have
lately made choice of to Settle a Minister in Sherborn viz. Daniel
Morse, senr. Joseph Morse & Edward West, with as much speed as
may be.

2d, That in case Mr. Gookin do agree to come amongst us, we do
engage to pay to him annually as the Town in general have voted
viz. twenty pounds in money, and twenty pounds in country pay, such
as we raise among ourselves, and such as the Minister wants, at such
prises as go from man to man amongst ourselves: as also when the
Minister hath a family or the people increase in the Town by the ad-
dition of new Families considerably, then to augment his allowance
and this to continue with the help of such as may by Law be brought
in to pay, during our abode in Sherborn.

3d, That the house for the Minister, in the place where it now
stands, be fitted and finished conveniently to dwell in, and one Acre
of Land to be broken up and fenced in a town charge; and this
House and Land as it is now in part lotted out shall be given to him
the said Mr. Gookin, and his heirs forever, provided he do engage
himself to us to be our settled constant Minister together with his in-
terest in common Lands as other inhabitants.

4th, We do agree that when we do build our Meetinghouse it shall
stand where it was ordered and agreed, near Edwards Plain.

Finally, We do agree that all those above written charges shall be
raised according to the Town vote viz. by heads & estates ratable in
the country Invoice, and do also agree that all forfeitures that shall be
made as above said shall be paid to the Minister towards his yearly
HISTORY OF SHERBURNE.

maintenance. To these above said particulars we do bind us and our heirs in the sum above said firmly and do make of the Men above written to see to the execution of this agreement of ours according to the true intent thereof. In witness whereof we have putt to our hands, dated 29th April 1681.

Daniel Morse, Jr.  Thos. Gleason
John Hill Edward West
Thos. Holbrook Joseph Morse
Moses Adams Benoni Learned
Ephraim Bullen Nathl. Morse Jr.
John Death Daniel Morse, Jr.
Thos. Sawin Ebenezer Lealand
John Eames Jonathan Morse
Isaac Lealand John Perry
Zachari Padleford Jonathan Whitney
Obadiah Morse Ebenezer Fairbanks.

Benj. Bullard objected to the 4th Article.

I whose name is here subscribed do freely and fully engage to remain in the work of the Ministry at Sherborn so long as I can live in said place so as to attend my work without distraction.

DANIEL GOOKIN, Jr.

No date. Probably 1683 or 1684.

1707.—May 29. At a meeting of the Selectmen it was orderd, that each person in town, for the Pool or Pools he or she is rated for shall cut and carry to the house of the Rev. Mr. Gookin, one half Cord of wood per poll; and each and every person who neglect to perform as afore-said shall pay a Fine of 2 Shillings per poll to the use of said Minister.

Oct. 23.—Voted to hire a minister while March next and that Mr. Baker be the man to supply Mr. Gookings Pulpit, now in the time of his restraint, if he may be obtained.

1710.—Dec. 11th. At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherborn Capt. Joseph Morse, & Deacon Benoni Learned, Moderators.
Then it was put to the Inhabitants by the said Moderators that inasmuch as the work of the Ministry is apparently two hard for our Rev. and worthy Pastor Mr. Daniel Gookin, he being a Crazie and infirm man and well stricken in years, whither they were willing to give the Rev. Mr. Baker a call or invitation to settle with us in this Town in the work of Gospel Service as an assistant to our Rev. Pastor aforesaid; and after some debate on the matter it being put to try the minds of the Inhabitants, it was voted very fully on the affirmative to give the Rev. Mr. Daniel Baker a call to settle in Gospel Service as an assistant to our Rev. Pastor aforesaid. Voted on the affirmative.

Also it was voted at said meeting To give the said Mr. Baker a yearly salary of 50 pounds money during the life of our Rev. Pastor and after his decease to augment Mr. Baker's Salary if need be.—Voted in the affirmative.

Attest, Jos. Morse, Benoni Learned Moderators.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Sherborn April 2d, 1711. Then the Rev. Mr. Daniel Gookin was pleased to exhibit the following.

"I have formerly as is well known, and several of the leading Men of the Town can testify, yielded to sink ten Pounds of the country part of my Salary for the encouraging of the Town to proceed in yt. weighty design that they have been lately upon, and are not yet come to a full conclusion about—but it hath been signified to me that what I did (and that freely) would not be accepted of by those to whom the offer was made, or at least it would not be accepted by the Town: but if I thought it would not be imagined that I had a mind to force the Town to an acceptance of it, I would say that I do freely give back to the Town ten pounds of the country part of my yearly Salary, which they may improve for the encouragement of the Rev. Gentleman whom they are treating withall with reference to a settlement: in case they can obtain him, otherwise if I must still carry on the whole work, as formerly, I do desire, and it is best meet that it should return to me and be paid to me as formerly—thus wishing Heaven to guide you in what is this day before you, I take leave and rest your assured friend.

DANIEL GOOKIN."

This being publickly read at the said meeting it was gratefully accepted of by the Town.

Attest, Wm. RIDER, Town Clerk.

1711.—Sept. 17th. At a meeting to consider upon some proposals that the Rev. Mr. Baker hath made to
said Town about the advancement of his salary after the Rev. Daniel Gookins decease. Voted to advance Rev. Daniel Bakers Salary to the sum of seventy Pounds per Annum immediately after the decease of our Rev. Pastor.

These with other inducements as Ist. the sincere concurrence of ye Rev. Daniel Gookin with the church & Town in ye above mentioned affair; as also the generosity of the good People of said Sherburne in subscribing liberally towards building and settling of the Rev. Daniel Baker aforesaid together with the land yt is offered to him for a settlement and the good Council and advice of several of the Rev. Elders our common Friends and well-wishers) hath prevailed with the Rev. Gentleman to give the following Answer to the Invitation given him to settle in the Gospel service in said town.

To the Committees of the Church and Town of Sherborn, To be communicated to the Church and Town, Reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ. It is now a considerable time since you have given me an invitation to settle with you in the glorious Gospel of peace, and it is with no small importunity that you have for some time pressed for an Answer to your desires. The weightiness of the work you have asked me to engage in, with some other things I have had under consideration, will atone for my delaying an answer so long. I hope I have not been backward in seeking direction from the All-wise Counsellor, nor have I been wanting in asking the advice of several of the Rev. Elders, our common Friends and well-wishers, whose Counsel I highly esteem. I am at length, (though not without a deep sense of the weightiness of the work you have called me unto, and my own utter insufficiency therefor and to answer what possibly you may expect, for who is sufficient for these things!) persuaded to except of and embrace your Invitation, acknowledging the encouragement you have proposed. And do signify to you my resolution (in convenient time) to come and abide with you in Gospel service so long as you shall afford me gospel Encouragement, which, as you will doubtless conclude I should charitably believe you will not fail to do, so you will not take it amiss, that I assure you that I expect it. Thus promising myself that you will not fail to ask for me at the throne of Grace all suitable and seasonable enlargements of the Holy Spirit of Grace, that I may come to you in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel, and that all my ministrations amongst you may be con-
tinually accompanied with the allpowerfull influences of God's Spirit as a means to the conversion and edification of Souls. To the gracious guidance of the same holy Spirit I commend you, and rest yours in Gospel service.

DANIEL BAKER.

Dedham, Dec. 29th 1711.

1711-12.—Jan. 14th. At a meeting, Voted that Rev. Daniel Baker's Answer be very gratefully excepted and the Town renders thanks to him for his good intentions towards them, and do freely concur and take up with his said Answer.

At the same meeting a committee was chosen to take care about what is subscribed towards the Building for Rev. Daniel Baker, that it be regularly and orderly performed.

1731.—June 16. A committee of three viz. Deacon Greenwood, William Lealand and John Holbrook to take Care for the Supply of the pulpit untill ye Town Com in to Sum other methord; Then was granted the sum of Fifty pounds for the Supply of ye Pulpit.

Sept. 27.—It was put to vote which of the Gentlemen who had of late supplyed the pulpit, they wold here further in ye Supply of ye Pulpit, if they might be obtained, And Mr. Uarney had the majority of votes.

Dec. 10.—Granted the sum of Sixty Pounds for the Support, and to pay those ministers which supply the Pulpit with preaching.

1732.—Jan. 26. It being tryed by a vote whether ye Town inclined to hire som other Gentleman in the pulpit and it passed fully in the affirmative.

1732.—April 25. The Churches Choice of Rev. John Warren to be their Gospil minister was presented to the Town for their Concurrence. And the Town by
a full Vote Excepted of the Churches Choice; And Lt. Joseph Ware, Dea. Greenwood and Samuel Holbrook ware Chosen a Committee to Treat with Mr. John Warren and report what the Town has dun, &c. At this meeting twenty six voters entred their dissent to the above proceedings, said meeting being accounted irregular and Not Legal. And they observe; Further more We do not Concur with the Choice the Churches this Day.

Oct. 12.—Then it was put to the town to know their minds whither they would accept of the Churches Choice of ye Rev. Mr. Ward Cotton to be their Gospel Minister, and the town unanimously manifested their acceptance of the Churches choice of the Reverend gentleman aforesaid by written votes. The town made choice of a committee to join with that of the church to treat with Mr. Cotton &c. Nothing further appears respecting Mr. Cotton on the records. At this meeting the town voted one hundred and twenty pounds, to supply the town with preaching, &c.

1733.—June 14. At said meeting Mr. Nathaniel Walter was chosen the Gospel minister of said Church and town by a majority of votes—Also a committee was chosen to treet with Mr. Walter, &c. Nothing further respecting Mr. W. on record.

Sept. 28th—At a meeting of the Church in Sherborn with the rest of the freeholders and other Inhabitants of said Town Duly qualified to Vote in Town affairs And to joyn Ishue or Concur With the Church in the choice of a Gospel minister—The Church and Town Unanimously voted and made choice of Ebenezer Hancock to be their Gospel minister, and a committee was chosen to Give him an Invitation or call to settle with us in the Work and service, &c. Nothing further on record respecting Mr. Hancock.
1734.—April 25. The Church and Town by a Unanimous Vote made Choice of Mr. Samuel Porter to be their Gospel Minister. And voted three hundred pounds in Bills of Publick credit towards his Settlement. Also voted one hundred and thirty pounds per annum for his Salary in Bills of credit on this province according to their present value: and to rise and fall as Silver money doth With the Marchants of this province—Provided he Settle with us, in the Gospel ministry and so long as he Continues in the Same.

Mr. John Holbrook, Capt. John Death, Lieut. Isaac Coolidge, Mr. James Whitney & Ensign Eleazer Fairbanks were Chosen a Committee to joyn with the Churches Committee To Treet with the Reverd. Gentlm. Chosen as afore sd. And to give him an Invitation, or call to Settle in Said Town in the Work and Service of the Gospel Ministry.

July 16—Voted that the Revd. Mr. Samuel Porter’s Yearly Salary Shall be one hundred and Thirty ounces of Silver, or the amount thereof in Bills of Public Credit And the Salary Annually to Rise and fall according to the Standard of Silver money at Twenty Shillings per ounce.

August 20—The Church and Town Voted that the fourth Wednesday in October next Shall be the Day appointed to ordain the Revd. Mr. Samuel Porter, and granted Twenty five pounds to be Levied on Polls and Estates by Way of vote, according to the rules prescribed in the Law for the Support of the Ministers and Messingers at the ordination, &c.

1746.—Nov 12. Then ye town Voted to pay Mr. Wilson, for Preaching (in the time of ye Revd. Mr. Por-
er’s sickness) out of money returned to ye Town for not sending a representative.

1749.—Octr. 31. Then the town voted that the Revd. Mr. Porter’s Sallary for this present year Shall be four hundred Pounds Old tenor. —Then a vote was asked whither the women should sit with their chairs in the alleys of the meeting house and it passed in the Negative.

1759.—Sepr. 9. A certificate was sent from the Baptist Church of Christ in Boston, declaring Mr. Jonathan Partridge of said Shurburne to be a member of said Church, under the care of Mr. Ephraim Bounde, Elder of sd. Church.

Sepr. 10.—Then the town voted that Mr. Porter’s Sallary should be this present year 66 pound 13 shillings and 4 pence.

1758.—Oct. 2d. Granted twenty seven pounds and fifteen shillings to fulfill and Complete what remained due from the town for the Sallary of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Porter Late Deced. At the said meeting the town granted £66 13s. 4d. to supply the town with Preaching for time to Come. At the above said meeting the town made Choice of Deacon James Whitney, Deacon Jonathan Russell and Mr. Arthur Clark a Committee to supply the Pulpit in sd. town.

Decr. 18.—Voted that the committee Which Ware appointed to supply the Pulpit be Desired to Ingage Mr. Minot for 1 or 2 months Longer to preach in sd. town.

1758-9.—Jan. 29. The Church and town unitedly made Choice of Mr. Steven Minot to be their Gospel minister by a Unanemos Vote, and offered £133 6s. 8d. towards his settlement; and £66 13s. 4d. for his Sallary.

June 29.—The town Voted that the Committee allrea-
dy Chosen are desired to engage Mr. Lock to supply the
town with preaching, or some other gentleman or gen-
tlemen until there shall be another meeting on that af-
fair.

August 15.—The town concurred with the act of the
Church of Christ in Sherburne in choosing Revd. Samuel
Lock for their Gospel minister, by a majority of votes,
and voted £133 6s. 8d. for his encouragement to settle with
us; also £73 6s. 8d. per annum for his salary, provided
he settle with us, in the Gospel ministry, and so long as
he continues in the same. At the aforesaid meeting the
town chose as a committee to join with the churches com-
mittee Dr. Bela Lincoln and John Morse to treat with
Revd. Samuel Lock.

Revd. Samuel Lock by his answer in ye affirmative, on
September 23d 1759 manifested his exception of the
choice above mentioned.

Octr. 11.—In town meeting voted that Wednesday the
7th day of November next be the day for the ordination
of Revd. Samuel Lock into the office and service of the
Gospel ministry in Sherburne by a majority of votes.
Also at ye said meeting the town chose Capt. Edward
Learned, Capt. Amos Coollidge & Mr. Samuel Sanger a
committee to provide entertainment for the Revd. coun-
cel at ye sd ordination. and voted that the selectmen
are desired to draw money out of the town treasury
so much as they judge needfull for ye sd. entertainment.

1760.—Decr. 3d. The selectmen gave order to the
Town Treasurer to pay Mr. Stephen Minot's Heirs what
Remd due to him for preaching.

1763.—March 7. Voted to pay Mr. Brooks for
preaching when Mr. Locke was sick.

May 7.—Mr. Benjamin Whitney, Deacon Jonathan
Russell and Ebenezer Twitchell were chosen to supply the town with preaching, and voted that the committee provide three young ministers to preach one month each as soon as may be convenient. Granted £40 for the purpose.

Dec. 3.—Voted to pay Timothy Hilliard his account for preaching at Sherburn.

July 9.—Voted to have the Committee engage Mr. Brown four Saborths more than they have already.

August 27.—Voted that the town were determined to come to the choice of a minister before they heard any more on probation; and that the committee Imply Mr. Brown till the town come to the choice, and voted £30 to pay for preaching.

Sepr. 19.—The town concurred with the Church by choosing Rev. Elijah Brown their Gospell minister by a majority of votes. Granted £160 settlement; £73 6s. 4d. pr. annum salary. Chose a committee to Joyn with the Churches committee to treat with Rev. Elijah Brown.

Nov. 8.—Voted that the last Wednesday of this instant Novr. be the day for the ordination of Rev. Elijah Brown; chose Dr. Leavit to entertain the Counsel. Also voted that the town will not make a publick entertainment.


March 4.—Granted to Samuel Sanger for keeping ministers horses £2 6s. to Dr. Josiah Levet for providing for ordination £10 2s. 3d.

1772.—March 2. Voted to have the town Treasurer
let out the money granted by the Corporation of Harford Collidge and the Province Treasurer to the town, on good security; being in all £51, 7s. 4d.

1809.—August 22. From this time the "Parish Records" have been kept in a book, separate from the Town Records, from which most of the following extracts are made.

1814.—August 29. Voted to hire some person to assist the Revd. Elijah Brown, in the discharge of his ministerial duties, during his feeble state of health, and granted $100 for this purpose.

1815.—May 23. A vote, of the same tenor with the last was past, and $240 granted for hiring Preaching.

1816.—March 4. A vote similar to the above was past, money granted and a committee chosen to hire preaching.

Sept. Monday the day of——A vote was asked whether the Parish would concur with the Church of Christ in this place, in giving the Revd. Ephraim Randall an invitation to settle with them, as their Gospel minister, and it passed in the negative.

Nov. 4.—Voted and granted $75 to defray the expenses of the Funeral of the late Revd. Elijah Brown.

Biographical Sketches.—Daniel Gookin, the first minister in Sherburne, was a native of Cambridge, and son of the celebrated Superintendent of the Indians, who bore the same name, and was the indefatigable friend and companion of the apostolic Eliot, in his missionary labors. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1669. I have found no account of the time of his ordination. He is mentioned with respect by our early historians, as one,
who possessed the same zeal for civilizing and evangelizing the Indians, which animated Eliot and his venerable father. Eliot thus writes, respecting Rev. Daniel Gookin, to the Hon. Robert Boyle, April 22, 1694.

Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Daniel Gookin unto the service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the College; he hath taught and trained up two classes of young scholars unto their commencement; he is a man whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting house. He holdeth a Lecture in Natick meeting house once a month; which many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath fore prepared. We apprehend this will (by God’s blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue.

A humble stone, in the central grave yard, marks the spot where his remains repose, and bears the following inscription.

Here lyes ye Body
of ye Reverend DANIEL GOOKIN,
Pastor of ye Church of Christ at Sherbon.
Deed. January ye 8th. 1717--18,
in ye 68th. year of his age.
Daniel Baker, the second minister, was a native of Dedham, and graduated at Harvard University in 1706. He was settled as colleague with Mr. Goodwin; but the precise time of his ordination is not ascertained. His communication, accepting the invitation of the Church and Town, is dated, Dec. 29, 1711. He died May 14th, 1731. His age is not mentioned on the register of deaths. Allowing him to have been 20, when he was graduated, he died at the age of 45.

A large stone slab, of the grindstone kind, was placed over his grave, in the central burying ground, supported by brick work. A slate with a suitable inscription, was let into the slab; but the brick work has crumbled away, the slab has fallen, and the slate is lost, or destroyed.

By the side of this dilapidated monument, a modest stone stands erect with this inscription.

Here rests the precious dust of

Mrs. Mary Baker,
Consort of ye Revd. Mr. Daniel Baker,
Pastor of ye Church in Sherbourne and
Daughter of Coll. Edmund Quincey,
late of Brantrey, Esquire.
Died, March 29th, 1716,
in ye 32d year of her age.

The only publication of Mr. Baker, that I have seen or heard of, is entitled, “Two Sermons, the First preached at Dedham, October 5th 1726. On a day of Prayer with Fasting there, to ask the Pourings out of the Spirit of Grace on Them, and especially on their Children:—The Other—Early Piety the Duty and Interest of Youth. As it was shown in A Sermon preached at Sherbourn, on May
HISTORY OF SHERBURNE.

10, 1727. Being a day set apart there, for Prayer with Fasting. To implore the Effusion of God's Spirit on the Rising Generation. By Daniel Baker, A. M. Pastor of the Church of Christ in Sherburne.—Boston, Printed for D. Henchman, 1728."

This is an 18mo volume of 164 pages. The first six pages are occupied with an address "To the Reader," signed by five venerable men, who were then ministers of the several towns, annexed to their names—Joseph Baxter, Medfield; Jonath. Townsend, Needham; Samuel Dexter, Dedham; Nathan Buckman, Medway; Oliver Peabody, Natick.

The next 48 pages contain the sermon preached at Dedham, from Chron. XXVIII, 9. Then follows a dedication, "To Those under my Pastoral Care," occupying 6 pages, and signed by Daniel Baker. The remaining 64 pages contain the Sermon preached at Sherburne, from Proverbs III. 1, 2.

I shall extract a few paragraphs from the Dedication mentioned above, as a specimen of the author's style of writing, and as throwing some light on the situation of the minister and people of this town, at the time it was written.

"Beloved Friends,—It is now more than Seventeen Years since you first Invited me to Preach to you, and above Fourteen since my Inauguration into the Office of Pastor to you, as an Assistant to my worthy Predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Gookin; whose Company and Help in the great Work I had undertaken, I so much prized, that might I have yet enjoyed it, I have often thought that I could have been contented with the small Salary you first gave me. But a righteous God has ordered it otherwise: However much to My loss, yet undoubtedly to His great Gain and Advantage. It is now more than Ten Years that I have had the whole Pastoral Care of you. And it has been in
Weakness and in much Fear that I have been with you. Yet I have this to Comfort and Encourage me, that I have reason to hope that my Preaching has not been altogether in vain to you. God has (and to Him be all the Glory) since my coming amongst you, made a very considerable Addition to His Church; and I am willing to hope of such as shall be Saved. Moreover, it has been no small Encouragement to me that my Labours have found so much Acceptance with you. One Instance of which you have now given, in your forwardness to be at the Charge of Printing those Sermons which were Preached on Days of Fasting and Prayer for You and Others.

It is well known that it is owing to the Repeated and Undeniable Request of some of you (especially) that these Sermons are thus come to Publick View. Might I have had my own Inclination, and if I had no more regard to publick usefulness than my own private Interest, or Applause, and had it not been a pain to me to deny you, they had never seen the Light. * * *

I have one Request to you, since I have granted you yours. I must freely confess, I don’t remember that ever I asked any thing of you of an external nature, or on a worldly account, but you always granted it. And now my Request is, that you would be earnest in your Prayers to God for me, that I may obtain mercy to be Faithful to God and Souls; that my ministry may yet be more successful among you, and that I may save my own Soul as well as yours. I am Your Affectationate Friend and Servant of your Souls.

DANIEL BAKER."

Samuel Porter, the third minister, was a native of Brookfield, and graduated at Harvard University in 1730. He was ordained on the fourth Wednesday in October, 1734. His remains were deposited in the central ground by the side of his two predecessors, in the pastoral office, Gookin and Baker. The inscription on his grave-stone, which is subjoined, is supposed to describe his character justly and truly, as well as to inform us respecting the duration of his ministry, his age and the time of his departure.
Sub hoc Marmore Reliquiae sunt depositae Reverendi
Samuelis Porter, Viri propter agiles mentis facultates
insignis; pro Pietate et Prudentia, pro Benevolentia
morumque comitate conspicui; Preconis Evangelii ar-
dentis; ornamenti Doctrinae effulgentisque Exemplaris
Christi Vitæ;Pastoris vigilantissimi et benignissimi Ec-
clesiae apud Sherbourn per annos viginti quatuor. Eru-
ditione quoque humana sacraque Theologia versati, soci-
isque affectionibus et Virtutibus maxime præediti et or-
nati, qui ad Regiones coelestes ab hac Vita transivit, de-
cimo sexto Die Septembris, A. D. 1758, Ætat. 49.

Translation.

Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of the
Reverend Samuel Porter; a man distinguished for ac-
tive powers of mind; conspicuous for piety and pru-
dence, for benevolence and courtesy of manners; a zeal-
ous preacher of the gospel; an ornament of the doctrine
and a shining example of the life of Christ; a most
watchful and affectionate pastor of the church at Sher-
bourn, during twenty four years. He was also well
versed in human learning and sacred Theology, and dis-
tinguishingly endowed and adorned with social affections
and virtues. He passed from this life to the heavenly
regions, September 16, 1758, in the 49th year of his
age.

Two stones, erected by the side of his, inform us that
he had been the husband of two wives, who were buried
before him, both of the name of Mary. What were
their surnames, previous to marriage, is not known. One
died August 10, 1752; the other August 8, 1758.

Samuel Locke, S. T. D. the fourth minister, was born
in Lancaster, Mass. Nov. 23, 1732, and graduated at Harvard University A. D. 1755. He was ordained Nov. 7, 1759. Being chosen President of Harvard University, he was inaugurated, March 21, 1770; resigned that office Dec 1, 1773, and returned to Sherburne, where he died suddenly, January 15th 1777, in the 45th year of his age.

Mr. Locke was esteemed, as a worthy and useful minister, and was much respected, as president of the college, till the time of his resignation. Not a stone has been erected to tell where he lies; but the place may be known by that at the grave of his son, Dr. Samuel Locke, who died August 30, 1788. The sexton mentioned in the hearing of the writer of this, that in digging the grave for the son, he discovered some of the bones of the father.

Elijah Brown was born at Waltham, Mass. May 31, 1744, and graduated at Harvard University 1764. He was ordained, Nov. 28, 1770. On this occasion the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham preached a Sermon from first Corinthians, IV. 2. "It is required of stewards, that a Man be found faithful." This was printed.

Mr. B. was twice married. His first wife was Susanna Biglow of Waltham, who presented him with two sons, who were graduated at Harvard University, A. D. 1804, and died in early life: namely, Elijah, July 28, 1805, aged 24, and Henry who had commenced the practice of law, and died August 3, 1810, aged 27. Mrs. Brown, died May 1, 1807. His second consort was widow Abigail Flagg, a sister of his first wife, who survives him. He died, Oct. 24, 1816, after several shocks of Palsy, which destroyed his mind, aged 72, in the forty sixth year of his ministry. He was respectfully interred on
the 28th day of the same month, at the expense of his parishioners. On this occasion the first prayer was offered by Rev. Stephen Palmer of East Needham, a Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Sanders of Medfield, from Heb. VII. 23, 24, and the second prayer was made by Rev. Thomas Noyes of West Needham.

The Hon. Judge Sprague, formerly of Lancaster, Ms. was a classmate of Mr. B. in College. He once observed to the writer of this, that, in his opinion, "there were about a dozen real geniuses in the class, and that Brown was one of them." In fact, in his conversation, in his publick, extemporaneous performances and in his writings, he gave many proofs, that he was justly entitled to this appellation, and that he had made respectable literary attainments.

His sermons were generally practical, rather than doctrinal. That delivered at the ordination of Rev. Zedekiah Sanger, would now pass pretty well among those styled orthodox. It is concluded with the following doxology. "Now unto God, the Father, to God the Son, and to God the Holy Ghost be ascribed undivided honor and endless glory in the church—Amen." But, as he grew older, and paid more attention to his professional studies, he grew more liberal, as it is called, and during the latter part of his life, ranked with those who are now excluded by many from their communion, as unworthy to bear the name of Christians.

Mr. Brown was averse from controversy. One philosopher may believe the sun to be an immense globe of fire; another, that it is an opaque mass, with a luminous surface. One may suppose the moon to consist of land and water, like our earth; another, that it is a solid substance,
indent with deep, dark caverns; a third, that it has an atmosphere, and a fourth, that it has none. Yet all these men may use the light of these luminaries equally to their own advantage, and for the purposes, for which they were designed by the Creator of the universe. So Mr. B. conceived that Christians may differ widely in speculative opinions, and yet rejoice in the light of the gospel with equal sincerity, and walk by this light with equal uprightness and safety.

He considered those points, respecting which the bitterest contentions arise among theologians, as having but little reference to the love of God, or man; and he was thoroughly convinced, that controversy, as it is generally managed, is in a high degree unfavorable to both. He was of the opinion that, if Christians would bestow half the pains to find out how far they agree in sentiment, that they do to discover wherein they differ, and walk by the same rule, so far as they are agreed, it would have a strong tendency to increase their happiness, both temporal and eternal.

To the sick and the sorrowful his parochial visits were acceptable and consoling. His feelings were quick and tender, which led him to weep with those who wept, as well as to rejoice with those who rejoiced. This same sensibility, it was thought, rendered him too hasty in resenting a real, or supposed injury; but it always caused him to be easily reconciled to the object of his resentment.

He possessed a natural vein of wit and humour, which requires much judgment to manage without giving offence; and in which he occasionally indulged, to a greater extent, than was consistent with the dignity of his profession.
With these exceptions, he exhibited a good example to his flock, and met with fewer difficulties, either in his church, or congregation, than are generally encountered by those, who have a whole town for a parish; and it is believed by many that there was as much genuine virtue and piety in the town, during his long and faithful ministry, as there has been at any time since his departure.

Mr. Brown, his first wife and their two sons lie buried near the gate of the Plain burying ground. The following is the inscription on his gravestone.

"Sacred
To the Memory of
Rev. ELIJAH BROWN,
who was born at Waltham,
May 31, 1744; Graduated at
Harvard University, 1764;
Ordained. Nov. 28, 1770;
Obit, Oct. 24, 1816:
Æt. 72.

He was possessed of strong mental powers, improved by science; and an exquisite sensibility which peculiarly qualified him for sympathizing with the afflicted. As a friend, he was social and obliging; as a husband, tender and affectionate; as a parent, kind and indulgent; and for many years, an able and attentive minister."

The publications of Mr. B. are—A Sermon preached at the ordination of the Rev. Zedekiah Sanger to the pastoral care of the church in Duxbury, July 3, 1776. Printed by T. & J. Fleet, 1776. The text from Malachi II. 7. For the priests lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts. And "the right hand of fellowship given to the Rev. Benjamin Green, at his ordination to the pastoral care of the first church of Christ in Medway, in conjunction with Rev. Mr. Nathan Buck-
nam, June 28, 1788.” Printed by T. & J. Fleet, with the other performances.

No descendants of any of the deceased ministers are known to be living. Mr. Savage observes in a note to his edition of Winthrop’s Journal, “that the family name of Capt. Daniel Gookin is still perpetuated in New Hampshire.”—Vol. 2. p. 165. —But those, who bear this name, are believed to be descended from a brother of the minister of Sherburne.

1816.—Nov. 25. Shearjashub Bourne Townsend, a native of Barrington, R. I. and graduate of Brown University, 1814, was chosen by a vote of the church to be their pastor.

Dec. 16.—The parish voted to concur with the church in calling Mr. S. B. Townsend to settle with them, as their gospel minister. Three hundred Dollars were granted to be paid him within one year from the time of his settlement; the further sum of $300 in two years from that time; and $600 annually.

1817.—June 9. The parish voted to concur with the church in appointing the second day of July next for the ordination of Mr. Townsend.

July 2d.—An Ecclesiastical Council convened at Sherburne, when the following pastors, with one or two delegates from their respective Churches, were present.—

Revds. George Morey, Walpole; Stephen Palmer, Needham; Daniel C. Sanders, D. D. Medfield; Thomas Noyes, Needham; John White, Dedham; Ralph Sanger, Dover; Luther Bailey, Medway; Martin Moore, Natick; William Cogswell, Dedham; Zedekiah Sanger, D. D. Bridgewater, David Kellog, D. D. Framingham; Luther Wright, Barrington, R. I.; Henry Edes, D. D. Providence, R. I.; Josephus Wheaton, Holliston.
The public performances on this occasion were the following, interspersed with appropriate music.

1. Introductory Prayer by Rev. Dr. Sanders. 2. Sermon, Rev. Dr. Edes. 3. Consecrating Prayer, Rev. Dr. Kellogg. 4. Charge, Rev. Mr. Morey. 5. Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. Mr. Moore. 6. Concluding Prayer, Rev. Mr. Noyes.

1828.—August 25. Voted that the Parish Committee, in concurrence with Rev. Mr. Townsend be directed to hire a minister, to supply the pulpit, during Mr. Townsend's inability to discharge his ministerial duties; and that they draw on the Treasurer for money to defray the expense to an amount, not exceeding $100.

1829.—July. 1. "Gentlemen, Selectmen of the Town of Sherburne—

Having, after serious consideration, come to the conclusion to resign my Salary at the close of this year of my Ministry, I take this method of signifying my determination to you, and through you to the People, at a convenient opportunity. The occasion would prompt me to say much; but my strength admonishes me to leave my motives to be chiefly interpreted by my past conduct and my known sentiments. The People will not be insensible, that I voluntarily remit what, if I live, I might long and legally retain. I see no reasonable prospect that I shall within several years, if ever, be able to perform the regular and necessary duties of the stated ministry, even on the supposition that I should live and my health be much improved.

I deem it my duty to say that I hope it will be considered one of my principal reasons for adopting the present measures, that the Church and People may have an early op-
portunity of concurring in the choice of a Christian Pastor and Teacher, before discord shall invade and divide a People hitherto noted for Peace.

If I make any sacrifice by this relinquishment, all I wish for myself in return is the affectionate remembrance of this People, and the permanent effect of my labors among them. I am sensible of many errors and deficiencies; I ask their forgiveness. And I shall cherish as long as life a deep sense of their past generosity and friendship.

I am yours, Gentlemen, with respect and affection.

SHERJASHUB B. TOWNSEND.”

“P. S. As I have delayed till this time to make this communication, I have engaged Rev. Mr. Clarke to preach for three succeeding Sabbaths.

If any explanation of the above is required, it will be understood, that I desire to retain a nominal relation to this Society as Minister; and a Person settled would therefore be settled as colleague. But he would have all the compensation to receive, and, except what might be voluntary on my part, he would have all the ministerial duties to perform.”

July 20th.—Voted partially to discharge Rev. Mr. Townsend from his official duties—upon the conditions expressed in the above communication.

In the autumn of this year, Mr. Townsend and his wife went on a journey for the benefit of his health; first to Charleston, S. C. and thence to St. Augustine, in Florida, where they still reside.

1830.—March 22. Amos Clarke, a native of Sherburne and a graduate of H. U. 1804, was invited by a vote of the church and congregation united, to become the Associate Pastor, with the Rev. Mr. Townsend, over
this Society, on the following conditions, to wit—1st.
The Society will give the Rev. Mr. Clarke $400 annually,
to be paid to him, so long as he shall officiate, as Pastor
of said Society.—The Society agree that the contract
shall be dissolved and determined, at the pleasure of eith­
er of the contracting parties giving six months notice to
the other party of their desire of having said contract dis­
solved.

March 27.—Mr. Clarke, by a written communication,
"To the Inhabitants of the first Parish in Sherburne," sig­
nified his acceptance of their invitation.

May 20th.—An ecclesiastical council convened at
Sherburne for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Clarke. This
council was composed of the following pastors of churches
with their delegates.

Revs. J. P. B. Storer, Walpole; John White, Ded­
ham; Alvan Lamson, Dedham; Ralph Sanger, Dover;
William Ritchie, Needham; J. W. Thompson, Natick;
J. Kendall, D. D. Plymouth; J. Brazer, Salem; J. Bart­
lett, Marblehead; Samuel Ripley, Waltham; J. Parker,
Southborough; Rufus Hulbert, Sudbury; H. Ware, D.

Printed papers were distributed in the meetinghouse,
on this occasion, headed as follows—"Order of Exercises
at the Ordination of Mr. Amos Clarke, as Associate Pas­
tor with the Rev. S. B. Townsend, of the First Con­
gregational Church and Society in Sherburne."

The following exercises were performed, with appro­
priate music at intervals.

Introductory Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Ripley of Waltham;
Reading of the Scriptures, Thompson, Natick: Sermon,
Kendall, Plymouth; Ordaining Prayer, Ritchie, Needham; Charge, Pierce, Brookline; Right Hand of Fellowship, Sanger, Dover; Concluding Prayer, White, Dedham.

June 7th.—Voted that the Parish Committee be requested to write to the Rev. Mr. Townsend, our senior Pastor, and express to him our sympathy and sorrow for the continuance of his indisposition; our gratitude for the magnanimous sacrifice, he has made by relinquishing his salary, to promote our union and harmony; and our anxious desire for his restoration to health and his early return to his People:—and also to make him particularly acquainted with all the important circumstances, that have taken place in the Parish during his absence.

August 18 and 19.—This Society raised a meeting-house which was finished in December following. It is 83 by 48 feet, containing 78 pews on the ground floor and 6 in the gallery, besides seats for musicians. The architecture of this house exhibits a happy union of simplicity and elegance. On Lord’s day, Dec. 26, of the same year, public worship was attended, for the last time, and an interesting and instructive sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke, in the old meeting house, which had been devoted to that purpose, for more than a century. On Wednesday, the 29th of the same month and year, the new house, erected within a few feet of the old one, was solemnly dedicated to the worship of God. On this occasion the following exercises were performed, with appropriate music at intervals. Introductory Prayer, Rev. Mr. Muzzy of Framingham; Reading Portions of Scripture, Kendall, Medfield; Dedicatory Prayer, Ritchie, Needham; Sermon, Clarke, Sherburne; Concluding Prayer, Thompson, Natick.
On the 10th of February, 1830, a petition to William Farriss, Esq. or either of the Justices of the Peace, in the town of Natick, was signed by twelve of the male inhabitants of the town of Sherburne, in behalf of a majority of the church, and a minority of the congregation, requesting that “a warrant may be issued, in due form of law, for the purpose of forming a Second religious Congregational Society, in said town.” A warrant was accordingly issued, on the next day, by Samuel Fisk, Esq. of Natick; and, on the 22d of the same month and year, the society was duly organized.

On the 8th of July following, this society raised the frame of a meeting house, on a rising piece of ground, about 40 rods, S. E. of Meetinghouse hill. This house is 60 by 46 feet, contains 64 pews on the floor, and a gallery for musicians. It is a pleasing specimen of plain and neat architecture.

On the 30th of September 1830, the following votes were passed by this society.

“At a meeting of the Church of Christ in Sherburne, held at the house of Mr. Henry Pratt, in said Sherburne, for the purpose of giving Mr. Samuel Lee an invitation to settle with them, as colleague pastor with the Rev. S. B. Townsend over said church:—Voted in the affirmative unanimously.

AARON LELAND, Modr.

A true copy, attest, Daniel Leland, Scribe.”

“The Evangelical Society voted, on the same day, that they do concur with the church, in giving the Rev. Samuel Lee an invitation to settle as above stated.

BENJAMIN DOWSE, Moderator,”

October 16.—Mr. Lee accepted the above invitation.
Nov. 4th.—An Ecclesiastical Council convened for the purpose of ordaining the pastor elect, and dedicating the meeting house, composed of the following pastors with their delegates. Revds. Mr. Fitch, Holliston; Howe and Phelps, Hopkinton; Kellogg and Trask, Framingham; Moore, Natick; Noyes, Needham; Greenough and Gilbert, Newton; Bigelow, Walpole; Wood, Upton; Baldwin, Berlin; Smith, E. Sudbury; Ide, Medway; Harding, Waltham; Southmayd, Concord, Ms.; Emmons and Smalley, Franklin; Beecher, D. D. Boston; Fay, Charlestown; Pond, Boston; Taylor, D. D. professor of Theology, Yale College, New Haven.

On this occasion, hand bills were distributed in the meetinghouse, bearing the following superscription.—“Order of Exercises, at the Dedication of the Meeting House of the Trinitarian Church and Society, in Sherburne; and Ordination of Mr. Samuel Lee, as their Pastor. The exercises were—Dedicated Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Fitch of Holliston—Introductory Prayer, for Ordination, Smith, E. Sudbury—Sermon, Taylor, New-Haven, Con.—Ordaining Prayer, Wood, Upton—Charge, Beecher, Boston—Right Hand of Fellowship, Phelps, Hopkinton—Address to the Church and Society, Pond, Boston; Concluding Prayer, Baldwin, Berlin. At intervals, during the service, a number of appropriate Anthems, and Hymns were sung.

Samuel Lee, pastor of the second Religious Congregational Society, is a native of Middletown, Conn. He was graduated at Yale College in 1827, and pursued his professional studies, in the Theological Institution, attached to that seminary. He is to receive a salary of $500 a year, and to be dismissed from his pastoral relation, on either party giving six months previous notice.
HISTORY OF SHERBURNE.

Marriages, Births, Deaths.—It appears that the inhabitants of Sherburne were more particular in recording these, in former days, than they have been in later times. From the records, which I have been permitted to examine, the following is the result—Marriages to the end of the year 1827—693. Births 2774. Deaths 758.

Admissions to Full Communion.—By Mr. Porter 158. Locke 52. Brown 171. Townsend 90.

Baptisms.—By Mr. Porter 442. Locke 245. Brown 914. Townsend 132.

Rev. Mr. Townsend has written several letters to the people of his former charge, of both societies, in which he expresses the highest solicitude for their temporal and eternal welfare. He earnestly exhorts them to avoid the mistaking of sectarian bigotry and zeal, for a sincere desire to promote the cause of truth, virtue, piety and holiness. He urges them to let there be no strife among them, but an earnest endeavor to excel in dealing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with God.

Respecting his own relation to the two societies, these are his words.

"I was, it is well understood already by both parties, favorable to the settlement of Mr. Clarke over both the church and society, on the supposition that both concurred. Whether I was mistaken, or not, will be decided, in my mind, very much by the course, which both my reverend brother and my beloved church shall be found to take. If they both strive to keep far away the demon of party spirit, and by zealous means to promote the salvation of souls, my heart shall rejoice. But if the one becomes remiss and the other bigotted, my soul shall weep in secret places.

I have thought it important, that there should be no mistake, as to the relation, which I conceive myself to sustain, on the one part to the church, and on the other to the society. I confess, I hardly know what language to use, in distinguishing between the brethren, who are connected with the first parish and those connected with the sec-
HISTORY OF SHERBURNE.

ond; for I know not what either or both of you have done, in the way of separation from each other, as forming a distinct church. If nothing has been done on either side, then I am pastor of the same church I always was; for there has been no separation. But if there has been a regular separation, then I consider myself pastor of that church and minister of that society, which was a majority of the former society; not because I am especially fond of being with a majority, but because such are my views of the nature of churches and societies.”

Conclusion.—Mr. Townsend’s relation to this people is uncommon, if not unprecedented. He is claimed as senior pastor of two churches, the one liberal, the other orthodox, in the phrase of the day; one styling themselves “the first church,” the other “the church of Christ” in Sherburne. He is also claimed, as senior minister of two congregations of similar sentiments to those of the respective churches, with which they unite in public worship. He has a colleague, or associate pastor and teacher ordained over each society; and if the wishes and prayers of both shall be answered, he will be speedily restored to health, return to the scene of his former labors and be received by both, in the open arms of respectful and grateful affection.

May Divine Providence so overrule all their proceedings, that peace and harmony may prevail, as heretofore for more than a century and a half, under a succession of able and faithful ministers. May each society allow the other, without molestation or censure, to enjoy the liberty, wherewith Christ and the form of government, under which we live, have made them free. And long after the agents in the transactions, which are now taking place, shall have gone to render an account of the deeds done in the body, and the hand, that is now writing, shall have mouldered into dust; may the future historian, in examining the records of the present and coming generations, meet with as little to excite a painful emotion, as has been found, in the archives of this ancient and respectable town, by the compiler of this humble production.

Errata.—In revising these sheets, a few typographical errors have been found and one or two instances of false grammar, in the passages written by the Compiler, which he leaves to the reader to discover and correct.
HISTORY

OF

THE TOWN OF NATICK, MASS.

FROM THE DAYS OF

THE APOSTOLIC ELIOT,

M D C L ,

TO THE PRESENT TIME,

M D C C C X X X .

BY WILLIAM BIGLOW.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY MARSH, CAPEN, & LYON.

M D C C C X X X .
As there is much excitement, at the present time, respecting the rights of the Indians and the treatment, which they ought to receive from the government and people of these United States, it is thought that many will be desirous to know, as far as can be ascertained, the circumstances which accompanied the gradual decrease and final extinction of the first tribe, that was brought into a state of civilization and Christianity, by a Protestant missionary. To gratify, in a degree, this desire, and to preserve some of the most interesting facts, relative to this town, is the object of this publication.

Boston:
Waitt & Dow's Print, 122 Washington-street.
HISTORY OF NATICK.

Topographical Description, Present State, &c. NATICK lies in the County of Middlesex, south-westernly from Boston. The central meeting house is sixteen miles distant from the State House, and about fourteen miles from the Court Houses, in Concord and Cambridge. It is bounded N. by East Sudbury; E. by Weston, Needham and Dover; S. by Dover; S. W. by Sherburne; W. and N. W. by Framingham. It contains about 11,000 acres. Deducting for water, 635 acres, leaves 10,365 acres of land. A neat lithographic map of this town, executed at Pendleton's office, Boston, in 1829, has served, as a model, for several other towns to imitate. On this are laid down all the houses, roads, ponds, principal streams, wood lands, &c.

Roads, Mails, &c.—There are three principal roads through this town, leading from Boston to Hartford, Connecticut; namely, Worcester Turnpike, through the north part; Central Turnpike, through the centre; and the Old Hartford road, so called, through the south part. On the Worcester Turnpike, the great southern mail passes each way daily. Several other mail and accommodation stage coaches are very frequently passing. On the Central Turnpike, Boston and Hartford Telegraph line of stage coaches passes every day, Sundays excepted, up one day and down the next. On the Old Hartford road, Boston, Mendon and Uxbridge daily line of stage coaches passes, and continues
on to Hartford three days in the week, and returns to
Boston on the other three. This line makes the Chris-
tian Sabbath a day of rest.

There are two Post offices; one on the Worcester
Turnpike, and the other on the Old Hartford road,
where a mail is opened daily, Sundays excepted.

One survey of a rail road from Boston to Albany pas-
ses through the centre of the town, parallel to the
Central Turnpike, a few rods distant from it. A
survey of a canal from Norwich, in Connecticut, to Bos-
ton passes a few rods in front of the south meeting house,
but the present generation have not high expectations of
reaping very great advantages from this project.

Soil, Productions, &c.—The soil in the south part
is generally loam, inclining in some parts, to clay; in
the central and northerly parts, it is a sandy loam. In all
parts of the town are found lands, favourable to the rai-
sing of grass, Indian corn, rye, barley, oats and fruits of
all kinds, usually produced in this climate. There is
little or no waste land in the town. Wood lots are be-
coming scarce; but meadows, affording an inexhaustible
supply of excellent peat, the use of which is yearly in-
creasing, insures an ample supply of fuel for future gen-
erations. The soil, in its original state, produced all
kinds of forest trees, usually growing in New England.
Formerly a great variety of nuts and berries were produ-
ced spontaneously; but these productions have been
greatly diminished by the hand of judicious cultivation.

Surface of the Country, &c.—Natick is the abo-
original name of the township, and signifies a place of
hills. This name is very descriptive, especially of the
southerly part of it. At the S. E. corner, about a mile
from Charles river, next to Dover, Pegan hill rises, in a beautiful conical form, and is capable, like all the other eminences in the town, of profitable cultivation to its summit. From the top a very extensive and elegant prospect is presented. The land, as far as the eye can reach, is well cultivated, excepting a due proportion of woodlands; and from fifteen to twenty village churches appear scattered in various directions. The romantic meanders of Charles river may be traced for several miles, and a number of ponds are interspersed in the surrounding scenery. At the distance of thirty and fifty miles, the Wachusett and Monadnoc mountains tower in pleasing majesty; and many others, hardly distinguishable from azure clouds, skirt the distant horizon. Between this and Charles river, Perry’s hill, considerably less elevated, slopes gently down to the margin of the water. On the opposite bank, Carver’s hill gradually rises to a corresponding height, and beyond this, Broad’s hill, a twin brother of Pegan, appears, at the distance of a mile from the river. About half a mile north of the south meeting house, Train’s hill, similar to Carver’s and Perry’s, in shape and elevation, adds to the beauty of the variegated prospect. In plain sight of these, are Bullard’s hill in Needham, and Brush hill in Sherburne, near the bounds of Natick, which were undoubtedly taken into view, when the place received its significant name. On and around these hills, the celebrated Eliot apportioned the lands among his Indian converts; and here was the principal scene of his pious labors.

In the middle and northern parts of the town the land is agreeably undulating; but there are no hills so elevated, as those already described, or which are distinguished by proper names, excepting the beautiful one
in the northwest corner of the town, which is called Tom’s hill, from its having been owned, in olden time, by a celebrated Indian, who went by the name of Captain Tom. From many of these heights the prospect is similar to that from Pegan, though not so extensive.

Three plains may be deemed worthy of particular notice. One, about half a mile square, spreads east of the south meeting house, and is sometimes called Eliot plain, in remembrance of the ‘Apostle to the Indians.’ Another lies south and west of the central meeting house, is about a mile square, and is called Pegan plain. This and Pegan hill were so called from their being formerly owned and inhabited by two distinguished Indian families of this name. Boden plain, so named after William Boden, Esqr. stretches about three miles in length, from the westerly side of Long pond to Framingham line, and is about one mile in breadth. There are several smaller plains scattered among the hills in all parts of the town.

Minerals, &c.—Bog iron ore has recently been found in several places, near the centre of the town, and transported to the foundery in Chelmsford, in considerable quantities. A quarry of limestone was opened during the revolutionary war, which was burnt to advantage; but since that time it has been neglected, owing to the diminution of fuel, in its immediate vicinity, and its distance from a market. In the westerly part of the town, on the west margin of Long pond, there is a very valuable brick yard. Four hundred and fifty thousand bricks have been burnt here in one year; but the average number is from three to four hundred thousand.
There is an indication of clay, suitable for the same purpose, on the eastern side of the pond. It is said that there are appearances of mountain iron ore, in some parts of the town. But as no professed geologist has ever, to my knowledge, examined these parts attentively, I shall make no further observations under this head.

Ponds, Brooks, River.—About one half of Long Pond, lies in Natick, covering 450 acres. The remainder is in Framingham and East Sudbury. The Indian name of this was Cochituate. Its English name is descriptive, as the pond is not far from 6 miles in length, and the breadth varies from a few rods, to a mile, or more. Its outlet is at the north end, in Framingham, on which mills are erected. Formerly shad and alewives were taken in this pond; but, for some years past, the mill dams have prevented them from reaching it. Dug Pond, lies south of the above, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, and covers 50 acres. It is so named, from its resemblance to an artificial excavation. This has no natural inlet, excepting from the clouds above, or springs beneath; and no outlet, but by evaporation, or absorption. For a few years past, however, a small rivulet has been conducted into it, by an artificial channel; and a drain has been made to conduct its waters into Long Pond. Thus it serves as a reservoir, in which to lay up water for the use of mills in Framingham. Nonesuch Pond, lying partly in Weston, covers 50 acres in Natick. How this pond obtained its name is not known. Though there may be none exactly such, yet there are many, which, to a common observer, appear very similar.

Snake Brook, so named from its serpentine wind-
nings, forms part of the boundary line between this town and East Sudbury, and empties into Long Pond from the eastward. Pegan and Steep brooks likewise empty into Long Pond, the former from the East, and the latter from the West. Sawin's and Bacon's brooks enter Charles river from the north, about two miles from each other.

Charles River winds very beautifully through the southern section of the town, covering 100 acres. The township is also well watered, by springs and rivulets, in every part. The height of land, in this region, is where Captain Luther Broad's house stands, and on Pegan plain, which lies westerly from it. The water that falls from the eaves of this house, on one side, runs into Charles river, and meets the ocean at Charlestown; or, following the channel of Mother Brook, mingles with the waters of the Neponset, and joins with the great deep, at the mouth of this river. That which falls from the eaves on the other side, flows into Long Pond, thence into the Concord, and Merrimack, and thus finds its way to the sea. The same may be said of two rivulets, on the plain; one of which directs its course to Charles river, and the other to Long Pond. Either of these might be conducted into the other, by digging a slight trench, but a few rods in length. The ponds and river are pretty well stored with the usual variety of fresh water fish.

Mills, &c.—The first mill, erected in Natick, was a saw mill, on Charles river, nearly in front of the dwelling house of the late Hezekiah Broad, Esq. It was built by John Sawin, about the year 1720. The owners of the great meadows in Medfield, complained that his dam prevented the water from draining off from their
premises; and Sawin was induced to move his mill up
to the brook, which still bears his name. Here he
again erected his saw mill, and built a corn mill on the
most simple construction. It consisted of a horizontal
wheel and a perpendicular shaft, on the top of which
the upper stone rested, and with which it was turned.
The Indians were much gratified with these mills, and
Sawin found it very easy to gain possession of a large
tract of land, many acres of which are inherited by his
descendants, to this day. The mill privileges are also
owned by his posterity, on which are two saw mills, a
corn mill, a boulting mill and a machine for making
shingles.

A few years after Sawin’s removal from Charles riv­
er, one Hastings built a dam across it, where Sawin’s
had stood, and erected a saw mill, corn mill and fulling
mill. This occasioned a law suit, brought by the own­
ers of Medfield meadows, which eventuated in the re­
moval of the mills to the site, where Biglow’s estab­
lishment is now. The natural channel of the river, was
on the north side of the island, near these mills; and from
the island to the south shore, was solid land. Not long
after the dam was erected, there came what is common­
ly called, ‘a great freshet,’ which excavated the ‘deep
hole,’ so called, on the south side of the island, and
rendered it necessary to build another dam.

On this site, on the north side, there are now one
saw mill, three runs of mill stones, two crackers, for
corn or plaster, one paper mill and two carding ma­
chines, all under the same roof. On the south side, a
wheel factory was put in operation, several years ago;
but the machinery, though very ingenious, was too
complex and expensive, to be profitable. Some parts
of it, however, are still used to advantage. This privi-
lege is capable of great improvement, and is considered one of the best on Charles river. It is supposed, that as much water flows in the channel here, as at Watertown; owing to Mother Brook draining out of the river, as much as flows in from all the brooks between Natick and Watertown.

Besides the mills already mentioned, there are a saw-mill on Bacon's brook, in the south part of the town; a saw mill, and corn-mill, on Steep brook, in the westerly part, and a trip hammer, and other blacksmith's works, moved by water, on Pegan brook, near the centre.

Were all the water privileges used to the best advantage, and all the land, that is suitable, cultivated, as a considerable portion of it now is, double the number of inhabitants might here be supported, as comfortably and respectfully, as the present population. Beautiful and even romantic situations for country seats, for gentlemen of fortune and taste, are not wanting among the hills, plains, and ponds, in the northerly portion of the town, and on the charming banks of the Charles, in the southerly section. Could its present uncouth name be changed, as has been proposed, to Eliot, or Eliotville, it would pass for a very delightful village. It is difficult for a stranger to realize, that the only habitations here, were 'magalia quondam,' formerly wigwams.

Remarkable Trees.—There are two oaks, near the south meeting house, which have undoubtedly stood there ever since the days of Eliot. They have been decaying about forty years. The red oak, on the westerly side of the meeting house, measures 17 feet in circumference, two feet from the ground; and the white oak, on the easterly side, \(14 \frac{1}{2}\) feet, at the same height.
In 1722, a deputation of Indians came to Mr Peabody's house, one bearing two elm trees on his shoulders. They presented themselves to their minister, and requested permission to set out those trees before his door, as a mark of their regard, or as 'the tree of friendship.' These trees flourished for about 90 years, when the larger one was stricken by lightning, and soon after failed. The other being in a state of decisive decline, was recently cut down. These trees measured, one foot from the ground, about 21 feet, and in the smallest part, for 14 feet up, 13 feet. The growth was about 1 1-2 inches per year.—Hon. John Welles' communication, in Massachusetts Agricultural Repository, &c. No. 1, Vol. 9.

These trees stood in front of the house, now owned by Mr John Bacon, the front part of which was built by Mr Peabody.

In 1753, soon after the settlement of Mr Badger, a like request was made by the Indians, and the same ceremony took place in planting the 'trees of friendship' before his door, as had been done before that of his predecessor, Mr Peabody. In 1826, the Hon John Welles observes, 'these trees are now in full vigor, having been set out 73 years. They are about fifteen feet in circumference, near the ground, and have given in circumference, nearly 1 1-2 inches growth a year.' They still remain in full vigor, May, 1830, in front of the house now occupied by Mr Oliver Bacon, which was built by Mr Badger.

The button-wood trees, in front of the south tavern, were set out in 1783. They were brought to the spot one at a time, on the shoulder of a man of ordinary strength. Their being planted on the Indian burying ground gave offence to some of the few remaining individuals of the tribe; and one poor girl, with a mixture
HISTORY OF NATICK.

of grief and anger, endeavored to uproot them; but they resisted her efforts, as they have many a violent storm, are still in a thriving condition, and measure 17 feet in circumference, at the height of two feet from the ground.

College Graduates.—The following is a list of those belonging to this town, who have received a collegiate education. H. U. stand for Harvard University; B. C. for Bowdoin College. Those with this mark * prefixed are dead.

* Oliver Peabody, H. U. 1745. He was the son of the Natick minister of the same name; was settled in the ministry in Roxbury; and died soon after his ordination, much respected and lamented.

* Nathaniel Battelle, H. U. 1765. He inherited considerable landed property, and devoted his attention chiefly to agriculture. He died a few years since in Malden, in this state.

William Biglow, H. U. 1794. He has been employed most of the time, since he was graduated, as a teacher of youth.

Robert Peteshal Farriss, H. U. 1815. Attorney at law, in St. Louis, Missouri.


Charles Angier, H. U. 1827. Teacher of an Academy in Medford, in company with his brother John.


Physicians.—The Indians abounded with physi-
cians and doctresses. One of the former by the name of Joshua Bran, was the most celebrated in his day. He owned a small house, in which he resided, which stood between Mr Oliver Bacon's and Eliot Walker's, where his well and traces of his cellar still remain. His widow, who was 'quite a tidy' white woman, survived him many years. She was known by the name of 'nurse Bran,' an appellation, which designates the employment, in which she was generally engaged.

Isaac Morrill, son of the Rev. Mr Morrill, formerly minister of Wilmington, Massachusetts, came to this town in 1771. He is now living, in the 82d year of his age; and resides in that part of Needham, which was set off from Natick in 1797.

Asa Adams came to Natick about the year 1782, and remained ten or twelve years. He removed to Wolfborough, where he died. He professed chiefly to be a surgeon of the Kittridge school; but occasionally, practised physic.

Alexander Thayer, a native of Milford, Mass., came to Natick to reside in 1813. He passed two years of the academical course in Harvard University. He afterwards attended the medical lectures in Dartmouth College, and received the degree of M. D. He died in 1824.

John Angier, a native of Southborough, came to this town in 1817, and still resides in the north part.

Stephen H. Spaulding, a native of Chelmsford, came in 1823, and resides in the south part.

John Badger, a white native, resides in the westerly part of the town, and has gained no small celebrity, as a root and herb physician. But it is believed that owing to envy, rivalry, or some other cause, the regularly educated gentlemen of the faculty are somewhat un-
willing to acknowledge him, as one of the fraternity. The sovereign people, however, from whom all power and honors emanate, have decreed to him the title of Doctor, and frequently employ him to cure the diseases both of man and beast.

**Lawyers.**—But one of this class of citizens has ever attempted to gain a residence in this town; and he remained but a short time. The inhabitants, however, have contributed as liberally towards the support of nonresident gentlemen of the profession, as is consistent with good economy and a due regard to their own interest.

**Burying Grounds.**—The Indian burying ground, in the south part of the town, now lies chiefly common. It is pretty well ascertained, that the original bounds of it were nearly as follows, viz: beginning at the oak tree, on the east side of the south meeting house, by a straight line running north of the meeting house, to the N. E. corner of Dr Spaulding’s land; thence following the fence in front of his dwelling house, and a straight line, a few feet in front of the neighbouring red house, the barn, house and store, belonging to the tavern establishment, as far as the front door of the house, adjacent to said establishment; thence by a straight line in front of Mr Moses Eames’ dwelling house, to near the centre of the front yard, belonging to the house of the late Deacon William Biglow; and thence by a straight line to the oak tree first mentioned.

These bounds have been ascertained, to the satisfaction of the writer, from several circumstances. Old people told him, fifty years ago, that the road from Boston to Sherburne, originally passed north of the meeting
house, and west of where Dr Spaulding’s house and the other buildings on a line with it, now stand, and came into the road, as it now runs, in front of Moses Eames’ store. In digging wells, cellars, &c. near these bounds, on the outside, no skeletons have been found. In all parts of the ground within these limits, skeletons have frequently been disturbed.

It will be seen that this repository of the dead, includes part of the garden and front yard of the late Deacon Biglow, and a small portion of the land now belonging to Miss Eunice Biglow, and of that belonging to Dexter Whiting, Esq. and that the roads leading from Boston to Sherburne, and from Framingham to Dover, cross each other nearly at right angles, not far from its centre.

A number have been interred, within the memory of the writer, on the sloping common, in front of the tavern; and one on the land, since purchased and enclosed by the late Deacon Biglow, as a door yard. Many have been disinterred, in digging graves for others, in procuring sand for masons’ work, or moving gravel for repairing high ways. Nearly twenty were disturbed, when preparations were making to build the wall round the south meeting house, and carefully reinterred. In two or three instances, black and white beads, formed of shells from the sea shore, and called, in the aboriginal language, wampum, have been found in the graves; also a few glass beads, and other trinkets. Several spoons, composed of a mixture of the baser metals, have been disinterred with their bones. In one instance, a small junk bottle was discovered with a skeleton, nearly half full of some kind of liquid; but the lad, who dug it up, emptied it before the quality of its contents was ascertained. This bottle, with several other Indian curiosi-
ties, was sent to the museum of the Antiquarian Society in Worcester.

There is another small Indian burying ground, lying common by the road side, near the Rev Mr Moore's dwelling house, not far from the centre of the town;

'Where heaves the turf, in many a mouldering heap,
And the rude children of the forest sleep.'

The south burying ground, for the white population, was granted by the Proprietors, 'to Mr Peabody and his successors, and for the use of other English inhabitants,' June 22, 1731. In this inclosure, there are 92 grave stones, for single persons, and one, Rev Mr Badger's, for 7. There is also one tomb containing five bodies. We may therefore consider 104 individuals, as having monuments erected to their memory. The numbers of those, who arrived at the age of 60 years, or upwards, are as follows, as stated on the monumental stones.

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The time is not ascertained, when the north grave yard for the whites was laid out. A vote was passed, 'to fence the English burying places with stone wall,' A. D. 1758, which proves that it was previous to this date. In this there are 43 grave stones. The numbers, who arrived to 60, or upwards, are as follows.

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The central burying ground was appropriated to this purpose, A.D. 1805. Previous to this, a few bodies were interred near Rev Mr Moore's dwelling house. These were afterwards removed to the new ground. Among these was Mrs Keziah Perry, on whose monumental stone we read that 'she was the first grain sown in this ground.' Here is one tomb, as yet empty, and 44 grave stones. Ages over 60 years

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The western grave yard, granted A.D. 1815, contains 18 stones with inscriptions. Over 60 years.

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Inhabitants.—The number of inhabitants, according to the census of 1820, was 849. Most of these are industrious, frugal, temperate, and consequently thriving farmers. There is a due proportion of the most important mechanics, of a similar character; such as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, pumpmakers, &c.

Many of the farmers are beginning to practice according to the advice of Virgil, who wrote some eighteen centuries ago; though scarcely one of them has ever perused the Georgics;

"Laudato ingentia rura; Exiguum colito;"

Praise great farms; cultivate a small one. Or, if the reader prefer a quaint translation in verse, after the
manner of Poor; Richard, in the Way to Wealth, let
him accept the following:

Large farms may claim admiration;
Small ones pay for cultivation.

In their intercourse with each other, or with strangers, they exhibit as much urbanity, generally speaking, as is consistent with pure republicanism.

Schools, &c.—In furnishing the means of education, this town has kept pace with most of the New England villages. It has been, for many years, divided into five school districts, and five hundred dollars a year, granted for the support of free schools. Female teachers are employed in the summer season, and male instructors in the winter. Those, who take charge of the schools, are generally competent to the task; and the rising generation is well instructed in the most necessary and useful branches of education. Private teachers are occasionally employed; and some are sent to schools and academies in other towns. A Sunday school has been kept for several years, in the central meeting house, in the warm season of the year; and another, in the South meeting house, ever since its dedication.

Public Buildings, &c.—There are two houses for public worship, and five schoolhouses, for the accommodation of free schools.

Eliot gives the following account of the building of the first meeting house in Natick.—"We must of necessity have a house to lodge and meet in, and wherein to lay our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in wigwams. I set the Indians, therefore, to fell and square
timber; and when it was ready, I went, and many of
them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the tim­
ber together."

Gookin thus describes this house.—"There is one
large house built after the English manner. The lower
room is a large hall, which serves for a meeting-house
on the Lord's-day, and a school-house on the week-days.
There is a large canopy of mats raised upon poles for
Mr. Eliot and his company; and other sort of canopies
for themselves and other hearers to sit under, the men
and women being placed apart. The upper room is a
kind of wardrobe, where the Indians hang up their skins
and other things of value. In a corner of this room
Mr. Eliot has an apartment partitioned off, with a bed
and bedstead in it." I have not been able to ascertain
how long this house stood.

The second, it appears by the Proprietors' book, was
finished about the year 1721, at the commencement of
Mr Peabody's labours among this people. It remained
during the whole of his ministry, and until the second
year of Mr Badger's.

The third was begun in 1754; but was not finished
till 1767. It was occupied through the whole of Mr
Badger's ministry, which closed in 1799; stood several
years after, and with careful attention would have lasted
to this day. But when Mr B's labours in it ceased,
it was abandoned to the pelting of the pitiless storms
and more pitiless school boys, and soon became as great
an eyesore to the inhabitants in its immediate neighbor­
hood, as it ever had been to those at a distance from it;
and on a day of general election, a number of rude fel­
lows of the baser sort, to complete their frolick, demol­
ished it; and the materials, which had composed it, be­
came free plunder to any, who chose to convey them away.

The fourth is the present central meeting house, on Pegan plain, which was raised on the 6th of June 1799, and completed in the course of a few months. Previous to the erection of this house, namely, in 1797, a number of families in the south part, by permission of the general court, had signed off to the religious societies in Dover, Needham, or Sherburne. The Society worshipping here receives the income from a fund, raised by the sale of the ministerial lot, which was granted by the Indians to Mr. Peabody and his successors.

In the beginning of 1828, a number of people, belonging to the religious societies in Natick, Needham, Dover and Sherburne agreed to build a meeting house by subscription, on the site, where those of Eliot, Peabody and Badger had stood. They were incorporated by the name of the South Congregational Society in Natick. The act of incorporation passed the Senate and House of Representatives, Feb. 28, and was approved by the Governor, March 1, 1828. Their meetinghouse was raised in the beginning of June, and dedicated to the worship of God, on the 20th of November in the same year.

At the dedication of this house, the following services were performed, interspersed with music. Introductory prayer, by Rev Mr Wight of East Sudbury—Reading portions of Scripture, Rev Mr White, Dedham—Dedication Prayer, Rev Mr Sanger, Dover—Sermon, Rev Dr Lowell, Boston—Concluding prayer, Rev Dr Sanders, Medfield.—The Sermon was printed.

There are three commodious tavern houses; one on each of the principal roads, where travellers may gen-
erally find convenient accommodations; and four stores for the retailing of foreign and domestic goods.

Most of the dwelling houses are neat and comfortable; many of them painted white, and some of them large and handsome.

Civil History.—In writing the early history of this town, the same difficulty occurs, which is so generally complained of by those, who make similar attempts; namely, an almost total want of ancient records. In searching among the archives of the town, I find a few loose leaves of a book, smoked and mutilated, which contain an account of a few transactions in Natick. One in Eliot’s hand writing is dated 1650; the rest from 1700 to 1734—5. The chiro graphical part is well executed; the language used is sometimes Indian, sometimes English, and sometimes a mixture of the two; and the signature subjoined to most of them, excepting that of the earliest date, is ‘Thomas Waban, Town Clerk.’

The township of Natick was granted to the Indian converts, at the request of their ‘Apostle Eliot,’ by the inhabitants of Dedham, under the sanction of the General Court. The Indians gave to the Dedham people the township of Deerfield in exchange. The original grant contained about six thousand acres. Since that time it has experienced several additions and subtractions, in arriving at its present size and form. To ascertain precisely those alterations, would probably be as unprofitable, as it would be difficult.

From the page above mentioned, dated 1650, which I shall copy in what I consider its proper order, I am led to the belief, that Eliot ‘gathered the Indians together from their scattered kind of life into civil society,’ in that year; though the town was not laid out
till the year following. I shall therefore give under this date, their form of civil government, from Gookin's Historical Account of Indians, written in 1674; then subjoin some extracts from the loose leaves above mentioned, together with such facts, as may be gathered from other sources down to the commencement of Mr Peabody's ministry.

When the Indians applied to Mr Eliot for a form of civil government, he referred them to the advice, which Jethro gave to Moses:—'Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.'

In compliance with this counsel, about one hundred of them held an assembly, and chose one ruler of the one hundred, two rulers of fifty, and ten rulers of ten. After the rulers of ten were chosen, they placed themselves in order, and every individual ranged himself under the one whom he chose.

When this was settled, they entered into the following covenant:—'We give ourselves and our children unto God to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs; not only in our religion and the affairs of the church, but also in all our works and affairs in this world. God shall rule over us. The Lord is our judge; the Lord is our Lawgiver; the Lord is our King; he will save us. The wisdom which God has taught us in his book, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. O, Jehovah, teach us wisdom to find out thy wisdom in thy scriptures.'

'Let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God. Send thy spirit into our hearts,
and let it teach us. Lord, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.'

How long this form of government continued does not appear from any documents, which I have seen. As early as 1716, we find that they chose select men and other town officers, similar to those which are now chosen in the towns of Massachusetts.—Here follows a copy of the page above alluded to, now in possession of the Town Clerk of Natick; and in Eliot's hand writing. "1650.—When they had thus cast themselves into this forme of Government, as it is written: then they Considered how to order the Town of Natick; and because all those Lands, or a great part at least, which belong to Natick, were the inheritance of John Speene and his brethren and kindred, therefore we thought it right that he and all his kindred should solemnly give up their right therein before the Lord, and give the same unto the publick interest, right and possession of the Towne of Naticke. They were all very willing so to do; and therefore on a lecture day, publickly and solemnly before the Lord and all the people, John Speen and all his kindred, friends and posterity gave away all their Right and interest, which they formerly had in the Land, in and about Natick, unto the public interest of the town of Naticke, that so the praying Indians might then make a towne; and they received nothing to themselves, saving interest in their wyers, which they had before put; for Lands they would only take up lots, as others did, by the publick order and agreement of the towne, and at the same time they received a gratuity unto their good Contentment."

Under the foregoing, on the same page, there appears to be a similar quit claim from another family, which is
not entirely legible. Then follows the subjoined list of names as witnesses.

John Eliot  Awonomog  Awasamog
Waban      Jethro      Ephraim
Tataswonly Sosunnow    Nohkow
Piambohoo  Monequason* Pohkino*
Johquonum  Nawanont    Qunpe*
Josias     Quanupionit Monat*

The names with this mark * are partly torn off at the end.—Quere. Is it not probable, that at the time of their baptism, or on some other occasion, the Indians sometimes had a Christian name prefixed to their Indian one; as Thomas Waban, Daniel Takawombpait; and sometimes that they dropped their Indian name entirely, and assumed two Christian names; as, Joseph Ephraim, John Thomas?

The wyers abovementioned, or as Walker gives us leave to spell the word, wears, weirs, or wiers, were stone walls, built from each side of the river down stream, till they nearly met each other at an angle of forty five degrees. At this point a large cage was placed, formed of twigs fastened to hoops by strips of young elm, or other tough bark. The wall conducted the fish, that were passing down the river, into this cage, which was called an eel pot, where they were taken in great abundance. Four of these walls were remaining, not many years since, between the confluence of Sawin’s brook with Charles river, and Loring’s bridge; but they are now removed. There is one, in a good state of preservation, about a mile from Biglow’s mills, in an easterly direction, which is visible, when Newel’s mill pond is low; and another about as far below Newel’s
mills. In both these places the river is now the boundary line between Needham and Dover.

When Eliot had made considerable progress in his work, Major General Gookin of Cambridge, was appointed superintendent of all the Indians, who had subjected themselves to the provincial government. He accompanied Mr. Eliot in his missionary tours. While one preached the Gospel, the other administered civil affairs among them. In 1675, when Philip’s war broke out, the English inhabitants generally were jealous of the praying Indians, and would have destroyed them, had not General Gookin and Mr Eliot stepped forth in their defence. Gookin died in 1687, an old man, whose days were filled with usefulness.

1651. This year the town was laid out. It is thus described by Gookin in 1674.—It consists of three long streets, two on the north side of the river and one on the south, with house lots to every family. There is a handsome large fort, of a round figure, palisaded with trees; and a foot bridge over the river, in form of an arch, the foundation secured with stone.

Though the town was thus laid out with regularity, it did not probably long continue in that form. Part of the tribe are said to have resided about Farm pond in Sherburne; others about Long pond in Natick and Bullard’s pond, now in Needham, where indeed traces of their habitations are still visible.

The trench of the circular fort, mentioned above, could be readily traced in its whole extent, when the ground was broken, preparatory to the erection of the last meeting house, which was built in 1828. The oldest man in town, Mr. Samuel Perry, aged 90, remembers to have stepped across the ditch, when a boy, to enter the second meeting house erected here.
Extracts from the detached manuscripts, in possession of the Town Clerk of Natick.

1704.—Natick the 22th. of June 1704.—Jonathan Coolidge of Newtown Turns a bay mare in to Natick of three year old brand with Newtown brand.

Mr John Goudray of Watertown hath Turn a mare of tark bay branded with W. on her neer shoulder and promised to pay one bushill for old mare and other is a Coold.

John Trobridge of New Town a mare and two Coulds a wall Eyed promised to pay two Bushill of Indian Corne.


At a Generall Town meeting Natick upon 18th day Aprill 1715th.—Then we are all agreed and mad law amongs us our Selves that non of us shall seel any Timbor not to ye English if any of us do seal any Timber he shall forvit twenty Shillings to the Town use and
payd to the Town next meeting after as attesd by me Thomas Waban Town Clerk.

Natick September 24, 1715.—At a meeting of Proprietors of Natick orderly warned, &c. Voted

1. That the Lands of Magunkook be sold to the Trustees of Mr Hopkin's Legacy.

2. That Capt. Thom. Waban, Sam. Abraham, Solomon Thomas, Abraham Speen, Thomas Pegan, Isaac Nehemiah and Benjamin Tray be a Committee or Agents for the Proprietors of Natick, and be and are fully Impowered to Act in behalf of the said Proprietors; to Agree with Captain Sewall, Mr John Leverett, Major Fitch and Mr Daniel Oliver for ye Sale of the Lands of Magunkook, and to do all things requisite in the Law for ye effectual investing the Said Lands in ye Trustees of Mr Hopkins's Legacy.


1719.—Natick March 16th 1719. The Town offisers ye year insuing. There was chosen Thos. Waban senr. Samuell Abraham ; Joseph Ephraim to be the Selectmen, of ye town—& John Pehtimee junior & Thomas Sootick to be Constables &—Simon Ephraim Isaac Monequsim : A Hogs Constabls—Benj. Tray : James Wiser survairs for Hiy ways.

1720.—The Town of Natick had agreed with Josiah Shonks to Imply him of the preaching at Natick of 6th months & begain at sd work 19th of December 1720 and we oughth to payd five pound at the end of the
6th months and the Mony should be delivered before the Honorable Captain Sewall Esqr. in Boston.

1721.—Natick September ye 13th 1721—At a meeting of the Proprietors Lawfully warned for that purpose. then was Granted unto Moses Smith of Needham and to his hairs forever 40 acres of land lying on the south westerly side of Peegan Hill for finishing the Meeting house if the Honoured Generall Court shall Pleas to Confirm the same and the Town hath this day Chosen Major Fullam and Liet. Thomas Sawen as our Commeete to see that the work be well done and we pray that the Honoured Court would pleas to accept them as such—and we have this day also Chosen Josiah Speen Solomon Thomas and Samuell Ompetawin our Commeety to acquaint Major Fullam with the same for appribation.

1733-4.—March 11th are the first names of Englishmen, which I find on the list of the town officers, viz. Thomas Ellis, one of the tythingmen, and John Sawin, one of the constables. The rest Indians.

1734-5.—March the 10th. This year I find the following list, composed of both nations. The Indians will be distinguished by the Italick character.—Thom-as Peegun Moderator. [Coll. Fullam present.] Selectmen, Deacon Joseph Ephraim, Thomas Peagun, Josiah Spean.—Town Clerk, David Morse.—Constables, John Looker, Jeremiah Comecho.—Town Treasurer, David Morse.—Assessors, Ebenezer Felch, David Morse, Thomas Peagun.—Surveyors of high ways, Thomas Ellis, Nathaniel Coochuck.—Haywards, Jonathan Carver, William Thomas.—Fence viewers, John Sawin, Eleazer Annpogeni, Hezekiah Broad, Nathaniel Coochuck.—Sexton, Thomas Peagun.—Surveyor of Hemp and Flax, David Morse.
I am not able to ascertain how long the two nations continued to divide the labours, honours and emoluments of office between them. No Indian is recorded, as having sustained any office after the township was incorporated, as a parish; but many are mentioned in the Proprietors' Book, as committee men for laying out and disposing of the common and undivided lands.

There is in possession of the Town Clerk a book of about 170 pages, in a pretty good state of preservation, with the following indorsement on the first page.

'Natick Proprietors Third Book of records bought per their Order.

By Wm. Rider June Anno 1722. Allowed and Accepted of pr. Fra Fullam Justice of Peace.'

The following is the first record in this book.

'1719.---At a Generall Town Meeting of the Proprietors, Freeholders & Inhabitants of ye Town of Natick Orderly Warned and Mett together On Monday ye 4th Day, of May 1719.

In Order to the better Stating, Distinguishing, Knowing and Setling the Proprietors & Proprietee to the Lands in Natick, &c.

Francis Fullam, Esqr. Present at sd Meeting.

Voted Unanimously at ye above said Meeting That

Abraham Speen
James Speen
Moses Speen
Josiah Speen
Isaac Speen
John Speen
Isaac Muniquasin
John Wansamug's heirs
Capt. Thomas Waban
Thomas Pegan

Simon Ephraim
Benjamin Tray
Samuel Bowman
Saml. Wills Right
Saml. Umpatawin
Hannah Tabomsug
Solomon Thomas
Israel Pomhamun
Samuel Abraham
Thomas Nehemiah
Shall be henceforward Allowed Held Reputed & Distinguished to be the Only & true Proprietors of Natick.—
An abstract Taken Out of the Second Book of Records For the Town of Natick—In the keeping of the Hon­ble Francis Fullam Esqr. Exam'd. and Attested per Wm. Rider Proprietors' Clerk for Natick.'

The probability is that the Proprietors' first and second books are irrecoverably lost.

William Rider belonged to Sherburne, and was continued Proprietors' Clerk and Surveyor till 1741.—
Ebenezer Felch of Natick was chosen Proprietors' Clerk and surveyor in his stead. He remained in office till 1760.

John Jones, Esqr. succeeded him for a short period. He lived on the farm now belonging to Mr Loring. It is situated on a promontory in the north part of Dover, and is washed on the east and west sides and the north end by Charles river. He belonged to Mr Badger's church; was one of his Deacons; a Colonel in the militia; one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace before the revolution, and one under the State government after it; and a celebrated land surveyor. He died Feb. 2d. 1802, aged 84.

Elijah Goodenow was the last Proprietors' Clerk. He was remarkable for retaining his faculties, both bodily and mental, to a good old age. When he was from sixty to seventy years old, he used to sing the Counter of Billings's music, in a very appropriate style. He died at the age of 94.

Francis Fullam, Esq. belonged to Weston, and was Superintendent over the Indians till 1741.

The Proprietors' book is chiefly filled with grants to individuals of common lands, and plans of the lots thus granted. A few of the votes there recorded are sub­joined.
1722–3—A proprietors' meeting was warned to be held, March 22d. among other articles, 'To grant and Legally Confirm Unto the Reverend Mr Oliver Peabody their present minister Such quantity of Lands as May Suitably Encourage His Settlement So as to Live and Dye their Gospel Minister.' At this meeting 'William Rider of Sherborn was chosen Clerk for sd. Proprietors; also Capt. Thomas Waban, Joseph Ephraim, Samuel Abram, Solomon Thomas & Benjamin Tray were unanimously Chosen a Committee to pass Deeds of Conveyance to the Reverend Mr Oliver Peabody of all Such Lands and Common rights as the Great & Generall Court Have Granted for his Encouragement to Settle in the Work of the Gospel Ministry in Natick aforesaid.—Also it was freely voted & Granted by the said proprietors, that the Reverend Mr Oliver Peabody aforesaid his heirs and Assigns for Ever Shall have and Enjoy an Interest in the Common and undivided Lands in Natick aforesaid sd. according to the proportion of a Sixty Acre Lott Provided it exceed not a fiftieth part of the said plantation of Natick. Allowed of by Francis Fullam Justice of Peace.'

1723–4.—March 2d. 'Revd. Mr Peabody had liberty to take up one acre of land for conveniency of mills, where Lieut. Sawin's new mill stands by Charles River in Natick as part of his common right in the future division (which being accounted better as the proprietors think) Mr Peabody shall count it as six acres onward of his right in the next division of the commons.'

Lots of land were granted to Mr Peabody, till the above votes were carried fully into effect. The whole amounted to two hundred and eleven acres.

1728,—June 24th. 'Voted that the Revd. Mr Peabody during his continuance in the work of the minis-
try in Natick have the sole use and improvement of the ministerial Lott.'

'November 25th. At a meeting of proprietors Voted, that Mr John Goodenow shall have liberty to take up the quantity of two acres, and 44 rods by stone fort.' This fort stood on the high ground, at a small distance from the house where Mr John Jennings now lives, in a southerly direction. There are no traces of it now remaining.

"Voted, that there be a contribution for ye Revd Mr Peabody, the last Sabbath in every month. Lieut Wamsquon to hold the box."

1731-2,—Ebenezer Felch receipts for six pounds, for keeping school in Natick.

1733.—Ebenezer Felch receipts for four pounds, for keeping school.

1737.—Sepr. 19th, Voted to make sale of one hundred and fifty pounds worth of common lands, the income and yearly interest whereof, to be towards the maintenance of a school in Natick.

1752.—March 30th. Voted to dismiss Francis Fullam, Esqr, (who desired to be dismiss) and choose Jonathan Richardson in his room, to procure their rent money, of their Maguncog lands. and pay it to each proprietor, according to his proportion.

1754.—March 12th. Voted to sell so much of our common and undivided lands, as will be sufficient to raise money to pay for a lot of land, which we have engaged to procure for our Revd Minister, [Mr Badger] and choose Deacon Ephraim, John Ephraim, and Benjamin Tray, a committee to execute legal deeds of the same, in behalf of the proprietors. Eighty three acres were sold, agreeably to this vote.

Voted, to dispose of the old meeting house, and what
may be serviceable in the new meeting house, may be used therefor, and the value thereof set to the Indians' account, and the remaining part of the old meeting house be sold by the committee that are chosen to lay out their common land, and to be divided amongst the proprietors; and that said committee together with the Indian Guardians, be judges of the equivalent.

1787.—Feb. 5th. The last article in the Proprietors' Book is in substance as follows; whereas there are several small parcels of broken land in the Town and Propriety of Natick, that are unappropriated and not capable of a division among the proprietors, who are poor and unable to pay for the survey of the same; and the whole being of small value; therefore voted unanimously, that the Clerk to the said proprietors be desired and directed to sign the petition to the General Court, praying for power to sell the remaining common lands in said Natick, and after paying charges, subdivide the money arising from said sale among the proprietors. From 1720 to 1769 I find grants of common lands to about 60 English, and to about 100 Indians. I am informed, on good authority, that in 1764 there were 65 white families settled in the township, and that at that time they greatly outnumbered the Indians.

**Historical Scrafs from Various Sources, Arranged in Chronological Order.**—1663.—A dedication of the New Testament, and another of the whole Bible, in the Natick dialect, the former dated 1663, 'to the High and Mighty Prince Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King, &c.' are preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the year 1800, pp. 222—228.
1669—The humble petition of John Eliot, in the behalf of the poor Indians of Natik.

Sheweth,—That whereas this honored Court did appoint a Committee, to fix a line betwixt Dedham and Natik, bounding on each other, viz. the worshipful Mr. Ting, Mr. Jackson, Deacon Park & leutenant Cook of Boston, who took pains in it & the record of their determination is accepted, and put into the Court records. Nevertheless some of Dedham doe invade our line, upon one side they forbid the Indians to plant, take away their raills, which they have prepared to fence their corn fields, and on another side, have taken away their lands, & sold ym to others, to the trouble and wonderment of the Indians. these are humbly to request this honored Court to impower the same worshipfull Committee, & request ym once more to take pains, & goe to the place, wt. ye. have already done. & request our brethren of Dedham to be quiet, & let us peaceably injoy our owne. So committing this honored Court unto the Lord, & to the word of his grace I remaine

your humble petitioner
John Eliot.

This petition was granted 20th. May, 1669, and attested by Edw. Rawson, Secretary and William Torrey, Clerk.

This and several other documents, in this work, are from Manuscripts in the hand writing of Eliot and Gookin, in the possession of Lemuel Shattuck, Esqr. of Concord, Ms. to whom the compiler is under great obligations for his polite and friendly assistance.

To the honored Gen Court

The humble Petition of John Eliot in the behalf of the poor Indians of Natik & Magwonkkommuk this 14th of the 8. 69.

Sheweth,—That whereas, in the Record of the bounds of Natik there is a liberty given ym to seek out elsewhere 90 acres of meadow, & the Court will grant the same & seeing there is no such meadow to be found. & of late the Indians have learned to make cedar shingles & clarboards, unto which work in moyling in the swamps ye are fitter yn many English. & many English choose rather to buy ym of the Indians, yn make ym themselves. these are therefore humbly to request that there grant of meadow may be turned into ungranted cedar swamps. one by the way toward Mendon, & others toward Nipmuk. Furthermore whereas
a company of new praying Indians are set downe in the westernmost corner of Natik bounds called Magwonkkommuk who have called one to rule, & another to teach ym, of wm the latter is of the Church, the former ready to be joyned & there is not fit land for planting, toward Natik, but westward there is though very rocky. these are humbly to request yt fit accommodations may be allowed ym westward. & thus committing this honorable Court unto the holy guidance of the Lord I rest

your humble petitioner

John Eliot.

The petition for cedar swamps was not granted. On the other petition Ens John Grout & Thomas Eames were appointed a committee to view and report. Attested by Edw. Rawson & William Torrey, 21 October, 1669.

Shattuck's Manuscripts.

1671.—August 1st. Two natives, named Anthony and William, were sent by "the poor church of Natick," with written instructions, signed, "John Eliot, with the consent of the church," to the Missogkonnog Indians and to the English of Aquidnick and Plymouth for the purpose of preventing a war between those Indians and the English.—Coll. M. H. S. for 1799, pp. 201—203.

1674.—Gookin sent Jethro of Natick, in September of this year, to Nashua (Lancaster) to preach to his countrymen, whom Eliot had never visited. Jethro was one of the most distinguished of the converted Indians, who in general made but sorry Christians. 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 bring
the delinquents before the court, to receive punishment. He answered that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him and strengthened his hands in the work, he would come for a black staff and power. It is not known that Jethro's exhortation produced any effect. Willard's History of Lancaster.

There were at this time twenty nine Indian families in Natick, amounting to one hundred and forty five individuals.

Tradition says that three hundred training soldiers of this nation once paraded at Natick. But this was undoubtedly a general muster from most, if not all the praying towns in Massachusetts.

1675.—It is said that, about this time, the Marlborough Indians, who remained at home, were suspected of treachery, as were those of Natick and all other praying towns. 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. This company reached Marlborough 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 made no resistance, were taken into the custody of the soldiers, had their hands tied behind them, and being connected by a cart-rope, were driven down to Boston, in company with the Indians of Natick and other places, thence hurried down to Long Island, (Hutchinson says, Deer Island) in the harbour, where they remained all winter and endured inexpressible hardships. 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 assist-
ing in the destruction of Westfield, Hadley and other places in October, 1675. *Allen's History of Northborough.*

1676. In the beginning of this year James Quannapaug and another Indian by the name of Job, of the Natick tribe, were sent out by the English, from Deer Island, as spies to make discovery of the enemy. They found about three hundred warriors, besides women and children, about thirty miles from Lancaster. They also visited the enemy at several other places, were by some suspected as spies and threatened with death; but managed so artfully as to be protected by the chiefs. Being informed that in about twenty days Philip's army intended to fall upon Lancaster, Grotton, Marlborough, Sudbury and Medfield, they made their escape; and Quannapaug returned with the intelligence. His letter is dated 24th 11th mo. answering to Jan. 24, 1676. Sixteen days after this Lancaster was attacked by fifteen hundred warriors, and totally destroyed; and the other towns mentioned above, soon after shared largely in the same calamity. *Coll. M. H. S. for 1799, pp. 205—208.*

For the Honorable Governor & counsel of the Colony of Massachusetts. These are to certify that I John Watson Senior being appointed by the honorable Committee; to look to the Indians last summer until after the Indian Harvest, did go up to Marlborough and accompanied the Indians that belonged to that place and were abiding at Naticke to gather and put by their corn in Indian barnes; which corn as I was informed the Country after made use of: And I remember sd Indians yt had come there were these that follow. vizt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Nowett</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Nashems widdow</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Nashem</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mary a widdow cozen to James Speen  15
James Wisers wife about  10
Davids widdow about  06
Thomas his widdow about  09

89 bush.

Most of these Indians were confined to Dearre Island last winter. Datted January 11th 1676 The poor Indians above named desire that the honored Counsel would please to order the treasurer to repay ym yr come. John Watson.

The truth of what is above written is knowne unto divers Inhabitants of Marlborough.

Daniel Gookin Sen  

Shattuck's Manuscripts.

1676 November 10th.—A account of the disposall of the Indians our friends [protempore] presented to the Counsil [at their desire] by Daniel Gookin Sen.

The Naticke Indians are disposed in four companies, as followeth, vizt. one company with James Rummny Marsh & his kindred live in Meadfield with the approbation and consent of the English there are in number about  25  25

Another company live near Naticke adjoyning to the garison house of Andrew Dewin & his Sons, [who desire their neighbourhood] & are under their inspection the number of these may bee about 50 souls  10:  40

A 3 company of them with Waban, live neare the falls of Charles river near to the house of Joseph Miller & not far from Capt Prentic the number of these may bee about 60 souls whereof are  12:  50

A fourth company dwell at noantum : hill neare Leift Trowbridge & John Cooms who permits them to build their wigwams upon his ground the number of this company including some yt live neare John Whites of mudy river & a family or two neare mr. Sparhake & Daniel Champney & mr. Thomas Olivers, who are employed by the said persons to cut wood & spin & make stone w ralls being but a small distance from ye hill of nonantum where their meeting is to keepe Sabbath there may bee about 75 souls  15  60

Among the Natick Indians are to bee reckoned such as are left which came in with John of Pakchoog : which are not many. for sundry of yt company are dead (since they came in): above thirty are put out to service to the english (& three were executed about Tho Eames his burning above twenty rann away: and generally such as remaine are of those indians yt formerly (before ye war) lived under our government at Hassanumesit magunkog, marlio-
HISTORY OF NATICK.

1677.—2 mt. ye 13th day 1677. Assembled to prepare for the exchange of Land between Natick and Sherborn as in our judgment have been given at the Court by mr. Eliot and Major Gookin.

March ye 9 day. It was then voted and concluded that propositions should be made to major Gookin and Mr. Eliot and to the Indians in referring to the exchange of Land between Natick and Sherborne, as to give Fifty pound in Curant pay and as much Land as a Comity by the general Court shall think meet. Sherburne Records.

The Indians making daily inroads upon the weak unfenced places (in Maine) the governor and council resolved to raise new forces; and having had good experience of the faithfulness and valour of the Christian Indians about Natick, armed two hundred of them, and sent them together with forty English, to prosecute the quarrel with the eastward Indians to the full. Hubbard's History.

The phrase, "about Natick," leads us to suppose that all the praying towns, of which Natick was considered a sort of shire town, contributed their quotas to these forces. By Phillip's war many of the Indian praying towns were entirely broken up, and the progress of civilization and Christianity in all the rest was greatly interrupted.

1679.—The inhabitants of Sherborn exchanged with Natick four thousand acres of land, more or less, giving two hundred bushels of Indian graine to boot. There
was also to be a lott of fifty acres sett out where the Commissioners of ye Colonies, Major Gookin & Mr. Eliot and Indian Rulers shall choose within that tract of land which Sherborn was to have of Natick, to be appropriated forever to the use of a free school, for teaching the English and Indian children the English language and other sciences.

Daniel Gookin, senr.  Waban—mark—
Nath'l Gokin  Pimbow—mark—
Edward West  John Awonsamug
Daniel Morse  Peter Ephraim
Thomas Eames  Daniel [probably Tabawombpait.]
Henry Leyland  Sherburne Records.
Obediah Morse

1684.—The Indians of Natick and Wamesit (now part of Tewksbury) who belonged to the same tribe with the Marlborough Indians, laid claim to a right in the soil of that town, which had been cultivated by the English nearly thirty years. The town paid them thirty one pounds for a deed in full, which was signed by twenty six Indians, besides two witnesses of the same nation. Six of these wrote their own names; the rest made their mark.—*Allen's Hist. Northb.*

1685.—John Dunton, a London bookseller, who visited Boston on business this year, gives a pleasant account of a journey which he made to Natick. After visiting Mr Eliot at Roxbury, who presented him with twelve Indian Bibles, he says, 'on my return I found several of my friends making ready for a journey to Natick. I was glad of the opportunity to acquaint myself with the manners, religion and government of the Indians. When we were setting forward, I was forced, out of civility and gratitude, to take madam Brick be-
hind me on horseback. It is true she was the flower of Boston, but in this case proved no more than a beautiful sort of luggage to me.

1693.—The Indian church at Natick, (which was the first Indian church in America) is, since blessed Eliot's death much diminished and dwindled away. But Mr Daniel Gookin has bestowed his pious cares upon it.—Magnolia, Vol. 2d, p. 382.

This Daniel Gookin was minister of Sherburne, and son of the superintendent of the Indians.

1698.—Grindal Rawson and Samuel Danforth spent from May 30th to June 24th, in visiting the several plantations of Indians in Massachusetts. The following is their report respecting the Indians at Natick.

At Natick we find a small Church consisting of seven men and three women. Their pastor (ordained by that reverend and holy man of God, Mr John Eliot, deceased) is Daniel Tokkowompait, and is a person of good knowledge. Here are fifty nine men and fifty one women, and seventy children under sixteen years of age. We find no schoolmaster here, and but one child that can read.

Grindal Rawson.

Boston, July 12, 1698.

Samuel Danforth.

1745.—Jan. 3d. Natick was 'erected into a precinct or parish' by an act of the General Court. In this act the English inhabitants only were included, the Indians being under guardianship. From this time the records have been kept with a good degree of correctness; but there are not many articles worth copying. The most worthy of notice are here transcribed.

1746.—Octr. 1st. Voted not to have a school this year. Granted 85 pounds to buy ammunition for a parish stock.

1746-7.—Granted 40 pounds, old tenor, to be laid out in a reading and writing school.
1749-50.—Jan. 5th. Voted to accept Mr Oliver Peabody as the parish minister, and grant him three hundred pounds, old tenor, yearly salary, upon condition he will come to the centre of the parish to preach, and so long as he preaches there, or supplies the parish with preaching there.

Here perhaps is as proper a place, as I shall find, to notice a controversy which raged with too much bitterness, during the remainder of Mr Peabody’s ministry, and the whole of Mr Badger’s, respecting the location of the house for publick worship. The two first meeting houses were built entirely for the use of the Indians, who were principally settled in the southerly part of the town. The third house also was erected chiefly for the same purpose and on the same site. The English likewise at first mostly settled in this vicinity, and were accommodated by such a location. Those who afterwards settled in the north part of the town, were at from five to six miles distant, and of course were incommoded and uneasy. Many votes were past and reconsidered, to move the house or build a new one, till one was finally erected near the centre, A. D. 1799.

Those who were active in this controversy, are chiefly gone to their long home, and their contentions and animosities are interred with their bones. It is the duty and inclination of their posterity to let them repose together in silence.

A list of the names of the Indians old and young, male and female, which lived in, or belonged to Natick, was taken June 16, 1749, and published in Historical Collections, Vol. 10, page 134. By this it appears that there were at that time 166 Indians belonging to Natick; 42 on the south side of Charles river; 64 south of Sawpit hill on Pegan plain; 16 west of Sawpit hill:
26 south east of Pegan plain; and all were accommodated as the meeting house then stood.

A plan of the township, in the possession of Samuel Fiske, Esqr. bears the following inscription.—'This is a Plan of the Roads and the situation of the houses in the Parish of Natick. The red spots are English houses and the black spots are Indian houses or wigwams. Laid down by the scale of two hundred rods to an inch. August 1st, 1749. Samuel Livermore, Surveyor.' This plan is somewhat defaced, but there appear to be about 40 black spots and about 50 red ones.

As there is no hill now known by the name of Saw-pit, it is left to conjecture which one was intended above.

1758.—Octr. 2d. Voted that the parish committee should fence the English burying places with stone wall.

1763.—March 31st. Voted to finish the galleries and build gallery stairs in the meeting house.

1765.—Seprt. 23d. Voted to finish the meeting house by a considerable majority.

1767.—March 4th. Granted 40 pounds towards finishing the meeting house.

1775. The inhabitants of this town were universally and zealously opposed to the measures of the British government, which resulted in American independence.

Jan. 3d.—Monday—Voted not to send to the Provincial Congress—to choose a Committee of Inspection, and made choice of Capt. James Mann, Mr Oliver Bacon and Lieut Ephraim Jennings—to choose a Committee of Correspondence, and made choice of Lieut William Boden, Capt Joseph Morse and Lieut Abel Perry.
March 6th.—Voted to raise 18 minute men.

March 13th.—Voted not to pay the minute men—that the Constables should pay the Province taxes to Henry Gardner, Esq. of Stow, as Receiver General, and to indemnify the Constables.

April 19th.—On this memorable morning, as one of the survivors lately expressed it, every man was a minute man. The alarm was given early, and all marched full of spirit and energy to meet the British. But few had an opportunity to attack them. Caesar Ferrit and his son John arrived at a house near Lexington meeting house, but a short time before the British soldiers reached that place, on their retreat from Concord. These two discharged their muskets upon the regulars from the entry, and secreted themselves under the cellar stairs, till the enemy had passed by, though a considerable number of them entered the house and made diligent search for their annoyers.

This Caesar was a great natural curiosity. He was born on one of the West India islands, and was accustomed to boast, that the blood of four nations run in his veins; for one of his Grandfathers was a Dutchman, the other a Frenchman; and one of his grandmothers an Indian, and the other an African. He married a white New England woman, and they had several children, in whose veins, if Caesar’s account of himself be true, flowed the blood of five nations. His son John served through the revolutionary war, and is now a pensioner.

May 12th.—Voted to dismiss Capt Joseph Morse, Lieut William Boden and Lieut Abel Perry from being Select men, as they are going into the Massachusetts service.

Captain Morse was considered a valuable officer, rose
to the rank of Major, remained in the service till the year 1779, when he came home an invalid, and died on the 16th of December, of the same year, aged 39. The other two soon exchanged the implements of war for those of husbandry, and lived to an advanced age.

1776.—May 20th. The first warrant on record for a district meeting, granted in the name of the Government and People of Massachusetts Bay, bears this date.

June 20th.—A very spirited report of a committee, consisting of Revd Stephen Badger, Capt John Cooledge and Mr Daniel Morse, solemnly engaging to support the Honorable Continental Congress with their lives and fortunes, should said Congress declare themselves independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, was unanimously accepted.

July 3d.—Voted seven pounds, as an additional sum to the bounty of seven pounds, that the Colony gives to those that enlist into the Canada expedition.

Indeed the votes passed through the whole of the revolutionary struggle prove, that Natick furnished men, and complied with other requisitions for carrying on the war, with as much zeal and alacrity, as many larger and more opulent villages.

1778.—May 7th. Voted not to confirm the new constitution, by a majority of forty nine.

1781.—This year Natick was incorporated as a town, Feb. 19th.

1786.—This was the season of Shays's rebellion, when not only every full grown male citizen but every school boy was a 'government-man.' Then it was the fate of every barndoor fowl, that was clothed in white, to become a sacrifice to law and good order; for the feathers rose to the hat crown, in the shape of a cockade, and the carcass was stowed in the knapsack of the soldier, as part of his rations.
One Lieutenant, one Serjeant, a Drum and Fife Major, and eight, or ten rank and file joined Lincoln's army, and assisted in restoring peace and order.

1787.—Jan. 30th. Voted that Capt. Asa Drury open a subscription, to see who will subscribe money, or other necessaries, for the use of the soldiers that have been, or shall be ordered to march, on the present expedition; also voted six shillings for each of said Soldiers, as a bounty.

March 5th. Granted 10 pounds to buy ammunition.

Nov. 23d. Chose Major Hezekiah Broad delegate to represent the town in Convention. This was the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution. The good Major voted against it; but immediately acquiesced in the doings of the majority, and promised to do all in his power to defend this palladium of our liberty, safety and prosperity. This promise he faithfully fulfilled, so long as he lived. He died much respected and lamented, March 7th. 1823, aged 78.

1794.—Sepr. 1st. Voted to pay the soldiers one dollar as a bounty for enlisting, and two dollars more, if they march out of the state. This vote has reference, it is supposed, to those who enlisted into the Oxford army, as it was called.

1797.—By an act of the General Court, passed this year, an alteration was made in the line between Needham and Natick, by which sixteen hundred and fifty six acres of land were set off from Needham to Natick, and in exchange, four hundred and four acres and an half, exclusive of pond, were set off from Natick to Needham; leaving a balance in favour of Natick of twelve hundred fifty one and a half acres.—Palmer's Century Sermon.
Eclesiastical History.—John Eliot, who is justly styled 'The Apostle to the Indians,' must be considered as the founder of Natick both in church and state. 'Memoirs of his Life and Character' have been published by Revd. Martin Moore, minister of the first church in this place; and as his book is, or ought to be, in every family in the town, and in every library, where there is any desire to be acquainted with the early history of our country, I refer the reader to that work for a particular account of this great and good man. I shall give a brief and general biographical sketch of him, considering him as the first minister of the town, though not ordained over this particular church and congregation.

He was born in England A. D. 1604. His parents gave him a liberal education, and were exemplary for their piety;—for this their memory is precious. 'I do see,' says this excellent man, 'that it was a favour from God to me that my first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer.'

In the year 1631, he arrived at Boston, and the succeeding year, Nov. 5, 1632, was settled as teacher of the church in Roxbury. As was customary in those days, Roxbury had two ministers, one styled teacher the other pastor. The latter office was filled by other persons, during Eliot's life, which enabled him to be absent, as a missionary, without leaving his flock destitute.

Being moved with compassion for the ignorant and degraded state of the Indians, he determined to devote a part of his time to their instruction. For this purpose he undertook the almost hopeless task of learning their language, by the assistance of a young native, who could speak English. The enormous length of
their words, the harshness of their pronunciation, which frequently could hardly be called articulation, would have discouraged any, but a mind of the most extraordinary zeal and perseverance.

‘Our readers, will stand aghast,’ says Cotton Mather, ‘at a few instances. The words ‘our lusts’ are expressed in Indian by a word of thirty two letters—Nummat-chekodtantamoonganunnonash. But this is still outdone by the word—Kummogkodonattoottumnoetiteaongannunnonash, where forty three letters are employed to express our question.’ Some suppose that, in such instances as these, Eliot has mistaken a circumlocution for a single word. Of this language he published a grammar, and into it translated catechisms and other tracts, and finally the whole Bible, which Mather says, he wrote with one pen.

As a further specimen of the Indian language, the reader is here presented with the title page of Eliot’s Bible.

Mamusse
Wunneetupanatamwe
Up Biblum God
Naneeswe
Nukkone Testament
Kah Wonk
Wusku Testament.

The followingspecimen of the Lord’s prayer, in the Natick dialect, with a German interlinear translation, and a grammatical analysis of the language, may be
found in the celebrated work of John Christopher Adelreng of Dresden, entitled: ‘Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit deur Vater Unser als Sprachprole in bey nahe preuf hundert Sprahen und Mundanten.’

Mithridates, or general science of languages, with the Lord’s prayer, as a specimen, in nearly five hundred languages and dialects.—Th. III. Ab. III. S. 385. Berlin. 1812.

The Translation of the Lord’s prayer is from Eliot’s translation of the Bible into the Indian language, printed at Cambridge, A. D. 1663; the title of which has been given above.

Our father heaven in hallowed
Nushun kesukqut; Quttianatamunach
thy name come thy kingdom
ktowesuonk; Peyaumuutch kukketassutamoonk;
thy will done earth on
Kuttenantamoonk nen nach ohkeit
as heaven in our food
neane kesukqut; Nummeetsuongash
daily give us this this day
asekesukokish asamaainean yeuyeu kesukod;
and forgive us our
Kah ahquontamaunnean nummatch-
sins as wicked-doers
eseongash neane matchenekuk quengig
we forgive them Also lead
nutahquontamounnonog; Ahque sagkom-
us not temptation in
pagunaiinnean en qutchhuaonganit;
Oh deliver us evil
Wehe pohquohwussinnean wutch match
from for thine kingdom
itut; Newutche kutahtaun ketassutamoonk
The situation and character of the Indians, in their savage state, have been so often described, that a repetition of the description here is unnecessary. October 28th, 1646, having given previous notice to Waban a principal man among them, and to some other Indians, who had pitched their wigwams, at a place called by them Nonantum, a hill in the northeast corner of Newton, next to Brighton, he proceeded to their residence, with three friends. His first discourse was from Ezekiel xxxvii, 9. After a short prayer, he rehearsed and explained the ten commandments. He then described the character of Christ, told them in what manner he appeared on earth, where he now is, and that he would come again to judgment, when the wicked would be punished and the good rewarded. He spoke of the creation and fall of man; then persuaded them to repent to pray to God, and own Christ as their Saviour.

Besides preaching to them frequently at Nonantum and other places, he framed two catechisms, one for children and one for adults. The questions in these he propounded on one lecture day to be answered on the next. After catechising and preaching to them, he gave them liberty to propound questions and closed with prayer.

After having met with much opposition especially from the Sachems and Powows, and, in an eminent degree, 'endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ,' with no small success in convincing them of the advantages of civilization, a considerable body of
converts united together at Natick, under his direc-
tion, in 1650. They continued several years under
the character of catechumens; and were visited during
their probation by Eliot, or some other minister, every
week, who preached on some article of faith and an-
swered such questions as the Indians proposed to
them.

One of his first objects was to teach them to read
and write, and raise up schoolmasters and religious
teachers of their own tribe to instruct others. He took
Monequessun, an ingenious Indian, into his house; and
having taught him to read and write, made him school
master at Natick. He observes in one of his publica-
tions, 'it hath pleased Goo to stir up the hearts of ma-
ny of them to learn to read and write, wherein they do
profit with little help, being very ingenious,'

Of those, whom he undertook to train up for reli-
gious instructors, he observes, 'assuredly I find a good
measure of ability in them, not only in prayer in which
they exceed my expectation, but in the rehearsing such
scriptures, as I have expounded, and in expounding and
applying them, as they have heard me do.'

A day was at length appointed, which they called
'Natootomakteackesuk,' or the day of asking questions;
when many ministers and their friends, assisted by the
best interpreters, met at Natick to judge of the fitness
of the Indians to be admitted to church communion.
This great assembly was held on the 13th. of Oc-
tober, 1652, when about fifteen Indians made distinct
and open confessions of their faith in Christ, and of
the efficacy of the word upon their minds. A num-
ber of them were baptized at this time, but they were
kept in the state of catechumens until 1660, when the
first Indian church was formed.
Of this church no records are to be found, and but few items respecting it in the early histories of our country. We are not informed how many were first embodied. Some pious Indians from other places joined them; and in 1670 the number of communicants was between forty and fifty.

To fully understand and duly appreciate the character of this truly reverend man, it is necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with the history of his life and labours. The amiable qualities of the disciple that Jesus loved, and the zeal, fortitude and perseverance of the first apostle to the gentiles, have, perhaps, never been united to a greater degree in any one, since the first attempts to propagate our holy religion.

He died, May 20th, 1690, aged about 86 years. His last words were "welcome joy."

Daniel Takawompbait. This is the spelling of the name of this worthy Aboriginal on his grave stone. In a deed, dated April 8, 1692, and signed with his own hand, the spelling is Takawompbait. This deed, conveying a meadow to John Sawin, was presented some years since to the Historical Library in Boston, by the late Capt. David Bacon. In witnessing the Marlborough deed, it seems he wrote Takawompbait. In the communication of Rawson and Danforth, in a former page, it is written Tokkowompait.

He was ordained by Eliot, but at what time does not appear. Increase Mather, in a letter to Professor Leusden of Utrecht, dated 1687, writes as follows: "The pastor of the church of Natick, is an Indian, his name is Daniel." He is said by Rawson and Danforth to have been "a person of good knowledge."

A handsome stone wall now crosses his grave by the road side, a few rods in front of the south meeting
house. A humble stone, probably erected soon after his interment, is preserved in a niche in this wall, marks the spot where his remains repose, and bears the following inscription.

Here lyes the
Body of Daniel
Takawombpait
Aged 64 years.
Died September
the 17th. 1716.

Oliver Peabody.—The following sketch is abridged from an article in the Panoplist, for July 1811, furnished by Rev. Thomas Noyes of Needham, who married a grand daughter of the subject of it, and who has had the best opportunity of any person, now living, to become acquainted with facts illustrative of his life and character.

He was born of reputable parents, in Boxford, county of Essex, commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the year 1698. At the age of two years he was bereaved of his father, and the care of his early education devolved on his pious mother, who was not inattentive to the importance of her charge. The youth was early made sensible, that religion was the one thing needful. The deep interest he felt in the cause of the Redeemer led him to seek an education, that would best prepare him for future usefulness; and accordingly he entered Harvard College in 1717, and was graduated in 1721, in the 23d. year of his age.

Immediately after he was graduated, the committee of the Board of Commissioners for propagating the Gospel in N. E. requested him to be ordained as an evangelist, and to carry the news of salvation to the heathen. This was at a time when the French were ac-
tive in stimulating the Indians to commence hostilities against the English; and for this purpose furnished them with provisions and warlike implements. The consequent apprehensions of an Indian war led many candidates, it is said not less than eleven, to whom the Commissioners had made application, to decline the offer. But such was Mr. Peabody's zeal in the cause of his Master, that he did not hesitate to enter on a mission, though he was subject to the will of his employers, and knew not the place of his destination; but expected to be sent to a remote distance into the wilderness.

As the commissioners concluded to send him to Natick, a place surrounded with settled ministers, and in the vicinity of the society that employed him, they did not immediately ordain him; but sent him to perform missionary service, till circumstances should render his ordination expedient. On the 6th. day of August, 1721, he preached here for the first time. At that time there were but two white families in the town, though several other families afterwards removed thither. John Sawin, who lived where his descendants Thomas and Baxter Sawin now reside, was the first white inhabitant; David Morse, who built on the site where the house of John Atkins, Esq. now stands, is believed to have been the second; Jonathan Carver erected the third English house, on the spot, which Isaac Biglow, jr. now occupies; and Ebenezer Felch is supposed to have built the fourth in the north part of the town, near E. Sudbury line, where some of his descendants still have their place of abode.

Mr. P. remarks in the beginning of the records of the church, formed under his ministry; 'It must be observed, that after my most diligent search, I can find no record of any thing referring to the former church in Natick.'
Mr. Peabody preached constantly at Natick, till the close of the year 1729, when a committee from the board of Commissioners, and from the Corporation of Harvard College were sent to Natick to consider the expediency of embodying a church and settling a minister. The result was that it would be best to embody a church, partly of English and partly of Indians, and set Mr. P. over them in the Lord. The 3d. of December was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, when Mr. Baxter of Medfield preached and embodied a church, consisting of three Indians and five white persons. On the 17th. of the same month, Mr. P. was ordained at Cambridge, a missionary to take the pastoral care of the church and people at Natick.

About two years after Mr. Peabody came to Natick, he married Miss Hannah Baxter, daughter of Rev. Joseph Baxter of Medfield, a lady distinguished for her piety and good sense, by whom he had twelve children, eight of whom lived to years of discretion. The oldest son bore his father's name, and was ordained pastor over the first church in Roxbury, in November, 1750, and died in May 1752. The two other sons died, when they were about thirty; but the five daughters all lived to a good old age.

Though it was his grand object to bring the Indians, by divine grace, to the knowledge, service and enjoyment of God; yet he found it an object, worthy of great attention, to induce them to abandon their savage mode of living, and to make advances in husbandry and civilization; and so great a change was effected in their pursuits and manners, that he lived to see many of the Indian families enjoying comfortable habitations, cultivated fields, and flourishing orchards; and their manners greatly improved.
He embraced the religious principles of our puritanic fathers, and has left us abundant testimony in his publications and manuscripts, that he had not so learned Christ, as to make the precepts of the Gospel bend to suit the vices of men. He was bold and zealous in the cause of truth; but his zeal was not that of the enthusiast. It was an ardent desire to promote the glory of God, and the best good of his fellow men. By his exertions many of them were taught to read and write, as well as to understand the English language. To such a pitch of refinement had some of them arrived, that when Mr. Moody from York, Maine, preached to them in Natick, and used low expressions for the purpose of being understood by them; they observed that if Mr. Peabody should preach in such low language, they should think him crazy and leave the meeting house.

The Indians at the time of Mr. Peabody's coming to reside among them, were much addicted to intemperance; and he took great pains to suppress this ruinous vice, and not without success. Guardians were placed over them, and they became more peaceable, industrious and attentive to religious order. Twenty two persons were added to the church, the first year after his ordination, a number of whom were Indians. In a letter to a convention of ministers in July—1743, he observes; 'Among my little people (I would mention it to the glory of the rich grace and the blessed spirit of God) there have been very apparent strivings and operations of the Holy Ghost among Indians and English, young and old, male and female. There have been added to our church of such as I hope shall be saved about fifty persons, of different nations, since the beginning of last March was two years, whose lives in general witness to the sincerity of their profession.'
During his ministry 191 Indians and 422 English were baptized. During the same period 35 Indians and 130 white persons were admitted into his church. Two hundred and fifty six Indians died; one of whom arrived at the age of 110 years.

Though naturally of a slender and delicate constitution, he consented to go on a mission to the Mohegan tribe of Indians; but the fatigues he endured in the undertaking, so impaired his health, that it was never perfectly restored. He lived several years after; but at length fell into a decline, in which he lingered till Lord's day, Feb. 21, 1752, in the 54th. year of his age. He died with Christian triumph, immediately after uttering the words of the heroic apostle, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.'

In his last sickness the Indians expressed great anxiety for his health and happiness, and tendered him every service in their power. At his death they mourned as for a parent. His widow was afterwards married to Deacon Eliot of Boston. She died in 1796, aged 92.

The following inscription is copied from his grave stone.

HISTORY OF NATICK.

Here are deposited the remains of the Rev Mr Oliver Peabody; a man worthy of the highest estimation, on account of his native powers of mind and useful learning. He took great delight in theological speculations. He shone conspicuously in the pastoral office. For thirty years he ministered to the people at Natick, chiefly for the purpose of instructing the Indians in the Christian religion. He was exemplary also in social life. He greatly excelled in genuine benevolence and liberal hospitality. In sure and certain hope of a future reward, he left the ministry, Feb. 2d, 1752, in the 54th year of his age.

The phrase, 'he left the ministry,' may lead people in general, into an error. They may suppose that he left the pastoral office previous to his death. But one acquainted with the Latin language need not be informed, that, when the Romans would intimate that a person was dead, they frequently used the words, *fuit* he has existed, *vivit*, he has lived, *e vivis cessit*, he has retired from the living, or some similar expression, instead of a more direct and unpleasant mode of communicating the disagreeable intelligence. Thus the above phrase is a proof of the classical knowledge and taste of the writer, who is said to have been Revd Mr Townsend of Needham, his contemporary and friend, and who survived him ten years.

Two printed sermons of Rev Mr Peabody are extant, viz.—

'An Artillery Election Sermon;' and one entitled, 'The Foundations, Effects, and distinguishing Proper-
ties of a good and bad hope of Salvation; with motives to excite all to labour and pray that they may obtain a well grounded Hope, and some directions how to obtain it. Considered in a Sermon, the substance of which was delivered at the Evening Lecture at the New North Church in Boston, on Tuesday, June 8th, 1742, where a copy of it was desired for the Press. Boston, printed by D. Fowle, for S. Eliot, in Cornhill, 1742.'

A few introductory passages from this Sermon will exhibit a fair specimen of the author's style.

Psalm, cxix, 116. — Let me not be ashamed of my hope.

As hope and fear are the two governing passions of the soul; which excite us to action: so it is of concern to us, to know how to improve them so as to promote our happiness. And as we should improve our fears of the wrath of God and eternal torment, so as to quicken us to flee from the wrath to come, and to fly to the Refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us in Christ Jesus; so we should use our hope, with a view to this great end.

It is greatly to be feared, that many have such a slender and sandy foundation of their hope, that when they shall expect, that they are just entering into the possession and enjoyment of what they hoped for; they shall find themselves mistaken and disappointed: which is what the Psalmist deprecates in our Text.

Although he may, in this, have some reference to his hopes of outward good things agreeable to the promise of God to him; yet it appears to me, that he has respect especially to future and eternal things in this pathetic prayer; 'Let me not be ashamed of my hope.'

Stephen Badger was born in Charlestown, A. D. 1725,
of humble parentage, as is indicated in the College Catalogue, by his name being placed last in his class, at a time when the scholars were arranged according to the real or supposed dignity of their parents. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1747. On the 27th of March, 1753, he was ordained by the Commissioners for propagating the Gospel in N. E. as a missionary over the Indians in Natick. The English inhabitants united with the Indians, and added to his salary 19l. 6s. 8d. about $64.44. He closed his public services in July, 1799, and died, August 28, 1803, aged 78.

During his ministry Mr B. encountered many difficulties. A large portion of the white people of his day had adopted as many of the Indian manners and habits, as the Indians had of theirs; so that a considerable number of both nations were but half civilized, and their pastor experienced such treatment, as must naturally be expected from such a flock. The contentions respecting the location of the meeting house have been already mentioned. These continued through the whole of his ministry, and rose to such a height, that many families entirely abandoned public worship in that house, and seldom attended in any other.

During all these difficulties, however, several of the most respectable families were constant attendants on his ministry, and continued so as long as he remained in it.

In stature Mr B. did not exceed the middle height; his person was firm and well formed; his manners dignified and polished; and his countenance intelligent and pleasing. His conversation in mixed company was entertaining and instructive. His public performances gave ample proof of a mind, vigorous, acute and well informed. His sermons were mostly practical, free
from the pedantick, technical terms of school divinity, written at full length, and read without any attempts at oratory. His prayers did not contain so great a variety of expressions, as those of many others; but they were pertinent, and clothed chiefly in the language of scripture. He observed that "for whatever of correctness, or purity of style he was master of, he was indebted to the Spectator of Addison;" and his performances proved that he had profited not a little by "giving his days and his nights" to that immortal production. Had he been set on a more conspicuous candlestick, his light would undoubtedly have shown extensively, brilliantly and powerfully.

Like many of his distinguished contemporaries in the ministry, the names of a few of whom the first president Adams has given in his letter to the Rev Dr Morse, he was a Unitarian; but, like the rest, with the exception of Dr Mayhew of Boston and Dr Howard his successor, he thought that, though it was lawful for them to avow this sentiment, it was not expedient. They believed that, in omitting to mention this opinion they kept back nothing that would be profitable for their hearers. They had read "Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," and believed it to be true; but they had also read the bitter controversial writings, which were published in consequence of it; and they wished not to witness such a contest in this country; such a one as is now unhappily raging in it, to the disgrace of the violent combatants on both sides, if not to the detriment of the cause of Christianity itself.

Mr B's religious sentiments, in general, agreed with those of Arminius; but he called no man master on earth. He had neither so high an opinion of human nature, as some have advocated, nor so low a one, as has
been embraced by others. He considered man not exalted in the scale of being to a rank so elevated, as the celestial intelligences, nor degraded to so depraved a condition, as infernal spirits; but maintained that he occupies a grade between the two, at a very considerable distance from either. He contended that by the right use of the means of grace a person may become fitted for the company of the former; and that by the neglect or abuse of these means, he must be qualified only for the society of the latter.

He taught that love to God and man is the essence of religion; and that a sober, righteous, and godly life is at once the fruit of this love, and the evidence that it is shed abroad in the heart. He considered the second commandment, *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*; like unto the first, *thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart*, as being equally essential to present and future happiness. No one, he would observe, can be profitable unto God by his best devotional services; but he, who is wise, may be profitable to himself and his fellow men, by being a worker together with God in the promotion of human felicity; and this working together with God is the best proof that we love him. Hence he affirmed constantly, that they who have believed in God, should be careful to maintain good works. He held with Paul, that by the deeds of the ceremonial law no flesh living can be justified; and with James, that faith without the works of the moral law is dead. To enkindle and increase the love of piety and virtue in the soul was the end and aim of all his prayers, his preaching and his practice.

He could discern the wisdom and even goodness of Deity in permitting so many denominations to exist in the Christian world, differing in articles of faith and
modes of worship, as it gives the best possible opportunity for the exercise of that charity, which the inspired apostle declares to be greater than either faith or hope. This charity he extended to all, whether they professed to be of Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, provided they gave evidence, in their life and conversation, that they were of Christ. He was ready always to give a reason for the hope that was in him; but, that he might not give just cause of offence to others, he did it with meekness; and feeling his own liability to error, he did it with fear. But while he was thus candid towards others, he demanded a return of the like candour from them.

If any accused him, or any other respectable minister of "leading his flock blindfolded to hell," he considered them as usurping the judgment seat of Christ, who is appointed sole judge of the quick and the dead, as guilty of judging another man's servant, and of judging before the time; and he shuddered at their impious temerity. In short he exercised more charity towards every thing else, than towards uncharitableness.

Like Paul before Felix, he reasoned of the personal, social, and religious duties; esteeming it as absurd to preach to rational beings, and yet deny them the use of their reason, as it would be to preach to those animals, which are created without this distinguishing gift. He never adopted the maxim, "credo quia impossibile est," I believe it because it is impossible; but he embraced Christianity because he considered it a reasonable system; and he allowed that, if it were not so, we should have no reason to believe in it. He did not degrade this godlike endowment by calling it carnal reason, as those are apt to do, who wish to establish an unreasonable doctrine; but insisted that the inspiration of the Almighty hath given us understanding, and that every
one is accountable to the Giver for the use, or abuse of it.

If any told him that they knew positively by their feelings, that they had the Holy Spirit witnessing with their spirit, that their system of belief was certainly the right and true one, and his as certainly false and dangerous; he would reply, that our feelings, when uncontrolled by reason and common sense, are extremely liable to lead us into error and spiritual pride. Though he felt it to be his duty to oppose what he deemed to be errors in opinion; yet he considered it to be of vastly higher importance to correct deviations in practice; as he thought the former would much more readily be forgiven by our final Judge, than the latter.

Mr B. has been accused of having been of an irritable temper. If this were true, it must be acknowledged, that such were the trials, which awaited him, he must have possessed more of the Christian, or the Stoic, than generally falls to the lot of man, to have been otherwise.

It has been said by his opposers, that he was a Universalist. On this point he shall speak for himself; for, though dead, he yet speaketh, in his 'Discourses on Drunkenness,' from which the following passage is extracted.

'Both reason and the word of God lead us to fear, if not conclude, (if we can come to any conclusion at all about him,) that the case of the habitual drunkard is hopeless, and his end inevitable misery and destruction. And his being more exposed to be overtaken and cut off by the hand of death in a drunken fit, should alarm and put him upon the most serious consideration of the eminent danger he is in, when he is overcharged with intoxicating liquor, and what account he will be able to
give of himself, when summoned before the judgment seat of Christ, by whom God will sentence him and the rest of mankind to eternal happiness, or misery, according to the state, in which they are found at the great day of his appearing.'

While Mr Badger urged the importance of good works, he did not teach his people to depend on them alone for salvation; but insisted that by works faith was made perfect, and that man must be saved by grace through such a faith. This appeared particularly in his prayers. He generally concluded the afternoon service by repeating the Lord's Prayer, having prefaced it in some such manner as the following—

'Wilt thou enable us by thy grace to avoid every known sin, to live in the habitual practice of every known duty; and, when we have done all, may we consider ourselves as unprofitable servants, and place our hopes of salvation on thy mercy, declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord; who died, that we might live; who rose from the dead for our justification; who hath ascended to his Father and our Father, to his God and our God, where he ever liveth to make intercession for us; and, in whose perfect form of words, we conclude our publick addresses unto thee at this time—"Our Father, &c."'

It was said of him, as of the great and good Addison, by one, who was constantly with him in his last sickness, and at the time of his departure, that 'he died like a Christian philosopher.'

Had Mr B. lived in this age of 'Self-created Societies,' it is easy for those, who knew him, to conjecture which of them would have met his most cordial approbation.

Temperance Societies he would have pronounced a
suitable foundation for all the rest, which have utility for their object, as life, health and the power of doing good, in a great degree, depend on the practice of this virtue. He would, however, not have them entirely confined to the abolition of the use of ardent spirits; but extended to the immoderate use of wine, and every other liquor, capable of producing intoxication. Even strong tea and coffee he denominated strong drink, and deemed them equally pernicious to the nervous system of their votaries, and the reputation of absent acquaintances. He furthermore agreed in opinion with a celebrated physician, that ‘more dig their graves with their teeth, than with their tankard,’ in other words, more are destroyed by gluttony, than drunkenness. Hence he would have called that man a sorry president of a Temperance Society, who, while he denied his workmen a pittance of ardent spirits to mix with their water, himself fared sumptuously every day, devouring large quantities of high seasoned food, and allaying, or rather increasing his thirst with a bottle of Champaigne, or Madeira, or both. In short he taught his people, by precept and example, to be temperate in all things.

Bible Societies for the disseminating of the Holy Scriptures in all languages, without note or comment, would have met his most cordial cooperation; for these he ever insisted on, as alone sufficient, for every one, who could peruse them, to enable him to gain all religious information, necessary for present and future happiness.

Gamaliel Societies he would probably have proposed, for the suppression of religious, or rather irreligious, controversy; recommending for a motto to the various Christian denominations the following passage, to be observed by each sect toward all the rest—‘Refrain
from these men and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.' This he would have done from a full persuasion, that nothing tended so powerfully to impede the progress of Christianity and promote the cause of infidelity, as the bitter dissensions among Christians about articles of faith and modes of worship; about the mere theory of religion, while the practice was sadly neglected.

Peace Societies he would have regarded as of prime importance; for he could not conceive of a more wretched comment on that religion, which proclaims 'peace on earth and good will to men,' than for its professors to be frequently embroiled in bloody wars, not only with infidel nations, but with each other, and often on most trivial pretences.

Societies for the prevention and abolition of Slavery would have met his most hearty approbation and support; for he was a strenuous advocate for freedom of mind and body, both in church and state.

Societies for promoting morality and piety among seamen he would have considered as of incalculable importance, to give unchristianized nations a favourable opinion of our holy religion, when they should see our mariners, who visited them, obeying the divine precepts of the Gospel, in all their transactions.

He would have said that all these societies must have a general and powerful influence on the character of Christians, before very exalted hopes of success could justly be entertained, from the exertions of Societies for the promotion of foreign Missions.

Societies for the improvement of agriculture he would have delighted to encourage; for, on his own little farm, he set an example of neatness and good husbandry,
which was imitated by few of his parishioners, and equalled by none. In fine, every society, which adopted judicious measures for the encouragement of the useful arts and sciences, and for the promotion of pure morality and real piety, would have been accompanied by his fervent prayers and strenuous exertions for their success.

Mr Badger was twice married. His first wife was Miss Abigail Hill of Cambridge, who presented him with seven children. Five of these died in early life. One of the others was the first consort of the Revd Mr Greenough of Newton. The other is the widow of the late Capt Micah Jackson of the same place. His second wife was the widow Sarah Gould of Boston, who survived him about twenty years.

Mr B. never caused any monuments to be erected to the memory of his departed relatives. After his decease, his grave and those of his family were inclosed with a picket fence, and a stone was placed at one end, bearing the following inscription.

Deposited in this enclosure
are the remains of
Revd. Stephen Badger.
He was chosen by the Commissioners for propagating the Gospel in N. England, & ordained as a missionary over the Indians in Natick March 27, 1753; died August 28, 1803: \( \text{AE. } 78 \). Mrs. Abigail Badger, his consort died August 13, 1782: \( \text{AE. } 57 \)—and five children—also Mr. Stephen Badger Senior—died June 19, 1774: \( \text{AE. } 80 \). As a tribute of affectionate respect this stone is here placed. "While memory fond each virtue shall revere."

All the publications of Mr Badger, that are known to the writer, are the following—
Several Essays on Electricity, printed in the Columbian Centinel, soon after the establishment of this paper in Boston. In these he offers the conjecture, that by drawing the electric fluid from the clouds by rods, the necessary quantity of rain may be prevented from falling.—A Letter from a Pastor to his people, opposing the requiring of a confession of particular transgressions, in order for admission to church fellowship. Not having this pamphlet at hand, I cannot give its title accurately. Both these publications are anonymous.—Letter to the Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, partly republished in this compilation.—Two Discourses on Drunkenness, printed in 1774, and recently reprinted by the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Intemperance.

Freeman Sears was the first minister ordained in the central meeting house. For the following notice of him I am indebted to Rev. Stephen Palmer’s Occasional Sermon, delivered in Needham, March 22, 1812.—“He was born at Harwich, in the county of Barnstable, Nov 28, 1779. At the age of 17, he moved with his parents to Ashfield, in the county of Hampshire. About this time his mind became seriously impressed by a sense of his danger, while destitute of an interest in Christ; and in the course of this year, was enabled to taste and see that the Lord is gracious. In the winter of the following year, he taught a school in Ashfield; and such were the serious impressions upon his mind, that his youthful diffidence did not prevent him from praying morning and evening in his school. At the age of 19 he was called to part with an elder brother. Under this affecting bereavement he was calm and composed, and prayed with his brother in his last moments. In the year 1800, a little before he was 21 years of age, he entered Wil-
liam's College, and was graduated there in 1804. April 10, 1805, he was approbated to preach; and Jan. 1, 1806, he was ordained pastor of the church and society in Natick."

"Though he had a weak and slender constitution; yet he was enabled in general to perform the duties of his pastoral office, till the latter part of the year 1810, when his health became essentially impaired. His complaints were consumptive and began to assume an alarming aspect."

"In this critical situation, his physicians advised him to go to a warmer climate, as the only probable means of recovery. Accordingly in the month of December, he sailed for Savannah in Georgia, where he arrived and spent the following winter. During his absence from his family he found many kind and generous friends, who administered to his necessities. He was a stranger and they took him in; he was sick and they visited him. These acts of kindness made a grateful impression on his mind."

"But though these kind attentions were soothing to his feelings; yet his health was not restored, but seemed to decline. Still, however he indulged the hope, that he should be able to return to his family and friends, whom he wished again to see. Accordingly about the first of April, he left Savannah, with a view of revisiting his distant home, and concluded to return by land. He was weak and debilitated, and the journey was long and fatiguing. But through divine goodness, he was enabled to accomplish his object, and on the 2nd of June he arrived at Natick. He was now in a very low and reduced state. From his extreme debility and emaciated appearance, it was matter of surprise to his friends, that he should be able to complete
his journey. After his return, he continued gradually
to languish till the 30th of June, when he expired. On
the 3d of July his remains were respectfully interred at
Natick, at which time a sermon adapted to the occasion,
was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Bates of Dedham."  
"He died in the 33d year of his age, and 6th of his
ministry. This was not only an affecting loss to his
family and people, but to the public. His talents were
respectable; his elocution was pleasing; and from early
life, he was exemplary and distinguished for his piety.
He was, however, permitted to remain but a little
while in the vineyard of Christ, before he was called, in
the judgement of charity, to receive the reward, not of
a long but of a faithful service. From the bright pros-
pect, which he had of entering, at so early an hour, into
the joy of his Lord, the language of his departure seem-
ed to be—Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me,
but weep for yourselves and for your children. Not
only for ourselves and children, but for the interest of
Zion we then had and still have occasion to weep. He
was dear to me; and in a feeling manner, I am still
constrained to say—Alas, my brother!"

From the acquaintance, which the compiler had with
Mr Sears, he judged him to be a Calvinist of the Dod-
dridge school; blest, by the Author of every good gift,
with too much good sense to be an enthusiast, and too
much good nature to be a bigot.

The following letter is believed to be the only pro-
duction of his pen which survives him, and is here pre-
served, as a pleasing proof of the soundness of his un-
derstanding and the goodness of his heart.

_Savannah, January 25, 1811._

_My dear people, over whom I am placed in the Lord!
Dearly beloved in Christ Jesus! Though absent, and_
feeble in body, I have not forgotten you. My health was such, when I left you, that I was unable to give you such directions and counsel, as became a faithful minister, on separating from his people for a season. My health is no better, but rather worse. In the afternoon, I have a high fever; cough very much in the evening; have cold sweats at night and sleep very little. To day my physician talks more discouraging, and I heard that he told other people that I could not continue six months.

At first, my feelings almost overwhelmed me, and rose superior to my better judgment. But I am in the hands of God, who can and will protract the brittle thread of life, so long as it will be for his glory, and the best good of his kingdom, which ought ever to be the summit of my wishes.

With this thought fixed in my breast, however natural feelings operate, I am still! I am not without hope, that I shall return to you again, in the land of the living. But all this I leave with Him, who never does wrong.

It is for the benefit of my dear people, that I now write; and I wish you to receive it as a pledge of love. I do not say it is my last advice.* I may yet preach to you for years; but it is such advice and counsel as my conscience would approve on a dying bed, for I feel something at present, like a dying man.

On a critical and prayerful review of my ministerial labours among you, I find myself in many respects deficient; not that I regret the plainness of my preaching, nor the doctrines that I so frequently inculcated; these together with the threatenings denounced against the ungodly, and the comforting of saints, afford me pleasure to reflect upon. I do not think of any doctrine, that I have advanced among you, that I am not willing to seal with my death. I must therefore solemnly exhort you to continue unshaken in all the great and glorious doctrines of grace.

But this is not all, there must be a principle of in-

* It was, however, the last public communication that he made to his people, and they should receive it as the words of a dying man.
dwelling religion, which, like a never failing spring, always refreshes the thirsty traveller. That religion, which has not its seat in the heart, is of very little avail. Christians! I call upon you to know how you stand. I doubt not your tenderness towards me, and that your prayers have often ascended to heaven on my behalf. You feel your lonely situation, that you are like sheep without a shepherd. But have you not reason to fear, the angel of the churches hath somewhat to write against thee? Either that you have left your first love, or are indifferent to things which demand your first attention? As in life, so in death, I must declare to you, that the condition of the hypocrite, is of all others the most desperate and alarming. To have only a name to live, whilst in reality we are dead, is deplorable in the extreme.

But if ye are Christ’s in reality, as I fully believe some of you are, He will provide for you. Like the primitive disciples of our Lord, meet often together; spread your wants and your sorrows before God; trust in his promises; heartily believe what Christ told his disciples, that he would not leave them comfortless. And though your pastor be absent, you may draw comfort from the never failing fountain, Christ Jesus!

Sinners! What shall I say to you! Gladly would I weep over you as Jesus did over Jerusalem, if that would touch your hearts. I know not all the feelings of the wicked towards me, but I think I know my own towards you. Although I have borne pointed testimony against some of your conduct, my conscience bears me witness that I love your souls.

Think for a moment on your condition; Enemies of God by wicked works—exposed to his wrath—your feet on slippery places—and hell beneath ready to receive you. What if your feet should slide! I tremble for you, and once more, not from the desk and face to face, but from a distance, and with a trembling hand, I most affectionately warn you to flee from the wrath to come. Make no delay. Tarry not in all these plains. Escape it is for your life!
Finally, brethren and friends, farewell. May the God of all grace bring you to his kingdom, in the end, where, if not on the earth, I hope to meet you.

Yours, &c.

FREEMAN SEARS.

The following is a copy of the inscription on his grave stone.

SACRED

To the Memory of Rev. FREEMAN SEARS, Pastor of the Church in Natick; Who died, June 30 A. D. 1811:
In the 33d. year of his age and 6th of his Ministry.

His bereaved Flock

From sentiments of gratitude and respect, consecrate this stone to his memory.

To us, his flock, his death doth speak,
Be wise in time; your Saviour seek;
He loves his own; he makes them blest;
They die in peace; in heaven they rest.

Martin Moore is the immediate successor of Mr Sears in the ministry. He was born in Sterling, in the county of Worcester, A. D. 1790, and graduated at Brown University, A. D. 1810. The call of the church, inviting him to settle as their pastor, bears date, Nov. 18, 1813. The concurring call of the congregation was given, Dec. 6th. An affirmative answer was communicated, Jan. 2d, 1814. His ordination took place the 16th of February following. The order of exercises on this occasion was as follows.—Introductory Prayer by Rev Dr Kellog of Framingham.—Sermon, Rev Mr Fisk of Wrentham—Consecrating Prayer, Rev Mr Holcomb, Sterling—Charge, Rev Dr Prentiss, Med-
HISTORY OF NATICK.

field—Right Hand, Rev Mr Noyes, Needham—Concluding Prayer, Rev Mr Palmer, Needham.

It is sincerely hoped, that many years will elapse, before the removal of this useful servant of the Lord to that bourne, which his predecessors have sought, shall render it proper for a biographer to publish a history of his life, or a sketch of his character.

Since the settlement of the Rev Mr Moore there has been a happy revival of religion in this place. By a revival is meant, that some, who were idle, have become industrious; some, who were intemperate, have become sober; some who were dishonest, are now just in their dealings with their neighbors; some, once openly profane, now reverence the name, word and worship of God; while those, who, in the judgment of charity, were sober, righteous and godly persons before, have persevered with increasing diligence and devotion. This has been effected with much less of enthusiasm, bigotry and uncharitableness, than too frequently accompanies what are called revivals. The power of God has not been visible in a rushing mighty wind, in an earthquake, or in fire; but in the still small voice of strict morality and sober piety. That such revivals may take place among people of all denominations, must be the devout wish and prayer of every virtuous and pious soul.

James W. Thompson, pastor of the South Congregational Church and Society, was born in Barre, in the county of Worcester, A. D. 1805, and graduated at Brown University, A. D. 1827. He was invited by a unanimous vote of the society to become their pastor, Decr. 31, 1829. His answer, accepting the invitation, is dated Jan. 15, 1830. He was ordained, Feb. 17, 1830. The following is the order of exercises—
Introductory Prayer, Rev. Mr Sanger, of Dover.—
Reading of the Scriptures, Rev. Mr Sibley Stow.—
Sermon, Revd Mr Young, Boston—Ordaining Prayer,
Rev. Dr Lowell, Boston—Charge, Revd. Mr Thompson,
The exercises, excepting the prayers; are published. Though the ministers and people of the
two parishes differ in their religious opinions; it is hop­
ed that there will be no other strife between them,
than an emulation to excel in leading a sober, righteous
and godly life, and no other provocation, than a provoking
of one another to love and good works.

For a number of years past, there have been a few
inhabitants of this town of the Methodist persuasion,
of reputable characters, who usually attend public wor­
ship in the north part of Needham. The Rev. Isaac
Jennison is the travelling preacher of the Needham cir­
cuit, and has his place of residence in Natick.

But little information can be collected, respecting the
former churches in this town. How many members
composed Eliot’s at its organization is not known. In
1670 there were between 40 and 50 communicants.
In the time of Takawompbait, A. D. 1698 the number
was reduced to 7 males and 3 females, and at his death,
A. D. 1716, was broken up. Another church was
formed at the ordination of Mr. Peabody A. D. 1729.
During his ministry 130 English and 35 Indians were
admitted to full communion. At his death, A. D. 1752,
this church was disembodied. A new one was formed
at the time of Mr. Badger’s ordination, A. D. 1753,
and 69 were admitted to the Christian profession, dur­
ing his ministry. This was dissolved, when Mr. Bad­
ger retired from his pastoral labours. Another was em­
bodied previous to the settlement of Mr. Sears, consisting of 23 members. Mr. Sears received 14 into the church. At the time of Mr. Moore's ordination the church consisted of 26. Received since his ordination up to January 1830, 122. Dismissed to other churches 7. Excommunicated 4. Number, Jan. 1st. 1830, 117. A church was embodied in the south parish, March 11, 1830, consisting of 16 members. The Lord's supper was administered for the first time in the South meetinghouse, on the 28th. of the same month, to 22 communicants.

As to baptisms, marriages and deaths, it is impossible to procure any thing like an accurate list of either.

Extracts

From a letter written by Rev Mr Badger to the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated February, 1797; and published in their fifth volume.

The Indians have been urged to an almost total change of their customs and manners, to substitute others in their stead, some of which are directly opposite to their ancient usages; to put a greater force upon nature, than they could easily and at once give into; to oppose and give up what they had always before been habituated to, and had a veneration for; and even to set aside those superstitious rites, in the zealous performance of which, what religion they had, exclusive of the religion or law of nature, very much consisted, and of which they were not a little fond and tenacious. These things, so far as they embraced and conformed to them, have had a corresponding tendency and effect, and have been not a little unfavorable to their health and constitution, and of course had a tendency to shorten their
lives. Where the principles of the gospel, the habits of industry and a regular mode of life have had to counteract and combat principles and habits of indolence and laziness, roughness and ferocity of manners, and an irregular and improvident disposition and practice, the struggle, which has been occasioned by them, must have been very great, and consequently not a little unfavorable, especially at first, to natural constitution, to health and long life.

The Indians are generally considered by white people and placed, as if by common consent, in an inferior and degraded situation and treated accordingly. This sinks and cramps their spirits, and prevents those manly exertions, which an equal rank with others has a tendency to call forth. If they have landed property, and are intermixed with white people; or if these last settle near their borders, they encourage their Indian neighbours in idleness, intemperance and needless expenses, to involve them in debt, and prepare the way for the sale and purchase of their lands, at a very low rate, by which they have been impoverished and disheartened. Near a hundred years ago they were the exclusive proprietors of this plantation, which I suppose contained eight or nine thousand acres; but at this time the remnant of them are not owners of so many hundreds. At the beginning of the present century they were embodied into a military corps, were invested with military titles, made choice of town officers, and had the countenance and support of the chief magistrate and other persons of distinction. They then held up their heads, considered themselves of some importance and were stimulated to continue in the profession of the Christian religion, and to conform to the manners of their English neighbours; but their examples of irregularities and excess (it is to
be apprehended) had too great and predominant effect upon them. This, with that strange propensity in their constitutions to excess, brought them into disrepute; their military parades were followed by drinking frolicks and at length discontinued; the English were gaining settlements among them, joined with them in the administration of their prudential affairs; and at one of their meetings made choice of one of their number, in conjunction with one of the English settlers to read the psalm in public. Some English from neighbouring towns, who through indolence and excess had neglected the cultivation of their own farms, were necessitated to sell, purchased small tracts of the Indians, became settlers and by degrees obtained possession of more. The Indians were dispirited, adopted vicious manners, of which they had too many examples; became more indolent and remiss in improving their lands; lost their credit; their civil and military privileges were gradually lessened, and finally transferred exclusively to the English, who were become more numerous, and some of whom took every advantage to dishearten and depress them. Under these circumstances, those habits which have a direct tendency to beget and promote bad morals, to injure health and shorten life, were fully indulged and answerable effects followed.

Indians are strangely addicted to wander from place to place, sometimes for a long time and to a great distance from their place of abode, without any thing on hand for support, and depending on the charity and compassion of others for sustenance; and this sometimes in the most unfavorable seasons of the year. These journeys they perform leisurely, sometimes with infant and other children, taking shelter in barns, or other uncomfortable buildings, or sleeping on the ground, in the open
air, without sufficient covering. In this vagrant state, they seldom have regular meals, and less frequently any that have been recently prepared for the families, into whose houses they seem to think they have a right to enter, as their forefathers were the original proprietors of the soil. Their clothing is generally poor, such as they beg by the way; a cup of cider, or something worse is frequently handed to them to get rid of them more easily, than to give them a meal of victuals; and this is done so often, as they pass from house to house, that they frequently become over-charged, which I have scarce ever known to be the case, when they have been at home. This practice, especially as it respects the females, exposes their virtue and their health, and that of their children, and lays a foundation for consumption, which has generally been the means of their death. To these causes may be added, their males engaging in military service, to which they have been very easily enticed.

During several of the first years of my ministry, I joined in marriage and baptized more Indians than English; but in the wars, that took place between 1754 and 1760, many engaged in the service; not a small number died in it; others brought home with them a contagious sickness, which spread very fast, and carried off some whole families. This was in 1759. In about three months, more than twenty of them died of this disorder, a putrid fever, which carried them off in a few days. But two who had the disorder recovered, and they were young women. Though their English neighbors were not backward in assisting them, but one received the infection, and to him it proved mortal. There was a time of great sickness and mortality, in this and several neighbouring towns, a few years before, when
but one Indian inhabitant sickened and died. These facts seem to prove that there is a dissimilarity between the natural constitutions of the English and Indians. In what that difference consists it may be difficult to decide.

The general disposition and manners of Indians are so distinguishingly characteristic, that a very worthy Indian, of good understanding, who was a deacon of the church in this place (deacon Ephraim) and an ornament to the Christian society for many years; and who, from the first of his making a Christian profession to the end of his life, was an example of seriousness and temperance, of a regular conversation, and a constant, grave and devout attendant on the public institutions of religion; upon being asked how it was to be accounted for, that those Indians, when youths, who were put into English families, chiefly in other towns, for education; who had free access to such liquors as are the produce of the country, and intoxicating when taken to excess; but who refrained therefrom, and were regular and steady in their attention to business; yet soon after they had the command of themselves and of their time, and had associated with those who were of the same complexion, become Indians in the reproachful sense of the word; were idle, indolent and intemperate, and became habituated to all the excesses of those, who had not been favoured with such advantages; made this laconic reply; *Ducks will be ducks notwithstanding they are hatched by the hen*—in his own broken English, "*Tucks will be tucks for all ole hen he hatchum.*" And I have thought that by the peculiarity of their natural constitution, they are addicted to and actually contract such habits of indolence and excess, as they cannot without the greatest efforts, which they seem not much disposed to make,
give up, if they ever entirely get rid of them. They seem to be like some plants that thrive best in the shade; if the overgrowth is cut off, they wither and decay, and by degrees are finally rooted out.

The unhappy disagreement and contention between the English inhabitants about the placing of the meeting house, which began in the latter part of my predecessor's time, has at times been renewed ever since, and now rages with violence among them, has had a tendency to impede the success of the Gospel among the Indians in this place. The disaffected to its present situation have endeavoured to warp their mind, not only respecting the meeting house, but to alienate it from those, who have been employed as missionaries, and to discourage their attendance on public worship, which was supported on their account, by some charitable funds in England before, and part of the time since the revolution; remittances from which have ceased for several years. Out of these there were yearly donations of blankets and books, which had a tendency to keep them together; but by the circumstances of the times in which we live, but few of the remnant of them attend public worship, and none are remarkable for the genuine influence of the principles and prospects of that religion, which is from above, any more than their English neighbours. The number of church members is now reduced to two or three. I suppose that there are now about twenty clear blooded that belong here; but they are frequently shifting their place of residence.

Immediately previous to my settling in this place a church was gathered, which consisted partly of English and partly of Indians; and though some additions were soon after made of Indian professors, yet from the causes already mentioned, a decrease gradually took place
and has continued to the present time. Their case, with the circumstances attending their situation, is truly deplorable, and, contrasted with our own, is adapted in a high degree, to excite gratitude to heaven for the unaccountable and unmerited distinction.

Reminiscences.

Fifty years ago there were about thirty Indians, who resided constantly, or most of the time, in Natick. John Ephraim was the grandson of the Deacon of that name, and inherited the farm of his grandfather; but very few, if any, of his virtues. He had a wife, who sustained a good character, and five children; but they suffered severely by his misconduct. His farm was neglected, and he sold it a few years before his death. His wife died before him; and it was believed that his ill treatment hastened her decease. His eldest son, Benjamin, was respectable in regard both to morals and religion. He was a servant in the family of the late Colonel Humphreys, when he resided in Boston, and a member of Dr Stillman's church. He died at the age of about 30 years. His eldest daughter, who died at Medfield, bore a good reputation and was a member of the Baptist church in that town. His other three children died in childhood.

Sarah and Deborah Comecho were widows, at the time above mentioned, were daughters of Deacon Ephraim, and owned each a small house and a few acres of land. One of them was a member of Mr Badger's Church, and the habits and manners of both were correct. Hannah Thomas was also a widow of good character, and owned a house, barn, and about thirty acres of excellent land. Hannah Dexter was known to many now living, as 'a doctress, well skilled in administering medicinal roots and herbs.' She came to a tragical end,
a few years since, while endeavouring to quell a riot in her house, which was raised by a set of unwelcome vis-
itants, chiefly of a mixed breed of English, Indian and African blood. Her grandson, Solomon Dexter, is now the only full blooded survivor of the tribe, unless we reckon a small number, who reside in or near Mendon, in the County of Worcester, who occasionally visit this place, as the land of their ancestors. With the exception of the few individuals above mentioned, those, whom the writer remembers, generally united in their characters many of the vices both of the savage and civilized state.

Such has been the fate of the tribe of Aborigines, which was first civilized and Christianized in North America, by protestant missionaries; and similar the fate of most, if not all the tribes in New England. Whether a better destiny awaits the Red Men of the south and west, is known only to Him, who created them. The prayer of every Christian of every philanthropist must be, Lord, have mercy on them, and protect them from their adversaries—Lord, have mercy on their persecutors, and touch their hearts with feelings of humanity, of pity and of justice.

Anecdotes.

The following anecdotes are published on the authority of tradition.

While Eliot was engaged in translating the Bible into the Indian language, he came to the following passage in Judges V. 28. “The mother of Sisera looked out at the window and cried through the lattice,” &c. Not knowing an Indian word to signify lattice, he applied to several of the natives, and endeavored to describe to them what a lattice resembled. He described it as
frame work, netting, wicker, or whatever occurred to him, as illustrative; when they gave him a long, barbarous and unpronounceable word, as are most of the words in their language. Some years after, when he had learned their dialect more correctly, he is said to have laughed outright, upon finding that the Indians had given him the true term for eelpot. "The mother of Sisera looked out at the window and cried through the eelpot."

One of these sons of the forest is said to have discovered a more appropriate emblem of the Trinity, than even the triangle itself. The missionary had been lecturing on this sublime and incomprehensible mystery; when one of his red auditors, after a long and thoughtful pause, thus addressed him. "I believe, Mr minister, I understand you. The Trinity is just like water and ice and snow. The water is one, the ice is another and the snow is another, and yet they are all three water."

The following is handed down as a true copy of a warrant, issued by an Indian magistrate.—"You, you big constable, quick you catchum Jeremiah Offscow, strong you holdum, safe you bringum afore me.

Thomas Waban, Justice peace.

When Waban became superannuated, a younger magistrate was appointed to succeed him. Cherishing that respect for age and long experience, for which the Indians are remarkable, the new officer waited on the old one for advice. Having stated a variety of cases and received satisfactory answers, he at length proposed the following:—"when Indians get drunk and quarrel and fight and act like Divvil, what you do dan?"—"Hah! tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff, whip um defendant and whip um witness."—Quere. Can a more
equitable rule be adopted, on a like occasion, by any nation?

In the course of Mr Peabody's ministry, there was a long and severe drought, which induced him to offer public prayers for rain. Among others, he used the following petition. "May the bottles of heaven be unstopped and a plentiful supply of rain be poured down on the thirsty earth." It very soon began to rain, and so continued for many days in succession. Before it ceased, an Indian met Mr P. and observed, "I believe them are bottles, you talk about, be unstopped, and the stop­ples be lost."

Another Indian, or the same, went to Boston in the Fall of the year, with a back load of brooms and bas­kets; and, as his custom was, called into a store, pur­chased a dram of the ardent, paid the price of it and departed. The next spring he made a similar journey, and called at the same store for the same purpose; but the store keeper charged double price for the same quantity of liquor. This led the Indian to inquire the reason. The dealer in poison answered, that he had kept the cask over winter, and it was as expensive as to keep a horse.—"Hah," says Tawny, "he no eat so much hay; but I believe he drink as much water."

Wit and humour have not been confined to the red natives of this place; but some of the whites come in for a share. One being warned to do military duty, requested the captain to excuse him. This officer told him, that he might state his case to the company, and if they would vote in the affirmative, he should be ex­cused. He accordingly made the following address. "Fellow soldiers—I am rather hard of hearing, and don't always understand the word of command. Be-
sides, at the age of sixteen, I was drafted to go into the army; but my father went in my room and was killed and never got home. Now if I had gone myself and got killed, I should have got clear of military duty to all eternity.” He was excused by acclamation.

Rev Mr Badger was fond of wit and humour. He could relish a goodnatured joke, even “at his own expense.” He had a trial of this in the following manner. One Daniel Bacon, a horse doctor and dealer in besoms and beanpoles, was invited by Mr B. to visit his horse, which appeared to be somewhat unwell. Bacon examined the beast, with close attention; and then gave it as his opinion, that the horse and the town of Natick were in a similar situation—both needed a better \textit{pasture} [pronounced] \textit{pastor}.

Another facetious clergyman, knowing Bacon’s character, had a mind to enter into conversation with him, and commenced by asking him “of what profession are you?”—“A farmer,” says Bacon, “and what are you?” “A canon of the gospel,” was the reply.—“A cannon! If you had not told me, I should have thought you a blunderbuss,” was the rejoinder.

Bacon took a journey to one of the towns in the vicinity of Boston, with a load of beanpoles for sale. Seeing a lawyer’s office hard by, he stepped in, pretending to want advice, in a difficult case. The ’Squire telling him he could have it for a dollar, Bacon observed, “I wish very much to know where I can get five dollars for my beanpoles; and if you will tell me, I will give you two of them.”
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

AND

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

PLAINFIELD,

IN HAMPShIRE COUNTY, MASSACHuSETTS,

MAY, 1834.

BY JACOB PORTER.

"Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood."—Scott.

GREENFIELD.
PRINTED BY PRINCE AND ROGERS.
1834.
Errata.—The following are believed to be the most important typographical errors in this work. Page 12, line 3, for 17 read 7.—Page 58, line 19, for need read needs.
HISTORY OF PLAINFIELD.

SITUATION AND EXTENT.

Plainfield is a post township in the north-west corner of Hampshire county, Massachusetts, 20 miles north-west of Northampton, and 112 west of Boston. It is about 5 miles long from east to west, and about 4 wide from north to south.

BOUNDARIES.

It is bounded on the north by Hawley, east by Ashfield, both in Franklin county, south by Cummington, west by Windsor and Savoy, both in Berkshire county.

According to a survey taken by Eliphalet Darling, in 1831, by order of the General Court, the particular boundaries are as follows:—Beginning at the north-west corner, by a line running east, 19 degrees south, 1,594 rods = 4 miles, 314 rods, which is the boundary between Hawley and Plainfield; thence south, 7 degrees west, 217 rods, thence south, 30 minutes east, 122 rods, thence east, 19 degrees, 20 minutes south, 85 rods, thence south, 19 degrees, 20 minutes west, 401 rods, = 1 mile, 81 rods, thence south, 30 minutes east, 517 rods, = 1 mile, 197 rods, the boundaries between Ashfield and Plainfield; thence west, 17 degrees south, 195 rods, thence west, 20 degrees north, 1,604 rods, = 5 miles, 4 rods, the boundaries between Cummington and Plainfield; thence north, 18 degrees east, 927 rods, = 2 miles, 287 rods, thence west, 18 degrees north, 166 rods, the boundaries between Windsor and Plainfield; thence north, 18 degrees east, to the corner first mentioned, 320 rods, = 1 mile, the boundary between Savoy and Plainfield. In conformity to a law of the commonwealth, passed March
8, 1827, a stone monument, marked with the proper initials, has been erected at every corner.

GEOLOGY.

Two distinct and well characterized strata of rocks traverse this town in a north and south direction. Mica slate extends from Ashfield about two thirds of the distance to Savoy; talcose slate then commences and occupies the remainder of the township. These rocks are beautifully stratified; but the strata, instead of lying in their natural position, are turned up, so that their inclination is perpendicular. Large blocks of granite, more particularly in the western part of the town, are seen in many places, resting on these strata, often near the summits of the hills. To the geologist these are interesting, as they lead back his mind at once to that mighty rush of waters, probably the general deluge, when they were driven to their present station, and enable him to account for the diluvial scratches observed on the ledges in this and the neighboring towns.

"Talcose slate," says professor Hitchcock in his excellent Report on the Geology of Massachusetts, "is, in general, a mere variety of mica slate, talc taking the place of mica, or being super-added to it. Where the talcose slate, however, is most pure, so as in fact to be little else but slaty talc, with more or less quartz, the soil, which its decomposition produces, is decidedly inferior to that resulting from mica slate; and probably this is owing to the large quantity of magnesia, which talc contains.

"Mica slate produces a soil of a medium quality. Some varieties of it underlie tracts of superior quality. But the most extensive tract of mica slate in Massachusetts consists of the high and mountainous region west of Connecticut river; so that it is difficult to compare the soil lying over it with that of formations at a lower level. The deep ravines, so common in the mica slate, furnish many fertile, though limited patches of ground; while the mountain sides are very superior for grazing." In the east part of Plainfield, as the same writer elsewhere observes, "the geest is so abundant as to occupy most of the surface, the subjacent rock scarcely appearing."

The principal use of these rocks, besides that of fences, for
which they are extensively employed, is for door stones, hearth stones and foundation stones for our buildings. For these purposes they answer well, except that hearth stones commonly crack in the middle, after being exposed to heat. This rock was formerly made into gravestones; but this use of it is now superseded by the introduction of the Berkshire marble. With us it has not yet been wrought into whetstones, though the finer varieties answer well for this purpose, and manufactories of the kind have been established in some of the neighboring towns, particularly Cummington and Norwich. The talcose slate bears the fire much better than mica slate, and is, on this account, sometimes used for jambs.

"In Plainfield and Hawley," says professor Hitchcock, "a variety of talcose slate occurs, in which are disseminated numerous crystals of black hornblende. The talc is green, and the quartz white, and the rock admits of a polish. Sometimes the talc almost disappears; and then we have a white base with black crystals imbedded. In short, I feel satisfied that this rock would form a beautiful ornamental stone, if wrought into tables, urns, chimney pieces, and the like. Large blocks of it might be obtained, which would be very firm throughout."

Some varieties of our rocks are remarkably beautiful, and are often noticed by geologists as such. "In truth," says professor Eaton, "there is more beauty in the structure of the rocks of Hawley and Plainfield than of any other place, that I ever visited."

MINERALOGY.

Few towns afford so rich and diversified a mineralogy as this; and it is frequently visited by naturalists from motives of curiosity and science, particularly for the purpose of enriching their cabinets. The following is a list of the principal minerals, so far as they have been hitherto discovered.

Limestone, darkcolored, scintillating and very fetid.

Limpid quartz, sometimes crystalized. Fragments of this variety are frequently picked up in the streets and fields.

Smoky quartz, both crystalized and amorphous. The largest crystal, that has been discovered, is about 3 inches long and 2 broad.

Irisèd quartz. Its colors, which are generally red, yellow or orange, and very delicate, seem to arise from a thin coat of metallic oxyd on the surface, or in its fissures.
Blue quartz, well characterized.

Laminated quartz. It occurs both of the milky and smoky varieties.

Kyanite, in small quantities in mica slate. The color is not deep but delicate.

Black tourmaline, common. The crystals are generally small, finely striated, with shining surfaces, and confusedly intermixed. Beautiful specimens of the radiated variety have been found a little east of the meeting house.

Garnets, very abundant in mica slate, also in talcose slate. Several years since, a large mass of limpid quartz was discovered in a wall near the mine of manganese on John Bisbee’s land, in which was imbedded a great number of garnets of uncommon beauty, much resembling the precious garnet. Specimens of this singular aggregate were sent to various mineralogists, and it is described by Professor Silliman in the fourth volume of the American Journal of Science, and by Professor Hitchcock in the sixth volume of the same work. The latter describes the garnets as “trapezohedrons, or having at least as many as twenty-four sides;” and the former says, “They are trapezoidal and rhomboidal; often translucent and rich in color, and truncated deeply on the solid edges.”

Epidote, amorphous and crystalized.

Amianthus, in quartz, found in the pasture of James Loud. Its color is white.

Common hornblende. This occurs well crystalized and commonly darkcolored.

Fasciculite of Hitchcock. This variety of hornblende is very common here. Its crystals have a very singular and beautiful appearance, resembling bundles of rods tied together near the middle, and thence diverging. An excellent figure of this variety is given by Professor Hitchcock in the sixth volume of the American Journal of Science.

Common serpentine, in loose masses. This stone, which is of a dark green color and extremely hard, takes a fine polish, and might be manufactured to great advantage into mortars for apothecaries, also into table furniture, such as bowls, plates and the like. For these purposes it would possess unrivalled beauty.

Common chlorite, well characterized.
Common clay, from which bricks are manufactured in sufficient quantities for the use of the inhabitants.

Porcelain clay. A quantity, mixed with imperfect crystals of quartz, was thrown up in digging Orrin Tirrill's well.

Sulphur, pulverulent, in the same rock with the cummingtonite. Sulphuret of iron, very common, particularly in granular quartz, also in serpentine. According to professor Hitchcock, it is found also in limpid quartz.

Magnetic oxyd of iron. Masses have been found near the new leather manufactory, on the west side of the brook, exactly resembling the ore from Hawley. It also occurs in well defined octahedral crystals in mica slate and gneiss; also in small cubic crystals in granular quartz.

Specular oxyd of iron, in small quantities.

Carbonate of iron, beautifully crystalized in rhombs, which are nearly white, have a shining surface, and are frequently curved or undulated.

Black oxyd of manganese. There are two mines of this ore in the south-west part of the town; one on William Robinson's land, the other on John Bisbee's.

Bisilicate of manganese. This is found at the mine on John Bisbee's land. It is of a light, but very lively rose red color, associated with the gray oxyd; and around both the black oxyd commonly forms an envelope. A specimen of this mineral from Cummington, (where it occurs, perhaps in greater abundance than with us,) was sent by Doctor Torrey of New York to the celebrated chymist, professor Thomson of Glasgow, by whom it was analyzed and described under this name in the third volume of the Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York.

Professor Hitchcock, who visited one of our mines of manganese in 1831, thus describes them in his Report on the Geology of Massachusetts. "'Beds of the oxyd of manganese occur in two places in this town,—one a mile west of the center, and the other near the south-west corner of the town; and both in talcose slate. Two ores are associated at both these places, the common gray or black oxyd and the silicious oxyd, the gray or black oxyd investing the latter as a black crust, and most probably arising from its decomposition; while the latter, when newly broken, is of a delicate rose red. I suspect the silicious oxyd predominates at
these places; and from these beds probably came, by diluvial action, those numerous rounded masses of silicious oxyd in the vicinity of Cummington meeting house, although a deep valley intervenes, and the distance is three or four miles. An attempt was made, some years ago, to explore one of these beds, under the impression that the ore was iron. But how extensive either of them is, it is difficult to determine, as each seems to consist of a number of small beds,—or rather the ore is interlaminated with the slate. The occurrence of so much silicious oxyd at these localities is very interesting to the mineralogist, because this ore is so rare in Europe."

The same writer observes that "in a metallic state this mineral is of no use; and, indeed, it is reduced to that state with great difficulty. But, in the state of oxyd, it is extensively employed, both to remove color from glass, and to impart colors; also in painting porcelain and glazing pottery, and still more extensively, within a few years, in the manufacture of the chloride of lime, now so generally used in bleaching and for disinfection."

Red oxyd of titanium, in small quantities.

Sulphuret of molybdena, in small quantities, in gneiss.

Cummingtonite. Several years since a very curious mineral was discovered at Cummington and at Plainfield, at both which places it occurs in large quantities. Specimens were sent to the most eminent mineralogists in the country. After a considerable time had elapsed, it was described by professor Dowey, in the eighth volume of the American Journal of Science, under the name of cummingtonite, from the place where it was first discovered. "I have given," said he, "this name to a mineral found by Doctor J. Porter in Cummington. It appears to be a variety of epidote. Its color is gray, sometimes with a faint reddish tinge, unless when acted on by the weather, when its color is yellowish. It is in indistinct prisms with oblique seams like zoisite, and in radiated or fascicled masses, which are composed of slender prisms. Luster somewhat shining or pearly. It is nearly as hard as quartz, and sometimes makes a slight impression upon rock crystal. Before the blowpipe it blackens, and a small portion melts, when the heat is very great, into a black slag, which is attracted by the magnet. Its point of fusion seems to be about the same as that of zoisite. After allowing for some absorption, the specific gravity may be taken at
about 3. 42. It is so peculiar a mineral, that it deserves, even as a variety, a distinct name.

"With quartz and garnets it forms a large mass in Cummington. The cavities in the rock contain pulverulent sulphur of a dirty greenish color, and minute crystals of magnetic oxyd of iron are also found in it."

A delicate variety has since been discovered, in which the crystals are much smaller, and the garnets minute, and of a light reddish color. Specimens of this mineral were likewise sent to Doctor Thomson of Glasgow, by whom it was analyzed, and, in September, 1828, a communication from him was read before the Lyceum of Natural History of New York, in which it is stated that "cummingtonite is undoubtedly a new mineral species, allied to kaphophile."

In this connection I may observe that a deposit of gold has been discovered at Somerset, Vermont, in the range of talcose slate, that passes through this town; and it may be well for us to search for it here. Professor Hitchcock says expressly, "I know of no place where the formation is so perfectly developed in its character as in Hawley and Plainfield. There is then, surely, as much ground for presuming that gold will be found in Massachusetts, as there was for predicting its discovery in Vermont." And he mentions the vicinity of the Plainfield beds of manganese as one of the localities where it might be looked for with great probability of success. To those disposed to search for this precious metal I would observe that they will be most likely to find it by looking a little to the south or south-east of the range of talcose slate, as the rush of waters, that tore up our strata, was evidently from the north, or rather the north-west, and of course drove the rocks and earth in an opposite direction.

SURFACE.

This township lies on the eastern side of the Green Mountains. As might be expected, the surface is undulating and, in many parts, rough and broken; less so, however, than that of the adjoining towns. Indeed, the summit of East Hill, on which is the principal village, may be considered as level through nearly the whole breadth of the town.
The lover of natural scenery is often gratified with fine views; indeed, from many eminences the pastures and fields may be viewed as a map. Walking in the woods is also extremely delightful, especially in the spring; and the writer has enjoyed many a ramble through the grove and over

“The craggy hill, where rocks with wild flowers crowned,
Burst from the shady copse and verdant ground;
Where sportive nature every form assumes,
And sweetly lavish spreads a thousand blooms.”

PONDS AND STREAMS.

There are two ponds, both in the north-west part of the town, the North Pond, which is about a mile long, and about half a mile wide, and the Crooked Pond, so called from its figure. The scenery around these ponds is wild, and may, perhaps, be said to partake of the gloomy, for here, for the most part, the forests have never been touched, and nature, in all her wildness,

“Still on her bosom wears the enameled vest,
That bloomed and budded on her infant breast.”—Pierpont.

The waters of the North Pond empty into Deerfield river at Charlemont, and thence into the Connecticut at Deerfield, while those of the Crooked Pond empty into the South Pond in Windsor, which is the head of one of the branches of Westfield river, and fall into the Connecticut at West Springfield. The North Pond is dotted with islands, and is a favorite place of resort for anglers and parties of pleasure; and both have peculiar attractions to the botanist, as some very rare and interesting aquatic plants are found on the shores, and in the water.

As these ponds are but scantily supplied with fish, I would respectfully suggest to our enterprising young men, particularly such as are fond of angling, the expediency and importance of introducing into them not only the best kinds of fish found elsewhere in our waters, but those, which are generally considered as belonging to the sea, such as the herring, salmon, mackerel, cod, haddock and others. That the experiment would not succeed we have no sufficient reason for saying; indeed, it is said that it has succeeded in England and, so far as experiments have been tried, in this country. Whoever should accomplish so benevolent an undertaking,
would be considered a public benefactor, and might probably live to see every one's mouth full of the consequences.

There are no large streams in this town. Mill Brook, running from north-west to south-east through the center of the town, is the largest. On this stream there are three sawmills, a corn mill, two cloth manufactories and a tannery. In one of the sawmills there is an apparatus for turning broom handles, and in the corn mill one for turning shoe lasts. An improved machine for turning broom handles, for which a patent is obtained, has been invented by John Bisbee of this place.

There is a smaller stream in the west part of the town, on which is a sawmill; and another in the east, on which is a sawmill and a cloth manufactory. There is another sawmill on a small stream in the north-east corner of the town.

The township is exceedingly well supplied with springs of excellent water. To many of the houses it is brought in pipes at a trifling expense. The village a little east of the meeting house is supplied from a spring more than half a mile distant, at an expense of 22 dollars a year. Wooden pipes are the only ones hitherto used.

SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS.

The native timber of our forests consists principally of maple, (of which we have four species,) beech, birch, hemloc, spruce, fir and cherry. From the sugar maple large quantities of sugar are manufactured. A variety, called the bird’s eye maple, is highly esteemed for cabinet work. Cherry is also much used for the same purpose. Our boards and shingles are generally made of hemloc and spruce. Large quantities of hemloc bark are used for tanning leather. It sells at about 2 dollars, 50 cents a cord.

The price of wood for fuel, standing, is about 20 cents a cord; delivered at one's door, from one dollar to one dollar, 25 cents.

As there is very little underbrush in our woods, our farmers are not troubled with bushes. Fields once cleared remain free from these intruders, so troublesome in the eastern part of the state.

For a list of our native plants the botanist is referred to professor Hitchcock's Catalogue of Plants growing in the Vicinity of Amherst College. A more full and complete account is given by
the same gentleman in his Report on the Geology, Mineralogy, Botany and Zoology of Massachusetts.

A collection of the plants, as well as of the minerals found here and in the vicinity, has been made by the writer.

Several years since the practice of setting out that very beautiful and useful tree, the sugar maple, by our road sides was introduced by the writer of this article. Several of our streets are now ornamented in this way; and it is highly desirable that the practice should become general. The mountain ash and locust have also, of late, been transplanted into our dooryards.

To those desirous of enriching their inclosures with ornamental shrubbery, I would observe that plants might be selected from our woods and swamps, such, for instance, as the different species of kalmia, the common prinos or winter berry, the downyleaved spirea or hardhack, the rosemaryleaved andromeda and the sweet briar or eglantine, which would rival the finest productions of our botanic gardens. To these might be added some of our finest herbaceous plants, such as the swamp lily, the climbing corydalis, the ladies’ slipper, the purple sarracenia or forefathers’ pitcher and the like. Were such plants as these tastefully arranged and carefully cultivated among us, they would diffuse a charm around our dwellings, and be a source of the purest pleasure.

This township has a good, strong soil, very well adapted for grass. Indian corn, wheat and rye are raised without difficulty, but not in sufficient quantities for the use of the inhabitants. Potatoes and oats of excellent quality are very easily raised. Might not molasses be profitably manufactured here from potatoes?

The apple thrives well; and it is believed that the peach, plum, cherry and grape might be cultivated with proper care. Our wild fruits, such as the strawberry and thimbleberry, might, doubtless, be greatly improved by transplanting them into our gardens. Horticulture, however, has not hitherto received that attention among us, which it so justly merits.

Labor is from 50 cents to a dollar a day.

ROADS.

A county road leading from Ashfield to Savoy passes through the center of the town; and two other county roads pass through
parts of the town. Almost the whole town is intersected by roads, as the convenience of the inhabitants requires. These are kept in good repair by an annual tax of about 700 dollars, paid in labor at one dollar a day.

BURIAL GROUNDS.

Several burial grounds have been successively opened in this place. These, it must be confessed, have been too much neglected, and are now in a state, that indicates but little respect to the memory of the dead. In 1808 a new burying ground was opened a little north of the meeting house. This has since been inclosed with a stone fence, and has the appearance of neatness and order. The first person buried here was lieutenant Solomon Shaw, though two of his grandchildren were afterwards taken up and laid by his side. White marble from Lanesborough is generally used for gravestones.

SCHOOLS.

The town is divided into seven school districts. One of them, however, containing but a few scholars, is considered as a half district, and draws its money accordingly. In each of the districts there is a convenient house for the use of the school, that in the east district being of brick, the others of wood.

The length of time, that the schools are taught, varies. As a general estimate, it may be said that each school is taught in the winter about three months by a male instructor, and about as long in the summer by a female. The whole number of scholars, on an average, may be estimated at 350. According to the return of the school committee for 1832, the aggregate time of keeping schools was 18 months by male, and 24 by female teachers; and the whole number of pupils, 360.

These schools are supported by an annual tax of about 350 dollars. This sum, by a vote passed March 12, 1827, is distributed to the different districts in the following proportions; to the center district, 16 dollars; to the others, 10 dollars each, except the west or half district, which has 5 dollars. A select school is frequently taught, generally consisting of both sexes, sometimes of females only.
A school for instruction in sacred music is also occasionally taught here at the expense of the town.

The most important school, however, that has ever been taught in this place, was that kept by the first clergyman of the parish. This school was commenced early in the year 1793, and continued without interruption till September, 1824. More than 300 scholars have attended it. Among those, who here received the early part of their education, and have since risen to distinction, are William Cullen Bryant, the poet; James Richards, Jonas King, Pliny Fisk, Levi Parsons and William Richards, foreign missionaries; William Hale Maynard, Jeremiah Humphrey Hallock; James Hayward, late professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard University, and Sylvester Hovey, late professor of the same branches in Amherst College.

LIBRARIES.

A social library was established in the south-east part of the town in April, 1832. It contains 97 volumes. The number of private libraries is not great. The largest is that belonging to the writer, which consists of about 400 volumes, some of them of great rarity and value; besides a collection of about 1,200 pamphlets.

LYCEUM.

In December, 1832, a Lyceum was formed for mutual improvement. The number of members is respectable; and the meetings hitherto have been interesting and well attended.

GRADUATES.

The following is a list of those, who have received a public education. Though the number is not great, it is believed they will not suffer by a comparison with those of any other place in our country.

1. James Richards, son of deacon James Richards, and born at Abington, February 23, 1784, was graduated at Williams College in 1809. He studied divinity at Andover, where he completed his education in 1812.

It is supposed by his friends that he became a decided Christian, when about fourteen years old. He was enabled ever after to
support a Christian character and deportment, always manifesting a regard for religion;—was a strict observer of the sabbath, and a constant attendant on the public worship of God, and other religious meetings. In August, 1805, he publicly professed his faith in Christ, and united with the Congregational church in Plainfield. For many years it was his habitual practice to devote one day in every month to secret fasting and prayer.

While at college, he with some others, of whom Samuel John Mills was the leader, concerted a plan for the conversion of the world, and prayed into existence the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This plan was afterwards still further matured at Andover; and in September, 1811, not long after the formation of the American Board, Mr. Richards offered himself as a missionary to the heathen, and was taken under their patronage.

After completing his theological education, he devoted considerable time, under the direction of the Board, to the study of medicine and surgery, with a view to increased usefulness among the heathen. He attended a course of lectures at Hanover, and two courses at Philadelphia, where he was engaged for some time in the Pennsylvania Hospital. In view of his multiplied engagements while here, for he sometimes had more on hand than he could possibly perform, he remarked in a letter to his friends; "It is much more pleasant to be hurried in business than to be idle."

June 12, 1815, he was ordained with five others at Newburyport, and sailed October 23, for Columbo, where he arrived after a prosperous voyage of five months. When asked, afterwards, how he could refrain from weeping at the time of leaving his native country, and all, that was dear to him there, he replied, "Why should I have wept? I had been waiting with anxiety almost eight years for an opportunity to go and preach Christ among the heathen. I had often wept at the long delay. But the day, on which I bade farewell to my native land, was the happiest day of my life." It was not long, however, before he was so debilitated by the influence of a tropical climate and undue exposure as to be incapable of much active service. This was to him a very severe trial, for he ever retained a strong partiality for the missionary work, as may be seen by the following extract of a letter to his brother.

"Could the friends of missions in America see the things, which I see, and hear the things, which I hear, they would not withhold
their contributions from the treasury of the Lord. Could they see, as I do, the hearts of my brethren and sisters united "as the heart of one man;" could they behold these wretched heathen from day to day, carrying on their breasts and on their foreheads the badges of heathenism, and know the cruel bondage, in which they are held, there would, I think, be no more need of missionary sermons and missionary agents to unlock the coffers of the rich. The country would be all in motion. Some would give their thousands, and multitudes their dollars and cents, till the treasury of the Lord should be filled. If the object could not be effected in any other way, some would live on bread and water, and others would sell their houses and lands, to furnish the means of enlightening the heathen,—of making known to them the only Redeemer of sinners."

The following extracts from letters addressed also to his brother breathe the same intense feeling on the subject of missions to the heathen. From Batticotta, April 17, 1820, he writes: "How long, O! how long will Christians continue to sleep over the miseries of a fallen world! I would give the Christian world all the credit for all they feel, and for all they do, for the salvation of sinners. But I do think that the majority of the Christian world are still asleep, or, at most, but half awake. Even New England Christians are only beginning to awake. O! for another Mills—for another Buchanan—for another Harriet!" From the same place, February 23, 1821, he says, "The principal trial, that I now experience on account of my sickness, is inability to do the proper work of a missionary. And this is a great trial, both by day and by night. No other subject ever engrossed my feelings like that of preaching Christ to the heathen. To the accomplishment of this object I have endeavored to direct all my plans, and all my actions. For this I left almost all, that was dear to me in life, and came to this land of pagan darkness to publish the Savior's love to stupid idolaters. And now, when the miseries of the heathen are full in my view, it is my great trial not to be able to preach to them."

After several years of protracted suffering, he expired at Tillipally in Ceylon, August 3, 1822. "He died rejoicing in the hope of a glorious immortality." He was buried in the afternoon of the next day, (which was the Lord's day,) and converted heathen carried him to his grave.
"His sound judgment, meekness, disinterestedness, faithfulness, love to his Savior, to his fellow missionaries, to the heathen,—his piety towards God, and universal benevolence to men;—rendered him a truly valuable laborer in the vineyard of the Lord." He may justly be considered as one of the first martyrs from this country in the high and holy cause of missions to the heathen.

A monument, bearing the following inscription in English and in Tamul, was placed over his grave by his bereaved widow.

In memory of
The Rev. James Richards, A. M.
American Missionary,
who died August 3, 1822,
Aged 38 years.
One of the first projectors of American Missions,
He gave himself first to Christ, and then to the heathen.
A physician both to soul and body,
He was
In health, laborious,
In sickness, patient,
In death, triumphant.
He is not, for God took him.

Tamul Inscription translated.
In memory of
The Rev. James Richards, A. M.
American Missionary,
who died August 3, 1822,
Aged 38 years.
Reader,
He came to this country to tell you that, excepting through Christ Jesus, there is no way to escape Hell, and obtain Heaven.
Believing in this Savior,
He died, rejoicing in hope of eternal happiness.
Let all, who read this, prepare for death also.

The English inscription was written by the Reverend M. Winslow, that in Tamul, by the Reverend H. Woodward.

2. Cyrus Joy, son to Jacob Joy, was graduated at Williams College in 1811. He studied law and practiced at Northampton,
and afterwards in this place. He relinquished the practice several years since, and now resides in Philadelphia.

3. William Allen Hallock, son of the Reverend Moses Hallock, was born June 2, 1794, and graduated at Williams College in 1819. He studied divinity at Andover, and while there, was chosen agent, and afterwards assistant secretary to the American Tract Society, at that time located at Andover. He assisted in the formation of the American Tract Society at New York in 1825, and was chosen the first corresponding secretary and general agent, in which offices he still continues, much to the satisfaction of the society and the public.

This society has stereotyped nearly 700 publications, including about 20 standard evangelical volumes, has printed 35,000,000 copies, and has remitted upwards of 30,000 dollars to aid in the circulation of tracts in heathen lands.

4. Gerard Hallock, son of the Reverend Moses Hallock, was born March 18, 1800, and graduated at Williams College in 1819. He was engaged for a while in instructing youth, particularly as preceptor of Amherst Academy. He afterwards commenced a religious and miscellaneous paper in Boston, entitled the Boston Telegraph. After being published for one year, a union was formed between this paper and the Boston Recorder, and Mr. Hallock continued in the editorship of the united paper till the middle of 1826, when he transferred his interest in the establishment to the Reverend Asa Rand. He then removed to New York, where he became one of the editors and proprietors of the New York Observer, which paper he continued till January, 1829. He is now joint editor and proprietor of the New York Journal of Commerce, one of the largest newspaper establishments in the United States.

5. James Hayward, son of captain James Hayward, was graduated at Harvard University in 1819. In 1820 he was appointed tutor in the department of mathematics and natural philosophy; and in 1826, was made college professor in the same department. This office he resigned in 1827, being appointed a member of the Board of Internal Improvement for the state of Massachusetts, and engineer to that Board. In 1829 he published at Cambridge Elements of Geometry upon the Inductive Method.

6. William Richards, son to deacon James Richards, born
August 22, 1793, was graduated at Williams College in 1819. He studied divinity at Andover Theological Seminary, and was ordained as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at New Haven, September 12, 1822. He sailed with his wife from New Haven for the Sandwich Islands, November 19, the same year, where he arrived in April, 1823. His labors here appear to have been very acceptable and useful. "He resides in the village of Lahaina, (in the island of Maui,) one of the most delightful spots in the Sandwich Islands. He has a beautiful house built of coral by the natives, two stories high, plastered and whitewashed within and without, with a piazza and handsome yard in front. He has a fertile garden spot, in which every thing wished for may be raised with suitable care." "He preaches in a new coral meeting house to an audience of about 2,500. This house, which was built by the natives with very little expense to the mission, has a gallery, bellfry and bell, is plastered and whitewashed within and without, with a floor of hewn coral covered with mats." "It is the most substantial and noble structure in Polynesia." "There are," says a writer in the Nantucket Inquirer, "about sixty church members, (exclusive of the missionary families,)" later accounts say 195 in all, "many of them native chiefs. A Temperance Society has been formed, which consists of about forty members. There is not a shop for the sale of ardent spirits on the island, and, indeed, the traffic is rigidly prohibited.

"Of the necessaries and conveniences of life there is a very bountiful supply, together with many of the luxuries used in this country, including an ample stock of dry goods and other merchandise,—and, in short, all the indications of civilized life. The people are kind and hospitable, the climate mild, and the soil fertile,—all presenting numerous inducements to a residence there. This island is considered the most productive of the whole group."

It must be extremely gratifying to the friends of the Redeemer to learn that the missionaries have translated and published the New Testament in the language of these islands.

7. Tilly Brown Hayward, son of captain James Hayward, was born April 2, 1797, and graduated at Harvard University in 1820. Since this time he has been employed in the instruction of youth.

8. Austin Richards, son of deacon James Richards, and born February 9, 1800, was educated at Amherst College. He be-
longed to the class of 1824, and, after the institution was incorpo­rated, received the degree of bachelor of arts. He studied divinity at Andover, and was ordained as minister of Francestown, New Hampshire, November 7, 1827.

9. Erastus Dickinson, son of Ebenezer Dickinson, was born April 1, 1807, and graduated at Amherst College in 1832. He is now a member of Auburn Theological Seminary.

POPULATION.

The number of inhabitants from the settlement of the town to the census of 1790 can not be accurately ascertained. In that year there were 458; in 1800, 797; in 1810, 977; in 1820, 936; in 1830, 983. This slow increase is owing to no unusual cause, except the great number of emigrations.

The number of ratable polls is 220. The number of voters, according to a list made out by the selectmen in March, 1834, is 207.

BILL OF MORTALITY.

The church records furnish by far the most complete list of deaths; those of the district and town being considered too imperfect in this respect to be of much value. Unfortunately, in the church records, the ages are not given till 1802. The following table exhibits the most complete list, that I have been able to obtain, of the deaths from 1785, inclusive, to the present time, with the name and age of the oldest person, who died in each year from 1802. Such of our inhabitants as died abroad are not reckoned in this list.

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1804, 15 Jacob Gloyd, 71.
1805, 11 Deacon John Packard's wife, 60.
1806, 15 Widow Whiton, 86.
1807, 14 Deacon John Packard, 71.
1808, 13 Moses Curtis, 86.
1809, 8 Jacob Hawes, 68.
1810, 15 Widow Snow, 81.
1811, 11 Seth Ford's wife, 86.
1812, 12 Jacob Joy, 77.
1813, 17 Deacon Joseph Beals, 61.
1814, 16 Ebenezer Beals, 83.
1815, 13 Jephtha Pool's wife, 60.
1816, 11 Widow Hannah Colson, 96.
1817, 12 Caleb Beals, 60.
1818, 14 Widow Hannah Smith, 75.
1819, 14 Widow Shaw, 81.
1820, 7 John Joy's wife, 39.
1821, 12 Benjamin Pool, 56.
1822, 10 Widow Daniels, 76.
1823, 13 Joseph Pool, 84.
1824, 15 Samuel Whitman, 93.
1825, 13 Deacon Gideon Shaw, 80.
1826, 16 Levi Stetson, 80.
1827, 8 Caleb Joy, 76.
1828, 9 Ammon White, 82.
1829, 13 Noah Packard's wife, 75.
1830, 17 Benjamin Carr's wife, 82.
1831, 13 Widow Abigail Vining, 71.
1832, 7 Jacob Clarke, 77.
1833, 9 Gideon Hammond, 90.

In the years 1794 and 1803 the scarlet fever prevailed; in 1806, the typhus fever. It is remarkable that, in the year 1798, there was no death; also, from August 5, 1827, to March 17, 1828, more than seven months, no person died. No instance of suicide or murder ever occurred in this town.

The following deaths seem worthy of particular notice. January 9, 1804, Lucinda Packard of this town, but resident in Cummington, was found dead in her bed. May 19, 1804, James Thayer was drowned at Cummington, aged 21. "June 22, 1812,
Levi Stetson, junior, was killed almost instantly by the fall of a tree, aged 35. August 11, the same year, "the wife of Gideon Hammond died in her chair at work, instantly, as is supposed; probably of the dropsy. Her husband awoke from a short nap after dinner, and found her sitting at her quillwheel, dead. Her age was 51. October 22, 1817, a son of Judson Stetson died from a bean in the windpipe, aged 5. May 4, 1820, Daniel Brown was killed instantly by a milllog rolling over him. May 10, 1828, the wife of Benjamin Towne, aged 39, was found, after much search, dead in the woods at Hawley, having wandered from home several days before, in a state of derangement. October 28, 1831, Clarissa Stetson, aged 8, died in consequence of her clothes' taking fire. July 11, 1833, Samuel Swift, residing in this place, was killed instantly, at Cummington, by the fall of a tree, aged about 50. March 8, 1834, Charles Bela Dyer, 2 years old, died in consequence of a piece of apple in the windpipe.

"Man is like a vapor; His life is like a shadow, that passeth away."—David.

CIVIL HISTORY.

It does not appear that the Indians ever resided on these mountains, though, doubtless, their hunting parties occasionally traversed them in pursuit of game. The only antiquity belonging to the natives of the forest, that has been found here within my knowledge, is an arrowhead; and this is unfortunately lost.

Cummington, including Plainfield, was sold by the General Court to colonel John Cummings of Concord, June 2, 1762. The first meeting of the proprietors was held at Concord, December 21, the same year. The first meeting held at Cummington was on the third Wednesday of June, 1771.

The first person, who resided within the present limits of the town, was a Scotchman by the name of Macintire, who, with his family, began a settlement here in March, 1770. In the true spirit of Scotch hospitality, they used to prepare a haggess at each of their daughters' wedding feasts.

Many of the early settlers came from Bridgewater and Abington. Captain Joseph Joy is the first male inhabitant now living. Widow Ruth Cook, now in her ninety-fifth year, is the earliest settler
living, and the oldest person in town. Her son, John Cook, who was born October 27, 1778, is, so far as is known, the first person born in the town.

One of the first settlers, lately deceased, informed me that deer were very common here about 50 years since, and that he had seen tracks made by them in the snow similar to the paths made by our cattle in going to drink, and that a large number of them made their head quarters on Deer Hill in Cummington, but were entirely extirpated by the hunters of those days. He also said that one was caught by some hunters at a time when the snow in the woods would not bear him up, and, one of the party taking a fancy to ride him, he was tied on by the feet, and a bridle being put into the animal's mouth, he galloped off with his rider in full speed. On coming, however, to a cleared spot, the crust was so hard as to bear up both the deer and his rider, so that, owing to the intractable disposition of his beast, and the rapidity and eccentricity of his movements, his airing was not the most agreeable. Wolves and bears were also not uncommon in these early times.

It is believed that in the revolutionary struggle this town furnished its full proportion of men and means, as the present number of pensioners seems to show.

Cummington including Plainfield was incorporated as a town June 23, 1779. The first town meeting was held December 20, the same year. Plainfield was incorporated as a district of Cummington, March 16, 1785. The first district meeting was notified and warned by Isaac Joy, pursuant to a warrant from Nahum Eager, esquire, of Worthington. This meeting was holden in the house of Simon Burroughs on Monday, July 25, 1786. Ebenezer Colson acted as moderator, and the following were the principal officers chosen: Joshua Shaw, district clerk; Ebenezer Colson, John Packard and John Cunningham, selectmen; Joshua Shaw, district treasurer; Isaac Joy and John Packard, tythingmen; John Streeter, deerreeve. A deerreeve was also chosen the next year.

In the insurrection under Shays in 1786, several of the inhabitants took a part. They were, however, soon convinced that they were in the wrong, and took the oath of allegiance.

March 22, 1790. "Voted to raise twenty pounds for schooling the ensuing year." April 5, 1790. "Voted to build school houses in each district for schooling."
February 4, 1794, Joseph Clarke and Jonathan Beals with their families, together with all the lands lying north of a strait line from the south-east corner of Plainfield to the south-west corner of Ashfield was set off from the town of Ashfield, and annexed to the district of Plainfield. June 21, 1803, one mile of the southerly part of Hawley was set off to the district of Plainfield.

May 15, 1806, it was "voted unanimously to petition the General Court to set off the district of Plainfield from Cummington, and incorporate it into a town." This was accordingly done, June 15, 1807.

It appears that this town has always been opposed to a division of the county. In 1805, this opposition was expressed by a unanimous and very full vote; and in 1811, a similar vote passed unanimously. The division, however, could not be prevented; and, soon after this, to borrow the forcible language of president Dwight, a native of Northampton, "This noble county, after existing as a fine Doric column of industry, good order, morals, learning and religion in Massachusetts for more than a century, was by an unwise legislature broken into three parts. Of its ruins were formed the three counties, of Franklin on the north, Hampshire in the middle, and Hampden on the south; each of them extending through the original breadth of the county of Hampshire. One political purpose, intended to be answered by this disruption, was to destroy the firm order and sound principles of the inhabitants. How far the plan will succeed, time alone can discover. From analogy it may be concluded, or, at least, rationally feared, that the inhabitants will lose some part of their elevation of character. Little counties almost of course have little officers, and little concerns; and the existence of these is but too commonly followed by a contraction of views, a diminution of measures, a destruction of influence and a deterioration of character."

A postoffice was established here in 1816.

Representatives.

Previous to the incorporation of Plainfield as a town in 1807, the representatives were chosen by the inhabitants of Cummington and Plainfield in joint meeting. When no date is given, the town was not represented.
1786, William Ward of Cummington.
1787, William Ward,
1788, William Ward,
1790, William Ward,
1791, William Ward,
1793, James Richards,
1796, William Ward,
1797, William Ward,
1798, James Richards,
1800, Ebenezer Snell of Cummington,
1801, James Richards,
1802, Ebenezer Snell,
1803, James Richards,
1804, Ebenezer Snell,
1805, James Richards,
1806, Peter Bryant of Cummington,
Adam Packard of Cummington,
1803, John Cunningham,
1809, John Cunningham,
1810, John Cunningham,
1811, James Richards,
1812, James Richards,
1813, John Hamlin,
1814, John Hamlin,
1815, John Hamlin,
1816, James Richards,
1819, Cyrus Joy,
1821, Elijah Warner,
1823, John Hamlin,
1826, John Hamlin,
1827, Elijah Warner,
1829, John Mack,
1829, John Mack,
1830, John Mack,
1831, Erastus Bates,
1832, Erastus Bates,
1833, Erastus Bates,
1834, Erastus Bates.
Delegate to a Convention from the Counties of Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden at Northampton, July 14 and 15, 1812.
Nehemiah Joy.

Delegate to the Convention for revising the Constitution, November, 1820.
James Richards.

Justices of the Peace.

Appointed,
June 8, 1802, James Richards, commission expired January 28, 1830;
May 23, 1812, Ebenezer Colson, removed to Hamilton, New York, May, 1816;
June 18, 1819, Cyrus Joy, removed to New York, 1824;
February 19, 1827, Iram Packard, removed to Ohio, September, 1832;
February 25, 1828, Elijah Warner;
March 11, 1830, John Mack, died February 15, 1833, aged 54;
March 23, 1833, Erastus Bates, removed to Ohio, May, 1834;
February 7, 1834, Leavitt Hallock.

Attorneys.

Several attorneys have practiced here, each for a short time; but no one has met with sufficient encouragement to make it his permanent residence.

Physicians.

Solomon Bond, Barney Torrey, Jacob Porter and Samuel Shaw have successively practiced physic in this place. The last named is a fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

Militia.

There are two companies of militia; an artillery company with two brass field pieces, and a company of infantry. Their discipline is thought to be fully equal to that of the neighboring towns.
Revolutionary Pensioners.

Lemuel Allis, $96,00
Joseph Barnard, 96,00
Ebenezer Bisbee, 20,00
John Campbell, died April 26, 1833, aged 80, 23,33
Vinson Curtis, 80,00
Ebenezer Dickinson, 30,00
James Dyer, 100,00
Joseph Gloyd, 20,00
Reverend Moses Hallock, 23,33
Jacob Nash, 100,00
Philip Packard, 96,00
Whitcomb Pratt, 80,00
James Richards, 25,55
Josiah Shaw, 80,00
Samuel Streeter, 96,00
Josiah Torrey, 106,66
Caleb White, 32,33

The Poor.

The poor have, in some instances, been struck off at auction to the lowest bidder. At other times, perhaps more generally, they have been committed to the care of the overseers of the poor, to be provided for according to their best discretion. The cost of supporting them has never been great. At present, only one person is assisted by the town, at an expense of $2 cents a week, = 37 dollars, 44 cents a year.

Taxes for 1834.

Minister's salary, $400,00
For the support of schools, 350,00
For the support of the poor and other necessary charges, 300,00
For the repair of highways, 600,00
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Congregational Society.

Previous to the incorporation of Plainfield as a district, the inhabitants attended divine service at Cummington, and formed part of the ministerial charge of the Reverend James Briggs, who was ordained there July 7, 1779. It appears that, on leaving his ministry, measures were almost immediately taken to set up public worship among themselves; for, on the eleventh of August, 1785, the following vote was passed: "Voted to raise fourteen pounds to hire preaching the present year." Similar votes occur frequently in the early records.

A church of fourteen members was organized here August 31, 1780. The following confession of faith and church covenant were adopted, and have ever since continued in force.

"Confession of Faith.

"1. We believe there is one only living and true God, in three persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; and that in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.

"2. We believe that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice.

"3. We believe that man was created in the image of God, holy and upright; and that God entered into a covenant of life with him upon condition of perfect obedience, particularly forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil upon pain of death.

"4. We believe that our first parents sinned by eating of the forbidden fruit, and, as Adam was a public head and representative, he, by his disobedience, exposed himself and all his posterity to the wrath of God and everlasting death.

"5. We believe that God of his mere grace and good pleasure, has determined to save some of the lost children of men; and that those, whom he has thus chosen, he will, in his own time, effectually call and finally save.

"6. We believe that the holy scriptures reveal the only method God has proposed for their salvation, and that, in order to execute
the purposes of his grace therein, he has appointed his Son Jesus Christ to be the only mediator and Savior of sinners, whom he sent into the world in our nature, "that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life;" and that, through his perfect righteousness and atonement, all, who believe, and no others, are justified and saved.

"7. We believe that no man in a natural state has a disposition to come to Christ, or power to do any thing, by which he can merit salvation; and that they, who do come, are made willing by the saving influence of God's spirit, working in them to will and do of his own good pleasure.

"8. We believe that, at the last day, Christ will raise the dead and judge the world in righteousness, and will receive the righteous to everlasting life, and condemn the wicked to everlasting punishment."

"Church Covenant.

"We publicly declare our serious belief of the Christian religion contained in the sacred scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and as is, in general, exhibited in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism; and, in humble reliance on the aid of divine grace, we heartily resolve to conform ourselves to the rules of Christ's holy religion as long as we live.

"We therefore give ourselves to God, to walk with him in a life of holy obedience, acknowledging our obligations to glorify him in all the duties of the Christian life, in sobriety and godliness, relying on Christ, our Savior, for eternal salvation. Particularly, we desire and engage, in reliance on divine grace, to walk together as a church of Christ in the faith and order of the gospel, according to all the ordinances of it; conscientiously attending the public worship of God, the sacraments of the New Testament, gospel discipline, and all Christ's holy institutions; communing with and watching over one another according to the rules of the gospel; studying the things, that make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another.

"We further engage religiously to instruct our offspring in the doctrines of the Christian religion, and carefully to "bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" in all relying on
divine grace, and praying that God would "make us perfect in every good work, to do his will, working in us that, which is well pleasing in his sight."

On the fourteenth of May, 1787, the district voted unanimously to give Mr. James Thomson a call to settle with them in the gospel ministry, (the church having previously passed a similar vote,) and to give him a yearly salary of sixty pounds in specific articles. This invitation was declined.

August 16, 1787, a committee was appointed "to measure and find the center of Plainfield; and likewise to agree upon a place, which they shall think most proper for erecting a meeting house." May 23, 1791, a spot of ground was agreed on for building a meeting house; and October 27, it was voted to build the meeting house, and that it should be 55 feet and a half by 42 feet and a half. November 23, a committee consisting of Caleb White, captain John Cunningham, captain James Richards, Andrew Cook and John Hamlin was appointed "to procure materials and carry on the building of said meeting house in such a manner as shall be most advantageous to the district, according to their best discretion."

April 23, 1792, "Voted that the owners of pews in the meeting house procure rum to raise said building." The meeting house was raised soon after; but, owing to the limited resources of the district at that time, it was not completed till 1797. It was then dedicated on the fifteenth of June; two sermons being preached on the occasion; one by the Reverend Aaron Bascom of Chester, the other by the Reverend John Leland of Partridgefield, now Peru. The meeting house contained 44 pews below and 19 in the gallery. To this number two were afterwards added above, and two below. One pew was reserved for the use of the minister.

March 8, 1791, the church "voted to give Mr. Moses Hallock a call to settle with them in the work of gospel ministry." March 14, the district passed the same vote unanimously, also "voted that the following offers should be made to Mr. Hallock for his settlement and maintenance; to wit, ninety pounds for his settlement; and forty-five pounds a year for the two first years, then to increase five pounds a year until it amounts to sixty pounds, there to remain." To this invitation the candidate gave his answer in the negative, on account of infirm health.
March 8, 1792, the church "voted to renew the call to the said Hallock." In this vote the district concurred, March 12, and made him the same offers for his settlement and salary as before; "his settlement and salary to be paid, one quarter in cash, and the other three quarters in farm produce at cash price."

His answer being in the affirmative, he was ordained July 11. The sermon was preached by the Reverend Samuel Whitman of Goshen, from this text in Ezekiel: "And they shall teach my people the difference between the holy and the profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean." This discourse, probably in an enlarged form, was published at Northampton, under the title of "Two Sermons, the Substance of which was preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Moses Hallock, to the Pastoral Care of the Church in Plainfield, July 11, 1792." Of this pamphlet, which is now very scarce, there is a copy in the Antiquarian Hall at Worcester, and another in the library of the writer. It is believed that this is the only sermon or address of any kind delivered in Plainfield, that has ever been committed to the press.

The Reverend Moses Hallock was born on Long Island, February 16, 1760. Before devoting himself to study, he spent some time in the revolutionary army. He received his education at Yale College, where he was graduated in 1788. His studies in divinity were pursued under the instruction of the Reverend Samuel Whitman of Goshen, where his parents resided. His labors, during the long period of his ministry, have been acceptable and useful in a remarkable degree. In the discharge of his duty,

"He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."—Goldsmith.

A mutual interchange of good offices between him and the members of his society has long since closely knit the ties of affection.

There have been several very interesting revivals of religion during his ministry. "It pleased God graciously to pour out his holy spirit upon the people of this place in the year 1790. Its first appearance was on the fifteenth of August; and, in consequence of this glorious work, 17 joined the church in one day." "Towards the close of the year 1797, it pleased God once more to visit this place with a remarkable effusion of his holy spirit. The awakening was, more or less, in almost every part of the town, and,
in some parts, very powerful. And, in consequence of this marvelous work of divine grace, 31 persons joined the church the following year, the most of whom trust they were born of God in this awakening." "July 1, 1798, 24 persons adorned the alley at one time, and appeared to rejoice at an opportunity to confess the Lord Jesus."

In 1800 an excellent bell was procured, partly at the expense of the district, and partly by subscription. It was cast at New Haven by Fenton and Cochran, and weighs about 650 pounds. A bellfry with a steeple, to which is attached a lightning rod, was erected at the same time.

In the early part of the year 1808, there was a great revival of religion, and 34 were admitted to the church on the first of May, and 26 on the third of July.

In 1813, and for some time afterwards, the Unitarian controversy produced considerable excitement; and, in 1816, one brother was suspended from the church, and afterwards excommunicated for publicly dissenting from the creed, and expressing his disbelief of the doctrine of the trinity and the supreme deity of Jesus Christ.

A Sunday school, consisting of 109 scholars, was established here in May, 1819. This has ever since been continued with great and increasing usefulness.

In 1822, two stoves for warming the meeting house were procured, and placed near the pulpit.

In 1823 an elegant London copy of Gurney’s Family Bible, published in 1816, and embellished with a series of engravings from paintings by the first artists, was presented for the pulpit by James Hayward, tutor in Harvard College. The practice of publicly reading the scriptures on the Lord’s day had been introduced some years before.

January 5, 1823, 10 persons were admitted into the church; November 4, 1827, 29 persons were admitted.

June 3, 1829, the Reverend John H. Russ was ordained here as an evangelist by the Mountain Association; sermon by the Reverend William A. Hawley of Hinsdale.

August 23, 1830, the church chose a committee to superintend the monthly distribution of tracts. This distribution has been attended to since, though not with all the regularity, that could be wished.
In the spring of 1829, the venerable minister of the society, after having discharged the duties of his office with uncommon fidelity for nearly 37 years, made the following communication to his beloved people.

"To the Inhabitants of the Town of Plainfield.

"My brethren and friends, the time approaches when I shall no longer be your minister. This awfully responsible, though pleasant work must soon be committed to the hands of some other man. I have entered my seventieth year, " and know not the day of my death." When a parent is about to die, he endeavors to set his house in order, that it may be well with his family after his decease. With equal ardor I desire that you, as a religious community, may have a good minister of Jesus Christ when my lips shall be unable to keep knowledge. Before I die, I wish to see my pulpit occupied by such a minister: And may he be far more useful to old and young than his predecessor, and as much respected.

"As soon as you are ready to settle another minister, which will probably be in a year or two, I will consent, the church and congregation requesting it, that the ordaining council should dismiss me on the day of ordination.

"It is not uncommon, in cases like this, that the town make some provision for the support of the worn out pastor. If you should please, by legal vote, to commit to my disposal as my own property the pew, which my family occupy, or some other as valuable, and also to exempt me and the little property I may possess from all kinds of taxation during my life, it will be thankfully accepted.

Moses Hallock.

March 2, 1829."

To this communication a committee, appointed for the purpose, made the following report:

"To the Inhabitants of the Town of Plainfield.

"Fellow citizens, your committee can not but regard the subject committed to them for consideration as of immense moment, as a subject specially involving both the temporal and eternal interests of the present and succeeding generations of the inhabitants of this
town. Perhaps there is no subject, upon which a town is called to act, that is more calculated to test the stability, or the peace and union of the society, or which is attended with more important results than the dismissing and settling of a minister. Our reverend pastor, in his communication, apprises the people of this town that such an important and trying season among us is not far distant.

"The time approaches," says he, "when I shall no longer be your minister. This awfully responsible, though pleasant work must soon be committed to the hands of some other man."

"As we are called upon to reply to our minister's proposals, and to act as the first moving committee on the part of the town in advising with reference to future proceedings towards accomplishing the great object we have in view, we can not but be sensible that an important trust is reposed in us, which requires on our part much caution and deliberation. We hope we shall all be able to treat the subject with that candor, which it demands, and also advise to such measures as will issue in happy results.

"In the first place, we would express our most cordial approbation of the course, which our aged pastor has taken to make known his desires to his people, and effect the object he has in view.

"We do regard this communication as a timely and well advised effort on the part of Mr. Hallock to promote the future well-being of his people, and to perpetuate that union and harmony, for which we, as a religious community, have been so long distinguished. More conciliatory and liberal propositions he could not have made. He hereby evinces that he seeks not ours but us; that he still retains an affectionate regard for the dear people, over which the holy spirit hath so long made him overseer. And his solicitude for us extends beyond the time when he shall have ceased to be our minister, or shall have closed his eyes in death. To use his own similitude: "When a parent is about to die, he endeavors to set his house in order, that it may be well with his family after his decease. With equal ardor I desire that you, as a religious community, may have a good minister of Jesus Christ when my lips shall be unable to keep knowledge." When we reflect that more than half his days have been spent in our service, and take into consideration the mutual confidence and affection, that have so long subsisted between him and his people, the appa-
rent success, which has attended his ministry, the harmony and good feeling, which have prevailed in church and society, the several revivals of religion and frequent instances of conversion, which have been witnessed, together with the gradual advance of the church in numbers, and we hope also in piety; we say, when these and other considerations as fruits of his faithfulness urge themselves upon us, the thought of dissolving our connection with him as our pastor is a painful reflection. But, as it is certain, according to the common course of nature, that he must soon become unable, either by the infirmities of age or the arrest of death, to officiate in ministerial duties, we, therefore, concur with his proposals, and think it expedient to have another minister settled before his decease, as we shall probably succeed better, and more to the satisfaction of all parties, now than when deprived of the counsel and cooperation of our present minister.

"Concerning the time when we shall settle another minister, Mr. Hallock himself has given intimations in his communication. Should we become united in a candidate, perhaps some period within the limits of the time, which he proposed, which was a year or two, would suit the wishes and convenience of the people as well as any other.

"In order to avail ourselves of the best and most favorable opportunity of securing a candidate, who will be most likely to answer our desires and comply with our terms, we think it proper for us to put ourselves in readiness so to do. We therefore advise that, according to common custom, there be a committee chosen, of equal numbers from the church and society, to act in concert, whose duty it shall be to look out and engage a suitable person, against the season of trial, as a candidate for our future minister.

"Whether Mr. Hallock shall be dismissed on the day of ordination, as he intimated, or continue as our senior pastor, we do not advise, but submit for future consideration, particularly wishing, however, that the feelings and desires of the two ministers, the present pastor and his successor, may be consulted and complied with.

"As to the pecuniary proposals, which he has made, we consider them as liberal in the extreme. "In cases like this," as he says, "it is not uncommon that the town make some provision for the support of the worn out pastor." This they generally do, either by
continuing a part of his salary during his life, or by making him a generous donation at the time of his dismissal. But Mr. Hallock asks no such provision of us: Indeed, he claims nothing, but barely says, "If you should please, by legal vote, to commit to my disposal as my own property the pew, which my family occupy, or some other as valuable, and also to exempt me and the little property I may possess from all kinds of taxation during my life, it will be thankfully accepted."

"To the granting of these favors and more than these, should it be necessary to his or his family's comfort, we are confident there cannot be a dissenting voice in town.

JAMES RICHARDS,
ROBERT BEALS,
ERASTUS BATES,
JOSHUA REED,
JOHN PACKARD,
JOHN MACK,
JOSIAH SHAW, junior,

Plainfield, April 6, 1829."

This year the meeting house was painted anew; the outside white, and the inside, except the pews, of a beautiful cream color. The pulpit was rebuilt by subscription in the modern style; curtains of bombazet were furnished for the window, and the pulpit dressed with damask fringed with rich and elegant drapery, all of red, by John Mack, esquire. The house now makes a handsome appearance; indeed, it is believed that few churches, erected forty years since, discover so good a taste, or are, in all respects, so convenient.

July 2, 1830, the following resolution was adopted by the church, "that the practice of dressing in mourning for the loss of friends is needless."

March 1, 1830, the town voted to raise one hundred dollars to hire a candidate. After hearing one candidate, who, on account of infirm health, was not invited to settle, the Reverend David Kimball preached here on probation; and, on the twenty-fifth of October, the town voted, by a majority of 79 to 9, to invite him to settle with them in the work of the ministry, with a salary of 400 dollars a year. The church passed a similar vote, November 1, and "a call was forwarded to Mr. Kimball, and an answer received, signifying his acceptance."
March 1, 1831, a council, of which the Reverend Jonathan L. Pomeroy of Worthington acted as moderator, was convened, and voted to proceed to installation the next day. The installation took place accordingly: The hundred and thirty-second psalm was read, and the introductory prayer offered by the Reverend Henry B. Holmes of Goshen; sermon, by the Reverend Thomas Shepard of Ashfield, from this text in Exodus, “Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened to me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me?” installation prayer, by the Reverend Jonathan Grout of Hawley; charge to the pastor, by the senior pastor; right hand of fellowship, by the Reverend Roswell Hawks of Cummington; charge to the people, by the Reverend Jonathan L. Pomeroy; concluding prayer, by the Reverend Benjamin F. Clarke of Buckland.

The Reverend David Kimball was born at Hopkinton, New Hampshire, March 18, 1791, and educated at Yale College, the usual honors of which he received in 1818 and 1821. He studied divinity at Andover, and was ordained over the societies in Martinsburg and Lowville, New York, June 29, 1822, and dismissed at his own request, October 17, 1830.

November 6, 1831, 21 persons were admitted to the church, a protracted meeting having been held some time before.

The present number of communicants it is difficult to ascertain, as the members are not always careful to remove their relations with their residence. It is supposed to be nearly 200.

Deacons.

Chosen,

November 15, 1792, John Packard, died September 28, 1807, aged 71;

November 15, 1792, James Richards;

April 29, 1803, Joseph Beals, died July 20, 1813, aged 61;

September 23, 1813, Robert Beals;

June 27, 1828, Erastus Bates, removed to Ohio, May, 1834.

Baptist Society.

A Baptist society was formed in the eastern part of the town, February 25, 1833, the first meeting being called by Asa Thayer under a warrant from Nehemiah Richards, esquire, of Cummington.
The church was organized June 18, 1833, by an ecclesiastical council, Elder David Wright of Cummington acting as moderator.

"Articles of Faith and Practice.

"Article 1. We believe that the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were written by inspiration of God, and are the only rule of faith and practice.

"2. We believe that there is but one only living and true God, revealed in the scriptures as the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are the same in essence, power and glory; and that he exercises a particular providence over all beings and things.

"3. We believe that the first Adam was created perfect, but, by his disobedience to the law of his Creator, himself and all his posterity became sinners, and possess a depraved nature, disinclined to doing good, and prone to choose and delight in evil; whence the absolute necessity of regeneration, which can be effected only by almighty power.

"4. We believe that God from eternity purposed the salvation of sinners by the incarnation, obedience, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension and intercession of his beloved Son, who, in the fulness of time, really assumed human nature; and so being truly God and truly man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man, by the sacrifice of himself made suitable atonement for sin, "that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life."

"5. We believe that the Holy Spirit applies the benefits of Christ's atonement, by convincing us of our sin and misery, renewing our wills, revealing the glory and ability of Christ to save, and persuading and enabling us to embrace Christ as he is freely offered in the gospel, who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.

"6. We believe that all, who are chosen by the Father, and redeemed by the Son, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, will certainly and finally persevere in faith, obedience and holiness by grace unto eternal life.

"7. We believe that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both the just and unjust, and that Christ will come a second time, to judge the world in righteousness, when he will punish the wicked
with everlasting destruction, and introduce the saints into his kingdom of glory to be forever with him.

"8. We believe that the first day of the week is the Lord's day or Christian sabbath, and that it is our duty to assemble on that day for the worship of God in the various exercises of Christian devotion.

"9. We believe that a visible church of Christ is a number of believers, who have covenanted to maintain together the worship, doctrine, institutions and duties of the gospel of Christ.

"10. We believe that baptism and the Lord's supper are the special ordinances of Christ's church, to be continued until his second coming; and that those only are to be admitted to the communion of the church, and to participate in all its privileges, who, upon the profession of their faith, have been baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

"11. We believe that a church of Christ is an independent body, having full power to receive, discipline, dismiss and expel its own members, to elect and dismiss its own officers, and to manage its own concerns according to the scriptures, and that councils and associations have only advisory powers.

"12. We believe that the only permanent officers of the church are elders or pastors anddeacons; that the pastor is to preach the word, to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, to oversee the church, and to preside in discipline; and that he is to be highly esteemed in love for his work's sake, and liberally and voluntarily supplied with carnal things according to the respective ability of the members;—and that the deacons are to oversee and manage the temporals of the church.

"Church Covenant.

"Having been baptized, upon the profession of our faith, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, we do now, in the presence of the heart searching God, and in the presence of these witnesses, voluntarily devote ourselves to God according to the gospel of his Son, and to this church as members of it, receiving its articles of faith and practice as agreeable to the word of God, and promising to adhere to them in sentiment and practice, and to submit to the discipline of the church, so long as we continue satisfied that they are scriptural.
We likewise engage to attend public worship statedly with this church, so far as may be consistent with duty, and endeavor to bring up our families in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and also to attend church meetings and conferences, and all other appointments of the church, whenever it is practicable.

Moreover, we esteem it our duty to walk in wisdom towards them, that are without, and to cultivate brotherly love among ourselves;—to watch over, exhort, sympathize with and pray for each other;—to bear with one another's failings and infirmities, and, when the case requires, to warn, rebuke and admonish one another, according to the gospel.

And may the God of all grace enable us always to keep in mind our present engagements, so long as we are continued in this church; and may he still add unto it of such as shall be saved.

Now unto him, that is able to keep us from falling, and to present us faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

The number of church members is 22. The meetings of the society are commonly held in the brick schoolhouse.

Deacons.

Chosen,
August, 1833, Asa Thayer;
August, 1833, Jeremiah Stockwell, junior.

NOTICE OF THE MOUNTAIN MILLER, AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE, BY WILLIAM A. HALLOCK.

Deacon Joseph Beals, who will be known, through the future ages of the church, as the Mountain Miller, was a native of Bridgewater in this state, and removed with his family to this place in 1779. Here, in 1789, a year of great scarcity, he met with a severe affliction, the loss of his house and nearly all his provisions by fire. Previous to this, he had been depending on his external morality for salvation, considering a change of heart as unnecessary. He now found, however, that he could not truly submit to the will of God, and betook himself to the seeking of his salvation in earnest. After a season of distressing anxiety, the
Savior was pleased to reveal himself to his soul as the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely, and "he suddenly broke forth in new strains of devotion, penitence and praise for redeeming love." From this time he consecrated himself to the service of his Savior, and became distinguished for his meekness and humility, his life of prayer, his exemplary deportment at all times, and in all places, particularly in the house of God, his abiding sense of the uncertainty of life and the retributions of eternity, his preciousness to the awakened sinner, his care for the spiritual welfare of his family, and of all, with whom the providence of God brought him in contact, his perseverance in doing good, and his uniform and consistent piety. "His conversation would never tire, and it seemed that he was never tired of religious conversation."

He died after a short sickness, July 20, 1813. "His body," says the writer of the tract, "was interred in the graveyard, near his accustomed place of worship, where a plain and neat marble slab, bearing his name, age and the date of his death, is erected as the only memorial of the Mountain Miller. A notice of his death was inserted in the county newspaper, with this expressive and appropriate remark; "His presence animated the Christian, and awed the sinner;" which would have been his whole recorded story, had not some special indications of providence convinced the writer of this narrative of his duty to communicate it for the benefit, he trusts, of thousands."

The pious traveler will hereafter delight to visit the place consecrated by the residence of the Mountain Miller, to drink at the spring by the road side, bursting from the rocks, and shaded by the two beautiful sugar maples, where he so often drank in passing between his house and mill, and, above all, to linger at the grave of this devoted servant of the Most High. From this spot flowers have already been culled, and sent to different parts of this country and of Europe.

This tract, which now takes its place by the side of the Dairyman's Daughter and the Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, was first published by the American Tract Society in 1831. Within one year 140,000 copies were printed, and the whole impression amounted to 168,000. In 1833 the tract was carefully revised, and stereotyped anew, and another edition of 168,000 copies was struck off.
In the Seventh and Eighth Reports of the society the following instances are given of its usefulness.

"It was presented to a family in humble circumstances in Connecticut. The wife read it, and, while perusing the last page, became deeply affected with her lost and ruined state as a sinner. Her convictions were pungent and distressing; and, in two or three days, she was rejoicing in hope. This so affected her husband, that he too became alarmed, and soon found peace in Christ. They sent for the minister of the place, and communicated to him the grateful news of what God had done for their souls. They had rarely attended public worship;—the husband had kept a tippling shop, which is now closed, and the business relinquished entirely."

"A distributer in New Jersey called on an aged man, who had never read a tract, and said he did not need nor wish to read one. He was induced, however, to accept the Mountain Miller. He was not only interested in reading it, but his mind became seriously alarmed. He saw that his morality, in which he trusted, could not save him, and that he needed a better righteousness than his own, and he now trusts that he has found mercy with God through him, who was crucified."

In the American Tract Magazine for February, 1834, is the following testimony from Mr. Morley of Union College. "In one family," says he, "I left the Mountain Miller. Four weeks after, I called again, and it had been read by twenty families, and was still circulating. As soon as one family had read it, another was anxious to receive it. It was recently read at a prayer meeting, and the whole audience were affected to tears. In a number of families where it was read, it had a similar effect. It has been the instrument of arousing many professors, and awakening a number of the careless from their long slumbers in sin."

The same society has also published the tract in the German language. It has also been reprinted by the Religious Tract Society of London; and in France it has been translated and published in the language of the country by the Religious Tract Society of Paris.

The author received 50 dollars for writing this tract; (presented to the American Tract Society, to be given as a prize for the best narrative tract.) This sum he generously devoted for the purpose of perpetuating the tract.
BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

Plainfield Tract Society. This society, which was formed several years since, lately became auxiliary to the American Tract Society at New York.

Foreign Missionary Association of Plainfield, subsidiary to the Foreign Missionary Society of Northampton and the Neighboring Towns, formed in 1824.

Bible Association of Plainfield, auxiliary to the Hampshire Bible Society, formed in 1826. In the grand effort for supplying the United States with Bibles, a few years since, this society paid more than a hundred dollars.

Temperance Association of Plainfield, auxiliary to the Hampshire County Temperance Society. This flourishing society was formed June 27, 1828, and now consists of about 500 members, none being admitted under 12 years of age. The inhabitants have great reason to felicitate themselves on the progress of the temperance cause among them. Though this was never considered an intemperate place, when compared with its sister towns, yet, a few years since, there were six licensed houses, and, at the principal store, there were sold 12 hogsheads of ardent spirits in a year. Now there are but two licensed houses; and, at the same store, there is sold about a barrel in the same period of time. The number of intemperate persons is greatly diminished; and there is an improvement in the manners and morals of the people, which is truly gratifying.

Home Missionary Association of Plainfield, auxiliary to the Hampshire Missionary Society, formed in 1831.

Female Benevolent Society, formed May 14, 1833.

Maternal Association of Plainfield, formed May 2, 1834.

There are resident in this place two directors for life, and one life member of the American Bible Society, two life members of the American Home Missionary Society, a member for life of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, and a life director and eight life members of the American Tract Society at New York.

PIRES.

Joseph Beals's house was burnt, February, 1789.

About the beginning of the year 1819, the house of Benjamin
Gardner, junior, and Warren Gardner was consumed by fire. April 22, 1824, Ira Hamlin's house, including a hat manufactory, was burnt.

February, 1825, the cloth manufactory, belonging to Arnold and Nahum Streeter, was consumed by fire.

December 13, 1833, the house of Stallham Rice was burnt with all its contents, the family being absent.

Four schoolhouses have been destroyed by fire, the last on the third of December, 1833. Two of these were in the north-east district. There have also been burnt four mechanics' shops and a small distillery.

The necessities of those, who have suffered by fire, have been liberally supplied, and their losses, in a good degree, compensated by the kindness of the people. Very few of the inhabitants have availed themselves of the benefits of the insurance office, five buildings only being insured.

The houses are generally of wood; in a few instances of brick, with underpinning and window caps and sills of West Stockbridge marble.

INCIDENTS.

Not long after the erecting of the bellfry, as some fellows were playing around the meeting house, one of them, having a plentiful scarcity of wit, threw up a stone, which struck the cock, which is placed as a vane on the summit of the spire, and bent his tailfeathers. His comrades told him that he would be put to death, unless he went up and straitened them. In this dilemma, he climbed up by the lightning rod as far as the bell, where he rested a while, and then ascended to the vane, and, after effecting his purpose, returned without meeting with any accident.

In June, 1829, as captain Levi Cook was engaged in shoeing a yoke of oxen, one of the animals being fastened by a chain to a staple, in attempting to extricate himself, pulled out the staple, and, in doing this, threw the chain around the legs of the unfortunate man, the hook hitching into one of the links; and, in this situation, he was drawn with great velocity about half a mile. The ox was then stopped by a boy, and the unhappy man extricated himself from his truly perilous situation. His body was severely mangled; but, after a tedious confinement, he recovered.
HISTORICAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF CONCORD,

12th SEPTEMBER, 1835.

ON THE

SECOND CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

CONCORD:
G. F. BEMIS, PRINTER.
1835.
DISCOURSE.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The town of Concord begins, this day, the third century of its history. By a common consent, the people of New England, for a few years past, as the second centennial anniversary of each of its early settlements arrived, have seen fit to observe the day. You have thought it becoming to commemorate the planting of the first inland town. The sentiment is just, and the practice is wise. Our ears shall not be deaf to the voice of time. We will review the deeds of our fathers, and pass that just verdict on them, we expect from posterity on our own.

And yet, in the eternity of nature, how recent our antiquities appear! The imagination is impatient of a cycle so short. Who can tell how many thousand years, every day, the clouds have shaded these fields with their purple awning? The river, by whose banks, most of us were born, every winter, for ages, has spread its crust of ice over the great meadows which, in ages, it had formed. But the little society of men who now, for a few years, fish in this river, plough the fields it washes, mow the grass, and reap the corn, shortly shall hurry from its banks as did their forefathers. "Man's life," said the to the Saxon king,
"is the Sparrow that enters at a window, flutters round the house, and flies out at another, and none knoweth whence he came, or whither he goes." The more reason that we should give to our being what permanence we can;—that we should recall the Past, and expect the Future.

Yet the race survives whilst the individual dies. In the country, without any interference of the law, the agricultural life favors the permanence of families. Here are still around me, the lineal descendants of the first settlers of this town. Here is Blood, Flint, Willard, Meriam, Wood, Hosmer, Barrett, Wheeler, Jones, Brown, Buttrick, Brooks, Stow, Hoar, Heywood, Hunt, Miles,—the names of the inhabitants for the first thirty years; and the family is in many cases represented, when the name is not. If the name of Bulkeley is wanting, the honor you have done me, this day, in making me your organ, testifies your persevering kindness to his blood.

I shall not be expected, on this occasion, to repeat the details of that oppression which drove our fathers out hither. Yet the town of Concord was settled by a party of non-conformists, immediately from Great Britain. The best friend the Massachusetts colony had, though much against his will, was Archbishop Laud in England. In consequence of his famous proclamation setting up certain novelties in the rites of public worship, fifty godly ministers were suspended for contumacy, in the course of two years and a half. Hindered from speaking, some of these dared to print the reasons of their dissent, and were punished with imprisonment or mutilation.* This severity brought some of the best men in England, to overcome that natural repugnance to emigration which holds the serious and moderate of every nation to their own soil. Among the silenced clergymen

was a distinguished minister of Woodhill, in Bedfordshire, Rev. Peter Bulkeley, descended from a noble family, honored for his own virtues, his learning, and gifts as a preacher, and adding to his influence, the weight of a large estate.* Persecution readily knits friendship between its victims. Mr. Bulkeley having turned his estate into money, and set his face towards New England, was easily able to persuade a good number of planters to join him. They arrived in Boston in 1634.† Probably there had been a previous correspondence with Governor Winthrop and an agreement that they should settle at Musketaquid. With them joined Mr. Simon Willard, a merchant from Kent in England. They petitioned the General Court for a grant of a town­ship, and on the 2d of September, 1635, corresponding in New Style to 12th September, two hundred years ago, this day, leave to begin a plantation at Musketaquid, was given to Peter Bulkeley, Simon Willard, and about twelve families more. A month later, Rev. John Jones, and a large number of settlers destined for the new town arrived in Boston.‡

The grant of the general court was but a preliminary step. The green meadows of Musketaquid or Grassy Brook were far up in the woods, not to be reached without a painful and dangerous journey through an uninterrupted wilderness. They could cross the Massachusetts or Charles river, by the ferry at Newtown; they could go up the river as far as Watertown. But the Indian paths leading up and down the country, were a foot broad. They must then plunge into the thickest, and with their axes cut a road for their teams, with their women and children, and their household stuff, forced to make long circuits too, to avoid hills and

† Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 158.
‡ Shattuck, p. 5.
Edward Johnson, of Woburn, has described in an affecting narrative, their labors by the way. "Sometimes passing through thickets where their hands are forced to make way for their bodies' passage, and their feet clambering over the crossed trees, which when they missed, they sunk into an uncertain bottom in water, and wade up to their knees, tumbling sometimes higher, sometimes lower. At the end of this, they meet a scorching plain, yet not so plain, but that the ragged bushes scratch their legs fouly even to wearing their stockings to their bare skin in two or three hours. Some of them, having no leggings, have had the blood trickle down at every step. And in time of summer, the sun casts such a reflecting heat from the sweet fern, whose scent is very strong, that some nearly fainted." They slept on the rocks, wherever the night found them. Much time was lost in travelling they knew not whither, when the sun was hidden by clouds; for "their compass miscarried in crowding through the bushes," and the Indian paths, once lost, they did not easily find.

Johnson, relating undoubtedly what he had himself heard from the pilgrims, intimates that they consumed many days in exploring the country, to select the best place for the town. Their first temporary accommodation was rude enough. "After they have found a place of abode, they burrow themselves in the earth for their first shelter, under a hill-side, and casting the soil aloft upon timber, they make a fire against the earth, at the highest side. And thus these poor servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their wives, and little ones, keeping off the short showers from their lodgings, but the long rains penetrate through, to their great disturbance in the night season. Yet in these poor wigwams, they sing psalms, pray, and praise their God, till they can provide them houses, which they could not ordinarily, till the earth, by the Lord's blessing, brought forth
bread to feed them. This they attain with sore travail, every one that can lift a hoe to strike into the earth, standing stoutly to his labors, and tearing up the roots and bushes from the ground, which, the first year, yielded them a lean crop, till the sod of the earth was rotten, and therefore they were forced to cut their bread very thin for a long season. But the Lord is pleased to provide for them great store of fish in the spring time, and especially alewives, about the bigness of a herring. These served them also for manure. For flesh, they looked not for any, in those times, unless they could barter with the Indians for venison and racoons. "Indian Corn, even the coarsest, made as pleasant meal as rice." All kinds of garden fruits grew well, "and let no man," writes our pious chronicler, in another place, "make a jest of pumpkins, for with this fruit the Lord was pleased to feed his people until their corn and cattle were increased."

The great cost of cattle, and the sickening of their cattle upon such wild fodder as was never cut before; the loss of their sheep and swine, by wolves; the sufferings of the people in the great snows and cold soon following; and the fear of the Pequots; are the other disasters enumerated by the historian.

The hardships of the journey and of the first encampment, are certainly related by their contemporary, with some air of romance, yet they can scarcely be exaggerated. A march of a number of families with their stuff, through twenty miles of unknown forest, from a little rising town that had not much to spare, to an Indian town in the wilderness that had nothing, must be laborious to all, and for those who

*Johnson’s Wonder Working Providence, chap. 35. I have abridged and slightly altered some sentences.
†Mourt, beginning of Plymouth, 1621, p. 60.
‡Johnson, p. 56.
were new to the country, and bred in softness, a formidable adventure. But the pilgrims had the preparation of an armed mind, better than any hardihood of body. And the rough welcome which the new land gave them, was a fit introduction to the life they must lead in it.

But what was their reception at Musketaquid? This was an old village of the Massachusetts Indians. Takhattawan, the Sachem, with Waban his son in law, lived near Nashawtuck, now Lee's hill.* Their tribe, once numerous, the epidemic had reduced. Here they planted, hunted and fished. The moose was still trotting in the country, and of his sinews they made their bowstring. Of the pith elder, that still grows beside our brooks, they made their arrow. Of the Indian Hemp, they spun their nets and lines for summer angling, and, in winter, they sat around holes in the ice, catching salmon, pickerel, breams and perch, with which our river abounded.† Their physical powers, as our fathers found them, and before yet the English alcohol had proved more fatal to them than the English sword, astonished the white men.‡ Their sight was so excellent, that, standing on the sea shore, they often told of the coming of a ship at sea, sooner by one hour, yea two hours sail, than any Englishman that stood by, on purpose to look out.§ Roger Williams affirms, that he has known them run between eighty and a hundred miles in a summer's day, and back again within two days. A little pounded parched corn or no-cake sufficed them on the march. To his bodily perfection, the wild man added some noble traits of character. He was open as a child to kindness and justice. Many instances of his humanity were known to the Englishmen who suffered

* Shattuck, p. 3.
† Josselyn's Voyages to New England, 1688.
‡ Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. 1 chap. vi.
§ Thomas Morton; New Eng. Canaan, p. 47.
in the woods from sickness or cold. "When you came over the morning waters," said one of the Sachems, "we took you into our arms. We fed you with our best meat. Never went white man cold and hungry, from Indian wigwam."

The faithful dealing and brave good will, which, during the life of the friendly Massasoit, they uniformly experienced at Plymouth and at Boston, went to their hearts. So that the peace was made, and the ear of the savage already secured, before the pilgrims arrived at his seat of Musketaquid, to treat with him for his lands.

It is said that the covenant made with the Indians by Mr. Bulkeley and Major Willard, was made under a great oak, formerly standing near the site of the Middlesex Hotel.* Our Records affirm, that, Squaw Sachem, Tahattawan, and Nimrod did sell a tract of six miles square to the English, receiving for the same, some fathoms of Wampumpeag, hatchets, hoes, knives, cotton cloth, and shirts. Wibbacowet, the husband of Squaw Sachem, received a suit of cloth, a hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat; and, in conclusion, the said Indians declared themselves satisfied, and told the Englishmen they were welcome. And after the bargain was concluded, Mr. Simon Willard, pointing, to the four corners of the world, declared that they had bought three miles from that place, east, west, north and south.†

The Puritans, to keep the remembrance of their unity one with another, and of their peaceful compact with the Indians named their forest settlement CONCORD. They proceeded to build under the shelter of the hill that extends for a mile along the north side of the Boston road, their first

* Shattuck, p. 6,
† Depositions taken in 1684, and copied in the first volume of the Town Records.

2
dwellings. The labors of a new plantation were paid by its excitements. I seem to see them, with their pious pastor, addressing themselves to the work of clearing the land. Natives of another hemisphere, they beheld, with curiosity, all the pleasing features of the American forest. The landscape before them was fair, if it was strange and rude. The little flower which at this season stars our woods and road sides with its profuse blooms, might attract even eyes as stern as theirs with its humble beauty. The useful pine lifted its cones into the frosty air. The maple which is already making the forest gay with its orange hues, reddened over those houseless men. The majestic summits of Wachusett and Monadnoc towering in the horizon, invited the steps of adventure westward.

As the season grew later, they felt its inconveniences. "Many were forced to go barefoot and bareleg, and some in time of frost and snow, yet were they more healthy than now they are."* The land was low but healthy; and if, in common with all the settlements, they found the air of America very cold, they might say with Higginson, after his description of the other elements, that, "New England may boast of the element of fire, more than all the rest; for all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant, that is to possess but fifty acres, may afford to give more wood for fire as good as the world yields, than many noblemen in England."† Many were their wants, but more their privileges. The light struggled in through windows of oiled paper,‡ but they read the word of God by it. They were fain to make use of their knees for a table, but their limbs were their own. Hard labor and spare diet they had, and off wooden trenchers, but

* Johnson.
† New England's Plantation.
‡ E. W.'s Letter in Mourt, 1621.
they had peace and freedom, and the wailing of the tempest in the woods sounded kindlier in their ear, than the smooth voice of the prelates, at home, in England. "There is no people," said their pastor to his little flock of exiles, "but will strive to excel in something. What can we excel in, if not in holiness? If we look to number, we are the fewest; if to strength, we are the weakest; if to wealth and riches, we are the poorest of all the people of God through the whole world. We cannot excel nor so much as equal other people in these things; and if we come short in grace and holiness too, we are the most despicable people under heaven. Strive we, therefore, herein to excel, and suffer not this crown to be taken away from us."* The sermon fell into good and tender hearts; the people conspired with their teacher. Their religion was sweetness and peace amidst toil and tears. And, as we are informed, "the edge of their appetite was greater to spiritual duties at their first coming, in time of wants, than afterwards."

The original town records, for the first thirty years, are lost. We have records of marriages and deaths, beginning nineteen years after the settlement; and copies of some of the doings of the town in regard to territory, of the same date. But the original distribution of the land, or an account of the principles on which it was divided, are not preserved. Agreeably to the custom of the times, a large portion was reserved to the public, and it appears from a petition of some new comers, in 1643, that a part had been divided among the first settlers without price, on the single condition of improving it.† Other portions seem to have been successively divided off and granted to individuals, at the rate of sixpence or a shilling an acre. But, in the first

† See the petition in Shattuck, p. 14.
years, the land would not pay the necessary public charges, and they seem to have fallen heavily on the few wealthy planters. Mr. Bulkeley, by his generosity, spent his estate, and doubtless in consideration of his charges, the general court, in 1639, granted him 300 acres towards Cambridge; and to Mr. Spencer, probably for the like reason, 300 acres by the alewife river. In 1638, 1200 acres were granted to Governor Winthrop, and 1000 to Thomas Dudley of the lands adjacent to the town, and Governor Winthrop selected as a building spot the land near the house of Capt. Humphrey Hunt.* The first record now remaining is that of a reservation of land for the minister and the appropriation of new lands as commons or pastures to some poor men. At the same date, in 1654, the town having divided itself into three districts, called the North, South and East quarters, Ordered, "that the North quarter are to keep and maintain all their highways and bridges over the great river, in their quarter, and, in respect of the greatness of their charge thereabout, and in regard of the ease of the East quarter above the rest, in their highways, they are to allow the North quarter £3."†

Fellow Citizens, this first recorded political act of our fathers, this tax assessed on its inhabitants by a town, is the most important event in their civil history, implying, as it does, the exercise of a sovereign power, and connected with all the immunities and powers of a corporate town in Massachusetts. The greater speed and success that distinguish the planting of the human race in this country, over all other plantations in history, owe themselves mainly, to the new subdivisions of the State into small corporations of land and power. It is vain to look for the inventor. No man made them. Each of the parts of that perfect structure.

* Shattuck, p. 14. † Town Records; Shattuck, p. 34.
grew out of the necessities of an instant occasion. The germ was formed in England. The charter gave to the freemen of the company of Massachusetts Bay, the election of the Governor and Council of Assistants. It moreover gave them the power of prescribing the manner in which freemen should be elected; and ordered, that all fundamental laws should be enacted by the freemen of the colony. But the company removed to New England; more than one hundred freemen were admitted the first year, and it was found inconvenient to assemble them all.* And when, presently, the design of the colony began to fulfil itself, by the settlement of new plantations in the vicinity of Boston, and parties, with grants of land, straggled into the country, to truck with the Indians, and to clear the land for their own benefit, the Governor and freemen, in Boston, found it neither desirable nor possible to control the trade and practices of these farmers. What could the body of freemen, meeting four times a year, at Boston, do for the daily wants of the planters at Musketaquid? The wolf was to be killed; the Indian to be watched and resisted; wells to be dug; the forest to be felled; pastures to be cleared; corn to be raised; roads to be cut; town and farm lines to be run. These things must be done, govern who might. The nature of man and his condition in the world, for the first time within the period of certain history, controlled the formation of the State. The necessity of the colonists wrote the law. Their wants, their poverty, their manifest convenience made them bold to ask of the Governor and of the general court, immunities, and, to certain purposes, sovereign powers. The townsmen's words were heard and weighed, for all knew that it was a petitioner that could not be slighted; it was the river, or the winter, or famine, or the

Pequots, that spoke through them to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay. Instructed by necessity, each little company organized itself after the pattern of the larger town, by appointing its constable, and other petty half-military officers. As early as 1633,* the office of townsmen or selectman appears, who seems first to have been appointed by the general court, as here, at Concord, in 1639. In 1635, the court say, "whereas particular towns have many things which concern only themselves, it is Ordered, that the freemen of every town shall have power to dispose of their own lands, and woods, and choose their own particular officers."† This pointed chiefly at the office of constable, but they soon chose their own selectmen, and very early assessed taxes; a power at first resisted,‡ but speedily confirmed to them.

Meantime, to this paramount necessity, a milder and more pleasing influence was joined. I esteem it the happiness of this country, that its settlers, whilst they were exploring their granted and natural rights, and determining the power of the magistrate, were united by personal affection. Members of a church, before whose searching covenant all rank was abolished, they stood in awe of each other, as religious men. They bore to John Winthrop, the Governor, a grave but hearty kindness. For the first time, men examined the powers of the chief whom they loved and revered. For the first time, the ideal social compact was real. The bands of love and reverence held fast the little state, whilst they untied the great cords of authority to examine their soundness, and learn on what wheels they ran. They were to settle the internal constitution of the towns, and, at the same time, their power in the commonwealth. The Governor

* Savage’s Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 114.
† Colony Records, vol. 1.
‡ See Hutchinson’s Collection, p. 287.
conspires with them in limiting his claims to their obedience, and values much more their love, than his chartered authority. The disputes between that forbearing man and the deputies, are like the quarrels of girls, so much do they turn upon complaints of unkindness, and end in such loving reconciliations. It was on doubts concerning their own power, that, in 1634, a committee repaired to him for counsel, and he advised, seeing the freemen were grown so numerous, to send deputies from every town once in a year to revise the laws and to assess all monies.* And the general court, thus constituted, only needed to go into separate session from the council, as they did in 1644,† to become essentially the same assembly they are this day.

By this course of events, Concord and the other plantations found themselves separate and independent of Boston, with certain rights of their own, which, what they were, time alone could fully determine; enjoying, at the same time, a strict and loving fellowship with Boston, and sure of advice and aid, on every emergency. Their powers were speedily settled by obvious convenience, and the towns learned to exercise a sovereignty in the laying of taxes; in the choice of their deputy to the house of representatives; in the disposal of the town lands; in the care of public worship, the school, and the poor; and, what seemed of at least equal importance, to exercise the right of expressing an opinion on every question before the country. In a town-meeting, the great secret of political science was uncovered, and the problem solved, how to give every individual his fair weight in the government, without any disorder from numbers. In a town-meeting, the roots of society were reached. Here the rich gave counsel, but the poor also; and moreover, the

just and the unjust. He is ill informed, who expects, on running down the town records for two hundred years, to find a church of saints, a metropolis of patriots, enacting wholesome and creditable laws. The constitution of the towns forbid it. In this open democracy, every opinion had utterance; every objection, every fact, every acre of land, every bushel of rye, its entire weight. The moderator was the passive mouth-piece, and the vote of the town, like the vane on the turret overhead, free for every wind to turn, and always turned by the last and strongest breath. In these assemblies, the public weal, the call of interest, duty, religion, were heard; and every local feeling, every private grudge, every suggestion of petulance and ignorance, were not less faithfully produced. Wrath and love came up to town-meeting in company. By the law of 1641, every man,—freeman or not,—inhabitant or not,—might introduce any business into a public meeting. Not a complaint occurs in all the volumes of our Records, of any inhabitant being hindered from speaking, or suffering from any violence or usurpation of any class. The negative ballot of a ten shilling freeholder, was as fatal as that of the honored owner of Blood's Farms or Willard's Purchase. A man felt himself at liberty to exhibit, at town-meeting, feelings and actions that he would have been ashamed of anywhere but amongst his neighbors. Individual protests are frequent. Peter Wright [1705] desired his dissent might be recorded from the town's grant to John Shepard.* In 1795, several town-meetings are called, upon the compensation to be made to a few proprietors for land taken in making a bridle road; and one of them demanding large damages, many offers were made him in town-meeting, and refused; "which the town thought very unreasonable." The matters there debated, are

* Concord Town Records.
such as to invite very small considerations. The ill-spelled pages of the town records contain the result. I shall be excused for confessing that I have set a value upon any symptom of meanness and private pique which I have met with, in these antique books, as proof that justice was done; that if the results of our history are approved as wise and good, it was yet a free strife; if the good counsel prevailed, the sneaking counsel did not fail to be suggested; freedom and virtue, if they triumphed, triumphed in a fair field. And so be it an everlasting testimony for them, and so much ground of assurance of man's capacity for self-government.

It is the consequence of this institution, that, not a school house, a public pew, a bridge, a pound, a mill-dam, hath been set up, or pulled down, or altered, or bought, or sold, without the whole population of this town having a voice in the affair. A general contentment is the result. And the people truly feel that they are lords of the soil. In every winding road, in every stone fence, in the smokes of the poor-house chimney, in the clock on the church, they read their own power, and consider, at leisure, the wisdom and error of their judgments.

The British government has recently presented to the several public libraries of this country, copies of the splendid edition of the Domesday Book, and other ancient public Records of England. I cannot but think that it would be a suitable acknowledgement of this national munificence, if the records of one of our towns,—of this town, for example,—should be printed, and presented to the governments of Europe; to the English nation, as a thank-offering, and as a certificate of the progress of the Saxon race; to the continental nations, as a lesson of humanity and love. Tell them, the Union has twenty-four States, and Massachusetts is one. Tell them, Massachusetts has three hundred towns, and Concord is one; that, in Concord, are five
hundred rateable polls, and every one has an equal vote.

About ten years after the planting of Concord, efforts began to be made to civilize the Indians, and "to win them to the knowledge of the true God." This indeed, in so many words, is expressed in the charter of the Colony, as one of its ends; and this design is named first in the printed "Considerations,"* that inclined Hampden, and determined Winthrop and his friends, to come hither. The interest of the Puritans in the natives, was heightened by a suspicion at that time prevailing, that these were the lost ten tribes of Israel. The man of the woods might well draw on himself the compassion of the planters. His erect and perfect form, though disclosing some irregular virtues, was found joined to a dwindled soul. Master of all sorts of woodcraft, he seemed part of the forest and the lake, and the secret of his amazing skill seemed to be, that, he partook of the nature and fierce instincts of the beasts he slew. Those who dwelled by ponds and rivers, had some tincture of civility, but the hunters of the tribe were found intractable at catechism. Thomas Hooker anticipated the opinion of Humboldt, and called them "the ruins of mankind."

Early efforts were made to instruct them, in which, Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Flint, and Capt. Willard, took an active part. In 1644, Squaw Sachem, the widow of Nanepashemet, the great Sachem of Concord and Mystic, with two Sachems of Wachusett, made a formal submission to the English government, and intimated their desire, "as opportunity served, and the English lived among them, to learn to read God's word, and know God aright; and the general court acted on their request."† John Eliot, in October, 1646, preached his first Sermon in the Indian language at Nunnantum; Waban, Tahattawan, and their sannaps, going

* Hutchinson's Collection, p. 27.
† Shattuck, p. 20.
thither from Concord, to hear him. There under the rubbish and ruins of barbarous life, the human heart heard the voice of love, and awoke as from a sleep. The questions which the Indians put, betray their reason and their ignorance. "Can Jesus Christ understand prayers in the Indian language?" "If a man be wise, and his sachem weak, must he obey him?" At a meeting which Eliot gave to the squaws apart, the wife of Wampoos propounded the question, "whether do I pray when my husband prays, if I speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like what he saith?—" which questions were accounted of by some, as part of the whitenings of the harvest toward."* Tahattawan, our Concord sachem, called his Indians together, and bid them not oppose the courses which the English were taking for their good; for, said he, all the time you have lived after the Indian fashion, under the power of the higher sachems, what did they care for you? They took away your skins, your kettles, and your wampum, at their own pleasure, and this was all they regarded. But you may see the English mind no such things, but only seek your welfare, and instead of taking away, are ready to give to you." Tahattawan and his son-in-law Waban, besought Eliot to come and preach to them at Concord, and here they entered, by his assistance, into an agreement to twenty-nine rules, all breathing a desire to conform themselves to English customs.† They requested to have a town given them within the bounds of Concord, near unto the English. When this question was propounded by Tahattawan, he was asked, why he desired a town so near, when there was more room for them up in the country? The sachem replied, that, he knew if the Indians dwelt far from the English, they would not so much care to pray, nor could they be so ready to hear the word of God, but

† See them in Shattuck, p. 22.
would be all one Indians still; but dwelling near the English, he hoped it might be otherwise with them then." We, who see in the squalid remnants of the twenty tribes of Massachusetts, the final failure of this benevolent enterprise, can hardly learn without emotion, the earnestness with which the most sensible individuals of the copper race, held on to the new hope they had conceived, of being elevated to equality with their civilized brother. It is piteous to see their self-distrust, in their request to remain near the English, and their unanimous entreaty to Capt. Willard, to be their Recorder, being very solicitous that what they did agree upon, might be faithfully kept without alteration. It was remarkable, that the preaching was not wholly new to them. "Their forefathers," the Indians told Eliot, "did know God, but after this, they fell into a deep sleep, and when they did awake, they quite forgot him."*

At the instance of Eliot, in 1651, their desire was granted by the general court, and Nashobah, lying near Nagog pond, now partly in Littleton, partly in Acton, became an Indian town, where a christian worship was established under an Indian ruler and teacher.† Wilson relates, that, at their meetings, "the Indians sung a psalm, made Indian by Eliot, in one of our ordinary English tunes, melodiously."‡ Such was, for half a century, the success of the general enterprise, that, in 1676, there were 567 praying Indians, and in 1689, twenty-four Indian preachers, and eighteen assemblies.

Meantime, Concord increased in territory and population. The lands were divided; highways were cut from farm to farm, and from this town to Boston. A military company had been organized in 1636. The Pequots, the terror of the farmer, were exterminated in 1637. Capt. Underhill, in 1638, declared, that, "the new plantations of Dedham and Concord do afford large accommodation, and will con-

* Shepard, p. 9. † Shattuck, p. 27. ‡ Wilson's Letter, 1651.
tain abundance of people."* In 1639, our first selectmen, Mr. Flint, Lt. Willard, and Richard Griffin were appointed.† And, in 1640, when the colony rate was £1200, Concord was assessed £50.‡ The country already began to yield more than was consumed by the inhabitants.§ The very great immigration from England made the lands more valuable every year, and supplied a market for the produce. In 1643, the Colony was so numerous, that it became expedient to divide it into four counties, Concord being included in Middlesex.|| In 1644, the town contained sixty families.

But, in 1640, all immigration ceased, and the country produce and farm-stock depreciated.¶ Other difficulties accrued. The fish, which had been the abundant manure of the settlers, was found to injure the land.¶ The river, at this period, seems to have caused some distress now by its overflow, now by its drought.® A cold and wet summer blighted the corn; enormous flocks of pigeons beat down and eat up all sorts of English grain; and the crops suffered much from mice.⁹ New plantations and better land had been opened, far and near; and whilst many of the Colonists at Boston, thought to remove, or did remove to England, the Concord people became uneasy, and looked around for new seats. In 1643, one seventh or one eighth part of the inhabitants went to Connecticut with Rev. Mr. Jones, and settled Fairfield. Weakened by this loss, the people begged to be released from a part of their rates, to which the general court consented.¹⁰ Mr. Bulkeley dissuaded his people from removing, and admonished them to increase their faith with their griefs. Even this check which befell them, ac-

quaints us with the rapidity of their growth, for the good man, in dealing with his people, taxes them with luxury. "We pretended to come hither," he says, "for ordinances; but now ordinances are light matters with us; we are turned after the prey. We have among us excess and pride of life; pride in apparel, daintiness in diet, and that in those who, in times past, would have been satisfied with bread. This is the sin of the lowest of the people."* Better evidence could not be desired of the rapid growth of the settlement.

The check was but momentary. The earth teemed with fruits. The people on the bay, built ships, and found the way to the West Indies, with pipe-staves, lumber, and fish; and the country people speedily learned how to supply themselves with sugar, tea, and molasses. The college had been already gathered in 1638. Now the school house went up. The general court, in 1647, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, Ordered, that every township, after the Lord had increased them to the number of fifty house-holders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a Grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University."† With these requirements, Concord not only complied, but, in 1653, subscribed a sum for several years to the support of Harvard College.‡

But a new and alarming public distress retarded the growth of this, as of the sister towns during more than twenty years from 1654 to 1676. In 1654, the four united New England Colonies agreed to raise 270 foot and 40 horse, to re-

* Gospel Covenant, p. 301.
‡ Shattuck, p. 45.
ducet Ninigret, Sachem of the Nantics, and appointed Major Simon Willard, of this town, to the command.* This war seems to have been pressed by three of the colonies, and reluctantly entered by Massachusetts. Accordingly, Major Willard did the least he could, and incurred the censure of the Commissioners, who write to their "loving friend Major Willard," "that they leave to his consideration the inconveniences arising from his non-attendance to his commission."† This expedition was but the introduction of the war with King Philip. In 1670, the Wampanoags began to grind their hatchets, and mend their guns, and insult the English. Philip surrendered seventy guns to the commissioners in Taunton Meeting-house,‡ but revenged his humiliation a few years after, by carrying fire and the tomahawk into the English villages. From Narraganset to the Connecticut river, the scene of war was shifted as fast as these red hunters could traverse the forest. Concord was a military post. The inactivity of Major Willard, in Ninigret's war, had lost him no confidence. He marched from Concord to Brookfield, in season to save the people whose houses had been burned, and who had taken shelter in a fortified house.§ But he fought with disadvantage against an enemy who must be hunted before every battle. Some flourishing towns were burned. John Monoco, a formidable savage, boasted "that he had burned Medfield and Lancaster, and would burn Groton, Concord, Watertown and Boston," adding, "what me will, me do." He did burn Groton, but before he had executed the remainder of his threat, he was hanged in Boston, in September, 1676.||

* Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 172.
† See his instructions from the Commissioners, his narrative, and the Commissioners' letter to him in Hutchinson's Collection pp. 261—270.
‡ Hutchinson, Hist. vol. 1, 254.
§ Hubbard, Indian Wars, p. 119, ed. 1801.
|| Hubbard, p. 201.
A still more formidable enemy was removed, in the same year, by the capture of Canonehet, the faithful ally of Philip, who was soon afterwards shot at Stonington. He stoutly declared to the commissioners that “he would not deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag’s nail,” and when he was told that his sentence was death, he said “he liked it well that he was to die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself.”

We know beforehand, who must conquer in that unequal struggle. The red man may destroy here and there a straggler, as a wild beast may; he may fire a farm-house, or a village; but the association of the white men, and their arts of war give them an overwhelming advantage, and in the first blast of their trumpet, we already hear the flourish of victory. I confess what chiefly interests me, in the annals of that war, is the grandeur of spirit exhibited by a few of the Indian chiefs. A nameless Wampanoag who was put to death by the Mohicans, after cruel tortures, was asked by his butchers during the torture, how he liked the war?—he said, “he found it as sweet as sugar was to Englishmen.”

The only compensation which war offers for its manifold mischiefs, is in the great personal qualities to which it gives scope and occasion. The virtues of patriotism and of prodigious courage and address were exhibited, on both sides, and, in many instances, by women. The historian of Concord has preserved an instance of the resolution of one of the daughters of the town. Two young farmers, Abraham and Isaac Shepherd, had set their sister Mary, a girl of fifteen years, to watch whilst they threshed grain in the barn. The Indians stole upon her before she was aware, and her brothers were slain. She was carried captive into the In-

* Hubbard, p. 185.  
† Hubbard, p. 245.
IAN country, but, at night, whilst her captors were asleep, she plucked a saddle from under the head of one of them, took a horse they had stolen from Lancaster, and having girt the saddle on, she mounted, swam across the Nashua river, and rode through the forest to her home.*

With the tragical end of Philip, the war ended. Be-leaguered in his own country, his corn cut down, his piles of meal and other provision wasted by the English, it was only a great thaw in January, that, melting the snow, and opening the earth, enabled his poor followers to come at the ground-nuts, else they had starved. Hunted by Captain Church, he fled from one swamp to another; his brother, his uncle, his sister, and his beloved squaw being taken or slain, he was at last shot down by an Indian deserter, as he fled alone in the dark of the morning, not far from his own fort.†

Concord suffered little from the war. This is to be attributed no doubt, in part, to the fact, that troops were generally quartered here, and that it was the residence of many noted soldiers. Tradition finds another cause in the sanctity of its minister. The elder Bulkeley was gone. In 1659,‡ his bones were laid at rest in the forest. But the mantle of his piety, and of the peoples' affection fell upon his son Edward,§ the fame of whose prayers, it is said, once saved Concord from an attack of the Indian.|| A great defence undoubtedly was the village of Praying Indians, until this settlement fell a victim to the envenomed prejudice against their countrymen. The worst feature in the history of those years, is, that no man spake for the Indian. When the Dutch, or the French, or the English royalist,
disagreed with the Colony, there was always found a Dutch, or French, or tory party,—an earnest minority,—to keep things from extremity. But the Indian seemed to inspire such a feeling as the wild beast inspires in the people near his den. It is the misfortune of Concord to have permitted a disgraceful outrage upon the friendly Indians settled within its limits, in February, 1676, which ended in their forcible expulsion from the town.

This painful incident which is but too just an example of the measure which the Indians have generally received from the whites. For them the heart of charity, of humanity, was stone. After Philip's death, their strength was irrecoverably broken. They never more disturbed the interior settlements, and a few vagrant families, that are now pensioners on the bounty of Massachusetts, are all that is left of the twenty tribes.

"Alas! for them—their day is o'er,
Their fires are out from hill and shore,
No more for them the wild deer bounds,
The plough is on their hunting grounds;
The pale man's axe rings in their woods,
The pale man's sail skims o'er their flood,
Their pleasant springs are dry."*

I turn gladly to the progress of our civil history. Before 1666, 15000 acres had been added by grants of the general court to the original territory of the town,† so that Concord then included the greater part of the towns of Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, and Carlisle.

In the great growth of the country, Concord participated, as is manifest from its increasing polls, and increased rates. Randolph, at this period writes to the English Government, concerning the country towns; "The farmers are numerous and wealthy, live in good houses; are given to hospitality;

* Sprague's Centennial Ode.  † Shattuck.
and make good advantage by their corn, cattle, poultry, butter, and cheese."* Edward Bulkeley was the pastor, until his death, in 1696. His youngest brother, Peter, was deputy from Concord, and was chosen speaker of the house of deputies in 1676. The following year, he was sent to England, with Mr. Stoughton, as agent for the colony; and, on his return, in 1685, was a royal councillor. But I am sorry to find that the servile Randolph speaks of him with marked respect.† It would seem that his visit to England, had made him a courtier. In 1689, Concord partook of the general indignation of the province against Andros. A company marched to the capital under Lieut. Heald, forming a part of that body concerning which we are informed, "the country people came armed into Boston, on the afternoon (of Thursday, 18th April,) in such rage and heat, as made us all tremble to think what would follow; for nothing would satisfy them but that the governor must be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more secure place, and that they would see done before they went away; and to satisfy them he was guarded by them to the fort."‡ But the town records of that day confine themselves to descriptions of lands, and to conferences with the neighboring towns to run boundary lines. In 1699, so broad was their territory, I find the selectmen running the lines with Chelmsford, Cambridge and Watertown.§ Some interesting peculiarities in the manners and customs of the time, appear in the town's books. Proposals of marriage were made by the parents of the parties, and minutes of such private agreements sometimes entered on the clerk's records.|| The public charity seems to have been bestowed in a manner now obsolete. The town

* Hutchinson's Collection, p. 484
† Hutchinson's Coll. pp. 543, 548, 557, 566.
‡ Hutchinson's Hist. vol. 1, p. 336.
§ Town Records.
|| See Appendix, Note A. March and April.
lends its commons as pastures, to poor men; and "being informed of the great present want of Thomas Pellit, gave order to Stephen Hosmer, to deliver a town cow, of a black color, with a white face, unto said Pellit, for his present supply."*

From the beginning to the middle of the eighteenth century, our records indicate no interruption of the tranquillity of the inhabitants, either in church or in civil affairs. After the death of Rev. Mr. Estabrook, in 1711, it was propounded at the town meeting, "whether one of the three gentlemen lately improved here in preaching, namely, Mr. John Whiting, Mr. Holyoke, and Mr. Prescott shall be now chosen in the work of the ministry? Voted affirmatively."† Mr. Whiting, who was chosen, was, we are told, in his epitaph, "a universal lover of mankind." The charges of education and of legislation, at this period, seem to have afflicted the town; for, they vote to petition the general court, to be eased of the law relating to providing a schoolmaster; happily, the court refused; and in 1712, the select-men agreed with Capt. James Minott, "for his son Timothy to keep the school at the school-house for the town of Concord, for half a year beginning 2d June; and if any scholar shall come, within the said time, for learning exceeding his son's ability, the said Captain doth agree to instruct them himself in the tongues, till the above said time be fulfilled; for which service, the town is to pay Capt. Minott, ten pounds."‡ Captain Minott seems to have served our prudent fathers, in the double capacity of teacher and representative. It is an article in the selectmen's warrant for the town meeting, "to see if the town will lay in for a representative not exceeding four pounds." Captain Minott was chosen, and after the general court was adjourned, received of

the town for his services, an allowance of three shillings per
day. The country was not yet so thickly settled, but that
the inhabitants suffered from wolves and wild-cats, which
infested the woods; since bounties of twenty shillings are
given, as late as 1735, to Indians and whites, for the heads
of these animals, after the constable has cut off the ears.*

Mr. Whiting was succeeded in the pastoral office by Rev.
Daniel Bliss, in 1738. Soon after his ordination, the town
seems to have been divided by ecclesiastical discords. In
1741, the celebrated Whitfield preached here, in the open
air, to a great congregation. Mr. Bliss heard that great
orator with delight, and by his earnest sympathy with him,
in opinion and practice, gave offence to a part of his people.
Party and mutual councils were called, but no grave charge
was made good against him. I find, in the Church Rec­
ords, the charges preferred against him, his answer thereto,
and the result of the Council. The charges seem to have
been made by the lovers of order and moderation against
Mr. Bliss, as a favorer of religious excitement. His answer
to one of the counts, breathes such true piety, that I cannot
forbear to quote it. The ninth allegation is "That in pray­
ing for himself, in a church meeting, in December last, he
said, 'he was a poor vile worm of the dust, that was allowed
as Mediator between God and this people.' " To this Mr.
Bliss replied, "In the prayer you speak of, Jesus Christ was
acknowledged as the only Mediator between God and man;
at which time, I was filled with wonder, that such a sinful
and worthless worm as I am, was allowed to represent
Christ, in any manner, even so far as to be bringing the pe­
titions and thank offerings of the people unto God, and God's
will and truths to the people; and used the word Mediator
in some differing light from that you have given it; but I

Records, 1735.
confess, I was soon uneasy that I had used the word, lest some would put a wrong meaning thereupon."* The council admonished Mr. Bliss of some improprieties of expression, but bore witness to his purity and fidelity in his office. In 1764, Whitfield preached again, at Concord, on Sunday afternoon; Mr. Bliss preached in the morning, and the Concord people thought their minister gave them the better sermon of the two. It was also his last.

The planting of the Colony was the effect of religious principle. The Revolution was the fruit of another principle,—the devouring thirst for justice. From the appearance of the article in the Selectmen's warrant, in 1765, "to see if the town will give the Representative any instructions about any important affair to be transacted by the general court, concerning the Stamp Act;"† to the peace of 1783, the town records breathe a resolute and warlike spirit, so bold from the first, as hardly to admit of increase.

It would be impossible, on this occasion to recite all these patriotic papers. I must content myself with a few brief extracts. On the 24th January, 1774, in answer to letters received from the united committees of correspondence, in the vicinity of Boston, the town say:

"We cannot possibly view with indifference, the past and present obstinate endeavors of the enemies of this, as well as the mother country, to rob us of those rights, that are the distinguishing glory and felicity of this land; rights, that we are obliged to no power, under heaven, for the enjoyment of; as they are the fruit of the heroic enterprizes of the first settlers of these American colonies. And though we cannot but be alarmed at the great majority, in the British parliament, for the imposition of unconstitutional taxes on the colonies, yet, it gives life and strength to every attempt to oppose them,

* Church Records, July 1742. † Records.
that not only the people of this, but the neighboring provinces are remarkably united in the important and interesting opposition, which, as it succeeded before, in some measure, by the blessing of heaven, so, we cannot but hope it will be attended with still greater success, in future.

Resolved, That these colonies have been and still are illegally taxed by the British parliament, as they are not virtually represented therein.

That the purchasing commodities subject to such illegal taxation is an explicit, though an impious and sordid resignation of the liberties of this free and happy people.

That, as the British Parliament have empowered the East India Company to export their tea into America, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue from hence; to render the design abortive, we will not, in this town, either by ourselves, or any from or under us, buy, sell, or use any of the East India Company's tea, or any other tea, whilst there is a duty for raising a revenue thereon in America; neither will we suffer any such tea to be used in our families.

That, all such persons as shall purchase, sell, or use any such tea, shall, for the future, be deemed unfriendly to the happy constitution of this country.

That, in conjunction with our brethren in America, we will risk our fortunes, and even our lives, in defence of his majesty, King George the third, his person, crown and dignity; and will, also, with the same resolution, as his free-born subjects in this country, to the utmost of our power, defend all our rights inviolate to the latest posterity.

That, if any person or persons, inhabitants of this province, so long as there is a duty on tea, shall import any tea from the India House, in England, or be factors for the East India company; we will treat them, in an eminent degree, as enemies to their country, and with contempt and detestation.
That, we think it our duty, at this critical time of our public affairs, to return our hearty thanks to the town of Boston, for every rational measure they have taken for the preservation or recovery of our invaluable rights and liberties infringed upon; and we hope, should the state of our public affairs require it, that they will still remain watchful and persevering; with a steady zeal to espy out everything that shall have a tendency to subvert our happy constitution."

On the 27th June, near three hundred persons, upwards of 21 years of age, inhabitants of Concord, entered into a covenant, "solemnly engaging with each other, in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the act for blocking the harbor of Boston be repealed; and neither to buy nor consume any merchandise imported from Great Britain, nor to deal with those who do."†

In August, a County Convention met in this town, to deliberate upon the alarming state of public affairs, and published an admirable report.‡ In September, incensed at the new royal law, which made the judges dependent on the crown, the inhabitants assembled on the common, and forbade the justices to open the court of sessions. This little town then assumed the sovereignty. It was judge and jury and council and king. On the 26th of the month, the whole town resolved itself into a committee of safety, "to suppress all riots, tumults, and disorders in said town, and to aid all untainted magistrates, in the execution of the laws of the land."§ It was then voted, to raise one or more companies of minute men, by enlistment, to be paid by the town whenever called out of town; and to provide arms and ammunition,

* Town Records. † Town Records.
‡ See the Report in Shattuck, p. 82. § Records.
that those who are unable to purchase them themselves, may have the advantage of them, if necessity calls for it."*

In October, the Provincial Congress met in Concord. John Hancock was President. This body was composed of the foremost patriots, and adopted those efficient measures whose progress and issue belong to the history of the nation.†

The clergy of New England were, for the most part, zealous promoters of the revolution. A deep religious sentiment sanctified the thirst for liberty. All the military movements in this town, were solemnized by acts of public worship. In January, 1775, a meeting was held for the enlisting of minute men. Rev. William Emerson, the Chaplain of the Provincial Congress, preached to the people. Sixty men enlisted and, in a few days, many more. On 13th March, at a general review of all the military companies, he preached to a very full assembly, taking for his text, II Chronicles, 13, 12, "And, behold, God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests, with sounding trumpets, to cry alarm against you."‡ It is said that all the services of that day, made a deep impression on the people, even to the singing of the psalm.

A large amount of military stores had been deposited in this town, by order of the Provincial Committee of safety. It was to destroy those stores, that the troops who were attacked in this town, on the 19 April, 1775, were sent hither by General Gage.

The story of that day is well known. In these peaceful fields, for the first time, since a hundred years, the drum and alarm gun were heard, and the farmers snatched down their rusty firelocks from the kitchen walls, to make good

* Records.
‡ Rev. W. Emerson's MS Journal.
the resolute words of their town debates. In the field where the western abutment of the old bridge may still be seen, about half a mile from this spot, the first organized resistance was made to the British arms. There the Americans first shed British blood. Eight hundred British soldiers, under the command of Lieut. Col. Francis Smith, had marched from Boston to Concord; at Lexington had fired upon the brave handful of militia, for which a speedy revenge was reaped by the same militia in the afternoon.

When they entered Concord, they found the militia and minute men assembled under the command of Col. Barrett and Major Buttrick. This little battalion, though in their hasty council some were urgent to stand their ground, retreated, before the enemy, to the high land on the other bank of the river, to wait for reinforcement. Col. Barrett ordered the troops not to fire, unless fired upon. The British following them across the bridge, posted three companies, amounting to about one hundred men, to guard the bridge, and secure the return of the plundering party. Meantime, the men of Acton, Bedford, Lincoln, and Carlisle, all once included in Concord, remembering their parent town in the hour of danger, arrived and fell into the ranks so fast, that, Major Buttrick found himself superior in number to the enemy's party at the bridge. And when the smoke began to rise from the village where the British were burning cannon-carriages and military stores, the Americans resolved to force their way into town. The English beginning to pluck up some of the planks of the bridge, the Americans quickened their pace, and the British fired one or two shots up the river, (our ancient friend here, Master Blood, saw the water struck by the first ball;) then a single gun, the ball from which wounded Luther Blanchard and Jonas Brown, and then a volley, by which Captain
Isaac Davis, and Abner Hosmer of Acton, were instantly killed. Major Buttrick leaped from the ground, and gave the command to fire, which was repeated in a simultaneous cry by all his men. The Americans fired, and killed two men, and wounded eight. A head stone and a foot stone, on this bank of the river, mark the place where these first victims lie. The British retreated immediately towards the village, and were joined by two companies of grenadiers, whom the noise of the firing had hastened to the spot. The militia and minute men,—every one from that moment being his own commander,—ran over the hills opposite the battle field, and across the great fields, into the east quarter of the town, to waylay the enemy, and annoy his retreat. The British, as soon as they were rejoined by the plundering detachment, began that disastrous retreat to Boston, which was an omen to both parties, of the event of the war.

In all the anecdotes of that day's events, we may discern the natural action of the people. It was not an extravagant ebullition of feeling, but might have been calculated on by any one acquainted with the spirits and habits of our community. Those poor farmers who came up, that day, to defend their native soil, acted from the simplest instincts. They did not know, it was a deed of fame they were doing. These men did not babble of glory. They never dreamed, their children would contend who had done the most. They supposed they had a right to their corn and their cattle, without paying tribute to any but their own governors. And as they had no fear of man, they yet did have a fear of God. Capt. Charles Miles, who was wounded in the pursuit of the enemy, told my venerable friend who sits by me, "that he went to the services of that day, with the same seriousness and acknowledgement of God, which he carried to church."
The presence of these aged men who were in arms on that day, seems to bring us nearer to it. The benignant Providence which has prolonged their lives to this hour, gratifies the strong curiosity of the new generation. The Pilgrims are gone; but we see what manner of persons they were who stood in the worst perils of the Revolution. We hold by the hand the last of the invincible men of old, and confirm from living lips the sealed records of time.

And you, my fathers, whom God and the history of your country have ennobled, may well bear a chief part in keeping this peaceful birth-day of our town. You are indeed extraordinary heroes. If ever men in arms had a spotless cause, you had. You have fought a good fight. And having quit you like men in the battle, you have quit yourselves like men in your virtuous families; in your cornfields; and in society. We will not hide your honorable grey hairs under perishing laurel leaves, but the eye of affection and veneration follows you. You are set apart,—and forever,—for the esteem and gratitude of the human race. To you belongs a better badge than stars and ribbons. This prospering country is your ornament, and this expanding nation is multiplying your praise with millions of tongues.

The agitating events of those days were duly remembered in the church. On the second day after the affray, divine service was attended, in this house, by 700 soldiers. William Emerson, the pastor, had a hereditary claim to the affection of the people, being descended in the fourth generation, from Edward Bulkeley, son of Peter. But he had merits of his own. The cause of the colonies was so much in his heart, that he did not cease to make it the subject of his preaching and his prayers, and is said to have deeply inspired many of his people with his own enthusiasm.
He, at least, saw clearly the pregnant consequences of the 19th April. I have found within a few days, among some family papers, his almanac of 1775, in a blank leaf of which, he has written a narrative of the fight;* and, at the close of the month, he writes, "This month remarkable for the greatest events of the present age." To promote the same cause, he asked, and obtained of the town, leave to accept the commission of chaplain to the Northern army, at Ticonderoga, and died, after a few months, of the distemper that prevailed in the camp.

In the whole course of the war, the town did not depart from this pledge it had given. Its little population of 1300 souls, behaved like a party to the contest. The number of its troops constantly in service, is very great. Its pecuniary burdens are out of all proportion to its capital. The economy so rigid which marked its earlier history, has all vanished. It spends profusely, affectionately, in the service. "Since," say the plaintive records, "General Washington, at Cambridge, is not able to give but 24s. per cord, for wood, for the army; it is Voted, that this town encourage the inhabitants to supply the army, by paying two dollars, per cord, over and above the General's price, to such as shall carry wood thither;"† and 210 cords of wood were carried.‡ A similar order is taken respecting hay. Whilst Boston was occupied by the British troops, Concord contributed to the relief of the inhabitants, £70, in money; 225 bushels of gråın; and a quantity of meat and wood. When, presently, the poor of Boston were quartered by the provincial congress, on the neighboring country, Concord received 82 persons to its hospitality.§ In the year 1775, it raised 100 minute men, and 74 soldiers to serve at

* See the Appendix, Note B. † Records, Dec. 1775. ‡ Shattuck, p. 125. § Shattuck, p. 125.
Cambridge, In March, 1776, 145 men were raised by this town to serve at Dorchester heights.* In June, the general assembly of Massachusetts resolved to raise 5000 militia, for six months, to reinforce the Continental army. "The numbers," say they, "are large, but this court has the fullest assurance, that their brethren, on this occasion, will not confer with flesh and blood, but will, without hesitation, and with the utmost alacrity and despatch, fill up the numbers proportioned to the several towns."† On that occasion, Concord furnished 67 men, paying them itself, at an expense of £622. And so on, with every levy, to the end of the war. For these men, it was continually providing shoes, stockings, shirts, coats, blankets, and beef. The taxes, which before the war, had not much exceeded £200 per annum, amounted, in the year 1782, to $9544, in silver.‡

The great expense of the war was borne with cheerfulness, whilst the war lasted; but years passed, after the peace, before the debt was paid. As soon as danger and injury ceased, the people were left at leisure to consider their poverty and their debts. The town records show how slowly the inhabitants recovered from the strain of excessive exertion. Their instructions to their representatives are full of loud complaints of the disgraceful state of public credit, and the excess of public expenditure. They may be pardoned, under such distress, for the mistakes of an extreme frugality. They fell into a common error, not yet dismissed to the moon, that the remedy was, to forbid the great importation of foreign commodities, and to prescribe, by law, the prices of articles. The operation of a new government was dreaded, lest it should prove expensive, and

* Shattuck, p. 124.
‡ Shattuck, p. 126.
the country towns thought it would be cheaper if it were removed from the capital. They were jealous lest the general court should pay itself too liberally, and our fathers must be forgiven by their charitable posterity, if, in 1782, before choosing a representative it was Voted, that the person who should be chosen representative to the general court, should receive 6s. per day, whilst in actual service, an account of which time he should bring to the town, and if it should be, that the general court should resolve, that, their pay should be more than 6s. then, the representative shall be hereby directed to pay the overplus into the town treasury.”* This was securing the prudence of the public servants.

But whilst the town had its own full share of the public distress, it was very far from desiring relief at the cost of order and law. In 1786, when the general sufferings drove the people in parts of Worcester and Hampshire Counties, to insurrection, a large party of armed insurgents arrived in this town, on the 12th September, to hinder the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas. But they found no countenance here.† The same people who had been active in a County Convention to consider grievances, condemned the rebellion, and joined the authorities in putting it down. In 1787, the admirable instructions given by the town to its representative, are a proud monument of the good sense and good feeling that prevailed. The grievances ceased with the adoption of the Federal constitution. The constitution of Massachusetts had been already accepted. It was put to the town of Concord, in October 1776, by the Legislature, whether the existing house of representatives should enact a constitution for the State? The town an-

* Records, May 3.
answered No.* The general court, notwithstanding, draughted a constitution, sent it here, and asked the town whether they would have it for the law of the State? The town answered No by a unanimous vote. In 1780, a constitution of the State proposed by the Convention chosen for that purpose, was accepted by the town with the reservation of some articles.† And, in 1788, the town, by its delegate, accepted the new constitution of the United States and this event closed the whole series of important public events, in which this town played a part.

From that time to the present hour, this town has made a slow but constant progress in population and wealth, and the arts of peace. It has suffered neither from war, nor pestilence, nor famine, nor flagrant crime. Its population, in the census of 1830, was 2020 souls. The public expenses, for the last year, amounted to $4290; for the present year, to $5040.‡ If the community stints its expense in small matters, it spends freely on great duties. The town raises, this year, $1800 for its public schools; besides about $1200, which are paid, by subscription, for private schools. This year, it expends $800 for its poor; the last year it expended $900. Two religious societies, of differing creed, dwell together in good understanding, both promoting, we hope, the cause of righteousness and love. Concord has always been noted for its ministers. The living need no praise of mine. Yet it is among the sources of satisfaction and gratitude, this day, that the aged with whom is wisdom, our fathers' counsellor and friend, is spared to counsel and intercede for the sons.

Such, Fellow Citizens, is an imperfect sketch of the history of Concord. I have been greatly indebted, in preparing this sketch, to the printed but unpublished history of

* Records, 21 October.
† Records, 7 May.
‡ Records, 1834 and 1835.
this town, furnished me by the unhesitating kindness of its author, long a resident in this place. I hope that history will not long remain unknown. The author has done us and posterity a kindness, by the zeal and patience of his research, and has wisely enriched his pages with the resolutions, addresses, and instructions to its agents, which from time to time, at critical periods, the town has voted. Meanwhile, I have read with care the town records themselves. They must ever be the fountains of all just information respecting your character and customs. They are the history of the town. They exhibit a pleasing picture of a community almost exclusively agricultural, where no man has much time for words, in his search after things; of a community of great simplicity of manners, and of a manifest love of justice. For the most part, the town has deserved the name it wears. I find our annals marked with a uniform good sense. I find no ridiculous laws, no eaves-dropping legislators, no hanging of witches, no ghosts, no whipping of quakers, no unnatural crimes. The tone of the records rises with the dignity of the event. These soiled and musty books are luminous and electric within. The old town clerks did not spell very correctly, but they contrive to make pretty intelligible the will of a free and just community. Frugal our fathers were,—very frugal,—though, for the most part, they deal generously by their minister, and provide well for the schools and the poor. If, at any time, in common with most of our towns, they have carried this economy to the verge of a vice, it is to be remembered that a town is, in many respects, a financial corporation. They economize, that they may sacrifice. They stint and higgle on the price of a pew, that they may send 200 soldiers to General Washington, to keep Great Britain at bay. For splendor, there must somewhere be rigid economy. That the head of the house may go brave, the members
must be plainly clad, and the town must save that the State may spend. Of late years, the growth of Concord has been slow. Without navigable waters, without mineral riches, without any considerable mill privileges, the natural increase of her population is drained by the constant emigration of the youth. Her sons have settled the region around us, and far from us. Their wagons have rattled down the remote western hills. And in every part of this country, and in many foreign parts, they plough the earth, they traverse the sea, they engage in trade, and in all the professions.

Fellow Citizens; let not the solemn shadows of two hundred years, this day, fall over us in vain. I feel some unwillingness to quit the remembrance of the past. With all the hope of the new, I feel that we are leaving the old. Every moment carries us farther from the two great epochs of public principle, the Planting, and the Revolution of the colony. Fortunate and favored this town has been, in having received so large an infusion of the spirit of both of those periods. Humble as is our village in the circle of later and prouder towns that whiten the land, it has been consecrated by the presence and activity of the purest men. Why need I remind you of our own Hosmers, Minotts, Cummings, Barretts, Beattons, the departed benefactors of the town? On the village green, have been the steps of Winthrop and Dudley; of John Eliot, the Indian apostle, who had a courage that intimidated those savages whom his love could not melt; of Whitfield, whose silver voice melted his great congregation into tears; of Hancock, and his compatriots of the provincial Congress; of Langdon, and the college over which he presided. But even more sacred influences than these have mingled here with the stream of human life. The merit of those who fill a space in the world's history, who are borne forward, as it were, by the weight of thousands whom they lead, sheds a perfume less sweet than
do the sacrifices of private virtue. I have had much opportunity of access to anecdotes of families, and I believe this town to have been the dwelling place in all times since its planting, of pious and excellent persons, who walked meekly through the paths of common life, who served God, and loved man, and never let go the hope of immortality. The benediction of their prayers, and of their principles lingers around us. The acknowledgement of the Supreme Being exalts the history of this people. It brought the fathers hither. In a war of principle, it delivered their sons. And so long as a spark of this faith survives among the children's children, so long shall the name of Concord be honest and venerable.
APPENDIX.

Note A.—See p. 27.

The following minutes from the town records in 1692, may serve as an example:

John Craggin, aged about 63 years, and Sarah his wife, aet. about 63 years, do both testify upon oath, that, about 2 years ago, John Shepard, sen. of Concord, came to our house in Obourne, to treat with us, and give us a visit, and carried the said Sary Craggin to Concord with him, and there discoursed us in order to a marriage between his son, John Shepard, Jr. and our daughter, Eliz. Craggin, and, for our encouragement, and before us, did promise, that, upon the consummation of the said marriage, he, the said John Shepard, sen. would give to his son, John Shepard, jun. the one half of his dwelling house, and the old barn, and the pasture before the barn; the old plow-land, and the old horse, when his colt was fit to ride, and his old oxen, when his steers were fit to work. All this he promised upon marriage as above said, which marriage was consummated upon March following, which is two years ago, come next March, Dated Feb. 25, 1692. Taken on oath before me, Wm. Johnson.

Note B.—See p. 57.

The importance which the skirmish at Concord Bridge derived from subsequent events, has, of late years, attracted much notice to the incidents of the day. There are, as might be expected, some discrepancies in the different narratives of the fight. In the brief summary in the text, I have relied mainly on the depositions taken by order of the Provincial Congress within a few days after the action, and on the other contemporary evidence. I have consulted the English narrative in the Massachusetts Historical Collections and in the trial of Horne, (Cases adjudged in Kings Bench; London, 1800, vol. 2, p. 677,) the inscription made by order of the legisla-
ture of Massachusetts on the two field pieces presented to the Concord Artillery; Mr. Phinney’s History of the battle at Lexington; Dr. Ripley’s History of Concord Fight; Mr. Shattuck’s narrative in his History, besides some oral and some manuscript evidence of eye witnesses. The following narrative written by Rev. William Emerson, a spectator of the action, has never been published. A part of it has been in my possession for years: a part of it I discovered, only a few days since, in a trunk of family papers.

1775, 19 April. This morning, between 1 and 2 o’clock, we were alarmed by the ringing of the bell, and upon examination found that the troops, to the number of 800, had stolen their march from Boston, in boats and barges, from the bottom of the common over to a point in Cambridge, near to Inman’s Farm, and were at Lexington Meeting house, half an hour before sunrise, where they had fired upon a body of our men, and (as we afterward heard,) had killed several. This intelligence was brought us first by Dr. Samuel Prescott, who narrowly escaped the guard that were sent before on horses, purposely to prevent all posts and messengers from giving us timely information. He, by the help of a very fleet horse, crossing several walls and fences, arrived at Concord, at the time above mentioned; when several posts were immediately despatched, that returning confirmed the account of the regulars’ arrival at Lexington, and that they were on their way to Concord. Upon this, a number of our minute men belonging to this town, and Acton, and Lynn, with several others that were in readiness, marched out to meet them; while the alarm company were preparing to receive them in the town. Capt. Minot who commanded them, thought it proper to take possession of the hill above the meeting house, as the most advantageous situation. No sooner had our men gained it, than we were met by the companies that were sent out to meet the troops, who informed us, that they were just upon us, and that we must retreat, as their number was more than treble ours. We then retreated from the hill near the Liberty Pole, and took a new post back of the town upon an eminence, where we formed into two battalions, and waited the arrival of the enemy. Scarcely had we formed, before we saw the British troops at the distance of a quarter of a mile, glittering in arms, advancing towards us with the greatest celerity. Some were for making a stand, notwithstanding the superiority of their number; but others more prudent, thought best to retreat till our strength should be equal to the enemy’s by recruits from neighboring towns that were con-
tinually coming in to our assistance. Accordingly, we retreated over the bridge. The troops came into the town, set fire to several carriages for the artillery, destroyed 60 bbls. flour, rifled several houses, took possession of the town-house destroyed 500 lb. of balls, set a guard of 100 men at the North Bridge, and sent up a party to the house of Col. Barrett, where they were in expectation of finding a quantity of warlike stores. But these were happily secured, just before their arrival, by transportation into the woods and other by-places. In the meantime, the guard set by the enemy to secure the posts at the North Bridge were alarmed by the approach of our people, who had retreated, as mentioned before, and were now advancing with special orders not to fire upon the troops unless fired upon. These orders were so punctually observed that we received the fire of the enemy in three several and separate discharges of their pieces before it was returned by our commanding officer; the firing then soon became general for several minutes, in which skirmish two were killed on each side, and several of the enemy wounded. It may here be observed, by the way, that we were the more cautious to prevent beginning a rupture with the King's troops as we were then uncertain what had happened at Lexington, and knew [not]* that they had began the quarrel there by firing upon our people, and killing eight men upon the spot. The three companies of troops soon quitted their post at the bridge, and retreated in the greatest disorder and confusion to the main body, who were soon upon the march to meet them. For half an hour, the enemy, by their marches and counter-marches, discovered great fickleness and inconstancy of mind, sometimes advancing, sometimes returning to their former posts; till, at length they quitted the town, and retreated by the way they came. In the meantime, a party of our men (150) took the back way through the Great Fields into the east quarter, and had placed themselves to advantage, lying in ambush behind walls, fences and buildings, ready to fire upon the enemy on their retreat.

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* The following notice of the Centennial Celebration has been drawn up and sent us by a friend, who thought it de-

* The context and the testimony of some of the surviving veterans incline me to think that this word was accidentally omitted.

R. W. E.
sirable to preserve the remembrance of some particulars of this historical festival.

At a meeting of the town of Concord, in April last, it was voted to celebrate the Second Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of the town, on the 12th September following. A committee of fifteen were chosen to make the arrangements. This committee appointed Ralph Waldo Emerson, Orator, and Rev. Dr. Ripley and Rev. Mr. Wilder, Chaplains of the Day. Hon. John Keyes was chosen President of the Day.

On the morning of the 12th September, at 1-2 past 10 o'clock, the children of the town, to the number of about 500, moved in procession to the common in front of the old church and Court-house, and there opened to the right and left, awaiting the procession of Citizens. At 11 o'clock, the Concord Light Infantry under Capt. Moore, and the Artillery under Capt. Buttrick, escorted the civic procession, under the direction of Moses Prichard as Chief Marshall, from Shepherd's Hotel, through the lines of children to the Meeting-house. The South gallery had been reserved for ladies, and the North gallery for the children; but (it was a good omen) the children over-ran the space assigned for their accommodation, and were sprinkled throughout the house, and ranged on seats along the aisles. The old Meeting-house which was propped to sustain the unwonted weight of the multitude within its walls, was built in 1712, thus having stood for more than half the period to which our history goes back. Prayers were offered and the Scriptures read by the aged minister of the town, Rev. Ezra Ripley, now in the 85th year of his age;—another interesting feature in this scene of reminiscences. A very pleasant and impressive part of the services in the church was the singing of the 107th psalm, from the New England version of the psalms made by Eliot, Mather, and others, in 1639, and used in the church in this town in the days of Peter Bulkeley. The psalm was read a line at a time, after the ancient fashion, from the Deacons' seat, and so sung to the tune of St. Martin's by the whole congregation standing.

Ten of the surviving veterans who were in arms at the Bridge, on the 19 April 1775, honored the festival with their presence. Their names are Abel Davis, Thaddeus Blood, Tilly Buttrick, John Hosmer, of Concord; Thomas Thorp, Solomon Smith, John Oliver, Aaron Jones, of Acton; David Lane, of Bedford; Amos Baker, of Lincoln.

On leaving the church, the procession again formed, and moved to a large tent nearly opposite Shepherd's hotel,
under which dinner was prepared, and the company sat down to the tables, to the number of four hundred. We were honored with the presence of distinguished guests, among whom were Lieut. Gov. Armstrong, Judge Davis, Alden Bradford (descended from the 2d governor of Plymouth Colony,) Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, Philip Hone Esq. of New York, Gen. Dearborn, and Lt Col. R. C. Winthrop, (descended from the 1st Governor of Massachusetts.) Letters were read from several gentlemen expressing their regret at being deprived of the pleasure of being present on the occasion. The character of the speeches and sentiments at the dinner was manly and affectionate, in keeping with the whole temper of the day.

On leaving the Dinner table, the invited guests, with many of the citizens, repaired to the Court House to pay their respects to the Ladies of Concord, who had there, with their friends, partaken of an elegant collation, and now politely offered coffee to the Gentlemen. The hall, in which the collation was spread, had been decorated by fair hands with festoons of flowers, and wreaths of evergreen, and hung with pictures of the Fathers of the Town. Crowded as it was with graceful forms and happy faces, and resounding with the hum of animated conversation, it was itself, a beautiful living picture. Compared with the poverty and savageness of the scene which the same spot presented two hundred years ago, it was a brilliant reverse of the medal; and could scarcely fail, like all the parts of the holiday, to lead the reflecting mind to thoughts of that Divine Providence, which, in every generation, has been our tower of defence and horn of blessing.

At sunset the company separated and retired to their homes; and the evening of this day of excitement was as quiet as a Sabbath throughout the village.

The following was the order of the exercises in the Meeting-house.

I

VOLUNTARY BY THE BAND.
Tune "Auld Lang Syne."

II.
ODE,—BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.
Tune, "America."
Break forth in song, ye trees, &c.
INTRODUCTORY PRAYER.

PSALM 107. (Tune, "St Martins.")

[From the New England version used in the N. E. Churches in 1640.]

Your thanks unto the Lord express,
Because that good is he,
Because his loving kindesses
Last to eternity.

So say the Lord’s redeemed whom bought
He hath from en’mies 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,
Their 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.

SELECTIONS FROM THE SCRIPTURES.

PRAYER BY REV. DR. RIPLEY.
VII.
ODE,—THE PILGRIM FATHERS.  By Mrs. Hemans.
The breaking waves dashed high &c.

VIII.
ORATION,
BY REV. RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

IX.
HYMN.—(TUNE, "OLD HUNDRED.")
Written for the occasion, by BENJAMIN D. WINSLOW.

Swell loud and high the festal strains.
In faith that God with mercy hears,
While linger round these hallowed fanes,
The voices of Two Hundred years.

Ages of weary change and change,
Beheld the forest's native child,
O'er his uncultured homestead range—
Our fathers came—the desert smiled!

No wreathing smoke and battle flame,
Half hid—half lit their lonely path;
With words of peace and love they came
To gather round the red-man's hearth.

In peace they won this cherished soil,
In peace they reared these ancient towers,
Then left the harvest of their toil,
A legacy to us and ours.

Great God! as years the past increase,
And higher yet time's surges swell,
Still bid that spirit—gentle Peace—
The guardian of our altars dwell.

Peace to the ashes of our sires!
Peace to this gathered brother band!
Peace to these homes and household fires?
Peace to our own—our father land!
The following song, written for the occasion by Mr. B.D. Winslow of Boston, was sung at the dinner.

(Tune, — Auld Lang Syne.)

Hark! hark! our ancient mother calls
In festive notes sublime,
Her children to their natal halls,
From every varied clime.

Chorus—With throbbing hearts, we come! we come!
Where memory often strays,
To gather round this cherish'd home,
The home of early days.

Oh! brighty shine the southern skies
O'er greener spots of earth;
But fairer land ne'er met our eyes
Than this which gave us birth.

Chorus.—With throbbing hearts, &c.

We come to hail this joyous day
With prayer, and praise, and song,
To muse o'er centuries past away
Time's dreary waste along.

Chorus—And dear this cherished soil we tread,
And dear our mother now,
Though years to vanished ages sped
Are gray upon her brow.

Yet bright and fair the distant past
With honored deeds appears;
And brighter spells may Fortune cast
Around our coming years,

Chorus.—And dear this, &c.

Joy! Mother, to all sons of thine,
Joy gild thy future lot,
And light thy home—our hearts' best shrine,
Which cannot be forgot.

Chorus—With festal strains then gather here,
Around the natal hall;
Though many a spot of earth be dear,
The dearest this of all.
A

SERMON,

PREACHED TO

THE FIRST CHURCH,

BY ITS MINISTER

N. L. FROTHINGHAM,

ON

THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF

HIS ORDINATION,

MARCH 15, 1835.

PRINTED FOR THE USE OF THE SOCIETY.

[Not published.]

BOSTON:

MUNROE AND FRANCIS.

1835.
This twenty years have I been with thee.

Life goes forward in its steady progress. The years go round in their swift circles. And the lines of these curving periods cut here and there the line of our straight march, in a way to admonish and affect us. The anniversaries of events that have been of lasting consequence to us return with a solemn frequency. It is impossible to record them with any care, and not be stirred with a strange mixture of painful and pleasant remembrances;...pleasant or painful, equally serious because they are remembrances only. What distressed us is gone, but has cast a shade behind it. What delighted us is gone also, and its shade is all that is left. To reckon by eras of anxiety and labour....is not that the lot of man? Or if it be with nothing to labour for, and nothing worth the reckoning,...is not that a worse lot still?

It is just twenty years to day since I came among you as your servant in the christian ministry. In saying
this, I am conscious of mentioning what most of you would not remember unless thus reminded of it. I am aware that there may be few, to whom it will seem a subject of any peculiar concern. I feel too in full force the difficulty and the peril of speaking of one's self; especially in a place and a connexion like this, where personal considerations should be forgotten, and the individual is nothing, and religious truth and religious affections should be alone regarded. But you will bear with me. Although it should be "in my folly," as an apostle once said, you would "indeed bear with me"; for you must have been called to do this often during so long a course of services, of which no one feels so deeply the imperfectness as he who has tried to render them; where the wish and ambitiousness have been stronger than the ability, and the pains-taking has been greater than the success.

It is not chiefly of himself, however, that the preacher on such an occasion is required to speak. It is not only of himself that it is possible for him to think. For whatever he has passed through has been in intimate connexion with you and yours. What has been of most interest to him has been the events, in which yourselves have had principal concern. His thoughts, which must always pass for leading events in the lives of those whose profession it is to exercise the thoughts, have been tasked for your use and often suggested by your trials. The great scene of his cares and recollections has been here; in the assemblies that you and they who went before you helped to form,
and in your homes that have been altered so much since
he first saw them. It is of you then and not of himself
that he speaks. You have an interest in what he is going
to say; he could not, if he would, separate his feelings
from the natural partnership that they claim with your
own.

Those twenty years! We look back upon them....such
of us as have been together from the beginning,...and
marvel that, containing so much as they did of joy and
affliction, revealing so much as they do of the changes
that have marked themselves round us and upon us, they
have departed so soon. How many images of those who
are estranged from us, and those who are lost to us, are
reflected from the broad mirror of those far-off days!
How many scenes of distress! How many scattered fam-
ilies! How many houses left desolate! During all that
long stretch of time your griefs have been my discomforts;
your bereavements have been my losses; your call has
been my necessity; your good opinion has been a mo-
tive of constant solicitude and one round of toil. Your
sick and your dead begin to range themselves before me
as I speak, a procession of sorrows. The choking recol-
lections of old sympathies come up as distinctly as if the
events were of yesterday. My thoughts are overwhelmed
with the review of sufferings in mind and heart, which
would never have been incurred could they but once
have been foreseen.

But I do not stand here to complain. I have no cause
of complaint, unless perhaps of inadequateness to a service,
that will often appear to be as thankless as it is hard. Certainly none against any one of the assembly here present, friends and well-wishers all. There come indeed trials of another sort than any that have been named, if one's best endeavours are lightly set by; being met with easy dislikes and repaid with discourtesies.

You may be surprised at this earnestness. Perhaps it should be less. Perhaps it should be repressed wholly. Perhaps not even the excitement of the retrospect we are making will vindicate it from the censure of being unreasonable. You will have to forgive it then. It is neither a rhetorical artifice nor a transient emotion; but only a little expression of an overcharged fulness, that must thus once for all find relief.

"This twenty years have I been with thee;" a large part of the life of each one of you, of mine its best part. Let us return to the subject, and enter upon it with something of method. Let us take up first the doctrine of this church of Christ during that period; then offer a few words upon the practice of the church, so far as it has been in any degree peculiar; and conclude with a general glance at the events that have taken place in its variable community.

First, then, of the doctrine of this church. We have one;—though it is not fixed in set articles, nor inclosed in any forms, even silver and golden ones, of human device. We have one;—though it takes that freedom of range, which suits the only boundless theme of the illimitable
soul. We have one;—though we are not anxious to define it over closely, nor to mark the deviations from any formulary that any may have prescribed. We have one;—though it is afloat on the sea of truth, and we dare not say that there will be the same bearings to the land and the same aspects of the sky from year to year. We allow ourselves to be in motion with any improvement that will set us really forward. Enough for us, that we are in the sound bark of the old apostles of Galilee though upon an unstable element, and that we are guided by the eternal stars. Without a figure; we will not attempt to bind others, and we will not consent to bind ourselves, to think the same thoughts through all generations; but we hold by the teaching of Christ and his disciples; leaving ourselves free to enlarge its interpretation as God shall give us light. We do not dictate. We do not submit to man's dictation.

It is just twenty years ago that the great controversy broke out in the churches of this neighbourhood, which has severed their ancient intercourse. It has nearly or quite exhausted itself by this time; for the dispute has become wearisome, both to those who engaged in it and those who looked on. But it has left enduring traces of its convulsion behind it. It is known by the name of the Unitarian controversy; and in so naming it I believe that I am giving utterance for the first time in this desk to that party word. This alone is saying not a little in illustration of the spirit, with which the offices of
religion have been here conducted. We understood one another and were agreed, but did not interfere with the conscientious belief of any, or show ourselves hostile to them. We remained almost at rest in that earthquake of schism. If we were sometimes affected by the agitating topics of the time, it was not often. If any discourses pronounced from this place were ever tinctured by the slightest bitterness of polemical divinity, they are those which would be remembered with too little satisfaction to have any danger of being renewed. Our words have been of brotherly love and mutual consideration. We silently assumed the ground, or rather found ourselves already standing upon it, that there was no warrant in the scriptures for the idea of a threefold personality in the divine nature; or for that of atonement, according to the popular understanding of that word; or for that of man's total corruption and inability; or for that of an eternity of wo adjudged as the punishment of earthly offences; or indeed for any of the peculiar articles in that scheme of faith which went under the name of the Genevan reformer. We have worshipped only One, the Father. We have recognized the authority of Jesus Christ as a divine messenger. We have maintained the accountability of man, and a righteous retribution, and a life beyond this. But in all these points, we were adopting rather practical principles and a ground of edifying than tenets to be discussed. We have never pretended to understand all mysteries, nor to solve every question that a vain curiosity might propose. We
have not sought to penetrate to what is beyond us; but have been content to leave many things in that sacred obscurity, in which they are left by the written word. And even upon subjects within the range of reasonable inquiry, we have not favoured a controversial tone. We have made more account of the religious sentiment than of theological opinions.

Such is a summary account of the views that we have approved respecting doctrines.

Secondly. The practice of this church, especially in regard to topics of general interest in the community, and those movements which will at intervals arise and assume a great transient importance, offers itself next for our consideration. Has this practice, a stranger might inquire, been in any degree peculiar? It has, and steadily peculiar. We have been singularly conservative in our customs; mistrustful of innovations, jealous of our liberty, fond of peace, refusing to be influenced by any gustiness of the times. We have loved to dwell within ourselves, and disliked to implicate our concerns with those of other churches, or with any associations of men. These dispositions have in some sort characterised our religious society for at least the fifth part of a century. I found them here, and felt in entire accordance with them. We have carried them out as yet, through circumstances that have put them to a severe test, with a tenaciousness that has doubtless appeared to some like indifference and to others like obstinacy. We have been unexcited by
surrounding fervours. We have been inactive, when the
general cry has been, What shall we do next? We have
thought, with the prophet, that our "strength was to sit
still," while many were sending for help from all the bor-
ders of Egypt. We have been ready to suspect that there
might be more motion than progress in what was called
the march of the age; and that the "running to and fro"
was more certain, than that "knowledge was increased."
We have been unwilling to take part, therefore, in enter-
prizes, that have found unbounded favour with a large
number of our friends. We have supposed, that the ex-
clusive objects of our association were to worship our Ma-
erg according to our consciences, and to maintain the sa-
cred decency of christian order. We have therefore been
unwilling to mix up these objects with plans of a different,
however important nature. We have been unwilling to
take the stand of missionaries or propagandists in any
shape. We have been unwilling to form ourselves into a
bible society, or a temperance or an education or a benev-
olent society; or to appear as any thing else than what
we are, a church of Christ, an assembly for social wor-
ship. We wish to preserve ourselves thus distinct. We
love to be aloof from the zealous strivings of the day.
We have said to "colonization" and "abolition," those
struggling and clashing projects, which have flamed out
into so much notoriety, that they may be thus elliptically
spoken of in a single word, without any danger of being
misunderstood,....we have said to them both, Whatever
may be our private opinion of you, we will give you no seat in our holy places. And this is but a single specimen of the spirit, in which you have always been united. You stand almost alone in declining to be a member of the consociated fraternity of your neighbourhood; in feeling and in judgment indeed less lonely than in your act. The course that you took on this point, with the utmost unanimity and in resistance to no unattractive examples, will perhaps recommend itself more and more, as we observe the aspects of the times, and look at the new designs that are continually starting out into a hasty and spasmodic life. Your minister is almost alone in having never given his name to the great organization of what may be called his party; and it is one of the last circumstances that it would occur to him to regret.

All this is from no indifference, from no timid reluctance, from no love of our ease; but because we are persuaded that, for us at least, there is wisdom in it. We are frequently called to witness the ascendency which the last organized novelty acquires over the public mind; affecting an importance that does not belong to it, and absorbing an attention that it does not deserve, and sometimes even casting a shade of discontent and reproach over the old means of improvement and the ordinary services of the Lord's house. We think we see reason to fear, lest so many forcing processes should allow nothing to come to its natural perfection; lest so much mechanism should produce a generation of machines rather than true
spirits; lest there should be first shallowness and then drought; lest a period of busy pretensions should have for its successor a season of hypocrisy or deadness.

There has very lately gone abroad an impulse, that one is tempted to call feverish, on the subject of the religious education of children. It is said that little is done in the way of direct address to this most important part of the community, and that something must be done speedily. It is discovered that the church is but a barren and wearisome place for them. Even the Sunday school, which a year or two ago was thought to be such a miracle of advancement, when in truth it was only a very useful and pleasant institution in a sphere somewhat subordinate, begins now to be accounted extremely inadequate to the wants of the case. We hear much of making children the objects of especial addresses; and even of sending them to chapels of their own, where the services will be adapted exclusively to their capacities and their benefit. I cannot feel the necessity that is thus complained of. I cannot discern the use of what is thus proposed. So far from it, this new craving seems to me unreasonable; this new view extremely short-sighted; and this new procedure, if it were as practicable as it is utterly visionary, full of the most serious mischiefs that have yet beguiled our churches. Children should come to worship with their parents and elders, if they have any such to make them their charge. By the mother's side, and under the father's eye, is the true place for them. They should bend their young heads in company with those whose brows
are but thinly covered now with the gray locks of their age. They should be under the solemn influences of the general sanctuary. They should listen to the word that is addressed to all, the small and the great together. They should not be singled out, to be made vain, or to be made difficult. They should receive the word as they can bear it, with an effort to add to what they learn, and with the humility that will be their best learning.

But an objector may say, they are not interested in the usual exercises of the Lord's day. Perhaps so. Perhaps it is hardly to be expected that in the greater number of instances it should be otherwise. But why will you break up the steady habits, by which alone they can be trained to take an interest in those exercises? Why will you create in their minds the very distaste that you lament? Why will you gratify their love of variety at an age when they most require to be fixed; and when every novelty, especially if it flatters the natural love of distinction, has an irresistible charm? We may be told further, that they do not understand the sermons and the religious offices, in which we statedly engage. We may grant this cheerfully. It is best that it should be so. I would not have it otherwise. The whole method of the Divine Providence in the teaching of our generations declares that it shall not be otherwise. Preaching that never goes beyond the compass of a child's taste and comprehension, will be as worthless even to him, when considered in its whole effects, as it is to every one else. I would not, if it could be done, spread out the deep waters of truth into a shallow
ford, that could be crossed by an infant's foot. It is the sentiment of veneration, that I would impress upon the tender hearts of the young. That is the great thing. It is every thing. It is worth all the excitement that could ever be kindled. It is worth all the information that it would be possible to impart. I am jealous for this principle of reverence; lest it should be impaired by the assiduous lessons,...however piously meant and however amusingly conveyed,...of religion made easy. Let the instruction be somewhat above them, that they may look up. Let it be somewhat hidden, that they may search and wonder. Let them grow to the truth. Let them see as much to stand in awe at in its solemn mysteries,...at least as I do. Understand! I am almost weary of the word, when applied as it often is to that mighty theme, in which the first step is the idea of the Infinite God. Fathers and mothers! come to the church yourselves, and bring your children with you. Let them sit by you on the same seats. Let them hear the same word that you do, however imperfectly it may be spoken.

An account has thus been presented of what our course has been with respect to practice for the last twenty years. What it will be for the next term of the same length, it is neither for me to prescribe nor for you to foresee. You will not lightly change it. If you ever see cause to change, may it be for a greater advantage than any that I can anticipate.

Thirdly. Something was to be said, in conclusion, of the events of the period which has just ended. There
are none, that must not be traced in outline merely and with the most general hand. But on the heart of many, many an individual among you, they have left unerasureable records. It is a length of time, that gives space for much to be endured. It must needs have wrought out many alterations in our persons and our homes. Only about forty of the families that invited and placed me here have left even a descendant to continue their name among us. What a troop of shadows would assemble themselves, if all those who have since worshipped with us and died from us could at this moment re-appear! Of the ministers of our own denomination who then served the churches in this town, only three remain;* and of those who were appointed over all the other congregations, of every name, not a man is left. Several of the churches have changed their teachers many times. Meanwhile, the little boy has grown a strong man. The water of baptism upon the forehead of the infant girl has been exchanged for the marriage veil. Large families have sprung up, where were only the bridegroom and the bride; and families that were then numerous have been scattered, or diminished, or quite cut down. Many a change of fortune, many of repute, many of character and heart, has marked itself on the way we have come. Many an entire term of probation, from the first fulness of intellect and public starting place of trial to a dying day, has completed its career.

Let me go back to the text, in order to throw off some

of the painful recollections that press upon me. "This twenty years have I been with thee." These were the words of Jacob to Laban. They were spoken at a jealous parting. They were spoken in the temper of fault-finding and reproach. With nothing resembling that situation or that temper are they repeated to day; but on the contrary with feelings of perfect confidence and cordiality, as well as a thankful recognition of the goodness of God. I rejoice that we have walked together with such a spirit of concert. You have not been the hard ex-actor that Laban the Syrian was to the Jewish patriarch. You have been true and indulgent. You have shown instances of your good will, that shall not now be named but are none the less treasured up in a grateful remembrance.

To the recently afflicted among you I send a sorrow, that goes forth from my own heart to meet theirs. To those whose circumstances in life have been deeply shaded by the passage of the last twenty years, I offer my sympathizing recollections. To the young I ask the privilege of rendering whatever counsel and encouragement I may be able to bestow. To those who have long ceased to be young I would express the anxious wish, that "as their days so may their strength be." Upon this whole Israel of ours may that heavenly benediction descend, which is not limited by any seasons or times! And when these courts of the Lord shall be tenantless, may a great multitude of those who sat in them be sharers, around diviner altars, in the services of the ransomed and glorified!
A DISCOURSE

PRONOUNCED AT

THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES,

In the Hall of Representatives,

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

January 30, 1836,

BY THE HON. LEWIS CASS,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED ITS CONSTITUTION AND THE NAMES OF ITS OFFICERS.

WASHINGTON:

P. THOMPSON.

1836.
WASHINGTON, February 2, 1836.

Sir: We have the honor to present the enclosed Vote of Thanks, unanimously adopted by the American Historical Society, for the very able, learned, and eloquent Discourse delivered before the Society on the 30th ultimo, in the Hall of Representatives; and to ask of you a copy for publication.

We have the honor to be,

Your obedient servants,

GEO. WATTERSTON,
FRANCIS MARKOE, Jun., Committee.
PETER FORCE,

The Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and President of the American Historical Society.

American Historical Society,
Tuesday, February 2, 1836.

Resolved, That the Thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. Lewis Cass, for his learned, able, and eloquent Discourse delivered before the Society in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the evening of Saturday last.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to present to the Hon. Lewis Cass the Vote of Thanks of this Society, and to ask of him a copy of his Discourse for publication.

Whereupon, Messrs. Watterston, Markoe, and Force were appointed a Committee for that purpose.

A true extract from the minutes:

HENRY M. MORFIT,
Recording Secretary.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1836.

Gentlemen: In compliance with your request, I place at your disposal a copy of the Address recently delivered before the American Historical Society.

While I am duly sensible to the regard manifested by this application, and by the flattering terms in which your sentiments and those of the Society have been conveyed, I am yet aware that I owe to your kindness, and not to any value which the production possesses, the interest you have shown on this occasion.

Very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

LEWIS CASS.

GEORGE WATTERSTON,
FRANCIS MARKOE, Jun., Committee.
PETER FORCE, Esqs.
CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be denominated "The American Historical Society."

2. The objects of the Society shall be to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the Natural, Civil, Literary, and Ecclesiastical History of America in general, and of the United States in particular.

3. The Society shall consist of resident, corresponding, and honorary members. The resident members shall be persons residing in the District of Columbia; the corresponding and honorary members shall be persons residing elsewhere.

4. The Officers of the Society shall be chosen, by ballot, from the resident members, on the fourth Thursday in October, annually, and shall consist of a President, First and Second Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and a Standing Committee of nine members.

5. The Society shall meet quarterly, to wit: on the fourth Thursday in January, April, July, and October; but the President, or in his absence either of the Vice Presidents, may, on the request of any two members, call a special meeting.

6. Officers shall be elected, members admitted, and by-laws altered, only at a quarterly meeting.

7. All resident members shall pay, on admission, the sum of five dollars, and an additional sum of three dollars annually.

8. Resident members shall be admitted only at the quarterly meeting in January.

9. All members shall be chosen by ballot; nominations of members may be made by any member of the Society, but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting, and all nominations shall be made at a quarterly meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

10. For the election of members, as well as for making alterations in, or additions to the By-laws and Regulations of the Society, it shall be necessary that nine members be present, and that two-thirds vote in the affirmative; but for the transaction of other business, five members shall constitute a quorum.

11. At the request of any two members present, the ballot upon any nomination of a member, or the vote upon any motion, shall be deferred to another quarterly meeting, for further consideration, before it is finally acted on, and shall then be taken up.

12. The Constitution may be amended from time to time, as the Society shall deem proper; but a motion for an amendment shall not be received except at a quarterly meeting, nor unless a notice thereof shall have been given and entered on the journal at the last preceding quarterly meeting.
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

LEWIS CASS, President.
VIRGIL MAXCY, First Vice President.
WILLIAM W. SEATON, Second Vice President.
HENRY M. MORFIT, Recording Secretary.
PETER FORCE, Corresponding Secretary.
WILLIAM GUNTON, Treasurer.
LEWIS H. MACHEN, Librarian.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

WILLIAM CRANCH,
JAMES KEARNEY,
FRANCIS MARKOE, Jun.,
PHILIP R. FENDALL,
RICHARD S. COXE,
JOSEPH H. BRADLEY,
GEORGE WATTERSTON,
AARON O. DAYTON,
PISHLEY THOMPSON.
On the 12th of October, 1835—the Anniversary of the Discovery of America—a Society was formed in the Metropolis of the Union, under the title of the American Historical Society. The objects of the institution are declared in the 2d article of its constitution to be "to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the Natural, Civil, Literary, and Ecclesiastical History of America in general, and of the United States in particular." On the request of the Society, the following Introductory Discourse was pronounced by the President. The first volume of its Transactions is now in the press, and will speedily be published.
Gentlemen of the American Historical Society:

In looking back upon the history of man, it is obvious that different ages of the world have been distinguished by different characteristics. The progress of events has, from time to time, been marked by some predominating trait, communicating its impress to the moral circumstances around it; and the aspect of human life is brighter or darker, as this controlling principle is worthy or unworthy of the race of beings placed, by the creation of God, in their present state of accountability, and endowed with powers, whose extent, after an existence of sixty centuries, is unknown to us, but whose use or abuse constitutes the advancement or retardation of individuals and of societies. It is thus, that prismatic rays tinge with their hues, while they illumine with their light, the objects upon which they are cast.

In the contest for this ascendancy over the great world of mind, sometimes the passions of mankind have gained sway and held it for ages; and wars, social, political, and religious, have spread desolation over the earth, and have marked their progress, not less by moral than by physical evils. Then the intellectual powers have asserted their supremacy; at one time, for purposes merely speculative, and at another, for practical action. The one state is illustrated by that wonderful but puerile system of logomachy, which so long passed for philosophy, and which has come down to us as a splendid monument of human wisdom and of human folly; and the other, by those efforts at rational improvement, whose full operation has been reserved for our days. These social paroxysms, though unequal in their intensity and duration,
are yet sufficiently perceptible in their operation, whenever we look out upon that ocean of the past, on the brink of which we stand, and where we must soon be.

Who can study that most interesting chapter of the history of man, which records the wars of the crusades, without being struck with amazement at the derangement of the human intellect, which it exhibits, and at the universal mastery which the passion for these expeditions obtained over the nations of Christendom?—when Europe precipitated itself upon Asia, and, in the phrensy of a false zeal, exhaustion its energies, means and people, in efforts to conquer a barren region, and to obtain possession of places, hallowed indeed by the scenes they had witnessed, but given over to desolation! Who can look back upon the age of chivalry, and not wonder at the absolute dominion it acquired, with its fantastic ceremonies, its artificial code of manners, not of morals, its iron heart, and steel-clad hand? The feudal institutions—I do not speak of them as a system of civil polity, but as a series of events, occupying the attention and guiding the opinions of society,—the feudal institutions are placed in prominent view, by this retrospect, among the causes, which have exercised the most decided influence upon the progress of nations in modern times: and, as this influence declined, those excitements arose, which led to the dismemberment of the Catholic church, and ultimately to the establishment of the various sects, which now divide the Christian world. Human nature probably never displayed higher or lower qualities than disclosed themselves in this contest—sometimes of argument, but too often of blood! The ordinary business of life seemed to be suspended, and every man brought his tribute of reason, or force, or wealth, or life, and freely offered it upon the altar, which zeal and enthusiasm had erected. What sternness of purpose, what strength of affection, what disregard of all selfish considerations, what power of conscience, what contempt of life, were manifested during this interesting conflict!
The spirit of maritime discovery presents another agent in the history of this moral impetus, which, for wise purposes, has operated, and is operating, upon the social institutions of mankind. This powerful stimulus was brought into action at a most fortunate period, and maintained its ascendancy till its great work was done—till it had sought and found, towards the rising and the setting sun, those regions which were hidden from the philosopher, but which had been revealed to the inspiration of the poet, who foretold the time would come, when new regions would be discovered beyond the furthest limits known to the ancient world.

The love of gold then predominated, and chivalry and avarice associated together—sending Cortez, and Pizarro, and Almagro to the climes of the new world, blessed with the bounties of nature, but cursed with those precious metals which were possessed by the weak, and coveted by the strong: and here, courage worthy of the most distinguished age of the world, and cruelty too execrable for description, came down upon the ignorant and wondering population, and involved emperors, and incas, and people, in one common destruction.

Our own age has been denominated the age of movements; of advancement in the intellectual faculties; of improvement in all those principles and pursuits which are most essential to the happiness of man, and most conducive to the dignity of human nature. Onward is the great word of our time. In the story so beautifully told by the historian of the Roman empire, the seven youths of Ephesus laid down to sleep, and awoke, after the lapse of two centuries, in the midst of a changed world, but unchanged themselves. He who should fall into such a slumber, in this period of moral acceleration, might arise, after a much briefer interval, and walk abroad into a world far more transformed than that, which met the wondering view of the Ephesian sleepers when their trance was broken, and they looked out from their living cemetery upon the fair face of nature.
It were a task too extensive for this time and place, to investigate all the causes which have produced this moral impetus, and which are now in active operation to strengthen our faculties, to increase our knowledge, to multiply our comforts, and to elevate us in that mysterious scale of being, which it may be we are destined to ascend, indefinitely and forever: still approaching, though still infinitely remote, from, the great Author and Arbiter of our being.

It is obvious however to the most superficial observer, that the scope of free inquiry has been enlarged, and its operation invigorated by the removal of many of those prejudices, which always adhere with great tenacity to human institutions. "Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy," was the miraculous injunction which issued from the burning bush, when the deliverer of Israel appeared in the presence of the Most High. Men have profanely claimed the same characteristic for institutions hallowed by time, but shown by time to be useless, and often worse. Not that I mean to assert that the lessons of experience should be neglected, or changes introduced, without just reason to anticipate improvement; but that the sanctity of age should not shroud, as with a mantle, systems not adapted to the present state of society, and whose only claim to regard rests upon what they have been, not what they are.

The division of mental labor has not been less useful than that of mechanical. The concentration of human efforts, like the concentration of physical causes, produces increased energy. This is a law of our system, and extends its sway into all the departments of life, whether active or speculative. It belongs to literature, to science, and to the arts. Too much diffusion is fatal to precise investigation; and he who seeks great accuracy of knowledge, must seek it, not only by long study, but by confining himself to a few of the vast variety of objects, which the progress of information presents to him. The great divisions, indeed, of human investigation
have a relation more or less intimate with one another; and a general acquaintance with all is necessary to the character and purposes of the scholar. This may be attained by proper industry; but, when the acquisition is made, those who are ambitious of further distinction, or who are desirous of associating their names with the advancement of knowledge, must concentrate their efforts, and resign themselves to some favorite pursuit. The habit of indiscriminate application was one of the great faults of antiquity, and, conjoined with a presumption which limited the operations of nature in the world, both of mind and matter, within the categories of the scholiasts, retarded, for many centuries, the progress of mental improvement.

Another agent in this process of advancement, and one with which we are here intimately connected, is the system of associations, that have been formed for the cultivation of particular branches of knowledge. These co-operative societies are the invention of modern times; and, in the form in which they now exist, they came into being at the end of that long night of ignorance and imbecility, which shrouded the intellect of the world, from the decline of the Roman empire till the revival of learning in these later ages. There were, indeed, celebrated schools where the principles of ancient knowledge were taught: and two of these, the Academy and the Lyceum of Athens, are well known to all scholars, from the peculiarity of their doctrines, the high reputation of their masters, and the number and celebrity of the pupils. But the teachers were lecturers, expounding their peculiar views to disciples and partial admirers; and their lectures were didactic essays, too often intended to display the pride of the rhetorician, rather than to advance the purposes of science, or to afford instruction to inquirers after truth.

But our institutions of mutual labor, in the departments of modern learning, proceed upon other and better principles.
In these voluntary associations, the members are animated with a kindred spirit, and devoted to kindred pursuits; and their organization is admirably adapted to promote the objects of the institutions. An *esprit de corps* is created, which ensures a unity of purpose and of action, while an emulation is excited, which stimulates the exertions of individuals. A repository is thus formed for the preservation of useful collections. The public attention is awakened, and its favor lightens the toils and aids the researches of the members. It is in the practical sciences, in history, and in the fine arts, that these combinations have been most usual and most useful. Our own country has given her full share to the general stock of these contributions, and we have this night assembled to add another to the number.

The object, we have assigned to ourselves, is sufficiently extensive and important for all the zeal and industry we can bring to the task. It is to aid in the collection and preservation of the historical materials, illustrative of the history of the American continent in general, and more particularly, of the history of that favored portion of it, in which our lots have been cast.

I did not come here to discuss the value of historical knowledge. Such a work of supererogation were little suited to our age and country; and least of all to this imposing hall, which the courtesy of the national representatives has opened to us, and which is already sanctified by the names and the memory of patriots and statesmen, who will live in the pages of their country's story, after these marble columns shall have mouldered into dust. It may be, that some future Marius may sit upon the ruins of this proud edifice, as the Roman outlaw sat upon the ruins of Carthage. The lesson which his life has taught may be useful to us; and, if neglected, the new lesson our fate may teach will, perhaps, be useful to the generations, who are to succeed us, and who will look back to our days and deeds, as we now
look back to those of the early ages of the world. The value of the application of such events to the practical action of the present and the future cannot be too highly appreciated; and the importance of historical researches is placed in prominent relief by the consideration, that our experience is thus enlarged, from the narrow space of three score years and ten, to the series of ages, which have witnessed the birth and growth, the decay and death of the generations, that have preceded us.

History, indeed, when justly estimated, is not a mere record of facts. These, certainly, are essential to its truth, which is the first and greatest virtue of an historian. But he must have a higher and nobler aim, if he seek to interest or instruct mankind. He must trace the motives and causes of actions to their results. He must delineate the characters of those master-spirits, whose deeds he portrays, and hang them upon the outer wall, as spectacles for admiration or reprobation. He must boldly censures, where censure is due, and applaud where virtue is exhibited. But the duty assigned to me is an humbler one than that of delineating the qualifications, and describing the functions of an historian. This must be left to those more able to perform it, while I proceed to trace, in a very general manner, the purposes of this society.

As our object is general, our local position is favorable. Here assemble the representatives of the nation; here are brought, by business, or amusement, or curiosity, citizens from every portion of the Republic; and the national archives, containing the most authentic materials for the illustration of our history, are here deposited. It may well be hoped, that the dictates of a liberal patriotism, the spirit of enlightened research, the just claims of literature will send to our assistance many, who have the means and the inclination to rescue from destruction and oblivion, important documents and facts. Unaided, but little can be done. Our efforts can bear no just
proportion to the magnitude of a plan which, in the ardor of a first hope, has received our sanction.

Our position, likewise, furnishes opportunities for corresponding with those foreign countries, which planted their colonies upon this continent; which sent out their people, some for an extension of territory, some for the acquisition of gold, and some for the maintenance of the rights of conscience, to found mighty empires in this new world, whose progress now arrests the attention of mankind. Researches into the bureaus of those Governments may elucidate much that is dark, and confirm much that is doubtful, in the earlier periods of our history. And no American can peruse the memoir of Sebastian Cabot, which we owe to the learning and industry of one of our countrymen, without being sensible of the important advantages, which may result from a patient examination of the documents, which are preserved in various public offices in London, and which are opened with liberal kindness to the inquiring stranger. In that interesting account of the discoverer of North America, many popular errors are corrected, and the first judicious narrative is given of the voyages of this intrepid mariner.

And another countryman, known to both hemispheres for the purity of his style and his graphic delineations, has sought, in the collections of Madrid, the most authentic materials for his beautiful biography of the great discoverer—of him, who raised the veil which had so long separated the two worlds, and opened the way for those wonderful events, which, mighty as they are and have been, are yet but in the infancy of their operation; which are yet but the small cloud, discerned on the edge of the horizon by the servant of the prophet, but which are, by-and-by, to cover the face of nature.

In the pursuit of our investigations, we have another advantage from our situation. An extensive library has already been collected, at the national expense, which contains
many rare and valuable works, illustrating our general and local history. This collection is annually augmented, but not in proportion to the great means of the nation, nor with the rapidity demanded by the literary character we have acquired, and desired by every votary of liberal inquiry. There should be one place in our country, where every work may be found, which has any relation, however remote, to the discovery, settlement, and history of America; and that place is here. Here, at the seat of empire of this great Republic, the eldest of the family of cis-Atlantic states, and the zealous follower, and, we may hope, at no distant day, the generous rival of her fatherland in the career of intellectual advancement. And why should not such additions be made to this collection, in all the departments of human learning, as will render it worthy of the age and country, and elevate it to an equality with those greatest repositories of knowledge, which are among the proudest ornaments of modern Europe? This is the true luxury of Republican Governments, which the most zealous disciple of Lycurgus need not seek to restrain by sumptuary laws. We may leave to the splendid monarchies of the other hemisphere the decorations with which they surround their institutions, rejoicing that our own political edifice is free from any merciricious ornament. But the promotion of literature belongs to all ages, and nations, and governments. "Nor am I less persuaded," said the patriot first called to administer the present constitution, and whose memory is already sanctified by his virtues and services, "nor am I less persuaded," he said in his first address to Congress, after he had entered upon the execution of his duties, "that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of
the community as in ours, it is proportionally essential." Wonderful man! Time is the great leveller of human pretensions. The judgment, which he pronounces upon men and their actions, is as just as it is irreversible. How few of the countless throng, who, in the brief day of their pride, looked down upon their fellow-men, or were looked up to by them, now live in the memory of mankind! And as we recede from the periods, in which they lived and flourished, their fame becomes dimmer and dimmer, till it is extinguished in darkness. The world has grown wiser in its estimate of human worth, and the fame of common heroes has become cheaper and cheaper. But we have one name, that can never die. One star, which no night of moral darkness can extinguish. It will shine on, brighter and brighter, till it is lost in the effulgence of that day, foretold in prophecy, and invoked in poetry,

"When heaven its sparkling portals shall display,
And break upon us in the flood of day;
No more the rising sun shall gild the morn,
Nor evening Cynthia fill her silver horn;
But lost, dissolved in thy superior rays,
One tide of glory, one unclouded blaze
Overflow thy courts; the light himself shall shine
Revealed, and God's eternal day be thine."

Happen what may to our country, this treasure can never be reft from her. Her cities may become like Tadmor, her fields like the Campagna, her ports like Tyre, and her hills like Gilboa, but, in all the wreck of her hopes, she may still proudly boast that she has given one man to the world, who devoted his best days to the service of his countrymen, without any other reward than their love and his own self-approbation; who gladly laid down his arms, when peace was obtained; who gladly relinquished supreme authority, when the influence of his character was no longer wanted to consolidate the infant institutions of the
Republic; and who died, ripe in years and in glory, mourned as few have been mourned before him, and revered as few will be revered after him. Here, in this hall, whose foundations were laid by his own hand; here, under this dome, which looks out upon the place of his sepulture; here, in this city, named from his name, and selected for its high object by his choice, let us hope that his precepts will be heard, and his example heeded through all succeeding ages. And when these walls shall be time worn and time honored, and the American youth shall come up, as they will come up, to this temple of liberty, to meditate upon the past, and to contemplate the future, may they here find lessons and examples of wisdom and patriotism to study and to emulate. And when the votary of freedom shall make his pilgrimage to the tomb of Mount Vernon, and lay his hand upon the lowly cemetery, let him recall the virtues and bless the memory of WASHINGTON.

When the diffusion of knowledge is recommended to the consideration of the Government by this authority, I may well be spared all effort to illustrate its importance. But its effects I may briefly advert to, in one splendid example of literary distinction, which exhibits the triumph of intellect during the long period of twenty centuries. The little territory of Attica, containing about thirty miles square, and half a million of inhabitants, furnishes a pregnant lesson for the world. There literature flourished, freedom prevailed, the arts and sciences were cultivated, and genius was honored and rewarded. She sent out her armies and navies, wherever her interest or honor required. She repelled the Persian hordes from her land; she gallantly maintained her independence for a long series of years, and she became the school of antiquity, imparting to all other countries the treasures of her knowledge. How proud a moment she now is, even in her desolation! From the Ganges to the Saint Lawrence, where is the man of intelligence who does
not look upon her fallen fortunes with sorrow; and upon her future fate with solicitude? The Turk has ruled in the habitation of Pericles; and the horse-tail has waved where the ægis was displayed. But the Parthenon still stands, though in ruins, yet in glory; a fit emblem of the country it adorned in its pride, and now hallows in its decay. And whence this triumph of the feeble over the strong? How happens it, that this small spot is, and has been, the revered one of the earth? The school-boy upon the Missouri talks of the Ilissus. The ardent youth, who, at Bunker’s hill and New Orleans, gazes with intense interest upon those fields of blood and renown, has room also in his heart for the stories of Marathon and of Salamis. The lover of the fine arts, who surveys the works of the chisel, which already in our country have almost fashioned the marble into life, still thinks of Praxiteles, and concurs in the universal opinion of artists, that the Venus de Medici is yet the model of statuary beauty. And the patriotic citizen, while he blesses God that he was born in the county of Warren, and Hancock, and Franklin, and Jefferson, casts a look of reverence upon the land of Socrates, and Plato, and Aristides.

All this is the triumph of intellect; the monument and the reward of public spirit and intelligence, and the evidence of private devotion to all those pursuits, which give to mind its ascendancy over matter.

It is not presumptuous, on this occasion, to hope, that our national library will soon be increased to an extent corresponding with the state of literature in our country, and with our rank in the family of nations. Some of the collections in Europe are of vast size and are the fruit of ages of exertion; and it is honorable to many of the minor capitals that they are enriched with these repositories, at the public expense, which are open to all classes of the citizens.
Some of these magnificent collections contain nearly half a million of volumes, while the American Government has only about twenty-four thousand five hundred. In this, the day of our prosperity, an immediate augmentation, upon a large scale, with an annual provision for a permanent adequate increase, would meet the cordial approbation of every American, who regards the literary character of his country.

The labors of this society embrace all materials relating to the history of the western hemisphere; but its principal object is the collection and preservation of documents, elucidating the history of the United States. It is only by the comparison of conflicting accounts, that the truth of a narrative can be ascertained. Even in the daily occurrences of life, discrepancies are found, when these are related by different persons, sometimes reconcilable and sometimes irreconcilable with one another. Passion, prejudice, interest, temperament, all these and other causes conspire to distort our views. The utilitarian value of history is in the lessons it teaches. We learn from it what were the results of human actions under certain circumstances, and we deduce from it, what these results will again be, under similar circumstances. The modifications, which the course of events is continually undergoing, furnish food for the imagination and the judgment, in the application of historic principles; and the power to deduce just conclusions from these is one of the highest attributes of the human intellect. It is the combination of personal observation and experience with deep study and reflection, upon the conduct of men in the infinite variety of circumstances, in which they have been placed, and the records of which constitute history. When the French revolution broke upon the world with its prodigies, all lovers of freedom were anxious that it should terminate in the establishment of a free and equal Government, and in the permanent political happiness of the French people. But while such was the universal wish in our country,
opinions were divided upon the result; and the patriot then at the head of the Government, in the exercise of his calm and inflexible judgment, soon discerned, in the course of events, signs of alarming portent, shadowing out that dénouement which our own days have seen, and foretelling the downfall of freedom, and the re-establishment of ancient institutions. In the natural world, certain causes are followed by certain effects; and in the moral world, actions are preceded by motives and succeeded by events. There is "ample verge and room enough" between chance on the one hand and fatalism on the other, for the exercise of a liberal spirit of investigation; and, without touching the vexed question which has perplexed metaphysicians, and divided Christians, we may all concede, what indeed cannot be doubted, that there is a connexion between motives and actions, and again between actions and motives, the extent of whose operations we can neither ascertain nor define. If moral causes were as rigid in their succession as many natural ones, and if the circumstances of events were not perpetually changing, the history of the past would be the prophecy of the future. If there be no chain of connexion which binds human events, then we cannot reason from what has been to what will be; and we must peruse the annals of mankind with as little profit as we read a romance. But it is obvious that the value of historical records depends upon their accuracy; for the truth alone will enable us to penetrate those motives, which furnish the true key to unlock the recesses of the heart. Hence the importance of rigid investigation, and of extensive collections, where accounts can be collated and corrected. We have in our own history several remarkable incidents, showing the facility with which error may be propagated and doubts raised, even in questions relating to the most solemn and notorious transactions. The Declaration of Independence purports to have been adopted and signed on the 4th of July, 1776; yet, there
are names of persons affixed to it, some of whom were not then in Philadelphia, and others were not, at that time, members of the venerable body, which gave this magna charta of freedom to the world. And the name of one, at least, who was present at this great event, supporting the measure with his voice and vote, is omitted in the journals. These facts were disclosed in the interesting statement made some years since by Governor McKean, wherein he modestly, but decidedly, asserts his rights as a participator in the honor and danger of this appeal, which then was rebellion, but whose character was changed by the events it ushered in.

The true province of the historian is now better understood than formerly. Time has been, and not long since, when all narratives were considered as entitled to almost equal credit; when the habit of severe investigation was no part of the qualification of the historian; and more especially in the annals of antiquity which have come down to us. In this spirit Rollin compiled his voluminous work, and he gravely relates incidents as he found them, without any discrimination between the degree of credit due to an eye-witness, who records events as we might expect to find them, and to the relater of incredible traditions, worthy only of perusal as evidences of human credulity. Herodotus himself, whose history was composed for the purpose of being recited, not read, and whose dramatic manner and imaginative mind prove the early age in which he wrote—Herodotus, who recorded the early fables of his country, and the strange tales he had heard in other lands; who believed the occurrence of all the events repeated through a succession of ages, from sire to son, and who recited his work to a believing people—this father of the art furnished, for centuries, not the outline only, but all the details of early profane history; and kindred authors, who wrote later, but still with the same credulity, were received as unerring
guides in exploring the mazes of human actions, in distant regions and ages. The charm of style, the splendor of eloquence, the grace of rhetoric abound in these compositions, and they are inestimable as pictures of early manners, and as vehicles of early opinions: but no scholar would now trust these narratives without proper scrutiny, whenever the incidents are improbable in themselves, or whenever there is reason to believe the proper sources of information were not within the reach of the writers. The philosophy of history requires laborious investigation and deliberate decision. We are not without an illustration of this proneness to believe, in the history of our own continent. We can produce an Argonautic expedition, as irreconcilable with the physical geography of the country as that of the Colchian adventurers, and less worthy of trust, because more inconsistent with the moral habits and the social and political condition of the race of men, who then inhabited the El Dorado, where this party of robbers wandered and fought for six years. Commentators have gravely perplexed themselves and their readers in endeavoring to trace the course of this expedition, and have brought to the task as much zeal, if not as much learning, as has been employed in tracing the route of Jason and his fellow-travellers. A golden fleece was the object of both expeditions, and both sowed dragon's teeth, which sprang up into armed men. Hernando de Soto landed in Florida during the prevalence of that auro mania which impelled so many armed adventurers upon this continent to desolate the country they came to search, and to lay the foundation for the ruin of that which they left. All is dark and doubtful in his adventures. Where he marched, the obstacles he encountered, the people he found, the time he remained, and the principal details of his journey, I consider as uncertain as the feats of the celebrated wanderers of antiquity. That one thousand men, with three hundred horses, could be subsisted, year after year, in any portion of the Indian country; that
they found continuous settlements, great towns, always within view of each other; that they could be induced by any consideration to roam for six years, through those vast regions, surrounded by numerous and active enemies, and finding, in all this time, scarcely any of that precious metal, which alone furnished the object of their search, I cannot bring myself to believe. There is little verisimilitude in all this. The moral habits of the aboriginal inhabitants cannot deceive us. They are as unchangeable as the Arabs. Their mode of life, in the earliest periods they were known, was the same it has been since, and as it is to this day, with slight variations. But the historians of De Soto's adventures describe another race of men. And who are these historians? One of them was either not born at the time of the expedition, or must then have been an infant. His narrative was principally compiled from the verbal statement of a participant in the expedition, at least forty years after its termination, eked out by some uncertain papers. The name of the other is unknown, and consequently all the extrinsic circumstances necessary to give weight to his narrative. And both were utterly unacquainted with the language of the Indians, as were the whole expedition; depending in their intercourse upon such means of communication, as chance threw in their way. Each has in turn been distrusted by respectable historians, through each has also found advocates. I consider both unworthy of credit. We can never be satisfied, that they relate facts as these occurred; while we are certain, from intrinsic evidence, that much which they do relate, is wholly fabulous. There are wanting the great sources of credit upon which all history must rest: confidence in the knowledge, judgment, and integrity of the writers, comparison with the general course of facts, as made known to us through other channels, and a natural concurrence between the transactions as recorded, and the condition and motives of the actors. A standard, constructed upon these principles, and applied to
these accounts, would reduce the authentic details of this ex-
pedition within very narrow limits; and would leave them
wholly unworthy of credit for the only rational purposes,
which could render them valuable, as illustrations of the man-
ners of the time and the condition of the people, who then
inhabited the southwestern parts of the United States, and
as records of a daring adventure, selfish in its origin, romantic
in its progress, and just and melancholy in its fate.

Historical associations have been formed in various parts
of our country. Many interesting documents have been pre-
served and published by them. Their objects, however, are
generally, if not local, yet limited to particular sections; and
thus not interfering with the more extended range, which we
have proposed for our labors. The collection, which is form-
ing and printing under the patronage of the United States, is
a subject of interest with all, who feel the value of these pur-
suits, and must tend to animate and encourage them in their
course. The diligence of the compilers has already rescued
from oblivion, probably from destruction, many interesting
and curious papers, illustrating important events in our his-
tory; and the sources of information, that are open to them,
promise a still more abundant harvest to their labors. But
we may glean where they have reaped, and we may per-
haps discover fields, which they have neglected. The news-
papers and the fugitive publications of the day become val-
uable documents in a few years after they have issued from
the press. Newspapers, particularly, present a living and
moving picture of the times; and complete files of those of
our own days will furnish for posterity the most abundant
and authentic materials for history; or rather they will be
history itself—a history of the thoughts, words, and actions of
men—a history of national intercourse, of the state of society,
of the progress of opinion, of the advance of literature and
the arts, of the mutations of government, and of the rise
and fall of nations. What treasures to those who come after
us, will be complete collections of these publications! What treasures to us would be similar collections, depicting events in ages that have gone by! Who would not read with unspeakable delight a gazette of Palos, issued the day of the embarkation of Columbus, and describing the agitation, the hopes, and fears, of those, who assembled to witness his departure; the firmness of the ocean hero, the mixture of confidence and doubt in his followers, the equipment of his vessels, and all the variety of details, too low, it is falsely thought, for history, but not too low for natural and laudable curiosity? And who would not feel his blood flow quicker at the perusal of a paper, issued from the press, while his fleet was casting anchor, after its return from the discovery of a world—when conjecture had become certainty, prophecy history, and when Columbus had prepared for himself that simple but sublime epitaph, which was almost all an ungrateful country left him, and which announced to the observer, that the marble he gazed on covered the remains of him, who had given a new world to Castile and Leon?

But, besides the value of these remains as materials for history, they are interesting memorials of by-gone times. They are precious relics, which appeal to the best emotions of the human heart. They associate us with past events, rendering brighter and darker the virtues and vices, which variegate the retrospect, that is spread out for our improvement. He, who has not felt this power of association, is little to be envied. He would stand upon the plain of Lexington and forget that the silence of its peaceful village had ever been broken by that sound, which aroused a whole continent, and whose echoes are yet reverberating among the nations of the earth. He might sail among the islands of Lake Erie, unmindful of those who sleep below him, and recalling none of the proud incidents, which marked the triumph of Perry, and which will forever illustrate the scene of his victory. The deep waters may cover it, as they now cover the site of the great naval conflict
which humbled the pride of the Persian monarch and saved Greece from his yoke. But American patriotism will sanctify the one, as Grecian patriotism has immortalized the other.

One of the greatest writers of modern times has said that "to abstract the mind from all local emotions would be impossible, if it were endeavored, and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."

And yet, fresh as our country is, we are not entirely without those impressive evidences of mutability, which so often, in the older world, arrest the attention of the traveller, and excite melancholy but profitable reflections upon the vanity of human expectations. The North and the South each offers one striking illustration of this gradual decadence and total desolation. In a little and sheltered nook upon the shore of Lake Huron, the Jesuits, those early and indefatigable laborers in the interesting cause of aboriginal civilization, formed, in the seventeenth century, an establishment for the instruction and conversion of the numerous tribes, who occupied those then remote regions. They named it, from their own apostle of missionaries, St. Ignace, and it grew and flourished, and extended its influence over the countries bordering the internal seas, which are there spread out in such magnificence and beauty. At the same time, the first capital of Virginia was firmly established, improving and holding out the prospect of a long career of prosperity. Where are they now—this seat of pious effort and of Indian improvement, and this colonial capital, this renowned Jamestown, the cradle of American civilization? I have stood upon the ruins of both, and marked the desolation which has overtaken them—a desolation so complete that not one building remains, where all was once so busy, happy, and prosperous. He, who leaves such a
scene, will leave it with emotions, fitted to make him a wiser and a better man.

It is this principle of association, which impels us to gaze with such untiring interest upon those memorials, that have been connected with great events, or with names of renown, which sends us to our own archives to look upon the Declaration of Independence, or to examine the commission of Washington. It should be one of the great objects of all historical societies to gather as many of these relics as possible; to save them from the hazard of destruction and from the uselessness of dispersal; to collect them where they may be preserved with jealous vigilance, and where, by concentration, they will excite the attention and stimulate the exertion of all lovers of literature. These things will go down to future generations, increasing in interest as they increase in years. Europe is rich in such memorials of antiquity; and her splendid collections are among the most powerful attractions, which entice our countrymen to her shores. Time has not yet mellowed our institutions; but we can garner up for others, though not for ourselves; we can lay by treasures, whose value will increase beyond the dreams of avarice. Let us do so. Let us, at any rate, lay the foundation. The superstructure may never be finished; but it will go on increasing in interest, useful in its freshness, and venerable in its decay.

In all researches into the history of this continent, we have one advantage over every other people. Our origin and progress are within the reach of authentic history; we have no fabulous nor doubtful eras to perplex investigation and to provoke discussion. We have, indeed, one remnant of antiquity, one surviving memorial of a former and unknown state of things—one race of men, whose origin is as doubtful as their fate. Their past and future are equally closed to us, and it were vain to attempt to penetrate the one or the other. They were here when Christian banners were first displayed
in evidence of Christian claims to the country, and they are here yet, unaltered in all the essential points of character, opinions, and institutions—a moral phenomenon in the creation of God. If we have no broken columns nor dilapidated walls to carry us back to the infancy of time, few crumbling monuments to teach us lessons of humility, we have a living memorial, more solemn than these; it has been around us and among us; but it is receding from us—whether to plant itself in the solitude of the prairies and forests, in the vast regions of the West, and there to flourish or to die, is known only to Him, who controls the destiny of the red man, as well as of the white. Let us indulge the hope that the prospects of the aboriginal race are brightening; that their removal and re-establishment in the trans-Mississippi world will elevate their hopes, stimulate their exertions, improve their condition, and gradually prepare them for the full blessings of Christianity and civilization. But whether they are destined to rise from their ruins, or to disappear, they still present one of the most interesting topics of speculation, which can engage the attention of the rational inquirer—one of the most singular chapters in the whole philosophy of human nature. Much has, indeed, been written about them—much, no doubt, that is true, but a great deal that is false, and still more having a tendency to make false impressions. This is not the time nor the place to enter into an investigation of the causes, which have operated to give us so much of the romance, so little of the reality of Indian life. Some of these, however, are upon the surface, and may be glanced at. Our nomadic tribes are borderers, keeping upon the circle of civilization, and receding as this advances. They speak peculiar languages, radically different in their syntax and structure, from those of the nations of Christendom. They are brought into contact, by their business and intercourse, with persons having neither the inclination nor the information necessary to pursue investigations into the moral habits, history, and condition of this
primitive race. They are, withal, suspicious, neither seeking nor yielding confidence with facility, incapable of abstract speculations, or of aiding in them, credulous, and too often insensible to the obligations of veracity. The difficulty of penetrating the recesses of such a people is obvious, increased as these are by the incompetency of the usual medium of communication. Under such untoward circumstances, what has already been done, instead of discouraging, should stimulate us. Our military posts furnish excellent places of observation, where the best materials for Indian history can be collected; and the graduates of the Military Academy, who are sent there, could not devote their leisure to a pursuit more interesting in itself, nor richer, in the rewards it offers. Their education gives them the proper qualifications, and the whole philosophy of the Indian condition is open to their investigation. A proper series of inquiries, prepared with a view to a common operation, and transmitted to these aboriginal observatories, would furnish a most interesting subject of inquiry; and, if prosecuted with zeal, would lead to the collection of a mass of materials far more valuable than has been heretofore procured. The traditionary legends of the Indians are passing away. All that is not arrested within a few years will be beyond the reach of recovery. Although their tales of former ages cannot be viewed as authentic materials for history, yet, they may dimly shadow out events, which have left no other memorials; and they are valuable as the monuments of a rude people, illustrating their peculiar opinions.

The era of the discovery of the American continent was a remarkable one in the history of human society. The decay of the Roman empire was attended by circumstances too well known to require enumeration. As the star of her ascendancy declined, knowledge declined with it, and a long night of ignorance rested upon the human intellect. This period of mental darkness furnishes a subject of profound investigation; and its phenomena present a problem, whose complete
solution is yet reserved for some acute and fortunate historian. After the lapse, however, of centuries, the dawn of a brighter day began to appear. Soon the invention of printing and of the mariner’s compass, the revival of the arts and sciences, the progress of society, and the spirit of maritime discovery combined to give new energy to the human intellect, and new vigor to the exertions of communities and individuals. It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that the Genoese navigator boldly passed the boundaries, which till then had repelled all efforts to penetrate beyond them, and opened, to the enterprise of one continent, a new and boundless theatre for exertion in another. Few events in the history of man can compare with this discovery. We are yet in the infancy of our career, and already the march of events has hurried on with an accelerated progress, which no sagacity could have foreseen, and which no power can check. The impress of civilization is upon the whole continent, from Labrador to Cape Horn. Thirteen independent communities have asserted the right of self-government and have assumed their stations among the nations of the world. The Alleghany and the Andes have been ascended, the Mississippi and the Oronoko have been navigated, the prairies and the pampas have been traversed and explored. Such a field of enterprise and exertion, under circumstances so favorable to the development of the human powers, has never been offered to the industry and emulation of man.

It is a curious and interesting topic of speculation, and one worthy of the attention of the philosophical historian, to trace the causes, which have produced such a marked difference in the character and progress of the colonies, founded by the different European nations upon this continent; more particularly in those, which owe their origin to Spain and England; as the descendants of these countries have almost divided between them the entire hemisphere. At the period of the discovery, Spain was one of the most prosperous nations on the
globe. In literature, in arts, in arms, she was at the head of the great European confederacy. Upon land, she was powerful and victorious, and soon after, she held in captivity the King of France for many years. Upon the ocean, her armada rode in triumph, and if England was saved from invasion, she owed her safety, less to her own prowess, than to that elemental war, which human might cannot withstand. We have seen, in our own times, another armada, marching to conquest with a power never, perhaps, united into one body since the days of Xerxes; we have seen it wrecked in the frozen regions of the north, scattered, broken, destroyed, by the storms of an arctic winter. If such lessons are melancholy, they are instructive—instructive to rulers and people. They inculcate humanity and moderation. They show how Providence frustrates the hopes and efforts of the warrior. And while they exhibit the energy and success of defence under apparently unequal circumstances, they tend to check the pride of conquest, and to render the fate of nations more stable.

Spain prosecuted her maritime adventures with great spirit and success. The colonists she sent out were numerous, powerful, well equipped, having little to fear from the aboriginal inhabitants, and were planted in the most favored regions of the globe. Her early efforts were directed against a half-civilized people; and her armed hordes, infuriated with the passion for gold, descended upon this unfortunate race with the violence and the destructive effects of a whirlwind. The contest, if contest it could be called, was soon over, and when opposition ceased, oppression began. Thenceforth, a just system of policy and a course of gradual improvement, would have rendered these western empires enduring monuments of Spanish wisdom. What they have been, and are, is known to the world.

The progress and result of the colonization system of England presents a far different picture. Her efforts were directed to a less genial climate, to a less fertile soil. Her
bands of emigrants were not armed soldiers, prepared to
overcome and seize regions in the possession of a people,
who had made considerable advances in cultivation and im-
provement. The principles of religious liberty sent to these
shores the founders of a large and interesting section of
the republic. And who, that looks back upon their des-
perate efforts, upon their quiet resignation, upon their
abandonment of all the comforts of life, can withhold the
tribute of admiration for their generous devotion, and for that
high and holy enthusiasm, which enabled them to dare and
do all that history has recorded of their trials and suffer-
ings and exertions. Never was bark freighted with a more
precious load than the Mayflower, which bore the little band
destined to lay the foundation of a mighty community in the
deep forests of the western world; which bore them to their
home, to be made such by their toils, their anxieties, their
hopes, by the triumphant consolation that the peace of God,
which passeth all understanding, was theirs, without the per-
secution of ruler, priest, or people, and to be made such by
their graves. They stepped upon the monumental rock of
Plymouth, the door to them of a new world, in the depth of
winter, and wholly unprepared for its rigor. To depict their
sufferings were a useless task. History has recorded these
in imperishable terms. They passed through them, one after
another, with the fortitude of Christians, and the exertions of
men, and found rest in death.

Characters are sometimes best described by a single sketch
presenting that ruling passion

"Where alone
The wild are constant and the cunning known."

Such a sketch is furnished by the debarkation of the Puritans
upon the coast of New England, and by the descent of Cortez
upon the Mexican shore. When the English colonists left
the old world, their last act was to implore the Divine bless-
ing upon their enterprise, and when they reached the new,
their first act was to return their thanks to that Providence, which had protected them in their voyage across the ocean. Before they left their vessel, they prescribed and established a form of government, in which they declared they had undertaken to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith, and for the honor of their King and country.

What a contrast is presented between the humble appearance and the lowly and subdued spirit, but firm purpose, of these self-expatriated men, and the Spanish invasion, with

"The neighing steed and the shrill trump,  
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,  
The royal banner, and all quality,  
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war."

The English colonists were impelled by their high regard for the rights of conscience; the Spanish conquerors, by the thirst for gold. The bible and magna charta were borne by the one, and the sword, the cross, and papal decrees by the other. The physical and moral results are before the world, and promise to go down to after ages, furnishing one of the most impressive lessons in the whole history of man.

A spirit of religious liberty, similar to that which led to the planting of New England, though in less intolerant periods, gave birth to two other States of our Union, and all of them, that were early settled, were settled without the aid of Government, and by individual enterprise and suffering. Virginia preceded all her sister colonies in the career of settlement, and the first permanent establishment, made in the United States, was upon the bank of her noble river, which still washes the deserted site of Jamestown, her early metropolis. The Starving-time yet lives in her annals, and the term expressively depicts one of the terrible calamities to which the founders of our republic were exposed; and which leave to their descendants but little room for the exercise of fortitude in the compara-
tively easy process of extending the dominion of cultivation, from the secure lodgments made by such sacrifices, even to the far-distant ocean upon our western border. Seldom has the most wayward imagination embodied such ideal adventures, as mark the character of this period, carrying the romance of life to the very verge of credibility. The almost miraculous preservation of Captain Smith, the hero of this age of enterprise, from the doom pronounced upon him by the Indian chief, Powhatan, may well vie in interest with any incident, that has come down to us. The appeal of Pocahontas to her father, that the white stranger might live, and her noble interposition in his favor, furnish an admirable illustration of the deep affections of a woman's heart. Clime, color, age, nation, these are but adventitious circumstances, when danger or distress makes its appearance, and female benevolence is ready with its consolations to relieve the sufferings of life, or to assuage the terrors of death. And it is satisfactory to know, that this ingenuous female afterwards found the reward of her charity; that she was married to a respectable clergyman, became a convert to the Christian faith, and acquired the accomplishments of the age. This union led to a close connexion and to a long friendship between the emigrants and the rude natives, which was not interrupted till after the death of the Indian chieftain. His daughter visited Europe, and was graciously received by royalty. Her descendants yet survive among the most respectable families of Virginia. They may well look back with pride to the virtues of their progenitor.

These colonies, thus founded, have now become a mighty people. With what progress and prospects, it needs not that I should tell. Nor is it necessary, for any purpose I have in view, to run a parallel between them and the other independent Governments which occupy this continent. The difference, however, is sufficiently obvious to justify an inquiry into the cause. And what is this cause? A full answer to
the question, involving all the considerations connected with it, would carry me far beyond the limits I have prescribed to myself, and would, indeed, require illustrations I feel unable to present. But the seeds of freedom, civil and religious, were sown by the English colonists. These have sprung up and borne the goodly fruit of improvement and prosperity. The true principles, indeed, of the rights of government and of conscience were not fully understood, when the English settlements were commenced; and still less when Spain laid the foundation of hers. But the Anglo-Saxon race had long possessed institutions, whose tendency was favorable to the development of the human faculties, and to the gradual melioration of their political system. When the causes, resulting from this state of things, were once in full operation, these people sprang forward in the great race of improvement, and identified themselves with the advance of knowledge through the globe. Where these advantages were unfelt, exertion was paralyzed, education neglected, and the human faculties rendered stationary.

There are six periods in the history of the United States, separated by epochs, which resemble the elevations in the journey of a traveller, that enable him to stop and contemplate the country he has passed. These periods are different in interest and duration; but each is marked by an historical unity, necessary to bind together detached portions of any great course of events. It is by this distribution into groups, that the human mind finds itself able to grasp the vast variety of incidents, which make up the annals of a country. These divisions may be denominated the period of the discovery, extending from the time this part of the continent became known to Europeans, to their first permanent establishment; of settlement, including the long interval between this establishment and the conquest of Canada; of civil dissension, commencing immediately thereafter, and terminating in open resistance; of revolution, including the war of independence;
of the confederation, reaching from the conclusion of peace to
the adoption of the present Government; and of the constitu-
tion, extending to our own times. These designations have
no claim to actual precision. They indicate only the leading
features of each period, those which gave to it its peculiar char-
acteristics.

It is no part of my object to detain you by a formal disserta-
tion upon our history, colonial or independent. I restrict
myself to a few general observations, connecting these eras
with the practical purposes of our association.

The spirit of adventure, which displayed itself in the voyages
of maritime discovery, from the middle of the fifteenth to
the middle of the seventeenth centuries, was one of the most
striking characteristics of modern times. There was, in these
perilous efforts, a strange combination of daring enterprise,
of patient fortitude, of avaricious cupidity, of mercantile
speculation, and of enlarged philosophical views; and all
these were frequently intermingled with religious enthusi-
asm. This last trait is singularly and almost irreverently
exemplified by the watchword and countersign given out
by Frobisher, when his fleet was prepared to sail upon
his principal voyage of discovery. The one was, Before
the world was God; and the other, After God came Christ
his son. Portugal sent out Vasco de Gama to explore a
route to Hindostan, and to open for the west a path
through the ocean to the rich products of the east. And
his successful voyage round the southern promontory of
Africa, furnished Camoens one of the most splendid epi-
sodes which genius ever invented, or taste embellished.
And the Spirit of the unknown ocean, who rose up to
defend his dominion from the audacious stranger, will
ever live in the Lusitanian poem, though he has long
since been driven from the seat of his mysterious power
by the fleets that have ploughed every wave, from the
Bay of Biscay to the Chinese sea.
Spain accepted the proffered services of Columbus, and has identified her own name with the discovery of a world. How easily does the course of human events baffle human sagacity! At the time the little fleet, destined to produce such a revolution in physical geography, and to open the way for such wonderful changes, left the shores of Spain, her inhabitants looked back to the achievements of the past, and boasted of the renown of their ancestors, as the real treasure of national glory. They were proud, chivalrous, and great. Yet that small naval expedition, which was then sailing over a trackless ocean, and which had departed almost without observation, was destined to add imperishable fame to the Spanish name. Her martial glories have faded away, her names of renown are disregarded or forgotten, but the inscription upon her escutcheon, the evidence of her spirit of adventure, still remains. Her heraldic pillars yet bear the motto of "Plus ultra," and while her language is spoken over the vast regions she first explored and settled, history will award to her the name of the Discoverer.

England and France soon followed in the race of adventure. The French navigators Verrazani, Cartier, and Champlain, and the English Cabots, Willoughby, Chancellor, Frobisher, Hudson, and Baffin extended the boundaries of geographical knowledge. The improvements, which have since taken place in ship-building and navigation, render almost incredible the authenticated statements of the size and equipments of the vessels employed in these hazardous enterprises. The flag-ship of Columbus was less than one hundred tons, and three of his vessels were half-decked shallops. Frobisher performed his first voyage with two small barks, one of twenty-five, and one of twenty tons, and a pinnance of ten tons. And Davis commenced his career of adventure with two vessels, the Sunshine, of fifty tons, and the Moonshine, of thirty-five. And this was the
scale of preparation for researches over unknown seas, and into the most remote regions of the globe. And it is wonderful to reflect on the energy and success, with which these daring mariners penetrated the desolate regions of the arctic circle. With all the wealth and skill of modern times, we are but little in advance of the geographical knowledge, they acquired and bequeathed to us. And Hudson, and Baffin, and Davis have given their names to the seas and strait they explored; and which, after two centuries of national and individual exertion, are yet upon the very frontiers of human knowledge.

Sir Walter Raleigh, renowned for his accomplishments, his adventures, and his melancholy and unjust fate, is intimately connected with this portion of our history. He fully participated in the spirit of the age, and entered zealously into many of the enterprises, which were projected and carried on in search of gold, but which led to far loftier events. The first English colony, planted in America, was sent out under his auspices, and established itself upon the island of Roanoke, in North Carolina. This was soon broken up, and was succeeded by another, despatched by the same indefatigable navigator, and which chose for its site the spot that had been once before selected and abandoned. The fate of this last colony was never ascertained. It disappeared, but why, or how, was unknown then, and is unknown yet. Internal dissensions, famine, the hostilities of the Indians, the hardships incident to these efforts, and the disappointment of excited expectation, all these, and other causes destroyed, for many years the settlements, which were successively established upon our coast. Gold was the great object of speculation. "There was no thought," says one of the historians, in the quaint language of his day, "no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold." Till time and experience had sub-
duced this passion, the sober pursuits of life could furnish no sufficient inducements for exertion.

This age of adventure offers enough of incident, of character, of splendid success, and of fatal disaster, to stimulate the inquiries of all, who have the taste and the opportunity for investigation into these by-gone times. And the vague uncertainty, which rests upon the fate of some of these expeditions, and upon many important details connected with almost all of them, while it furnishes additional motives for the pursuit, gives to the narratives of these early efforts that romantic interest, which is equally delightful to youth and age.

The example of Biddle and Irving has taught us how much industry and critical sagacity, with favorable opportunities for their exertion, may add to our stock of information, by exploring original collections. There is much in these expeditions, which requires elucidation. If the age, in which they were prosecuted was an adventurous, it was also a credulous one. The more accurate information, we have obtained, of the regions visited by them, enables us to fix the scenes of their explorations, and to verify their statements by those great natural features, which are not subject to change. The voyage of Verrazani along almost all our coast, and that of Hudson to the Northern States present questions for interesting investigation.

The period of settlement embraces an interval of about a century and a half. And while its progress was marked by extraordinary vicissitudes, it was still advancing with a celerity before unknown in the march of society. Never was the prophetic declaration, that a little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation, more wonderfully fulfilled, than in the planting and rearing of these colonies. A few hardy adventurers seated themselves upon the shores of the ocean, in a distant and unexplored region. An interminable forest was around them, and a fierce and treach-
erous foe occupied its recesses. In the providence of God, they were sent out, to suffer in their day, but to become glorious in their generation. And well did they fulfill their destiny. We are now a community of fifteen millions of people, and yet I have often conversed with a venerable relative who was a cotemporary of the first child born to the pilgrims, after they landed upon this continent. What an almost overpowering image does this simple fact present of the progression of this federated empire! And where is the forest, which then shut in the adventurers upon the brink of the sea? And where are the nomadic tribes, the untameable warriors, who stood up in their path, and said, You shall go no further! Let our fields and villages, our towns and cities—let our cheering prospects, the evidence and the effect of human industry and enterprise—let the peace, and plenty, and prosperity of a happy land, covered with a busy population, enjoying the blessings of equal government, of a benign religion, and of intellectual improvement—let all these explain how the forests have been brought low, and how the great circle of cultivation has spread itself, even to the vast lakes of the North, and to the trans-Mississippi regions. And let the feeble remnant of the primitive race pronounce their fathers' fate, and their own doom. While we look back with feelings of commiseration upon their sufferings and declension, it would be miserable affectation to regret the progress of events, which has removed a people who have thus far shown themselves, if not incapable of improvement, yet so intractable in their nature, and inveterate in their habits, as to hold out no rational prospect of moral and physical advancement; at any rate, while in immediate contact with a different and superior race, and which has opened one-fourth part of the globe to the empire of intellect, and to the efforts of communities, which will reclaim and subdue it, and cover it with millions upon millions of human beings. That this great continent might offer its proper
tribute of grateful hearts upon the altar of the Most High, it was necessary that the red man, who had roamed over, rather than possessed it, should become amalgamated with the white stranger, who came with all the elements of superiority, or flee before him into the recesses of the forest or of the grave. The union was impossible, and the decree soon went forth that the primitive race must yield. And it did yield. And the evidence is before us and around us in the fruits of our fathers' exertions, and of our own.

During this interval of our colonial history, which was, in fact, our heroic age, there were three principal series of events, which now arrest the attention of the observer, and which form the marked features of the times. These were the progress of settlement, the wars with the Indians, and the participation with the mother country in those severe contests, which she waged against France, upon this continent, and which were terminated by the brilliant campaign, conducted under the auspices of the elder Pitt, and closed by the battle under the walls of Quebec—where the victor and the vanquished poured out their lives together, displaying traits of moral greatness, which will forever vie with the finest scenes that the historians of antiquity have painted for our instruction or emulation.

The character of our ancestors took its impress from the stormy events, which surrounded them from the cradle to the grave. They were nurtured in hardships and exposures; their manhood was devoted to the fields of labor and of battle; and their old age, when they lived to attain it, was too often interrupted by the Indian war-whoop, that signal of death, which, once heard, is never forgotten. This school of exertion and exposure, during six generations, produced those distinctive traits of character, which belonged to our fathers: that physical courage, that firmness of purpose, that patient endurance, which fitted them for the mighty struggle they were destined to undergo, when they suddenly appeared
upon the great theatre of action, and to the surprize of the world resisted, and successfully, too, the efforts and the power of a mighty nation.

Many objects of interesting inquiry present themselves during this period; particularly in relation to those statistical facts, that mark the progress of a country. There is, here, scope enough for the industry of all, who have any taste for these pursuits. The advance of population; the extent of territory under cultivation at different periods; the value of manufactures, and the amount of trade, foreign and domestic, are subjects comparatively unknown to us. And it must be, that there are many documents yet in existence, which would afford valuable information upon these topics. There is, too, a practical question in political economy, interesting at all times, and which, at this period, divided the infant communities; and that is, what are the circumstances connected with a paper circulation, which may render such a measure both safe and expedient? Many experiments on their currency were made, the effects of which were durable. I consider the early experience of our ancestors in this matter, as furnishing a most valuable chapter in the history of trade, and one which may be studied with advantage, whenever the principles regulating this delicate subject are called up for discussion.

The history of human enterprise scarcely records a series of events more striking than those, which attended these colonial establishments. From the first moment when a European footstep was imprinted upon the beach, till the last Indian council-fire was extinguished in blood, there was a succession of border hostilities—of terrible conflicts, on one side for vengeance and destruction, and on the other for existence. I would not, if I could, spread before you the horrors of such a warfare. Something of it I have seen; but I should have no pleasure in describing, nor you in listening to its appalling details. Like those awful tempests, which
display the power of the Almighty, and humble the pride of man, a peaceful and happy country is before it, but behind it are murder and desolation. In other wars, the parties fight for victory. Here, the white man fights for life. And when the storm bursts upon his settlement, he fights for all that renders life desirable. When the slumbers of the night are broken by the shout of the Indian, the stoutest heart may quail. How many times has the sun gone down in peace upon a smiling village, and risen upon a lurid prospect of desolation.

I do not mean to say that the white man was always right, and the red man always wrong. I do not mean to deny that the ancient possessor had too often just cause to complain, that his inheritance was violently reft from him, or craftily obtained. And the tradition, that the first settlers upon a part of the coast, asked for a seat which could be covered by a buffalo robe, and then, cutting this into thongs, took possession of all the land it would encircle, if false in fact, was certainly true to the feelings of the Indians.

Ancient chronicles have brought down to us a similar tradition respecting another barbarous people, separated by a wide interval of time and space from our aboriginal inhabitants. The legend of the flight of the Tyrian colony under Dido, and its establishment upon the African coast, says that they purchased of the indigenous people as much land for the site of Carthage as could be covered by a bull’s hide, and then dividing this into the smallest strips, claimed all embraced within it. Virgil has recorded the purchase, but omitted the deception, out of tenderness, perhaps, to the memory of the deserted and disconsolate queen:

"Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byraam, taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo."

But the piece of land as big as a hide was the purchase, as described both by the Eastern and Western primitive posses-
However or wherever the traditions may have originated, the coincidence of sentiment is interesting, as is the proneness of barbarous people, while they feel the superiority of civilized men, to attribute all the difference, which results from the intercourse, to cunning rather than to wisdom.

But the period, we are now passing in review, is memorable in the history of the world for the introduction of one great principle of legislation, which is slowly intrenching itself in the codes of modern nations, and which, we may hope, is destined ere long to be recognised in all. During many centuries, religious toleration was unknown in the most enlightened countries of the earth. If, in our own days, a mighty potentate could say, *I am the state*, in former days every potentate could say, *I am the religion*. The Church and the Government were faithful coadjutors, mutually protecting and protected by each other. The rights of conscience were practically the duty of believing and professing the established religion. If, occasionally, some powerful intellect displayed itself in advance of the age, and asserted the freedom of religious discussion, there was power enough and will enough to stop the progress of his doctrines, and to consign the heretic to those punishments, which either produced his recantation, or sent him to the eternal reward of his errors. Strange, indeed, that when the cross of Christianity surmounted the capitol of Rome, and ascended the throne of the Cæsars, a spirit of intolerance should accompany it, as irreconcilable with the principles of Him who had died upon it, as it was at variance with the Catholic sentiments of the age. The polytheism of the old world, monstrous as it is in the eye of reason and of Christian faith, possessed the attribute of tolerance; and, if nations seldom fought for their own religion, they seldom, like crusaders, attacked that of others. But as the power of Christianity increased and extended, the opinions of the rulers of the church became the standard of doctrine, and he who exceeded or fell short of this infallible
test, was punished with relentless severity here, and doomed, with all the arrogance of presumption, to eternal misery hereafter. When Christendom had submitted to this hateful rule for centuries, a feeble light began to break upon the gloom, and doubts were suggested how far the rights of conscience should be thus controlled by the civil magistrate. But the principles of religious freedom, as they are understood and secured here, seem to have had no advocate, if indeed they found a single friend. Exemption from the persecutions of the state was all that the most liberal inquirer into the rights of the church and the duties of its members claimed for schismatics; and even this boon was seldom obtained, and then rather by a kind of political sufferance, than by a direct mitigation of these false institutions. And every political change, which led to the ascendancy of a persecuted party, while it gave them the power enjoyed by their predecessors, was sure to carry with it the same principles of bigotry and vengeance. Neither the experience of the past, nor a just regard for the future seemed to produce any effect upon the head or heart. And this, with slight exceptions, was the state of the Christian world, when possession was taken of this hemisphere. The infant legislatures of two of the colonies, now States of this Union, were the first authorities, in modern times, that practically asserted the only true doctrine of religious liberty. They burst the bonds, which, till then, had bound the judgment and conscience of mankind, and proclaimed the great truth, that government and religion have no lawful connexion with each other; that political associations are the work of man, for the protection of his rights and for the improvement of his capacity; but that religion is from above, and is a question between the creature and the Creator; that the civil magistrate should secure to all the right of worshipping God in their own way, and that the ensigns of man's authority should stop at the door of the temple, and not be profanely intruded into the presence of the Most High.
I do not stop to inquire whether Rhode Island or Maryland was the first in this career of religious knowledge and freedom. It is a question, which has been zealously discussed, and I leave it for those who take an interest in such investigations. I claim for our common country the renown which is due to the recognition of this great principle, as we all claim to be the countrymen of Washington, though his natal spot was in Virginia.

The acute metaphysician Locke was practically connected with the early political institutions of the United States. He was called upon by the proprietors of South Carolina to prepare a frame of government for that colony, and he furnished one, which, in its utter failure, presents an instructive lesson to all, who are disposed to substitute their own crude notions for that experience, which ought to guide us in the establishment of fundamental principles. His cumbersome system, with its palatines, its landgraves, its caciques, its baronies, its minute and vexatious regulations, and its centennial annihilation of all laws was declared to be perpetual. It lingered along, reprobated by the people, to whom it gave neither peace, security, nor prosperity, and, at the end of twenty-five years, it sunk under the weight of opinion; a just rebuke to that presumption, which undertakes to prescribe a constitution for a distant country, whose condition, character, and wants, can only be known by intimate personal acquaintance.

The exertions and sacrifices of the colonists, in aid of the hostile operations of the British against the French possessions upon the North American continent, are, perhaps, better known than any other portions of our ante-revolutionary history. During these wars, their contributions of men and means were stupendous, when their population and resources are fairly examined. And the successful expedition to Louisbourg, fitted out by the Eastern colonies, and which terminated in the reduction of that important and strongly-fortified place, is among the most striking and romantic adventures in the
wars of modern times. And this spirit was displayed at Crown Point, at Ticonderoga, at Montreal, at the Havana, and wherever this then loyal people was called to rally round the banner of Saint George.

This was the course of events, which, co-operating with the moral influences that belonged to the time and country, formed the character of our ancestors. These spirit-stirring scenes acted in harmonious concert with those strong qualities which in England overturned the monarchy, and which eventually sought refuge beyond the Atlantic; and with those principles of freedom, fruits of the Anglo-Saxon institutions, that were cherished in every hamlet, from the St. John's to the St. Mary's.

One impressive reflection forces itself upon us, in connexion with the close of this act in the great drama of American history. We are forcibly reminded by it of the strange mutability of human affairs, and of the vanity of human expectations. The conquest of Canada was the theme of universal congratulation in this country and in England. That region was bought with a great price, and it was supposed, that a long course of intimate and mutually beneficial connexion was now open to the parent nation and her colonies, no longer exposed to the danger of French power and machinations. And yet this very success, splendid as it was, certainly accelerated those events, which ended in the disruption of the two countries. Had the Canadas continued under French dominion, it is possible that our Independence might have been postponed for a long, if not for an indefinite, period, and it is probable, that it would not have been achieved till long after the era of its actual establishment. External pressure would have operated to prevent internal dissensions. And the constantly impending position of the French and Indians, would not only have rendered British protection more valuable, but would have kept up that excitement, which seems part of our
social system, and which soon displayed itself in political discus-
sions and political claims.

And this brings us to the most interesting portion of our whole social existence as communities—to that bright era, when human rights were investigated and practically asserted with an acuteness of intellect, a power of knowledge, and a firmness of purpose, never before exhibited to the world. This was no time of abstract speculation. There were then no day-dreams of metaphysical philosophers. Claims were asserted by the imperial legislature, which, had they been submitted to, would soon have led to the prostration of that goodly fabric of freedom, which had been reared by all the sacrifices, that present themselves in such bold relief, when we look back upon the pictures of the past. Then were formed the characters of those eminent men, who stood forward to guide the public councils, and to conduct, at the great tribunal of public opinion, the cause of human rights. The first promulgation of an intention on the part of the British Government, to interfere with the internal political institutions of the country, was the signal of universal discontent. And as the project approached its maturity, so did the public feeling approach its crisis. Some vacillation was manifested by the English cabinet during these proceedings. Occasion-

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where are ingrafted by habit upon the intellect, and which assume the aspect of established principles. Our forefathers had always been free, and in some parts of our country, on their first arrival, they formed small democracies, where every man exercised a portion of the supreme power. As they increased in numbers, and extended in space, this form of administration became impracticable, and it was so far modified, as to permit the most important functions to be performed by the representatives of the sovereign constituents. But, still, in all essential features, these early communities were as free from restrictions, as any political associations, that have existed in peace and prosperity.

Seed sown upon such a soil could not but vegetate. And this did so, as luxuriantly and rapidly as the quickest plant that springs into life in the brighest island of the ocean. Many a fervid mind was at work upon the foundations of society. Many a received dogma was swept away with contempt. It is not a little curious to compare the advance of society in some of the most important elements of human knowledge, at different stages of its existence. It will be found, that sometimes centuries roll away, while certain great departments of science are stationary, if not retrogressive. At other times, these are pushed forward with wonderful rapidity, like the spring, that has long been coiled and is suddenly unbent. Who can point out a single advance in the most important of mere human institutions, that of governing society, during centuries of the most enlightened period of antiquity? Wherein was the theology of the Roman empire better than the religious fables of Greece, or their prototypes, nourished under the shade of the pyramids? In the philosophy of the intellect, who was ever made wiser by the metaphysics of Aristotle? And who does not know, that his system of dialectics ruled the world of mind, from his own era down to the very dawn of our day?—ruled it with absolute sway, affecting not only to teach the way to knowledge, but to contain within itself
the very cycle of all that was known, or could be known. Studying nature in the closet, instead of walking abroad and surveying her works; not proceeding by induction, and deducing general laws from the operations of the world, but rashly advancing theories, and then boldly promulgating them, as the laws impressed by the Creator upon universal matter.

The principles, asserted during the discussions that took place upon the alleged supremacy of the British legislature, were broadly and deeply laid. Their consequences were not confined to this country. They were borne over the Atlantic, carrying back a portion of the debt, which we owed to the old world, for all we had received from it. Many a barrier, which time and power had erected, and behind which false institutions had intrenched themselves among the nations of the world, has fallen before the sound that has gone forth from our own land, as the ramparts of the city, which commanded the entrance into Palestine, fell before the fearful blast, that was blown by the order of the Jewish leader. This warning voice has been heard and heeded throughout our own vast hemisphere, and has called upon the descendants of the invaders and the invaded, to rouse themselves from their incubus, and to pronounce the doom of tyranny and their own emancipation. France heard it, and burst the bonds of licentious oppression with an energy, which awed the world. And if she has not reaped the full harvest of her exertions, she has at least renovated her social system, and struck down many parasitical plants, which, in the hot-bed of corruption, had started into being, and were feeding upon the very means of her existence. The resonance has spread over Europe, warning its governments, that the day of accountability is approaching, and proclaiming that the happiness of the people is the great object of political associations. And the crescent has waned before it, and has gone down upon the land of Themistocles and Miltiades. Even Greece is reviving, and
if her people cannot rival the fame of their ancestors, they may yet become prosperous and contented. The successor of Mahomet has caught the inspiration, and the shores of the Bosphorus, the scenes of early civilization, and of many a deed of renown, are emerging into light; and the echo is ascending the Nile, and perhaps may be heard, ere long, among the ruins of Thebes, awakening the silence of centuries, and rousing the land of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies to a sense of its past glory and its present degradation.

This interval of our political existence was the school of Washington, and Franklin, and Jefferson, and Adams; and of the other able and virtuous men, who were raised up by Providence for the work they had to do. Here their faculties were invigorated, and their knowledge extended, by the severe discipline they underwent. All the incidents of this period are interesting and instructive, and every relic, which yet remains of it, should be preserved with jealous affection. There must be many a precious document mouldering in the cabinets of the descendants of these mighty and master spirits. Let me invite their production as tributes to the departed worth, as incentives to living virtue, and as lessons to us, and to those, who are to follow us in this land of their affection. These troublous times, however, were succeeded by a still more perilous period. Deliberation, and discussion, and remonstrance, were suddenly abandoned, and the musketry at Lexington announced that the arbitrament of reason had yielded to the ultimate argument of nations.

And thus commenced our revolutionary career—that stage in our national existence, which was marked by as desperate a struggle as any people ever encountered and survived. Its incidents, its alternations of hope and despair, its exertions, its long duration and its final triumph, why advert to these? Are they not written in burning characters upon the mind and memory of every American? New facts may be disclosed, and many of those, which have been recorded, may be correct-
ed; traits of character, not heretofore recognised, may be
developed; motives may be impugned or justified; but the
great leading events of this contest are before the world, and
are beyond the reach of misapprehension.

The peace, bought by these sacrifices, was succeeded by the
period of the confederation. The articles of union were, indeed,
in force during the war, but their final adoption did not take
place, till it had been six years in progress. And it is evident,
that it was the external pressure, and not any principle of co­
hesion in this instrument, which united the States in the great
work of defence. When this pressure was removed, the
articles of confederation became the only ligament of connexion,
and their inefficiency soon displayed itself. The seven
years embraced in this period are a monument, as sacred to
our country, as was the memory of the pillars of fire and of
cloud, to the people of God, which guided them in their mi­
arcelous journey from their exodus out of the land of Egypt to
their entrance into the land of Canaan. The exertions of the
war were succeeded by lassitude. The ordinary business of
life had been suspended, and its occupations destroyed.
There was no commerce, external nor internal. The currency
had been wholly deranged by the issues of paper, resting on
no solid basis, and which sunk by its own weight, till it be­
came entirely valueless. As this was a legal tender, property
changed possession, too often without any just consider­
ation. Great distress was induced by these circumstances,
and the affairs of life were every where deranged. There
was nothing abroad to compensate for distress and inefficiency
at home. Our credit was annihilated, and foreign nations
were unwilling to enter into negotiations with us, because
the Government was unable to fulfil its engagements. The
friends of liberty throughout the world looked on with regret,
sfearing the entire failure of the great experiment, which had
been committed to us. And patriots at home, who had never
despaired in the darkest day of the war, now confessed their
apprehensions, and doubted the end of their own work. All accounts, both documentary and traditionary, concur in depicting, in the gloomiest colors, the state of the public prospects and of the public feelings, and the individual distress, which pervaded the whole country. But there is one redeeming trait in all this gloomy retrospect, one distinctive mark of character, too honorable to be overlooked. The institutions of society still went on, and with one local and inconsiderable exception, uninterruptedly. The General Government was, in fact, expiring and the State Governments were relaxed and powerless. They were without revenue or resources, or strength. Such a state of things, in any other country, would have rent society to its foundation. It would have dissolved into its constituent principles; and if these were ever to be re-combined, the process would not have been owing to any natural affinity, but to another agent, to that military despotism, which, as it is the last curse of degraded nations, so is it the first step in their regeneration. But there were causes in operation here, which saved us from this calamity. The machine of authority went on by its own momentum, like some piece of mechanism, whose principle of motion is suspended or destroyed, but which still pursues its movement from the impulse it has acquired, and goes on, declining indeed, and with less and less force, but still performing its functions. And here were seen the effects of moral habits, and of principles early taught and ingrafted upon the frame of society. Life, liberty, and property were protected, and public opinion took the place of organized authority; and society was preserved from convulsion, till the general sense of the country reinvigorated the State Governments, and with one voice demanded an amendment of the articles of confederation. The measures, taken to give effect to this expressed will, ended in the formation of the present constitution.
In looking back upon these stages of political existence, it is impossible not to be struck with admiration, at that wisdom, which has conducted us, by these progressive steps, from infancy to maturity; from a small band to a great people. Why, in the dispensation of Providence, this great continent was so long shut out from the knowledge of that portion of the world, best prepared by its state of improvement to reclaim and subdue it, and to people it with intelligent beings, capable of assuming that rank in the scale of creation, which it is given to man to reach, it were as presumptuous to inquire, as it would be impossible to tell. It must be left among those mysteries, which, if they are ever revealed to us, will be revealed in another state of existence. When, however, the time had come for the ocean to give up its mighty secret, and to make known the fertile regions beyond its waves, then commenced the operations of those secondary causes, by which the great designs of Omniscience are carried into effect. A new world was to be peopled. Immense regions were to be laid open and cultivated. The feeble race, roaming over them, as improvident and almost as ignorant as the animals, their co-tenants of the forests, which ministered to their wants, were to give place to another generation with higher powers, and a far nobler destiny. It may be, that the red man had been tried, and found wanting; that, in the course of migration, from the cradle of mankind in the fertile plains of Asia, he had been conducted to this other world, with the same means of meliorating his condition, and of advancing in the great career of improvement, which had been given to the kindred stock he left behind; and having failed in the execution of this trust, that he had been given over to the consequences. However this may have been, small settlements were necessary upon different parts of the coast, that the process of cultivation and increase might go on under the most favorable circumstances. Such settlements were planted. And that these might enjoy the
benefits of the necessary government, to preserve internal tranquillity, and to repel external aggression, different communities were requisite, with separate powers, as the circumstances of the times forbade distant communication. Local governments were thus formed; the germs of future colonies and states. Without the protection of another and powerful nation, these infant establishments would have fallen before the original possessor of the forest, and the ally he found upon the St. Lawrence. This, too, was provided; and thus we have all the means of future growth and power. These communities were small, enterprising, and industrious; and they brought with them all the knowledge of their times, and the principles of rational freedom. Their political operations invigorated their faculties, and still led them onward in the career of advancement. By-and-by, they became numerous and powerful; and higher destinies opened before them. A new chapter began in their history; and they were called upon to test their knowledge, and to explore the duties and obligations of political associations; to examine with jealous scrutiny their own rights, and the correlative obligations of the parent government—in a word, to investigate all the principles of civil liberty, and to comprehend the whole science of politics. But this knowledge, acquired by more than a century of practical freedom, and invigorated by fifteen years of public discussion, was useless, unless these independent communities could be united together, and enabled by this union to assert and maintain their rights. But they had all the seeds of segregation, which, from the nature of man, belong to distinct associations, and they could only be brought together by some common force pressing upon them. This force was applied, and they were taught that union gives strength; and that though separated for all the purposes of internal administration, they must be joined for the great objects of foreign intercourse. And they had yet another lesson to learn: that their general association
must possess sufficient strength, or it would fail them in the hour of need. This lesson they learned during seven years' experience—during seven years of inefficient existence, which conducted them to the very brink of that gulf, in which the hopes of so many republics have perished. And thus they reached the dawn of that day, which opened upon them with such bright prospects. They had not only received the priceless gift of a free and equal government, but by a peculiar course of events—may we not say, by the peculiar dispensation of Providence, they had not only received it with all the moral means necessary to its preservation, but in a new form, adapted to their peculiar condition, and suited to avoid the evils, which have elsewhere, and in other times, overturned republican governments. This principle of federation was about to be tried and the great experiment was committed to this people under these imposing circumstances.

But I have reached the boundaries of our association. I am approaching a debatable land, into which I must not enter. Our province is the past, not the present nor the future. The past, which offers its rich stores of experience, and not the present, which applies them, or the future, which they shadow forth. How wonderful are the destinies committed to that future! How vast are our own interests, which are involved in it! That Providence, before whom time stands still, has guarded and guided us in our infancy. Let us hope that He will protect us in our maturity, till, in his own good season, his designs shall have been consummated, and our fate furnish another lesson, to be studied in after ages, by those, who may seek instruction from the records of human virtues and human errors.
A SERMON
DELIVERED IN WORCESTER,
JANUARY 31, 1836,
BY AARON BANCROFT, D. D.

AT THE
TERMINATION OF FIFTY YEARS
OF HIS MINISTRY.

PUBLISHED BY VOTE OF THE SOCIETY.

WORCESTER:
CLARENDON HARRIS.
1836.
SERMON.


He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers: for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

In the original establishment of the Christian church, no definite polity was prescribed for the universal observance of all subsequent ages. Forms of worship and methods of church discipline, were left to be accommodated to the state of civil government, the degree of national improvement, and the peculiar circumstances of Christian communities. One general comprehensive precept is given to regulate these important transactions, "Let all things be done with decency and in order."

The immediate Apostles of Jesus, and they who were commissioned to introduce Christianity among pagan nations, were endowed with extraordinary gifts suited to the importance and difficulties of their vocation. When Christianity had been preached in places most distinguished throughout the Roman empire, when it became extensively known in its evidences and doctrines, in its precepts and institutions, and when regular societies of worshiping disciples were in various provinces established, miracles ceased. Our religion then, committed to the natural effects of ordinary causes, was to maintain its existence in the world and preserve its influence among nations by the force of its principles, aided by the common superintendence of
Heaven. But Christian professors are sustained by a Divine assurance that the enemies of the Gospel shall never prevail against it.

In every state of the church, the relation between pastor and people has a deep interest. The moral kingdom is the field of ministerial labours; spiritual improvement, the immortal interest of man is the appropriate pursuit of the minister of the Gospel. His situation is elevated, but it is derived from the people who elected him to office, and his interests are identified with theirs; his care and labours should be directed, not to a part, but to the whole society. He is not merely the pastor of a church, but the minister of a congregation. If faithful to his trust, he possesses means of great good, and may promote the cause of religion through the sphere of his agency. To the penitent he may carry assurance of pardon and mercy; the true disciple he cautions to take heed how he stands, lest he should fall; to those who persevere in the Christian path, he presents the glorious rewards of immortality. His participation and sympathy with individual members is unlimited; he rejoices with those who rejoice, and mourns with those who mourn; with solicitude he attends the sick, to sustain them under bodily sufferings, and strives to make these the occasion of their progress in Christian life; he stands by the bed of the dying, to direct the mind of erring man to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, and to raise the soul, about to exchange a material for a spiritual world, to a realising view of the worth of life eternal; to the mourner, the minister of the Gospel describes the wisdom and benevolence of Deity in his superintendence of human life, and exalts his reflections to that brighter state, where virtuous friendships will never be dissolved, into which disappointment will never enter, but where intellectual, moral and social enjoyments will be abiding and ever attended with increasing delight.

This intercourse between pastor and people must be attractive and endearing, and by it the enlightened and faithful minister may acquire a salutary influence among those, to whom he labours as the chosen teacher of sacred truths; and he will gradually rise in professional respectability.
God forbid that a day of impassioned excitement should occur, which would induce the minister of Jesus, instead of preaching the essential truths and duties of Christianity, to provide for the depraved taste of men who attend the house of worship, not with sincere desires for improvement in religious knowledge, in piety and virtue, but for the momentary entertainment to be derived from refined sentiments and a polished style.

Occasions arise which peculiarly invite to a retrospection of a ministerial course; the termination of half a century of a ministerial life furnishes such an occasion.

This day will complete fifty years of my ministry. I was ordained February 1st, 1786. I invite you, my Christian friends, with me to inspect the important events that have taken place since that period, and note the dealings of Providence with us as a Christian society.

My purpose is, in the first place to take a cursory review of the ecclesiastical transactions of the county, and then give a succinct history of our own society.

Calvinism was the predominant faith through this section of the Commonwealth when my residence in Worcester commenced. Individual laymen and clergymen were known to dissent from the popular creed; and the clergy as a body at that period, I believe, were more liberal than the people to whom they ministered. Several ministers in this vicinity then thought favourably of liberal doctrines, but they expressed their opinions in qualified language, and with a single exception, the system of Calvin was not openly attacked from the pulpit. Disputes and controversies were then frequent, but an exclusive spirit did not prevail. Congregational ministers freely interchanged pulpits, and churches as freely admitted each other's members to their communion.

In the contemplated retrospection, we have not time to bring into view the various contentions that have prevailed in our churches and societies; but we must be confined to controversies founded on im-

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*See note A.  †See note B.
portant principles. I will limit myself to three distinct classes. 1st. The prerogative of the pastor. 2nd. The introduction of creeds compiled by human authority as terms of occasional communion, or of church membership. And 3d. The power and right of congregational societies to dismiss a minister by their own act. An engrossing controversy arose in this county, respecting the power attached to the clerical office. That a pastor, regularly ordained, was the standing moderator in church meetings, and the executive officer in all its decisions, was universally conceded; not satisfied with this distinction, numbers of the clergy set up a claim of being a party separate from the church, that their concurrence was essential to the validity of its acts; and when the pastor openly declared his dissent, it rendered the vote of the church a nullity. This claim was not generally allowed by congregational societies; it became a subject of heated controversy, and for a long time disturbed their peace and harmony. The first instance I find of this claim carried into exercise was made by Rev. Thomas Frink, of Rutland district, (now Barre,) as early as 1706. Heavy charges were alleged of oppressive conduct in his office, and of abusive behaviour towards individuals of the church. These complaints were brought before a mutual council, of which Rev. Stephen Williams, of Springfield, was moderator, and Rev. Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, scribe. Among the delegates were Edward Pynchon, Esq. of Springfield, and Mr. Simeon Strong, (afterwards Judge,) of Amherst.

The allegations against Mr. Frink were embodied in ten specific articles. The council unanimously pronounced him guilty in nine of them; and their censures are expressed in language of great severity. For example, they say, under the 7th charge, "The Rev. Mr. Frink claimed and exercised a power to adjourn a church meeting after the mind of the church to the contrary had been signified to him, and that the did this in such a manner and under such particular circumstances as strongly indicated an overbearing and arbitrary disposition in him." 8th. "It also appears to us, that on a particular occasion the Rev. Mr. Frink did, in an unconstitutional and
arbitrary manner, deny two brethren of the church their undoubted privilege and right of speaking and giving their suffrages at church meeting." 9th. "It also appears to us, that the Rev. Mr. Frink on a particular occasion unwarrantably and arbitrarily refused to put a vote in a church meeting, after it was regularly proposed and seconded by some of the brethren." 10th. "It further appears to us, by a great variety of testimonies, that the Rev. Mr. Frink has for several years past, on different occasions, discovered a very remarkable and almost unexampled bitterness of spirit towards divers reputable persons of his pastoral charge, as well as towards other people, to the great dishonour of his sacred office, and tending directly to alienate the affection of his flock from him, to expose him to contempt from them, so as by his own ill example in this respect to frustrate in a great measure whatever exhortations he might give them to the necessary duties of Christian meekness, forbearance and brotherly love; and to give much countenance to the contrary vices of pride, wrath, and a furious, ungovernable temper of mind; and we cannot but look upon it a great aggravation of some of his intemperate speeches and railing accusations, that they were first delivered, and afterwards spoken of by him as pastoral rebukes."

By advice of council, Mr. Frink was dismissed.

In the year 1770, a controversy commenced between the Rev. Mr. Goss, and the church and town of Bolton, in the county of Worcester, which extensively engaged the attention of the publick, and had a lasting influence on the ecclesiastical proceedings of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Goss assumed the principle that the concurrence of the pastor was necessary to give validity to the doings of the church; and he in various instances attempted to exercise the power claimed as a right of office. He refused to take a vote of the church, on a motion regularly made and seconded, that was displeasing to himself; refused to execute votes, which he had negatived; and as his official prerogative dissolved church meetings against the desires of the brethren fully expressed.
Among other delinquencies, Mr. Goss was accused of immoral conduct. He acknowledged that he had thus offended; and a publick profession of penitence was accepted.

But grievances were multiplied, and the parties at variance at length agreed to submit all matters in dispute to the consideration of a mutual council. This council in their result found Mr. Goss faulty in stated instances of moral conduct, and prescribed the confessions he should make as terms of forgiveness and restoration to favour; but this council did not reprimand him for any undue exercise of prerogative.

The church rejected this result, and on the 8th of August, 1771, by their own vote dismissed him from the pastoral office, and excommunicated him from the church. On the 13th of the same month, the town of Bolton, at a regular meeting, concurred with the church, and voted that the relation between them and Mr. Goss, as a minister of the Gospel, was dissolved. They closed the house of worship against him, and denied the pulpit to all clergymen, who appeared as advocates of his cause.

These transactions occasioned great excitement, and strong efforts were made to repair the breach in the church, and restore peace and harmony to the town. Mr. Goss and his friends called an ex-parte council, and his opponents adopted the same measure. These councils had a publick conference, and in accordance to their united advice, a second and ultimately a third mutual council was holden; their results differed little from that of the first; the church rejected their advice, and proceeded to re-settle a minister on their own plan of ecclesiastical polity. Mr. John Walley, a man of fair moral character, but not distinguished for intellectual power or literary acquisitions,* was in due form established as the minister of the church and congregation in Bolton.

This transaction, clergymen generally viewed as a violation of the first principles of the constitution of congregational churches; and

*See note C.
they, and many laymen, were roused to exertion to bear down by
the weight of publick opinion an innovation which, they supposed,
if it became prevalent, must prove fatal to the stable standing of
ministers, and render the established usages of churches unavailing.
They therefore refused ministerial and Christian intercourse with
Mr. Walley and his church, endeavored to prevent their receiving
any encouragement or assistance from others; and attempted virtu­
ally to treat them as an excommunicated body under the third
method of communion by congregational churches. The methods
prescribed by the Cambridge Platform were not adopted.

The members of the church in Bolton thus situated, endeavored
to interest the brethren of neighbouring churches in their favour;
they applied to the communicants in Lancaster, first and second par­
ishes, to know whether they would give them support. The pastor
of the first church was a friend and advocate of Mr. Goss. Many
members of his church espoused the cause of the adverse party, and
difficulty arose. But Rev. T Harrington, the minister, being mild
and amiable, the excitement happily subsided, without bitter dispute
or lasting division.

Mr. Mellen, minister of the second parish, (Sterling,) possessed
energy of character, had settled his opinions respecting pastoral
power, and determined to exercise it to extremity. He compared
the government of the congregational church to the civil govern­
ment of Great Britain. The pastor, communicants, and congrega­
tion bear, according to him, a relation to king, house of lords, and
commons. In pursuance of his principle, he refused to call church
meetings, when he deemed them inexpedient; at regular meetings,
he either declined to put motions he disliked, or negatived their
vote; and by his own authority dissolved church meetings. These
arbitrary proceedings caused great dissatisfaction among the breth­
ren; and they were disposed to bring his claim to a publick test.

Conversations were holden between individuals of Mr. Mellen's
and Mr. Walley's church, and the manner of proceeding arranged.
On a communion Sunday, six members from Bolton appeared, and
requested the privilege of partaking of the sacramental supper. Mr. Mellen replied, that their minister and they themselves had violated constitutional principles, and virtually were under the censure of the churches; he therefore could not administer the ordinances to them; they appealed to the church, which voted to admit them to communion; the pastor negatived their vote, and still refused to administer the ordinances. Angry feelings were enkindled, impassioned upbraidings and accusations ensued; and a scene of disorder and confusion followed, painful to a pious mind, and a desecration of sacred things. At length the pastor in an irritated temper retired, the deacons silently cleared the communion table; and all present in consternation left the house of worship.

The dispute between minister and people continued, ecclesiastical councils were convened, but their results produced no benign effects; these disputes terminated in the dismissal of Mr. Mellen from his pastoral office.

Men who stood prepared to hazard property and life in defence of civil freedom, were not disposed to yield to the arbitrary claims of a spiritual guide. The ecclesiastical, as well as the civil controversy, ended in the establishment of popular rights.

Since this time, little is heard respecting the power of clerical office. The power of a clergyman now is of a different kind, influence flowing from the sublime and all-important instruction which is his official duty, from an exemplification of the virtues of the Gospel, and from his sympathy with the people of his charge in their most endearing relations,—influence far more grateful in itself, and in all its tendencies truly Christian.*

The introduction of creeds compiled by human authority as terms of occasional communion, or church-membership, next invites our attention.

Church covenants have been common from the first settlement of New-England; but the covenants of our oldest churches contained

*See Note D.
only a general confession of belief in the Divine origin of our religion, the sufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith and practice, and a promise to support a Christian profession by a Christian life. These did not embrace the peculiarities, which since that period have been the cause of dispute and division among the disciples of a common Master.

As early as 1757, a case occurred, which, though it may not fall directly within our prescribed limits, has such importance as to merit a place in our review.

In 1743, Mr. John Rogers, a name fitted to make a man independent in his opinions, and prepared to encounter every difficulty in defence of religious truth, was introduced to the ministerial office in Leominster, Worcester county. He possessed intellectual power and an inquisitive spirit; and by a diligent study of the New Testament, he became convinced that some prevalent tenets were erroneous, and in 1757 he publicly preached against the doctrine of irreligious election, an essential point of Calvinism. The members of his parish were seriously alarmed; they accused him of delivering heretical doctrine, doctrine subversive of their confession and covenant. A council consisting of fifteen churches were convened. This council sustained the charge of heresy, and advised the church and people to wait three months, and grant Mr. Rogers opportunity to retract; and on condition that he persisted in error, then to dismiss him. Mr. Rogers had that love of truth, and that firmness in the performance of duty, which forbade his renouncing a settled opinion; and in consequence he was removed from his pastoral office. A few families seceded from the old parish and formed a society, to which Mr. Rogers continued to minister; after some contention, the town voted to exonerate Mr. Rogers’s adherents from a ministerial tax, and the government of the province put its sanction on their doings by incorporating the individual seceders as a poll parish. Mr. Rogers died in the year 1789, and the poll parish was dissolved.

Messrs. Harrington and Mellen were members of the council that censured Mr. Rogers, and advised his dismissal; and on every
question respecting censure and expulsion voted in the affirmative. The particular acquaintances of Mr. Harrington entertained a persuasion that he did not favour the peculiarities of Calvinism; and the intimate friends of Mr. Mellen knew that he rejected the dogmas of Calvin from the articles of his creed. Ministers of the Gospel may be justified from the precepts and example of Jesus when they withhold truths which they suppose their people cannot bear; but what can be plead in vindication of a man who voluntarily aids in inflicting the heaviest penalty ever adjudicated by ecclesiastical courts for the most aggravated ministerial delinquencies, upon a neighbour and brother, merely for the indiscreet promulgation of Christian truth.*

The church in Shrewsbury experienced the ill effects of introducing peculiar tenets as terms of communion. Their original covenant in substance was like that recommended in the platform, repentance of sin, faith in Jesus Christ, and taking the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice; and under it the church had peace and was edified. After the death of Rev. Mr. Cushing, and before the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Sumner, in 1762, the church, by advice from two neighbouring clergymen, added an article to their covenant embracing several strong positions of Calvinism. “This after some years experience was found to be the ground of uneasiness to some members, and an objection in the minds of numbers against seeking admission into the church; the article was in consequence rescinded by an unanimous vote.”†

The original church in Fitchburg was constituted like most of the old churches in this county. Mr. S. Worcester was regularly ordained pastor, and for years people in peace attended his ministrations; but he deeming the first covenant to be incomplete, the church under his influence adopted a new confession of faith, and form of covenant, which embraced most of the distinguishing Hopkinsian doctrines. Dissatisfaction soon appeared, and heated disputes took place between the minister and individuals of the church and con-

* See Note E.  † Dr. Sumner's Half Century Sermon.
gregation. These altercations finally induced the church to excom­
municate five of its members and suspend two; a severity of disci­
pline which the history of no other church in Massachusetts, I be­
lieve, will furnish.

Loud complaints of grievances were in consequence made, several
ex parte councils were convened, and ultimately the parties in con­
tention agreed to submit the whole to the decision of a council mu­
tually chosen. The result of this council bears date August 8th, 1802. In the presence of this council, and by the general consent
of all concerned, the pastoral relation between the Rev. S. Worces­
ter, and the church and town of Fitchburg, was dissolved.

The council also considered the particular case of each censured
member, and stated the condition on compliance with which each
should be restored to the privilege of communion. The aggrieved
complied with the measures recommended; the church rejected the
whole result.

But contention did not here end, disputes between the town and
church ensued, the ecclesiastical body assumed various and changing
forms, and happily at last the controversy subsided by the establish­
ment of two Christian societies, a liberal and a Calvinist. Now eve­
ry Christian disciple in this town may quietly walk with those who
agree with him, and peaceably worship in the temple where he is the
most edified; and the two societies seem disposed, without collision,
to pursue the great interest of our religion.

Princeton, in this county, presents a striking example of the ten­
dency of establishing human formularies as tests of Christian char­
acter. In the year 1810, by the persuasion of Mr. James Murdock,
then minister of the town, a new confession of faith and form of
covenant were introduced by the church. The confession consist­
ed of fourteen articles, embracing every peculiarity of modern ortho­
doxy; and the covenant was made to conform to the confession.
Dissatisfaction with the new order of things soon appeared, disapp­
probation of Mr. Murdock's preaching on doctrinal subjects exten­sively prevailed; and in seven years only three members were added
to the church. The controversy ended in the division of the town into separate Christian societies.

Articles of faith established by human authority are inadequate to accomplish the purpose for which they are intended. It is not within human power to transmit unimpaired definite views of revealed truths to successive generations of men. The attempt to embody Christian truths in words devised by men's wisdom has often been made, but never with success.

Attend to the history of the articles of the English Episcopal church. One class of commentators give them an Arminian bearing, a second a Calvinistic, and a third assert, that these are not articles of faith, but of peace.

Look into the United States and say whether the first Calvinists of Plymouth or Boston, whether the Pilgrim Fathers would have admitted into their houses, or bid God speed to those, who now claim to be true disciples of Calvin, and legitimate sons of the Pilgrims? Trace the operation of creeds in our most orthodox colleges and theological seminaries, and you will find that these have not availed to accomplish the purpose of their authors. The human mind cannot in this manner be shackled. In various ways the design may be evaded; one ready and ingenious method is to subscribe to the substance of a creed. By substance in all these cases, I suppose, the subscriber means revealed truth; let then a human formulary in the opinion of an individual embrace numerous errors, yet if he believes that it contains a single Christian truth, he may consistently subscribe it.* On this principle the most learned theologian might safely subscribe the creeds of Luther and Calvin, of Armenius and Edwards.

Articles of faith established by human authority cannot on any ground be defended. If these be discordant with revealed truth, they clearly ought to be rejected; if perfectly agreeable to Scrip-

*See Christian Examiner, January, 1835.
ture they are useless. True or false, the attempt authoritively to support them is usurpation.

Protestants universally profess to receive the Scriptures as the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice. When will they as a body consent that principles, admitted as the foundation of their system, shall be made principles of universal practice? All admit a common standard, when will the church find peace by making it the only test of orthodox faith?

The power of a church and parish to dismiss their minister, is the last class of ecclesiastical controversies to be reviewed.

On this subject the Cambridge Platform, the usages of congregational churches, and the statute laws of Massachusetts have a direct bearing.

The Cambridge Platform, admitted as the constitution of congregational churches, is not sufficiently definite in its several parts. It states expressly that the church has power to choose its officers and ministers, and power to depose them. In a subsequent chapter, it makes the advice of a mutual council, (when it can be had,) necessary to the orderly dismissal of a pastor; there is however this proviso, "if it agree with the word of God." Of this agreement the interested party will be the judge; and to those who deny this agreement, the result of council has no binding force. On this plea the church in Bolton rejected the results of three successive mutual councils. Results of councils then avail not till accepted by the parties at variance, and in reality are only advisory.

The proceedings of congregational churches have not been uniform, and the difference is so great, that usage cannot be adduced as authority for any general rule.

Under the government of the colony all power, civil and religious, was lodged with the church. While a province the concurrent agency of church and congregation in the ordination of a minister was necessary. By the constitution of government, established by Massachusetts as an independent state, the choice of a minister is left exclusively with the parish or society. But the laws of the com-
monwealth, as these are explained by the judges of our Supreme Court, still maintain the position, that a contract between a minister and people in the usual form is for life, and that a minister's salary is a life estate.

If a parish dismiss a minister without assigning reasons, he has a right of action against them, and a jury will determine whether damages shall be recovered; if reasons be assigned, of these the jury will decide.

Passing over legislative enactments, and judicial reports, let us attend to the course of events, and we shall, I believe, find that a minister in Massachusetts has ever virtually holden his office at the will of the people of his charge.

To apportion the minister's compensation to his annual wants, on a declaration that this support will be continued through life, the parish taking the risk of sickness and infirmity, and refuse him a maintenance when providentially disenabled, all will acknowledge would be unjust. But no congregational minister ever did, no one ever will sustain himself in office by a legal process. Nor is it desirable that he ever should, for under such circumstances the moral purposes of the Christian ministry cannot be accomplished.

Examine the history of ecclesiastical proceedings in this county, and it will be found, I believe, that in appeals to legal decisions, the people without exception have prevailed.

In the instance of the Rev. Mr. Goss, of Bolton, whose case we have reviewed, he entered an action of damages against the town in the Court of Common Pleas in September, 1773, and obtained a verdict in his favour of £40 and costs. The town appealed to the Supreme Court, the appeal had no issue; on account, probably, of revolutionary movements. He obtained no compensation.

At a subsequent period, the Rev. E. Morse, of the north parish in Shrewsbury, (Boylston,) in the dispute that preceded the revolution, took a decided part with the parent county. His parishioners could not tolerate his toryism, and in November, 1775, they by their own act dismissed him from office. He continued for years to minister to
very few families, attached to him from personal friendship or po-
itical sympathy. His adherents were regularly included in the as-
sessments of the old parish, but by courtesy were permitted to draw
from the treasury their proportion of the ministerial tax. Finally
Mr. Morse called in an ex parte council, and by their advice he and
his adherents returned to the old parish. He individually with his
real estate during his natural life being exempted from a ministerial
tax.* He obtained no other compensation.

For similar political reasons, the town of Princeton in 1776, dis-
missed their minister, the Rev. T. Fuller. At the close of the rev-
olutionary war, on the supposition that the people of Worcester
county were prejudiced against his cause, he removed his family to
the county of Essex, and there in proper time commenced a suit
against Princeton; the cause was decided in the Supreme Court,
November, 1783. The verdict of the jury was in favour of the town.
Mr. Fuller received no compensation.

The Rev. E. Chaplin, minister of the second parish in Sutton,
(Millbury,) had been a zealous advocate for the church and people
of Bolton in their contention with Mr. Goss. He in turn became a
sufferer by the operation of principles which he had warmly support-
ed. General dissatisfaction arose among his people; and by the
exercise of a power which he had taught them was inherent in the
church, they removed him from office. He remonstrated, but in
vain.

In December, 1795, Mr. Chaplin brought an action against his
people in the Court of Common Pleas. The verdict was in favor
of the parish. He appealed to the Supreme Court, but did not pros-
ecute his appeal. He recovered no damages.

We proceed to the second part of our general subject. The his-
tory of our own society.

From the rise of the second congregational society in Worcester,
to the period of its permanent establishment, people and pastor are so intimately blended, that to a clear representation of important events it is impossible to separate them. I shall therefore be obliged to speak of myself in a manner not grateful to my feelings; but the first person shall not appear more frequently than is necessary to the lucid presentation of essential facts.

In the summer of 1783, the town of Worcester, then existing as one parish,* voted to hear candidates in view of settling a colleague pastor with the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty. Under this vote I was the first introduced, and Worcester was the first place in which I had preached as candidate for settlement.

Mr. Maccarty, in some measure recovering his health, resumed his official labors; but in July, 1784, he was removed by death. In October of that year, and in January, 1785, I preached under engagements from the committee of the town.†

A respectable portion of the parish‡ expressed a desire that I should be retained as their minister; but persuaded that a majority differed from me in their doctrinal views, and would oppose the measure, a town meeting was holden on the 1st of March, 1785, at which it was, "Moved that the town agree to settle Mr. Bancroft in the work of the Gospel ministry, and such other person as may be agreeable to, and chosen solely by those who are desirous of hearing further, and the settlement and salaries of both be at the expense of the town at large. The motion was put, and it passed in the negative."

It was then moved, "Inasmuch as the town by their last vote have refused to settle Mr. Bancroft as a minister, that the town will consent that those persons, who are satisfied with Mr. Bancroft, and desirous of settling him, may form into a religious society for that purpose; and the question being put, it passed in the negative."

Finding that discordant views on Christian doctrine prevailed among the inhabitants, my friends deemed it expedient, that the town

* See Note G. † See Note H. ‡ See Note I.
should be divided, and in separate societies worship in peace and to edification, rather than remain as one parish and contend for controlling influence.

On due deliberation, sixty seven men immediately "associated for the purpose of forming another religious society in Worcester." Most of these were heads of families, and among them was a large proportion of the professional and distinguished men of the town, and a fair proportion of the farmers and mechanics. This association invited me to become their minister, and in March, 1785, stated public worship commenced in the Court House.*

A request was made, that the pastor elect would compose a religious covenant under which a church might be formed; a copy of this covenant was circulated among the members of the society, and a publick lecture appointed, at which two neighbouring clergymen were requested to attend, and take a part in the exercises; but neither of them appeared. At this lecture, the stated preacher gave a sermon on the constitution of a Christian church, and on the nature and design of the positive rites of the Gospel; at the close of this discourse, the church covenant was publickly read, and those thus disposed in the presence of the congregation signed it.

In this manner the second congregational church in Worcester was gathered.

Measures being fully ripened, the pastor elect was ordained on the first day of February, 1786.†

The present members of the society can have no adequate conception of the embarrassment and difficulty, which attended the first years of its existence. They know not the price that was paid for the privileges transmitted to them; they will not too highly venerate the character of those, who bore the heat and burden of the day. The time was unfavourable when these proceedings commenced. The revolutionary war had then closed, and paper money no longer passed as a currency; every production of the earth had greatly

* See Note J. † See Note K.
fallen in price, state taxes were high, and creditors demanded their debts. People in consequence felt themselves oppressed, and in 1786, Shay's insurrection broke out. The new society being an individual association and not incorporated, were still holden by the first parish; they asked to be exempted from a ministerial tax, but were denied. In October, 1786, I married, and of course met the expenses of a family. The salary was $500. Under the complicated difficulties of the period this was considered as a weight too onerous to be borne.

The association had agreed to assess themselves to defray all expenses on the ratio of their town taxes; but under the general pressure leading members thought that the existence of the society would be put at extreme hazard if an annual tax was assessed, and a tax gatherer appointed to collect the amount. They therefore advised that monthly contributions for the support of the minister should be had, and the amount with individuals finally adjusted.

In 1787, the society was incorporated, and subsequently taxes were regularly assessed and collected.*

At this period the amount of the minister's salary for three years was assessed; but discerning individuals informed him, that these taxes could not with safety be collected in the usual manner; and however disagreeable, they must request him to settle with members severally. The tax bills were accordingly placed in his hands, and he was left to collect his salary from each parishioner.

Under the burden of the times which all felt, numbers became discouraged. Few, very few, manifested dissatisfaction with the cause; but not an inconsiderable portion of the society thought that they had entered into engagements which they were unable to fulfil.

Under such circumstances, any one may conceive the embarrassments that must attend the collection of a minister's salary in this manner. Members generally were disposed to make payment in the most easy manner; a minister under such circumstances must pos-

* See Note L.
ess iron nerves, who could contend with a farmer or mechanick respecting the quality or price of his article. The sums received fell far short in value of the amount due.

From the period of the society's incorporation, the minister was relieved from the task of applying to individuals for his support, but his troubles did not here end. The erection of a house for publick worship was deemed of absolute necessity. The leaders of the society in conference with their minister explicitly stated, that they did not dare to encounter the expense of this building while their members were obliged to pay $ 500 annually to their minister; they therefore must with reluctance request him to relinquish one third part of his salary, while this necessary work was in hand, assuring him that those who paid the largest taxes would not avail themselves of the proposal.* He consented, and subscribed and paid for a pew. Few of the wealthy men of the society voluntarily contributed to make up their proportion of the deficiency of the assessment; the majority availed themselves of the relinquishment in its full extent.

On the 1st of January, 1792, the new house was opened for publick worship.†

During these trying occurrences, I occasionally felt depression of spirits, and with difficulty could summon sufficient resolution to prosecute my professional labours. But I was firmly established in the belief that the cause in which we were engaged was the cause of Christian truth, the cause of God, and I was unwilling to abandon it. I also knew that opponents were impatiently waiting for the prostration of a society which they deemed heretical; and shall I hesitate to confess, that I was unwilling to give them the triumph?

My income from the parish being quite inadequate to the support of a family, I was obliged to have recourse to extraneous means. We for years received as many boarders as our house would accommodate. I assisted several youth in their preparation for college, or qualifying themselves for useful stations in busy life; through a long

* See Note M. † See Note N.
period I admitted in the forenoons of week days a number of the daughters and relatives of parishioners into my study, and gave them the best instruction in my power. The publication of Washington's Life yielded some profit; during several years I officiated as editor of one or another of our publick journals.

At no period was I destitute of cheering, animating supports, as numbers of the most substantial members of the society proved steadfast in their purpose, and continued my unwavering friends; they were persevering in their efforts to sustain our cause, and afforded me all the advice and assistance in their power. Encouraging appearances of success were not wanting; one instance of it can never be erased from my mind. A farmer of strict integrity and great firmness, in his labour ruptured a blood vessel, and distressing effects ensued; he lived for a year or two, but his subsequent life proved but a painful passage to the grave. On the last visit made him, he thus addressed me, "My constitution is failing, I shall soon die; and I am unwilling to leave the world without informing you of some peculiar circumstances of my life. I was educated in a Calvinistic family and attended the preaching of Calvinistic ministers. I supposed that the Assembly's Catechism embraced the real doctrines contained in the New Testament. The system appeared to me inconsistent with the character of God, as a just and good being; I was often inclined to declare myself an infidel, and place my trust in the mercy of my Maker. But when I attended to your views of Christian doctrine, I was led to a diligent examination of the Scriptures, and became a Christian on conviction; during my sufferings, and you know that they have not been small, I never felt despondency; my dependence on the mercy of God in Jesus Christ has sustained me; and a confirmed hope of happiness beyond the grave has enabled me patiently to bear my severe distress. For this state of mind, under God, I am indebted to you."

During these trying events an individual seceded,* which occa-

* See Note O.
sioned a legal decision on a principle of some importance. Dissatisfied with some of their proceedings, he withdrew himself from the second and joined the first congregational parish. The new society were disposed to hold him responsible by the original bond of association, which he had signed; and in my name they commenced a suit to recover his proportion of parochial expenses; he paid up in full to the date of incorporation, and then appeared as defendant in the action. The judges of the Supreme Court, in charging the jury, stated that the society in their corporate capacity stood on higher ground than that occupied as an association of individuals; and that by the exercise of this new power, the previous obligation was virtually cancelled. The verdict was for the defendant.

During the continental war in Europe, necessary articles rose immoderately in price, and with my means the family could not be supported. In a conference with assembled numbers of the society this fact was declared, and they were informed that I had encroached on the small capital bequeathed to my wife by her father. The appeal was not made in vain. Individuals were liberal in sending to our house articles of consumption,* and in the seven following years I received by special grants, in addition to the annual salary, $900. In 1816, $300 was added to the salary, which was continued till the settlement of a colleague, when at my instance the salary was reduced to $500, the original amount.

The existence of a Christian society of the congregational order by voluntary association, and without the sanction of civil government, was in the interior counties of Massachusetts a new event, and it was even by many intelligent and worthy members of the community considered as a dangerous innovation; the act of incorporation provided, that any inhabitant might change his relation from one parish to another at will, by leaving his name for this purpose with the clerk of the town. The only hold which a parish had of its members was an obligation to pay their proportion of all taxes assessed

*See Note P.
during their membership; these liberal provisions increased the general dissatisfaction; and from the consequent prejudices the members of the new Society were subjected to unpleasant and injurious effects in the concerns of social and busy life.

The first parish containing a decided majority manifested a disposition to be overbearing in their measures; but on the establishment of a third society, evils of this nature subsided.

The clergy of the county partook of the common opposition and prejudices, and manifested no disposition to hold with me ministerial intercourse. The venerable gentlemen of the county who assisted in my ordination exchanged pulpits with me once in a year during their active lives, and I made two exchanges with other ministers in our vicinity; with these exceptions, for the first seven years of my ministry my nearest exchanges were with individual clergymen in Boston.

At the expiration of the above mentioned period, I received a note from the Rev. Mr. Avery of Holden, stating, that the association of ministers would meet at his house on a given day, and inviting me to meet with them. In reply, I remarked that no member of this association had extended to me advice, assistance or intercourse in my professional duties, and that I could not therefore suppose my admission would be pleasing to them. This communication resulted in a declaration, that though they did not invite any ministers to join their association, yet on a compliance with their usual form of admission, viz. the manifestation of a desire to become a member, my admission would be pleasing to them. When the question of admission was considered, pointed opposition appeared; in consequence my nearest exchanges were with individual clergymen in Boston.

At the opening of the next association, the Rev. Mr. Austin of the first parish in Worcester made known his desire to become a member, and was admitted after the usual form of admission had been complied with. This opposition having appeared when the question of my admission was considered, pointed opposition appeared; in consequence my nearest exchanges were with individual clergymen in Boston.

*See Note Q.
an individual member was commissioned to inform me of the difficulty and to suggest the expediency of withdrawing my application. I refused to act on this suggestion; observing that every measure that duly came under discussion in a deliberating assembly should have a regular issue. I assured the association that I would not object to a negative vote, but must insist on a decision. On trial, the majority was against my admission. Messrs. Sumner and Avery then arose and addressed the association, "Brethren, in future you may meet when and where you please, we cannot consent to remain members of an association which has passed a resolution so illiberal as your last."

A temporary dissolution of the body was the consequence. Two years passed away, and the association did not assemble. Dissatisfaction with this state of things appeared. The clergymen of the neighbourhood met to deliberate on the expediency of forming the association anew. Mr. Austin was present, and after some qualifying remarks, declared that my views of Christian doctrine were so much opposed to his, that he could not conscientiously join an association of which I was a member. He retired, and I became one of the newly organized body.

From this time I held a pleasant communication with neighbouring ministers. An intimate acquaintance in particular ensued between the Rev. Dr. Sumner and myself. In his last sickness he left an injunction with his family, that I should be requested to preach his funeral sermon; which I did, and it was published.*

From this period, a minute narrative of the concerns of the parish is not necessary; these being within the recollection of many of its present members. Your numbers gradually increased, your pecuniary means were multiplied, and every seat in the church was occupied. You became enabled, and you deemed it expedient to settle a colleague, to perform the more laborious duties of the ministerial office, and take the charge and oversight of a rising generation.

* See Note R.
His communications with me have ever been affectionate and respectful; and our intercourse is harmonious and pleasant.

The first temple was found to be too small for the families disposed to join the society; without difficulty you erected a second, more spacious and convenient; this in every part is now filled, and you are numbered among the numerous, wealthy and respectable religious societies in the commonwealth.

I bore a full portion of the burdens, troubles and conflicts attending our day of small things, and I am grateful to heaven, that I live to witness your present wealth, and to rejoice in your overflowing prosperity.

If we carry our retrospection through half a century, shall we say, that former days were better than these? Within this period, improvements have been made, which extend the foundation of civil society, alleviate unavoidable evils, and give an increased value to country and life. But on these topics I will not dwell; ecclesiastical history is my present province.

By the constitution of civil government established in Massachusetts, and the statutes enacted under it, the right of private judgment, and the liberty to select the Christian denomination with which individuals should be classed, were secured to all its inhabitants. Yet strong fences were erected around societies of the congregational order. Their parishes were geographically bounded, and a new one could be formed only by an act of incorporation; no member could exonerate himself from the ministerial tax, unless he in a formal manner joined a different denomination of worshippers; and this in the opinion of many was an offence little short of apostasy.

Now the temple of conscience is thrown wide open. Every man may without molestation associate with any class of Christian professors, and at pleasure change his place of worship. A small number of individuals may by their own act secure to themselves all the benefits of an established society. Embarrassments occasionally arise from this unlimited freedom. Some of our towns divide
into so many societies, that no section is left with ability to maintain the publick institutions of the Gospel. Separations sometimes take place, where only shades of difference in sentiment can be perceived. Why will not a Christian disciple practically extend to a brother the liberty he claims for himself? Why do not societies whose united means are but adequate to support publick worship, waive their differences on speculative opinions, and join in measures to promote the moral purposes of the Gospel? Why, mutually forbearing each other, are they not knit together in unity of spirit and bonds of peace? Why should not Christian professors stifle sectarian feelings and join with mind and heart in endeavours for mutual improvement in religious knowledge, and mutual progress in Christian life? Then it might with propriety be said, that with Christians, there is one body and one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, the Father of all, and through all and in all.

Few evils however, are exclusively evil. Dissensions among Christian disciples provoke each other to useful exertions. Examine the several sections of this county, and you will, I believe, find that at the present day as great a number in proportion to our population habitually attend publick worship as did at any former period. We devoutly look forward for a more full display of the candor and charity inculcated by the precepts and example of our Divine Master. We joyfully rest in the persuasion that many, many around us, who bear the Christian name, are actuated by the highest and purest motives, love to God, a love to the Saviour, and a love to duty; from a sense of their responsibleness to their Maker, and a view to the retributions of eternity.

Fifty years since, clergymen received not an inconsiderable support in office from the law of the land; peculiar deference was also paid to the pastoral relation; common prudence, serious and constant services in the pulpit on the sabbath, and regular pastoral visits to the sick and afflicted, were accepted as the measure of ministerial duty. Professional homage is no longer to be expected; the cloth will not prove a panoply for weakness and defects incompatible
with the character of a teacher of the religion of which Jesus Christ was the Author and Exemplar. The influence of the clergy now, is not from authority but persuasion; his power not of office, but character.

The uncertainty respecting the tenure of office may operate as a discouragement to young men of talents to enter into the clerical profession; but will any man of elevated mind, any individual who possesses the meek spirit of his Divine Lord complain that due deference is not paid to the ministers of the Gospel? They are considered as suitable company for the most improved society in the community; they are received as welcome guests at every domestick assembly; and their visits are gratefully acknowledged by every family.

Discouraging circumstances attend every profession and pursuit of human life. But did any former state of society present higher or more efficacious inducements, than those now presented to the ministers of the Gospel, to animate them to the faithful performance of professional duties? Were clergymen ever addressed with more animating considerations to untiring labours to accomplish the moral purposes of the Christian ministry? May ministers of the Gospel be inspired with zeal becoming their Divine vocation; and may God grant them success proportionate to the importance of their labours.

At the commencement of my ministry, the question respecting the Divine Unity was not agitated; if individuals, clergymen or laymen, among us had this faith, they had it to themselves before God. I may, I believe, safely aver, that I never uttered a sentiment from the pulpit, either in a sermon or a prayer, inconsistent with the Unitarian doctrine;* but in humble imitation of Jesus, I did decline to preach truths, which I was persuaded people were not prepared to bear. The peculiarities of Calvinism were without reserve opposed, and doctrines inculcated, which embrace the Divine clemency, the moral agency of man, the sufficiency of Scripture, the right of pri-
vate judgment, the adaptation of the terms of acceptance to human power, and the certainty of salvation to all who seek Divine assistance, and prove their faith by their works.*

Near the time that our society was formed, the independent church at the Stone Chapel in Boston was established on a foundation professedly Unitarian. This occasioned publick controversy. Many individuals in the capital, and other parts of the commonwealth, professed themselves Unitarians. In or about the year 1821, the editors of the Panoplist† republished Belsham's History of American Unitarianism, accompanied with bitter reflections and severe censures on liberal clergymen; those in Boston particularly were charged with criminally concealing their opinions, and of great duplicity in the execution of their official duties. Their expectation doubtless was to bear down Unitarianism by the weight of publick opinion. The effect was directly opposite to their hopes; it opened the way to serious inquiry, and candid and critical examination convinced many that the Divine Unity was clearly a doctrine of the Gospel.

Believing myself to be in some measure included in the general charge, and finding the subject in controversy had become familiar to every class in the community by religious journals, newspapers and sermons, and that it was made a common topick of conversation in our families, I deemed it expedient to deliver a course of doctrinal discourses. These were almost universally approved by the hearers, and at their desire published.

The controversy between Trinitarians and Unitarians was continued for a length of time, and in an animated manner. It has now in a good degree subsided. Opposing sects now seem to be approximating each other in opinion, and we would hope in a Christian spirit. Publick preaching at this day is, I believe, more serious, spiritual and practical, than in past years.

The religious condition of this county at the commencement of

* See Note T. † Rev. Dr Morse and J. Evans, Esq.
my ministry has already been stated. Twenty-one societies decidedly Unitarian are now established; and not an inconsiderable number of these are among the most numerous and respectable in the county. We have two associations of Unitarian ministers.

From a supposed sense of duty I have been constrained to engage in publick controversy oftener than was pleasant; but my opponents have always regarded my reputation; and to my knowledge my moral character has not been impeached.

With the clergymen of this town, though it was known and avowed that we entertained discordant views of Christian doctrine, I never had personal altercation, and with high satisfaction I can testify, that they at all times appeared disposed to unite in measures calculated to improve our schools, and promote the welfare of our town.

The manner in which the second congregational society was formed being new, excited for a time much prejudice; but I am happy to declare, that from the first hour of my residence in Worcester to the present moment I have not met with personal abuse from an individual of any of our societies. I endeavoured not to intermeddle with their appropriate concerns, and all classes of our inhabitants have invariably treated me with as much respect as any friend could desire.

In respect to our own church and congregation, without ostentation, we may say we have followed things which make for peace. No bitter altercation has appeared in any meetings of the parish. No meeting of the church has been holden on subjects of complaint and difficulty.*

My own constitution was never robust, yet through the smiles of Heaven I have been enabled to perform my publick duty with as little interruption as is common to man. The average number of Sabbaths on which I was by indisposition prevented from appearing in the pulpit, would not exceed one in nine years.

*See Note V.
During the whole period of my ministry, I have not taken a single Sunday to visit distant relatives, or make journeys for health or amusement. Frequently, have I been sent out by the church, and occasionally to great distance on ecclesiastical business.*

For several successive years, I was obliged to make journeys on my own business; but I procured preachers at my own expense to the satisfaction of the parish.

Since my ordination, there have been six hundred and fifty-six baptisms; sixty-one of these were adults.

In the society since its formation, five hundred and eighty-one persons have died; of these, seventy-one were seventy or more years of age.

The families, which composed the society in its origin, were almost exclusively of persons in earlier life, and for the first ten years of its existence only one in nineteen of the deceased had arrived at the allotted boundary of human life; for the succeeding forty years, of those who died, one in seven had attained to seventy or more years, thirty-one had lived eighty or more years, four were ninety or more; and one was an hundred and five.

A more direct application to the society may be expected. Its present members will accept my unreserved thanks for the attention, sympathy and kindness they have manifested.

Should the question be asked, have Pastor and people made improvements in religious knowledge, and progress in Christian life, proportionate to the opportunities with which they have been favoured for intellectual and moral culture? For myself I reply, that a review of my pastoral life furnishes an occasion for humility and regret. I am conscious of deficiency and defect in my ministerial course; but my motives, I trust, have been pure, and my endeavours sincere, and that through the blessing of God my labours have not been altogether in vain.

If the question of improvement has respect to the members of the

* See Note W.
society, who are the individuals to whom I can appeal? They, who with me began their course of Christian improvement are removed from life; but one man remains, of those who invited me to settle with them as their minister; and but two women now live, who at that time were heads of a family. With one exception I am the oldest man in the parish, and his connection with us was but of yesterday.* I have been longer in a married state with one wife, than any other living member of our community. I have outlived my generation; and in the midst of society may be considered as a solitary man.

Listen then, my Christian brethren, listen to the voice of departed spirits of our society inviting you to reflect on past events, to examine the foundation on which your Christian characters rest, and enquire whether you have honourably and faithfully supported your elevated position? You are enjoying the fruits of our labours. With us the struggle was for life; by our strenuous and persevering efforts, by our great and numberless sacrifices, we have, aided by the gracious influences of Heaven, transmitted to you an invaluable inheritance. Prize it above rubies; stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made you free.

Remember, that prosperity, as well as adversity, has its temptations. Presume not on your elevation, vaunt not of your power; but learn how you ought to walk and please God. Strive for personal excellence, courageously maintain the Christian conflict, that you may be qualified for the wreath of victory in the Christian warfare. Bound not your views by narrow limits, but weigh your publick duties, be rich in good works; be ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying a good foundation against the time to come.

Be ever ready to support measures fitted to meliorate the condition of the human family, and accomplish the moral purposes for which Jesus, the Son of God, disregarded the honors and emoluments of the world, and made a sacrifice of his life. In conclusion, God

* E. James, Esq.
grant that the peace of this society may be continued; may it ever be like a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid; and may its light shine more and more unto the perfect day.

May you, my Christian friends, while in this probationary state, individually acquire the qualifications which will prepare you with joy to approach the judgment seat of Christ, to enter into the kingdom of Heaven, and to dwell forever in the fulness of the presence of God.
APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 5.

Mr. Rogers, of Leominster, preached pointedly against the Calvinistic doctrine of election, for which his people brought a charge of heresy against him, and by the result of an ecclesiastical council he was expelled from his pulpit. Mr. Adams, of Lunenburg, was a catholick and popular preacher; but it does not appear that he publickly intermeddled with controversies, that since his day have engrossed general attention.

Mr. Mellen, of Sterling, was the most distinguished divine in this region of his period; he possessed an intellect of power, and was deeply conversant with metaphysicks, and decidedly Arminian in his faith. He published a volume of sermons; but he cautiously adapted them to the state of publick sentiment, and his opinions are discovered as an inference from general principles rather than from an express avowal.

Rev. Dr. Fiske, of Brookfield, was a liberal divine and a benevolent man; in his preaching and conversation he opposed fanaticism and bigotry; he published a volume of sermons on the great truths and duties of Christianity, but in these he did not meddle with controversial subjects. The question before us is not, what is the best method of preaching? but it is a question of fact, before the year 1785 had Calvinism been unreservedly attacked in the pulpit? I do not find proof that it had.
The growth of an exclusive spirit among clergymen and people of the congregational denomination was slow, but the change within the last fifty years is great. The history of Convention of Congregational Ministers, who hold their annual meeting in Boston on the last week in May, will clearly illustrate the above fact. On these occasions, during the first years of my ministry, I met in the houses of gentlemen, as well laymen as those of the clerical order, ministers who entertained different views of Christian doctrine; and they held this intercourse as the disciples and servants of a common Master. In convention, measures designed to promote the general interest of Christian truth and duty were usually canvassed and adopted without contention. That the members of convention held different religious opinions was a fact well known and acknowledged, but they manifested a disposition to unite in endeavours to promote its important purposes.

A great and essential object of convention from the first was to raise from sources of charity means to aid in the support of the widows and minor children of deceased congregational ministers. To this purpose an appropriate lecture was held on Thursday, and a contribution taken up. For many years the liberal clergymen composed the majority of the convention, and during this period, preachers to officiate in this lecture were chosen alternately from the liberal and orthodox body. The inhabitants of the town then took a deep interest in this charity, numbers of the most wealthy of the citizens attended the lecture in view of the contribution; among them were such men as Deacons Phillips and Salisbury, orthodox, and Mr. G. Cabot and Mr. S. Eliot, liberal. During a few of the last years the Calvinists have had a majority in convention, and have introduced this exclusive spirit; in no instance do they permit an Unitarian preacher to give a lecture, the great object of which is to raise a fund to support the widows and minor children of deceased congregational ministers without discrimination. The benefactors of the
institution were displeased with this unchristian course; they re­
marked, the majority of ministers in the commonwealth are Calvin­
istik, and if they consider sectarian distinctions paramount to all
Christian charities, they cannot expect that their lay parishioners
will feel a deep interest in the maintenance of their widows and chil­
dren.

The contributions for four of the closing years of the liberal sys­
tem, and the four last years of the exclusive, will clearly show the ef­
fact of a change of measures.

The contribution in 1816 was $663,05.—In 1817, $484,84.—In
1818, $493,06.—In 1819, $406,04. Under the exclusive principle;
In 1832, $96,20. In 1833, $97,90.—In 1834, $84,28. In 1835,
$69,78.

NOTE C.—Page 8.

The most distinguished clergymen in Boston as well as in the in­
terior towns were members of the several councils convened at Bol­
ton, and they generally justified Mr. Goss in his claim of prerogative,
pleading the constitution of congregational churches according to
platform. Rev. Mr. Fisk, of Upton, and Rev. Mr. Chaplin, of Sut­
ton, were warm supporters of the people.

Rev. Dr. Chauncy was moderator of one of these councils, and
being at Bolton while Mr. Walley was in treaty for settlement, said
to him in his characteristic manner, "Walley, do you intend to sit
down in this fire? why, it will burn up your little soul."

NOTE D.—Page 10.

The prerogative of the pastoral office in the sense in which Messrs.
Goss and Mellon supported it, was, I believe, tenaciously holden by
the great body of the clergy in Massachusetts. I well remember to
have heard in my earlier years conversations on this subject, and
generally ministers took the side of Mr. Goss, and laymen that of his
opponents. And in the case of Mr. Mellen, the language was, he has taken a bold and honourable stand, he is a sufferer in a cause in which the whole order have a deep interest, and we are bound to sustain him as far as possible.—Yield to the people the point in controversy, and what power of office remains? We then should absolutely be at the mercy of our parishioners, &c. See a sermon at Bolton by Rev. Z. Adams.

NOTE,—Page 11.

The covenants of the first church in Boston, the first in Salem, and many others will support the above declaration.

NOTE E.—Page 12.

A respectable inhabitant of Sterling stated to the writer a conversation had with an intelligent and pious matron of that town, who was a witness of the ecclesiastical transactions that took place during the ministry of Mr Mellen, and was intimately acquainted with him. She thus addressed him, "Mr. Mellen, your religious opinions do not differ from those of Mr. Rogers, how then in conscience could you denounce him as a heretic, exhort him to retract his doctrinal tenets, and in case of refusal to advise the people of his charge to expel him from the pastoral office?" "Why, dear madam, Mr. Rogers is an indiscreet man, and is at least fifty years too early in preaching such doctrines from the pulpit."

NOTE F.—Page 17.

Mr. Morse was a man of intellectual power and ardent feelings. He considered Mr. Fairbanks, a man of less capacity and more humble spirit, as an intruder into his province, and was not unwilling to vex him. He had repeatedly accused him of a too slight regard to veracity.
In a mixed company, Mr. Fairbanks gave a narrative of his early life. "When young, I was sober minded, and never mixed in the gay circle or joined any scene of dissipation; my father never corrected me but in a single instance, and that was for speaking the truth." "Well," replied Mr. Morse, "your father effectually cured you of it."

NOTE G.—Page 18.

In 1780, the inhabitants of Worcester, with the exception, I believe, of not more than three families, were of the congregational denomination.

NOTE H.—Page 18.

In the spring of 1780, when I had been in the pulpit but in three or four instances, application was made to me by a brother of the Rev. Dr. Barnard, of Salem, resident in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, to return with him as a preacher of the Gospel. The Revolutionary war was then at its height. Having obtained permission from the Executive Council of Massachusetts, I went into that British province, and there remained three years.

My literary friends advised me not to accept the invitation, as Nova Scotia would prove an unfavourable situation for a ministerial candidate. In event I found that the inhabitants of this province, collected from different parts of New England and of the parent country, brought their local prejudices with them, and did not readily associate in regular, permanent religious societies. This opened an extensive field for itinerant labourers, and I there became acquainted with fanaticism in various shapes and forms. Clergymen were not near from whom I might take advice, theological books were not within my reach, I was therefore thrown upon my own resources; and the situation without question to me proved a good school. I passed my time principally at Yarmouth, Annapolis Royal, and Hor-
ton, and received attention and hospitality from the respectable portion of those communities. I returned to Reading, the place of my nativity, about the middle of July, 1783, and at commencement the next week, I received an invitation to officiate as a candidate in Worcester.

NOTE I.—Page 18.

In the spring of 1784, I supplied the pulpit in Stoughton, (now Canton,) for eight Sabbaths. Their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Dunbar, had then recently died. He was a thorough Calvinist, and had sedulously inculcated that system on his people for more than fifty years. Learning that measures were in train of operation to give me an invitation to become their minister, and not being inclined to settle with them, I was disposed to put an end to their movements by a publick manifestation, that my views of the doctrines of the New Testament were opposed to those they had been accustomed to hear from their former pastor, and in which, I supposed, they were confirmed. I composed and delivered three sermons liberal to the extent of my faith. The effect was directly contrary to my expectation. The parish gave me a call, and only five individuals, and these old men, appeared in opposition.

I was constrained to give a negative answer.

In the autumn of the same year, the first society in East Windsor (Conn.) invited me to preach as a candidate. After a few weeks acquaintance, Gen. and Judge Wolcott, Capt. Grant, Col. Watson, principal members of the body, stated to me that no objection had been made to my discourses, and that they were ready to take measures for my settlement. The amount of salary was fixed, and I promised, if their prospects were realized, that I would accept their invitation. In the mean time, a leading individual among the orthodox went privately and warned his friends in silence to prepare themselves for the public meeting. The society met to act on the single article of the warrant. The distinguished Calvinist observed, that
every member of the society had made up his opinion on the subject before them, debate being unnecessary, he moved that the votes be immediately presented. On trial, to the disappointment of my friends, an overwhelming majority appeared opposed to my settlement.

NOTE J.—Page 19.

ANSWER TO THE INVITATION OF THE NEW SOCIETY.

My Christian Friends and Brethren,—Some time since you honoured me with an invitation to settle with you in the Gospel ministry. I have endeavoured to consider it with that seriousness and application which the greatness and importance of this transaction demand. I have attended to the circumstances and probable consequences of measures by you adopted, and relying on your affection, your candour and support, I hereby communicate my acceptance of the invitation. Deeply impressed with a sense of the duty and charge, which this engagement devolves on me, with concern and anxiety I enter into it. May the Author of wisdom, and Parent of goodness cause it to be mutually satisfactory.

Your known liberality leaves no room to doubt of your consenting to the adoption of such measures and rules for the establishment and government of a church as shall be founded on the sacred Scriptures, and be found consistent with the rights of conscience and the religious privileges, that Jesus Christ has secured to all his disciples.

Above all, may the great object of Christian institutions be obtained by your separation, and the relation you are now forming. May peace and order be the foundation, and piety and virtue the stability of our society; may the members composing it, cemented in this world by Christian charity and formed to habits of goodness, be fitted for immortality in that state of being, where they will not see through a glass darkly; but where they will join the perfect society of Heaven, and rejoice in the presence of God.

Aaron Bancroft.

Worcester, June 7th, 1785.
NOTE K.—Page 19.

The ordaining council were composed of the Rev. Timothy Harrington, and delegates from the church in Lancaster; Rev. Z. Adams, of Lunenburg, and delegates from that church; Rev. Drs. Howard and Lathrop, of Boston; Rev. Mr. Hilliard, of Cambridge, and the Rev. Dr. Barnard, of Salem, with delegates from their respective churches. Dr. Barnard delivered the sermon, Mr. Harrington gave the charge, and Mr. Adams presented the right hand of fellowship.

NOTE.—Page 20.

I married a daughter of judge John Chandler. Rarely has a woman from a family of plenty so readily conformed to a change of worldly condition, so cheerfully sustained the straitened circumstances of a family, or so perseveringly and effectually laboured for its support, as she has done.

NOTE L.—Page 20.

On application for an incorporating act, a committee of the legislature was appointed to report on the prayer of the petition, of which the venerable Charles Turner, once a distinguished clergyman, was chairman. He was liberal in his opinions, but much opposed to the ecclesiastical division of towns and parishes; and he demanded the reasons, which rendered it expedient, that the town of Worcester should thus be divided. Judge Lincoln, chairman of the parish committee, replied, "The majority of our inhabitants are rigid Calvinists, the petitioners are rank Arminians."

NOTE M.—Page 21.

COMMUNICATION TO THE PARISH.

To the members of the Second Parish in Worcester,

Gentlemen and friends,—I have taken into serious consideration
the embarrassment of the times, and the necessity of your providing
a more convenient place for publick worship, and to evince my de­
sire to promote the great object of our religious association, I am in­
duced to relinquish fifty pounds of the salary you have voted for my
support.

The society will recollect, that when the quantum of salary was af­
fixed, consideration was had that neither settlement nor wood were
voted, contrary to the custom generally prevalent in the county. They will take into view the situation of the town and the unavoida­
ble expense of company in it.

I propose this reduction, not from a supposition that my present
salary is more than adequate to a decent support, but from a readiness
to bear a full proportion of all burthens, and I rely on the justice
and honour of the parish to make such grants as the exigences of my
family may require.

The conditions on which I consent in future to relinquish fifty
pounds per annum of my salary are, first that a meeting house be im­
mediately built: second that the parish become bound for the prompt
and punctual payment of the remaining hundred.

Wishing for success to every measure that has for its object peace
and order, virtue and religion, I remain

Your affectionate pastor,

Aaron Bancroft.

Worcester, March 9th, 1789.

NOTE N.—Page 21.

The dedication sermon was delivered by Rev. Z. Adams, of
Lunenburg.

NOTE O.—Page 22.

Joseph Wheeler, Esq. Register of Probate, and formerly minister
of the congregational society in Harvard.
Numbers of my parishioners in the earlier years of my ministry expressed their regards by occasional presents in a family way; and farmers for a number of winters brought me a handsome supply of wood.

A clergyman invited Rev. Mr. Austin to an exchange. He answered, you made a prayer in Mr. Bancroft's pulpit; I cannot exchange with one who holds ministerial intercourse with him.

For the sake of a connected narrative, I am constrained to repeat in substance a portion of the discourse delivered subsequently to the ordination of Mr. Hill.

Two or three years after my settlement, a distinguished member of the society came to me in evident excitement and said, it is reported, that you deny the underived Divinity of the Saviour; such a report credited would shake our society to its centre.

I was educated in the Trinitarian and Calvinistic faith, and well remember the conflicts of my mind between the desire of searching for Christian truth, and the fear of falling into fatal error.

A stranger of distinction, having occasion to pass some weeks in Worcester, became acquainted with the internal state of the two societies, then existing in this town; and he observed to a member of
the first parish, "How does it happen that you who profess to be in
possession of the true faith, and claim an exalted standing in piety,
are very frequently in contention, while the second society, whom
you denominate heretics, live in peace and harmony?" The reply
was, the members of the second society, have not religion enough
to quarrel about it.

NOTE W.—Page 31.

I attended ordinations at Ellsworth, and Washington Plantations,
in the now state of Maine; at Portsmouth, Peterborough, Keene and
Charlestown, New Hampshire; at Windsor and Burlington, Ver­
mont; at New York city, Philadelphia and Baltimore. I also at­
tended one controversial, and one ordaining council at Brooklyn,
and an advisory council at Mansfield, and at Coventry, Connecticut.
The more numerous instances in Massachusetts will not be men­
tioned.
ADDRESS

TO THE CITY COUNCIL,

AT THE ORGANIZATION OF THE

CITY GOVERNMENT IN SALEM,

MAY 9, 1836

By LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
MAYOR.

Published at the request of the City Council.

SALEM:
PRINTED BY PATERAY AND CHAPMAN.
1836.
GENTLEMEN,

In compliance with the request of the Common Council, I have concluded to furnish for publication a copy of the Address (necessarily written in extreme haste) delivered at the Organization of the City Government.

Please to make my acknowledgements to the Common Council, for the honor done me by their application, and believe me to be,

Yours, very sincerely and respectfully,

L. SALTONSTALL.


SALEM, May 13, 1836.
ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the City Council,

Having been called by my Fellow-Citizens to the office of Chief Executive Magistrate of the City of Salem, I feel a deep sense of the honor conferred upon me, by this expression of their confidence. As the question of the expediency of adopting the form of City Government for the ancient Town of Salem, had been considered with great calmness and deliberation—the whole proceedings had been conducted under the most favorable circumstances, and our City appeared to be introduced under the best auspices, it seemed to me, on mature consideration, that no good citizen was at liberty to decline an office which he was solicited to accept. We all owe a duty to the community in which we live, and are bound to do what we can to give the City Government the best possible operation at its commencement. At the same time, I enter on the duties of this laborious and highly responsible office with sincere diffidence, owing to my inexperience. I can only promise the City of Salem my best efforts. To these my Fellow Citizens are entitled, and in return they must allow me to crave their indulgence for the many imperfections which must attend my best endeavors to discharge faithfully the duties of this new and untried situation.

It has, I believe, been customary on the annual organization of City Governments, for the Mayor to address the body over which he is to preside. There seems to me to be a peculiar propriety in it, on an occasion like this, the first organization.
of the City Government. And besides, it is by the Charter made the duty of the Mayor "to communicate to the City Council such information, and recommend such measures, as the business and interest of the City may in his opinion require." But I shall not on this occasion confine myself strictly to the line of official duty—you must indulge me in taking a somewhat wider range.

This is an interesting day in the history of Salem. Salem, the first settled plantation, the most ancient town in the old Colony of Massachusetts Bay—Salem, the home of our ancestors, the object of their pride and affection, the centre of their most cherished hopes for themselves and their posterity—Salem, our own home—the abode of our families, and of the circle of our friends—where are gathered the objects of our strongest and most interesting associations—Salem has ceased to be a town. Her simple, venerable, accustomed form of Government has ceased. She is henceforth to be known as a City. She this day assumes a new name—a new Government. May this prove to be an auspicious, as it will be a memorable day! May we, and all who come after us, look back to it, as a fortunate day and occasion! This day we commence a new era in our history—may it be a long era of peace, of good order, and of prosperity.

This event is the more impressive from the antiquity of our Town Government. We have just witnessed the termination of a form of Government, which began with the beginning of our settlement, under which Salem has grown up to its present condition, and which has continued through a succession of more than two hundred years. This gives to the occasion associations of the deepest interest. The mind naturally recurs to ancient days—to 1626, when Roger Conant, John Woodbury, John Balch, Peter Palfrey and others, adventurous men, some of whose descendants are now before me, removed from Cape Ann to Naumkeag—to the time when, two years afterwards, Endicott arrived with his hardy band of settlers, and began the first permanent settlement in the Colony. We strive to imagine the scene as it was presented to their admiring eyes, in all the freshness, beauty and grandeur of nature. It is difficult now to imagine this place as it appeared to them, as they slowly approached this wild shore. They had left their native land, a
country the most advanced in civilization and refinement, for
the purpose of beginning a settlement in this remote wilderness.
They arrived in September, whilst the forests were still in their
glory, and though desolate and uncultivated, how grand and
beautiful must have been the prospect before them! The isl-
ands, the shores, the distant hills, were covered with lofty trees
in their richest foliage—There they had been, amidst the deep
silence of nature, a silence unbroken by any human voice, ex-
cept that of the strange race whose home was in the deep for-
est. Our rivers, our level peninsula, the pure air, the bright
sun, the genial atmosphere, all—all must have excited the most
ardent hopes that they should find a happy abode in this "out-
side of the world," as they quaintly called it.

So well satisfied were the Company in England with the ac-
counts received from Naumkeag, that they resolved to send out
other settlers, and the Rev. Francis Higginson and others ar-
rived in June 1629. His touching account of his passage into
our harbor, though familiar, can never cease to be interesting.*

"A westerly wind brought us to a fine and sweet harbor seven
miles from the head point of Cape Ann, where there was an
island, whither four of our men with a boat went, and brought
back again ripe strawberries and gooseberries and sweet single
roses. Thus God was merciful to us, in giving us a taste and
smell of the sweet fruit, as an earnest of his bountiful goodness,
to welcome us at our first arrival." * * * * * * "The
Planters at Naimkecke, spying our English colors, the Gover-
nor sent a shallop with two men to pilot us, and we passed the
curious and difficult entrance into the large and spacious harbor
of Naumkeag. And as we passed along, it was wonderful to
behold so many islands replenished with thick wood and high
trees, and so many green pastures. We rested that night with
glad and thankful hearts, that God had put an end to our long
and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world."

The next year, 1630, an event took place, as important as
any in the history of Massachusetts,—the arrival of Governor
Winthrop and other principal Patentees, with the charter, which
they boldly resolved to execute as a constitution of civil govern-
ment here, instead of a charter of a mere trading corporation
in England, for which it was designed. This bold measure was
decisive of the destiny of the Colony. Massachusetts was now

to be settled, and founded on principles of civil liberty, as the only secure basis of religious freedom. The little settlement at Naumkeag was to be the germ of a free, sovereign and independent State.

I need not remind you of the cause of this decision,—a determination not to submit to dictation in matters of faith and modes of worship, but rather to hazard every thing, to endure every thing, for "freedom to worship God." No motive springing from the earth, was sufficiently powerful to induce these men to exchange their native land, their pleasant homes, their beautiful fields, to abandon all that was endear'd by the associations of life, for a hostile wilderness beyond the ocean.

And who were the men who voluntarily relinquished all that the world holds dear, and exposed themselves and their families to such suffering and privations? Were they driven from their native land for their crimes? Or were they obliged to seek a new country for subsistence? No—Johnson* describes the leaders as "men of good estate and reputation, descended from or connected by marriage with noble families, having large means and great yearly revenues, sufficient in all reason to content—their tables abundant in food, their coffers in coin, possessing beautiful houses, filled with rich furniture, gainful in their business, growing rich daily, well provided for themselves, and having a sure competence for their children, wanting nothing of a worldly nature to complete the prospect of ease and enjoyment, or which would contribute to the pleasures, the prospects or the splendors of life."

Having once resolved, they pursued their object with great vigor. They were not men to be put back or to turn aside on account of obstacles; no difficulty is insurmountable to such men. They had counted the cost. They had undertaken a great work, and their trust, as Winthrop, their great leader, said, "was in the Lord of Hosts." These are the men of whom one of their cotemporaries† exclaims—"Pass on 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

*Wonder-working Providence, ch. 12.
†See Pres. Quincy's Cent. Ad. p. 18.
streaming cased their hearts to recovered speech again; natural affections clamorous as they take a perpetual banishment from their native soil; their enterprize scorned, their motives derided, and they counted but madmen and fools. But (with the spirit of prophecy he adds) 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."

On their arrival at Salem, they found a few small houses in the bosom of the primeval forest, and a few cornfields rescued from the all surrounding wilderness. They found the settlement in a deplorable condition, one half of the whole number of settlers having died the preceding winter. Most of those who arrived in 1630 left Salem, and formed settlements at Boston, Lynn, Dorchester, and other places.

Such were the first settlers of Massachusetts. Well may we who dwell on the spot first settled by them, recur to their history with feelings of pride and grateful veneration. They left England and came to the place where we are now assembled, from the purest, the loftiest, the most sublime motives that ever influenced mortals. It was the solemn determination of great minds, urged on by a deep-rooted sense of religious duty. The history of the world has scarcely furnished a more striking example of decision of character—of self devotion to a noble object.

Here too was the abode of those venerable ministers; the interesting Higginson, "who so early took his flight to a better world"—Skelton, whose name should be held in honored remembrance—*"a man of a gracious speech, full of faith and furnished with gifts from above, to begin this great work, that makes the earth to ring again at the present day"—that great man Roger Williams, whose is the glory of having established the first civil government on the basis of perfect religious freedom—and Hugh Peters, by whose wise foresight and intelligent enterprize, Salem was first led down to the sea in ships, and to do business on the great waters. These and others, men eminent in their native country, learned in all the learning of their day, though attended by crowds of admiring followers in England, yet preferred accompanying their faithful flocks to this wilderness, "where they might worship

*Johnson, ch. 10.
according to their consciences," from the hill-tops or in the groves, "God's first temples," rather than in the gilded Cathedral, and "do violence to their consciences."

And what a list of names in civil life rises to the imagination! Here was Endicott, "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work—of courage bold—undaunted or austere as occasion served;" the venerable old charter Governor Bradstreet, who outlived the charter with which he came—Emanuel Downing, the father of the celebrated Sir George Downing—Here too dwelt Hathorne, and Humphrey, and Browne, and other leading men in the Colony. Forever honored be their names, forever cherished their memories by those who dwell on the spot, planted by their hands, the object of their toils, their sacrifices, their fondest hopes, their most fervent prayers!

But whither am I straying? Should I permit my own feelings to take the lead, the hour would be exhausted before I reach the more appropriate topics of the occasion. And yet, is it not most fit that we this day should pay a tribute of respect to those men of old, to whom we are indebted for our fair city, for the goodly heritages we enjoy, and for those blessed institutions which give them all their value? What is there of a public nature which we highly prize, for which we are not indebted to these bold and great men? All those institutions which make us "a name and a praise in the earth"—our schools—our university—our free forms of civil government—our religious institutions, are either the work of their hands, or are erected on the solid and we trust "ever-during" foundations, laid by them. On this day we ought also to remember, that it was not only in the piety and wisdom of our Fathers, but "in their sacrifices and trials, their sorrows and conflicts, that the foundation of our privileges and blessings was laid."

How changed is the scene around us, from that described with such beautiful simplicity by Higginson! How different is this occasion from their accustomed assemblies! "We that are settled in Salem," says Higginson, "make what haste we can to build houses, so that in a short time we shall have a fair town." That fair town this day becomes a City, and we are met together for the first organization of its Government, near the very spot where they met for the organization of the first church in the Colony—to assign lots to settlers—to pass an or-
order that each one should clear away the wood from his own land, so that there might be a convenient way to the meeting-house—the origin of Essex street.

But the great principles for which they came to these shores, the institutions founded by them, still exist and flourish. These great men have passed away, but their works still remain. They sowed in tears, we reap in joy—And shall we dwell on their defects, great and to be lamented as they were, and carefully point each other and our children to the spots on the sun of their glory? Let us rather, as becomes grateful descendants, cherish a recollection of the lofty virtues—the high and noble though stern character of our puritan forefathers. I have thought it becoming the occasion to bring hither this grateful tribute to their worth and their services for us.

On the accession of settlers in 1629, a new name was assumed instead of that by which it had no doubt been known for ages among the native inhabitants, and in whose minds it was connected with the strongest and most endeared associations—those of childhood, of home, of ancestors, and the sepulchres of their fathers. The name of Salem was adopted, “because it was significant of the peaceful asylum they had found.”

Salem cannot strictly be said to have been ever incorporated. Governor Winthrop on his arrival in 1630, found it the only settlement or town in the Colony, except perhaps Charlestown. It was recognized as a town by the government of the Colony, and indeed it had been established as such before the existence of any authority here, superior to that of its own government. By the instructions of the Plymouth Company to the Governor here, a council of thirteen was to be established, and the manner of their appointment was directed. Whether this council ever went into operation, is doubtful.

Upon the settlement of Boston and other places, Town Governments sprung up, and were gradually moulded into the form in which they have continued to this time, and which constitutes one of the peculiar institutions of New England. Their origin was not derived from the authority of the General Court, but like that of all governments, was from the necessity of the case, and the circumstances in which the people were placed. Their foundation was in the voluntary though tacit compact of the proprietors and settlers of the different towns. They were associ-
ations in character like that entered into by the Plymouth pil-
grims, that compact as sublime from its simplicity, as from its
being the first written political declaration framed in America.
"When we came first to New England," (says Mr. Higgison)
"we found about half a score of houses. And we brought about
200 passengers and planters with us, which by common consent
of the old planters, were combined together in one body politic,
under the same government. There are in all of us, both old
and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of
them are settled at Nehumkêk, now Salem."

Settlements were made at different places—But how were
their affairs to be conducted? Taxes must be levied—lots of
land must be granted—ways must be laid out—meetings of the
freemen must be had to make orders, to appoint subordinate of-
ficers, &c. It was necessary therefore that some form of town
government should be established; and as early as 1633, the
inhabitants chose several of their principal proprietors, then
styled Townsmen, and not till some years afterwards Select-men,
to whom were entrusted the principal concerns of the town.
These held regular meetings, at which the important affairs of
the town were transacted, and their proceedings were after-
wards brought before general or town meetings for confirmation.

Our first book of records bears the early date of 1635, and
contains a record of the meetings, headed "Town Meetings."
The names of the "Townsmen" present are written in the mar-
gin. The preservation of these records, this day committed to
our hands, is worthy the utmost care. What may now seem
unimportant, will hereafter be considered of inestimable value.
It is interesting now to look at the record of the meetings of the
Townsmen made at the time, with their names written at the
time. It brings them to our imagination as they were seated
around a council table, grave and thoughtful men, deliberating
on the expediency of measures at the very commencement of
the settlement, little considering that they were then laying the
foundation of a City, a State, and may we not say, a Nation?

As the settlements advanced, and new regulations became ne-
cessary, statutes were made, granting or recognizing the rights
and privileges of Towns, and these corporations became essen-
tial parts of the machinery of the Colonial and Provincial, as
they have since been of the State Government. Other officers
were added from time to time, as Assessors, Overseers, &c., who have always been annually elected, at the March meeting, so called, when money was generally raised and appropriated for the Town expenses. The Select-men have been the principal officers, and have long been styled "Fathers of the Town," characteristic of the patriarchal simplicity of the government. The people have always been ardently attached to these little Republics. They have guarded and watched their rights with the utmost jealousy. They have resisted all encroachments upon them. They have always clung to them, and have been ready to defend them at all hazards. No act of the tyrant Andros was more loudly complained of, than his attempt to deprive Towns of their accustomed privileges.

The history of these little municipalities, scattered over and covering the surface of New England, is closely interwoven with that of our country. The Revolution would never have been achieved without them. Faneuil Hall is indeed the cradle of liberty.—Independence, as John Adams said, was born there—there, where he himself, and Samuel Adams, and James Otis, and Josiah Quincy, jun. gave heart and soul to the people to resist the encroachments of the Crown. The spirit there kindled, spread everywhere with electric speed and force. The great Statesman of Massachusetts said with equal truth and eloquence, in the Convention of 1820, "My heart beats, I trust, as responsive as any one's, to a soldier's claim for honor and renown. It has ever been my opinion, however, that while celebrating the military achievements of our countrymen in the revolutionary contest, we have not always done equal justice to the merits and the sufferings of those, who sustained on their property and on their means of subsistence, the great burden of the war. Any one who has had occasion to be acquainted with the records of the New England towns, knows well how to estimate those merits and those sufferings. Nobler records of patriotism exist nowhere. No where can there be found higher proofs of a spirit that was ready to hazard all, to pledge all, to sacrifice all, in the cause of the country. Instances were not unfrequent, in which small freeholders parted with their last hoof, and the last measure of corn from their granaries, to supply provision for the troops, and hire service for the ranks. The voice of Otis and of Adams in Faneuil Hall, found its full
and true echo in the little councils of the interior towns. And if within the Continental Congress, patriotism shone more conspicuously, it did not there exist more truly, nor burn more fervently; it did not render the day more anxious, or the night more sleepless; it sent up no more ardent prayer to God for succor, and it put forth in no greater degree the fulness of its effort, and the energy of its whole soul and spirit in the common cause, than it did in the small assemblages of the Towns."

The simple machinery of a Town government is admirably adapted for small communities. Under this, Salem has grown up to its present condition, until from "half a score" of log-houses, with an interminable wilderness stretched beyond, it has become a large, well built town; until the public affairs, in the opinion of its inhabitants, require a more concentrated and energetic system; until it is believed that its good order and prosperity will be promoted by the adoption of a Representative form of Government. Did the time permit, it would not be inappropriate to the occasion to trace the progress of this town in population, in wealth, and the various branches of business.

The course of Salem, though its name was selected from the hope of peace, has not been always peaceful. It very early had dissentions, and great ones too, though some of them sprang from little causes. There was the difficulty about the veils, and the colony was thrown into a ferment, because the minister and rulers pertinaciously insisted, that women ought always to be veiled in church.

Another subject of great excitement, as is well known, was the cutting the "red cross," that badge of Popery, out of the "ensign" here—but then it was also a part of the royal arms, and the court of assistants at Newton ordered, "that Ensign Danforth shall be sent for by warrant, with command to bring his colour with him to the next Court, as also any other that hath defaced the said colours."

There was also the controversy with Roger Williams, in which the people here were generally friendly to that great man; and it is no small honor to them, to have been able to appreciate the motives of one so much in advance of his age.

But the most remarkable, the most melancholy event in our history, one which filled all hearts with grief and the land with terror, was the dreadful delusion of 1692. This furnishes a sat
nal instance to shew how a community as well as an individual may be subjected to unjust reproach. Because this was the place of the imprisonment and trial of the accused, and where the wretched victims suffered the cruel sentence of the law, our town has given a name to that deplorable event in our history, although many of the accusers and the suspected, the judges and those who persecuted with fiery zeal and pursued even unto death, were inhabitants of other towns, even of the metropolis. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this topic, because a recent production of one of our respected fellow citizens contains an historical account and philosophical examination of this sad incident in our history, which has already taken a high rank among the standard works of our country.

To the true character of Salem, in all generations, we may refer not only fearlessly, but with emotions of pride. We believe that no town has been more distinguished for industry, temperance, frugality, and commercial and maritime enterprize. Gov. Endicott was charged by the Council of Plymouth, "to be very circumspect in the infancy of the plantation, to settle some good orders, whereby all persons resident upon our plantation may apply themselves to one calling or another, and no idle drone be permitted to live among us, which if you take care now at the first to establish, will be an undoubted means, through God's assistance, to prevent a world of disorders, and many grievous sins and sinners." And "if any shall inordinately drink strong waters, so as to become drunk, we hope you will take care that his punishment become exemplary for all others."

Who can tell the influence of these directions on the character of Salem, or how much it is owing to this care to make the fountain pure, that it has continued to send forth healthy waters!

Salem has cheerfully borne her full share in all perils and contests—in the wars with the natives—at Louisburg—on the plains of Canada, and at the Lakes. She was among the foremost in the Revolutionary struggle. That celebrated Address, drawn up by one of her most distinguished sons,* in which she scorned to profit at the expense of Boston, is among the noblest resolutions of that period, and should never be forgotten here. "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit."

*The late T. Pickering.
"We must be dead to every idea of justice—lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors."

On the 12th of June, 1776, the Town instructed their Representatives, "that if Congress shall, for the safety of the North American Colonies, declare them independent of Great Britain, we will solemnly engage with our lives and fortunes to support them in the measure." And they were true to the pledge. They did peril their lives on the land and the sea, in support of the measure. They furnished instances of skill and bravery in naval combats, among the most brilliant in the history of maritime warfare.

Maritime skill and enterprize is the most striking trait in the character of Salem. Here was built the first vessel in the Colony—as early as 1629.* The first historian of the town, (Dr. Bentley) says, that a ship of 300 tons was built in 1641, and one of 200 in 1642—and he remarks, "so great was their success, that in commerce Salem had no rival."

The town has always had a race of skillful and hardy seamen, and of intelligent and enterprizing merchants, to give wings to navigation. The march of our mariners is upon the farthest mountain waves. Our flag is recognized in the most distant islands. Salem has the glory of having led the way to commercial intercourse with the East Indies, in which she so long enjoyed almost a monopoly, which poured streams of wealth into the town. Commerce—Commerce has been the true source of our prosperity. Every other interest here grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength of that. Let the City Government, while it fosters every branch of industry, do what it may to render increased facilities to this, which lies at the foundation of the prosperity of Salem.

Salem may also point with just pride to her distinguished Sons, both departed and among the living—men eminent in science, in literature, in jurisprudence. They are of us, although so many of them have gone to illumine, to bless, to adorn other spheres.

Such has been the Town, such will be the City of Salem. Changed in name and in her form of government, she will continue to be the same in industry, in enterprize, in intelligence.

*Felt's History, p. 25.
The City Council is now organized for the first time, and we who compose it are to set the whole machine in motion. Its success and utility depend much on the manner in which it is first put in operation. We are not answerable for any intrinsic defects in the system, but we may essentially injure if not destroy it, by perverting its power, or by want of discretion in its first movements.

The change in the manner of government is great, but the powers of the corporation are essentially the same. It would be easy to show that the form of a City Government is as free as that of a Town. It is as free as that of the State, and the close analogy between our City Government and that of the State, might easily be traced. The Charter creates a Representative, that is a Republican Government. The inhabitants of Salem will as truly govern themselves as before the change. They have only for their own convenience, and as the best mode of conducting the municipal concerns of a Town, whose lists bear the names of more than 2000 voters, conferred on the City Council, chosen by themselves, being of themselves, having a common interest with themselves, those powers they have been accustomed to exercise in Town meetings.

Salem has adopted a City form of government, not because the Town government has not been well administered, but because of the intrinsic defects of the system itself for a large community—Because it is not well adapted to a place so populous and with such various and important public interests as Salem—Because we need more promptness and efficiency in matters of police, than that system permitted—Because a council coming together from every part of the City, and representing all its interests and its feelings, will give us the security that every proposition will be well considered, that every measure will be the result of mature deliberation.

A true deliberative assembly of six or seven hundred men is a solecism—whether it be collected in a town or a legislative hall, whether taken from the mass of the people, or composed of selected delegates. The more interesting and important is the subject under consideration, the more excitement and the less deliberative discussion will there generally be in so numerous an assembly.

But it is not my object to enlarge on this topic—to discuss
the expediency of the change. The question, and it is one on which men might be expected to differ, has been decided with a great degree of unanimity, and upon mature consideration. It has been adopted without organized opposition or support, and the experiment of a City Government is now, we trust, to be tried under favorable circumstances. It believes us to use our utmost endeavors by diligence and fidelity, that the hopes of its friends be not disappointed. Much certainly does, the whole success of the experiment may depend on the first start.

The government should be administered on just and liberal principles. In the expenditure of public monies, we should endeavour to consult the greatest economy consistent with the support of our necessary establishments, and a judicious promotion of objects of real improvements. The laws should be exercised promptly and with energy, but not tyrannically. We, to whose care the powers of the government are confided, should be faithful to our trusts, and administer the government for the best good of our constituents. The way before us is new and untrodden. In our first movements we must therefore be cautious and circumspect, but after having satisfied our own minds where the path of duty leads, let us pursue it, and not fear but we shall receive the support and confidence of our fellow citizens—but at all events, let us be sure to satisfy our own consciences.

Permit me now, Gentlemen, to call your attention, very briefly, to the City Charter, and the powers conferred on the City Council and its various branches.

The two Boards are to be united in convention only for the election of various City officers. On this occasion they vote and act together as one body, the Mayor presiding. Each Board is to judge of the election of its own members, and in case of vacancies to order new elections.

By the Charter, the Mayor is made the chief executive officer of the City. He is emphatically at the head of the Police. It is his duty to be vigilant and active, in causing the laws and regulations to be executed, and to exercise a general supervision over the conduct of City officers, and the public concerns of the City.

In all cases in which appointments are to be made by the Board of Aldermen, he has the power of nomination.
All meetings of the citizens, either in wards or general meetings, are to be called by warrants issued by the Mayor and Aldermen.

The executive powers, the administration of the police, and all the powers heretofore vested in the Selectmen, are now vested in the Mayor and Aldermen. They have full power to appoint a City Marshal, Assistants, and other Police officers, and to remove for good cause. They have also the exclusive power to grant Licenses. The Mayor, Aldermen, and a member of the Common Council from each Ward, may be Overseers of the Poor, if the City Council shall so determine.

All questions in relation to laying out or altering highways are to be first acted upon by this Board.

The Common Council have high and important duties, as a branch of the Legislative body, and it will be their privilege as the popular branch, to originate money bills, in analogy to the State Constitution.

But the most important powers reside in both Boards, and to be exercised by concurrent votes. All the powers vested in the Town as a Corporation, are transferred to the City Council. To them is committed the care of the finances and all city property. They may widen or lay out streets. All the powers of the Board of Health are transferred to them. They are to determine the number of Representatives. They have the responsible duty of dividing the City into six wards, and of revising the same as often as once in ten years.

There are also various miscellaneous provisions in the Charter.

No person shall be eligible to any other office, the salary of which is payable out of the City Treasury, who at the time of his appointment shall be a member of either Board.

The Mayor and the President of the Common Council are ex officio members of the School Committee.

There is also the important provision for calling general meetings of the inhabitants, on the application of thirty qualified voters.

The Police Court is preserved. Always an important establishment, it will become more so under the City Government.

The existing By-Laws will remain in force until altered or
revised. It will be obvious that the votes, by-laws and regulations of the Town, adopted from time to time, and scattered over the records, and the special Acts in relation to the Town, are difficult to be found and applied. Many new ordinances must also be made. We can scarcely perform a more useful labor, than to collect and revise these, and with the new ordinances that may be passed, to form a complete code of municipal laws. This will require much time and labor, but it is of the highest importance.

Some things require the immediate attention of the City Council. All the officers required by law to be annually chosen, are to be elected. Other City officers should also be appointed—but ordinances must first be passed, designating what officers shall be appointed, and defining their duties, and fixing their compensations, where it is not done by the laws.

Gentlemen of the City Council,

Great interests are confided to our care. To the City Government is now committed the Schools—the support of the Poor—the Fire Department—Health regulations—the Streets—the Police—the public property—the raising of money by taxation—and whatever else has been heretofore managed in town meetings, or by the different Boards of Town officers. An enumeration of these subjects only is necessary to convince us of the demand upon our time and our thought required of us, this first year—at the outset of the new Government.

It is a subject of sincere congratulation to the City, and must be a source of high satisfaction to those who have had the care of our municipal concerns, that the great interests of Salem are in so favorable a condition.

The Schools, the most cherished institution of the Town, are represented by the report of the Committee to be in a satisfactory state. Salem had the honor of leading the way in the establishment of Public Schools. The Grammar School was founded in 1636, and has been continued without interruption to this time. A grant of land at “Marblehead Neck” was made about the same time towards the foundation of a College. Thus had our Fathers scarcely cleared a place in the forest, for the sun to shine
in upon themselves, before they made provision for the blessed light of learning to shine upon the minds of their children and posterity. No Town in New England has supported its Schools with more honorable liberality than Salem. To improve them and increase their usefulness, is worthy of our highest care. Let us see to it, that our Schools do not languish under the City Government.

The legal provision for the support of the poor, is a subject of great importance in a pecuniary respect, as well as in its influence on morals and humanity. Poor laws were early enacted in Massachusetts—founded on our obligations as Christians, to relieve those who are in want. There has been much discussion as to their utility—Our duty is the administration of them in the most judicious and economical manner. A very valuable property is assigned to this department. The best and most economical management or disposition of the farm, and of this important department, generally, requires the close attention and thorough examination of those to whose care they may be specially committed, and of the City Government.

The Fire Department is represented to be in an admirable state—well supplied with cisterns, buildings, and all the apparatus necessary to enable the corps of efficient and meritorious citizens, to whose care they are committed, to act with promptness and success. It should receive all aid and encouragement in a city like this, principally composed of wooden buildings. For our almost miraculous preservation from the dreadful calamity of fire, let us be grateful to that kind Providence which has protected us—but let not our preservation hitherto, induce us to neglect the means of our security, which have been provided at so great expense. In whatever relates to this Department, we shall hope for an entire concurrence of sentiment between its officers and the City Council.

The condition of the streets and side-walks of the city, and the best mode of repairing them, will demand our early attention. Their good order is essential to the general convenience. What should we now think of the old stone side-walks, over which we and our fathers stumbled so many years? The repair of the roads is one of the principal items of expense,
and it is an object of the highest importance on the score of economy, if practicable, to adopt some system for the gradual, permanent improvement of the streets at a moderate expense. It will be necessary to pass an ordinance in relation to the streets without delay, and I respectfully recommend that they be placed under the care of one Street Commissioner, with a suitable compensation.

In connection with this subject, the introduction of Lamps is entitled to notice. All the citizens are, I believe, now satisfied that no expenditure contributes more to our safety and comfort. Salem will never complain of any reasonable expense, that may be incurred for objects of real utility and general convenience.

By the Charter, the Police of the City is confided to the Mayor and Aldermen. This power is all important. The administration of the Police, is one of the most essential powers of a municipal government. The peace and quiet of the people, the security of their persons from insult and violence when abroad, and their repose by their own firesides, are among the first objects of all enlightened governments. The Board of Aldermen are to adopt such regulations as they may deem necessary on the subject of police, and the Mayor, as chief executive officer, is bound to see those, as well as all the laws and ordinances of the City Council, promptly, fully and faithfully executed. While we guard against oppression, and the multiplication of minute, vexatious and unnecessary regulations, there should be no laxity and imbecility in enforcing the Police. No police law ought to become a dead letter. While it exists, it should be enforced. Let the City Council, to whom I recommend the revision of the By-Laws, judge of the necessity and expediency of regulations,—let those who are to enforce them do their duty, and act promptly and effectually.

The instructions to Governor Endicott contain an admirable direction on this subject. "Let the laws be first published to forbid these disorders, whereby they may not pretend ignorance, nor privilege to offend, and then fear not to put good laws and made upon good ground and warrant, in due execution."

The present chief executive officer will never exercise the power conferred upon him, to gratify private feelings, nor for the purposes of tyranny and oppression. He has no disposition
to enlarge or assume power, but he will not shrink from the exercise of that which has been confided to him. This it is his duty to do, firmly and impartially.

But the subject in which all will feel and express the deepest interest is taxation. Great prudence and discretion are required in the administration of the financial department. Our revenue from indirect sources is inconsiderable—it must be drawn principally from direct taxation, that most obnoxious mode of raising money. Our population is small, our resources are not large, compared with those of the metropolis and other great cities; our expenses must therefore be confined to objects of necessity, and clear and unquestionable general utility. The City Council is bound "to take care that money shall not be paid from the Treasury, unless granted or appropriated; to secure a just and prompt accountability, from all officers; and to publish from time to time a particular account of receipts and expenditures, and a schedule of City property." To make regulations upon this subject, will be one of the first and most difficult and important duties of the City Council.

Our debt is now $43,000, to which sum it has been reduced from $64,000, since 1830, exclusive of $4000 due on loans called temporary. What amount will be necessary to meet the expenses of the current year, has not been ascertained. Some, though we hope not large, additional expense, will probably be incurred by introducing the City Government into operation, but we hope and believe the increase hereafter, if any, will not be considerable. It is hoped that it will not be necessary to assess a larger sum the present, than in some preceding years.

But, Gentlemen, a mere enumeration of the great subjects that press upon our attention, will give a very imperfect idea of the duty that devolves upon us. Be it our care to consult the good of this city—this community, in which we dwell, in every thing—to foster and cherish whatever may contribute to the prosperity of Salem—to the comfort, health, peace, good order and sound morals of its inhabitants.

Let us strive to improve and to adorn our City, to promote kind feelings, and all the social virtues, and whatever may contribute to the general contentment, so that we ourselves, and
those who have committed the great trust of these offices to us, may not only be satisfied with the condition of this city, but that a lively interest in its welfare may be enkindled. Has not one of our great difficulties been a spirit of discontent, a proneness to look upon, and magnify our deficiencies, rather than the advantages we really possess; to be blind to our just claims, and to contrast Salem unfavorably with other places? This is a great evil, and enough to repress the growth of any town.

Let us use all our influence to cherish every good institution, and encourage every enterprise for the good of our city. Everyone may do something. Let each do what he can to encourage and reward labour and industry in their ten thousand forms—to expand and extend the business of Salem. There is much to encourage us—to induce us to look forward with the hope, that brighter prospects are opening upon us. We do indeed live in a fair city—pleasantly situated—with beautiful environs, and in many and most important respects, an eligible place of residence. We have great advantages of a domestic nature. Our pure, precious water, so conducive to cleanliness and health—our literary and religious institutions—our habits—our character—the general moral state of the community—all these are rich blessings, and great resources to Salem. No where is there a greater degree of comfort. In no place are there fewer suffering poor, and in none are they more sure of charitable sympathy and relief.

And may we not indulge the hope that we have caught something of the spirit that animates the whole country, and that improvement is here too to be the order of the day? The improvement of our harbor is an undertaking of vast importance, and deserving of all encouragement. The new facilities of communication with the capital and with the great East, while they will certainly promote our convenience, will we hope have a beneficial influence on the business of Salem. In maritime enterprise, Salem is still unsurpassed—and though other places have advanced in a more rapid career of prosperity, we now hold, as we have always held, a respectable rank among the principal commercial places in the country. Our commerce was never more prosperous; and a new source of employment, and we hope of wealth, is opened in the new
branch of maritime enterprise recently introduced.* Let us hope too, that the form of government this day introduced, by calling the closer attention of a body of intelligent men to the affairs of the city, will add a stimulus to improvement.

What then do we want to make this ancient town flourish! to make her start up with new vigor, now that she is assuming a new name, and putting on her new garments? What but a true and enlarged public spirit—in one word, patriotism—an interest in the place—a willingness to make some sacrifice, if need be, for the common good—a general disposition to aid and encourage whatever has a tendency to promote the general improvement and welfare?

Gentlemen of the City Council,

We, and those who have honored us by their confidence, should heartily and zealously co-operate in this great and good work. The City Government, any form of government, can do but little, without the aid and encouragement of those who have conferred these offices upon us.

But do not indulge extravagant anticipations. We must not be discouraged because we cannot rival other places more favorably situated. We cannot expect to start on a career of rapid increase and improvement, with rail road speed, like the neighbouring city, or other places enjoying easy communication with an immense interior. Such hopes are vain, and will only end in disappointment and perhaps despondency. No. Let us rather take a just view of our situation—let us duly appreciate our real advantages, and avail ourselves of all the means of improvement and prosperity we do enjoy.

We, Gentlemen, are now to enter on an untried experiment. We have received from the hands of him who has so long served the Town with distinguished fidelity, the Charter of our City, prescribing our powers and duties. We have taken a solemn oath to perform them to the best of our abilities. To require more of us would be unreasonable—not to attempt this, would be a dereliction of our duty.

*Whale Fishery.
Encouraged by the favorable auspices of this occasion, and above all, encouraged by the hope of the continual favor of Him, who almost miraculously led our Fathers out to this spot, and who has at all times protected and blessed their descendants—looking to Him, the source of all power, of all wisdom, and of all goodness, for guidance in all our duties and support in all our trials, let us go forward with alacrity to our duty.
APPENDIX.

The City Council, in its Order, directing the Joint Committee on Printing to cause to be published two thousand copies of the preceding Address, requested the Mayor to append to it the Indian Deed, and such other documents relating to the early history of Salem, as might be deemed interesting.

INDIAN DEED.

The Indian Deed bears date Oct. 11th, 1686. Why it was given, is uncertain. There is no notice of it in the Town Records. It may have been for the purpose of availing themselves of the best Indian title they could then obtain, against the claim of the heirs of John Mason to the territory from Naumkeag river to the Merrimack, or to guard against future questions. They were probably influenced also by a sense of duty, the justice of paying an equivalent to the original inhabitants. The Company in England, in 1629, instructed Mr. Endicott—"If any of the savages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the land granted in our Patent, we pray you, endeavor to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." They were anxious to obtain the right of the Indians, whatever it was, to the soil granted by their Charter. In another letter of instructions they say—"Whereas, in our last, we advised you to make composition with such of the savages as did pretend any title, or lay claim to the land within the territories granted us by His Majesty's Charter—We pray you now, be careful to discover and find out all pretenders, and by advice of the Council there, to make such reasonable compensation with them as may free us and yourselves from any sample of intrusion."

From this it would appear, that the opinion of some* that the first settlers found no natives here, is incorrect. It had been a

*See Dr. Bentley's Description of Salem, 6 Mass. Hist. Coll.
favorite spot with them, and the seat of a considerable tribe—but most of them were swept away in that sickness which destroyed a great part of the Indians along the coast of Massachusetts, a short time before its settlement.

Gookin, in his Historical Collections of the Indians, says—“Pawtucket is the fifth and last great Sachemship of the Indians. Their country lieth north and north-east from the Massachusetts, whose dominion reacheth so far as the English jurisdiction or Colony of the Massachusetts doth now extend, and had under them several other smaller Sagamores, as the Pennecooks, Agawames, Naumkeeks, Pascatawayes, Anomintas, and others.”

Hubbard, in his history, p. 82, says—“Naumkeag, now called Salem, was much frequented by the salvages in former times, together with Marblehead and Lin, neere adjoyning, which Lin had a distinct Sagamore of their own, surviving till of late, called George.”

Several depositions were taken in defence of the Mason claim, the substance of which is contained in Mr. Felt’s history, under the date of 1681. From these it appears that the Indians “bid the English welcome, and gave them free leave to build and plant where they took up their lands”—and there is reason to suppose that the Indians permitted them to take the land for defending them against the Tarranteens, of whom they were in great terror. William Dixey, who came over in 1629, says—“Before we came to dwell here, the Indians bid us welcome, and showed themselves very glad that we came to dwell among them, and understood that they had kindly entertained the English that came over before we came—and the English and Indians had a field together, and the Indians fled to shelter themselves under the English oftentimes, saying they were afraid of their Indian enemy in the country. I remember some time after we arrived, the Agawam Indians complained to Mr. Endicott that they were afraid of the Tarrantines, and Hugh Brown and others were sent in a boat to Agawam for the Indians’ relief, and at other times we gave our neighbour Indians protection from the enemy.”
THE DEED.

"To all people to whom this present deed of sale shall come:

"David Nonnupanohow, Sam Wuttaannoh, and John Ton-toluquou, Cicely’s son, grand-children of George Sagamore, Cicely Petaghuncksq; Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, both daughters of George Sagamore aforesaid, Thomas Ukqueakassenum, alias Captain Tom, all of Waymessick, alias Chelmsford, in the county of Middlesex, within his majesty’s territory and dominion of New England in America: James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumneymarsh, Israel Quanophkownatt, son of said James, Joanna Quanophkownatt, relict, widow of old John Quanophkownatt, Yawataw, relict, widow of John Oonsumog, Wattacotinnusk, wife of Peter Ephraim, all of Natick, in the county of Middlesex, within his majesty’s territory and dominion of New England in America, aforesaid, Send Greeting."

Then follows a grant to John Ruck, John Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, Israel Porter, Selectmen and Trustees for the Town of Salem, of

"all the said Township of Salem, viz: all that tract and parcel of land lying to the westward of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, whereupon the town of Salem is built, so proceeding along to the head of Neumkeage river, called, by the English, Bass river, so comprehending all the land belonging to the township of Salem, according as it is butted and bounded with and upon the towns of Beverly, Wenham, Topsfield, Reading, Lynn, and Marblehead, down to the sea, which said land is a part of what belonged to the ancestors of the said grantors, and is their proper inheritance: or howsoever the said township, or any part or parcel thereof, is butted and bounded, or reputed to be bounded: together with all houses, edifices, buildings, lands, yards, orchards, gardens, meadows, marshes, feeding grounds, rocks, stones, beach, flats, pastures, fences, commons, commons of pasture, woods, underwoods, swamps, waters, watercourses, dams, ponds, head wares, fishing, fowling, ways, easements, profits, privileges, rights, commodities, emoluments, royalties, hereditaments, and appurtenances, mires, metals, minerals, whatsoever; as also with all islands and privileges of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, which the ancestors of the said grantees heretofore rightfully possessed, with all and singular their appurtenances, to the said township of Salem, and other the premises, belonging, or in any case appertaining, or therewith now used, occupied, or enjoyed, as part, parcel, or member thereof; and also all rents, arrearages of rents, quit-rents, rights of all things above-named, as also all rivers, creeks and coves whatever, with all their privileges and appurtenances, nothing excepted, or reserved; and also all deeds, writings.
and evidences whatever, touching and concerning the premises, or any part or parcel thereof."

"To have and to hold" &c.—with the common covenants that they and "their ancestors" were the lawful owners—were lawfully seized—had good right to sell and assure—that the grantees might hold free of all grunts &c. made by themselves, their heirs or ancestors—that they would warrant and defend, and make further assurances—all in the minute and prolix forms of that day.

"In witness whereof," &c. Large seals are appended to the parchment.

"Signed, sealed and delivered by David, &c. [here the names] as their act and deed, in the presence of us, after the same was read to them.

Andrew Elliot, senior. Thomas West,

John Hill, senior,

Samuel Hardy,

William Woodberry.

This instrument acknowledged by David, &c. [here the names] to be their act and deed, the eleventh day of October 1686, before me, Bar.

Thomas West, one of his majesty's council for his territory and dominions of New England in America."

The grantors are styled of Chelmsford and Natick. In Oct. 1681, the miserable remnant who escaped destruction in King Philip's war were ordered by the Court of Assistants to take up their residence at Natick, Punkapaug, (Stoughton) or Wamea (Chelmsford, where Lowell now is) and be under the rulers set over them; and the Selectmen of each town were empowered to put all Indians who refused to comply, into the house of correction, or prison, until they should comply! Who can think of the fate of the original proprietors of this whole land, without the deepest melancholy!

"Sagamore George" was Sachem of Saugus, and Marblehead also. Lewis' Hist. Lynn, p. 17. Felt's Salem, p. 180.

Roger Conant and others who removed here from Cape Ann, came over in 1624 to make a settlement, under the direction of a Company, of which the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, was the principal. He may with more propriety than any other person, be called the founder of the Massachusetts colony. His object was to provide a place of refuge from what he consider-
ed "the corruption and oppression of England," and Roger Conant was to take charge of the planting and fishing. Finding the experiment unsuccessful, Conant came to Naumkeag. When he and his associates were about removing with Mr. Lyford to Virginia, Mr. White encouraged them to persevere. The grant from the Council at Plymouth to Sir H. Roswell and others, under which Endicott came out with about one hundred settlers, was obtained through his means, principally. He also took the lead in procuring the Royal Charter, and in bringing the Patentees to the resolution to take the Charter with them to be executed here.

Roger Conant and the other first settlers of Salem, have not received the notice from historians to which they are entitled. Gov. Hutchinson says, "He is always spoken of as a person of worth. The superior condition of the persons who came over with the Charter, cast a shade upon him, and he lived in obscurity. There are several of his descendants remaining; some of distinction in the colony of Connecticut. Governor's Island was called Conant's Island." Conant, Balch, Palfrey and Woodbury, were men of resolution, integrity, perseverance, and intelligence, and enjoyed the confidence of the town. A grant of 200 acres of land was made to each, at the head of Bass river, in 1636. They all held the principal town offices, and were Deputies to the General Court. In 1671, Roger Conant petitioned the General Court for a grant of land as an ancient planter. He died in 1679, in his 89th year. In 1640, a grant of 20 acres of land was made to his son, R. Conant, "being the first born child in Salem." John Balch died in 1648. Peter Palfrey died at Reading, where he had removed, in 1663. John Woodbury died in 1641.

Capt. Thomas Lathrop, who fell at "Bloody Brook," Sept. 18, 1675, with 70 men, more than 20 of whom were from Salem, lived on the Beverly side of Bass river.

The gallant Capt. Joseph Gardner and six of his company, were killed, and eleven wounded, in a battle with the Indians, Dec. 1, 1675.

Capt. George Curwen, who died in 1685, aged 74, was engaged in the same war.
The increase of Salem in population has never been rapid. The following are all the notices we find on that subject.

In 1632 about 40 families.
1638 " 900 inhabitants.
1677 " 1400 "

Beverly set off in 1688.
1732 about 520 houses and 5000 inhabitants.
1762 4123 inhabitants—Danvers then incorporated.
1765 4427 "
1786 730 houses, 6700 inhabitants.
1790 by U. S. Census, 7921
1800 " 9457
1810 " 12617
1820 " 12731
1830 " 13886

The East Parish was set off in 1718—until then, the Town, within its present limits, constituted but one religious society, though its population probably was 4500.

In 1635 the Township comprehended the present towns of Beverly, Danvers, Marblehead, Middleton, Topsfield, Wenham, and part of Lynn.

Marblehead was recognized by the General Court as a distinct settlement in 1635, and was incorporated in 1649. Wenham was incorporated in 1643—Manchester in 1645—Topsfield in 1650—Beverly in 1668—Danvers in 1757.

There were at first thirteen Townsmen, probably with reference to the Council to be established. By the Instructions to John Endicott, seven of the Council were named—the Governor and those seven were to choose three others, and such of "the former planters as were willing to live in the plantation," were to choose two others. In the Address, it is said to be doubtful whether this went into operation—it probably did.

The earliest records are lost. The first entry is "the first of the 8th month, 1634"—and is an order concerning market hours.
Some of the proceedings shew in a striking manner the customs and opinions of the day—as the following:

"John Gatchell is friend ten shillings for building upon the Towne ground at Marbell head without leave, and in case he shall cut of his long har of his head into a sevill frame in the mean time, shall have abated five shillings his fyen, to be paid into the Towne meeting within two months from this time, and have leave to go on in his building in the mean time."

The names of "Mr. Bishop, Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Conant, Brother Palfrey, Brother Woodbury, Brother Massey, and John Holgrave," are in the margin.

As late as 1675, long hair was one of the twelve evils publish-ed by the General Court as the cause of the public calamities. "Long hair, like woman's hair, is worn by some men, either their own or others' hair, made into periwigs, &c." Another was—"Pride in apparel, both for costliness in the poorer sort, and vain new strange fashions both in poor and rich * * * with arms as it were pinioned, with the addition of superfluous ribbons both on hair and apparel."

By the records it appears, that the number of Townsmen was in 1637 thirteen—then twelve—sometimes seven—and that seven were chosen from 1640, sometimes called the seven men, until 1654, and afterwards Selectmen.

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GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

The Grammar School in Salem is one of the most ancient establishments in Massachusetts. The Rev. John Fisk, educated at Cambridge, England, grandfather of Samuel Fisk, minister of the First Church, and great grandfather of the late Gen. John Fisk, taught the School from 1637 to 1642. He was then settled at Enon, (Wenham) and afterwards at Chelmsford. He prepared for college the celebrated Sir George Downing, of the first class at Harvard. Edward Norris had
the care of the School from 1640 to 1682. Daniel Eppes from 1682 to 1698. Samuel Witman a few months. John Emerson to 1712. Obadiah Ayres to 1718. Then John Nutting succeeded, who kept the School many years. He died in 1790, in his 96th year.

Salem was from the first distinguished for its commercial enterprize and success. Josselyn, under the date of 1663, cited by Mr. Felt, in his elaborate and valuable History, p. 537, says, "It hath two harbors, winter and summer, which lie within Darbie's Fort. They have store of meadow and arable. In this Town are some rich Merchants."

The following note by Gov. Hutchinson, (History of Massachusetts, 2d, 29) upon "The Salem Witchcraft," displays much candor and good sense.

"Douglass in his Summary, says, "In Salem and its neighborhood, enthusiasm and other nervous disorders seem to be endemic; it was the seat of the New England witchcraft, anno 1692." I question whether he had any other foundation for this remark, than merely this scene of witchcraft, which must be considered as the distemper of the country in general, rather than of any particular town or county; and had Mr. Parris's family lived in any other part of the Province, perhaps the neighborhood would have been as much infected; and no impression ought to be made to the disadvantage of a Town the most ancient, and at this day the second in rank within the Province, and upon other accounts justly respectable."
AN
ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS.,

ON THE 17TH OF JUNE, 1836,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE YOUNG MEN,

WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF PARTY,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

BY ALEXANDER H. EVERETT.
SIR,

At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements for celebrating the sixty-first anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, the undersigned were appointed a sub-committee to express to you their thanks for the highly interesting and eloquent Address delivered by you on that occasion, and to request a copy of the same for the press.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient Servants.

JOSHUA BATES, JR.,
JAS. F. BOYD,
WILLIAM SAWYER,
DUNCAN BRADFORD,
GEO. W. WARREN.

HON. A. H. EVERETT.

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

In compliance with the polite request contained in your note of the 18th inst. which I have this day received, I have the honor to communicate to you for publication, a copy of the address delivered at Charlestown, on the 17th.

With many thanks for the friendly terms in which the request is made, and with sentiments of high regard,

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient Servant.

A. H. EVERETT.
We are assembled, fellow-citizens and friends! to celebrate the return of a great and glorious day. As Americans we hold it sacred; as children of the Pilgrim Fathers who subdued and settled our own beloved New England we regard it with a deeper and more peculiar interest. While we cherish with pride the memory of every gallant achievement performed in our country's defence,—of every generous sacrifice in her cause,—wherever the scene of action may have been laid, and whoever may have been the heroes of the day;—while we claim it as an honor to take our places side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our brothers of the south and west whenever duty calls us to the post of danger;—their noble spirits will understand and sympathise with us if we dwell with more than ordinary emotion upon those events in our history, of which our immediate neighborhood was the theatre and in which our own fathers were the actors and the sufferers. Filial tenderness
joins her fond appeal to the graver voice of public duty which invites us to commemorate them. The fine chords of domestic love mingle their sweet and touching harmonies with the loud pæans of patriotic pride and martial enthusiasm with which we greet the return of this high national holiday. The heroes of the day we celebrate were our fathers: the noble matrons who sustained and encouraged them in their toils and sacrifices were our mothers: and we, their sons and daughters, are now met together on the spot which was the scene of their trial, their glory,—to many of them, alas! of their mortal agony,—to offer to their memories our united tribute of respect, admiration and grateful love.

Who could hesitate to join in so holy a work? We meet without distinction of party. No little shades of difference created by the passing events of the day, are permitted to disturb the harmony of feeling with which we now come together as brothers, as citizens of a common country, as joint heirs of a common inheritance in the glory of our ancestors and the blessings which they have bequeathed to their posterity.

If as children of New England we celebrate this anniversary with peculiar interest, in your minds, fellow-citizens of Charlestown, its return must awaken a still more lively emotion. On the 17th of June, 1775, the storm of war, which had previously raged in distant regions, and of which you had heard only some faint and feeble echo, burst with more than wonted fury upon your own fair and flourishing town.
The sister streams, whose tranquil currents embrace your peninsula and mingle their waters undisturbed at its point, were on that eventful day ploughed by hostile fleets, bent on destruction and freighted with its engines. Your verdant heights were furrowed with entrenchments,—swarming with martial hosts,—bristling with all the horrid array of war. Your streets ran blood. Your dwellings were wrapt in flames: while their inmates, regardless of all domestic sacrifices, were fighting, bleeding, dying with their companions in arms upon the field of battle. Oh could those placid waters which surround us but reflect again for a moment the pictures which were then displayed in fragments on their agitated surface;—could those verdant heights and all the neighboring hills but repeat today the sounds which then reverberated in thundering echoes from their vocal sides and summits;—could those gallant troops, who were then encountering each other in the fell death-struggle with broad-sword, musket and bayonet,—those countless multitudes which then from every house-top, hill-top and steeple in the neighborhood surveyed with agonizing interest the course of that bloody tragedy,—start for a moment from their sepulchres and resume the places which they then occupied, what a contrast would be offered to the scene of quiet industry, domestic enjoyment and holiday triumph that now surrounds us! But it may not be. The storm of war has spent its force and passed away. Your placid waters reflect again no other scenes but the quiet
pursuits of gainful commerce. Your verdant heights exhibit no vestiges of war, but that noble Monument which is rising in honor of the day we celebrate. The mortal forms which on that day invested the souls of fire which gave it distinction, have been, most of them, long since dissolved into their original elements. The air, the earth and the ocean, have reclaimed their respective shares in these tenements of clay, while the minds that animated them have gone to receive under other forms and in higher states of being the reward of the virtues which they displayed in this. 'Dust has returned to dust, and the spirit has returned to God that gave it.' Look down, then, blessed spirits! from your present seats of glory!—Forget for a moment the celestial joys that now surround you, your high communion with kindred minds of every age and country, perhaps of other worlds and better natures!—Behold in our present prosperity,—in the heartfelt gratitude with which we honor your memories,—the proof that your mortal labors were not in vain!—Inspire us, if it may be, by your viewless presence with a portion of the pure and patriotic zeal which fired your manly bosoms, and sustained you through the trying scenes of that blood-stained, hard-fought, memorable day!

It is not necessary for us, however, fellow-citizens and friends!—to recur to the local and personal associations, close and interesting as they are, that connect us individually who are here assembled, with the scenes and the heroes of this glorious occasion in
order to find a motive for the solemnities in which we are engaged. The events of the day we celebrate are more than sufficient by their permanent influence on the history of the country,—of the world, to justify all the importance that has been or may be attached to them. The great revolutions that change the moral aspect of society, are rarely accomplished without the shedding of blood; but the extent of these sanguinary sacrifices is far from being in all cases proportioned to the magnitude of the result. The tools of arbitrary power may be led up to the slaughter and leave their bones to whiten on the battle-field by hundreds of thousands without producing even a temporary effect of the slightest consequence. On the other hand, the generous self-sacrifice of a single individual in the cause of truth has repeatedly revolutionized whole empires. Let those consider this who undervalue the consequence of the death of a single man. The importance of battles is in no way proportioned to the numbers engaged in them; nor is the successful party in all cases the one that derives the greatest advantage from the encounter. The defeat of the three hundred Spartans who fell at the pass of Thermopylæ was of deeper moment to the independence of Greece than the splendid triumphs of Marathon and Salamis. That stern laconic inscription:—Traveller! tell at Sparta that three hundred of her sons died here in her defence:—spoke more eloquently to the generous Grecian heart than the long official reports of a hundred victories. And you, gal-
lant Warren! when you rushed in the fervid rashness of your youthful patriotism to yonder mount and poured out your life-blood upon its top, did more perhaps for your country in that moment of mortal agony than even your dauntless courage, your prudent counsel, your fiery zeal, your talents splendid as they were, could have accomplished by the labors of a life!

No, fellow-citizens! it is not the long array of numerous regiments; the blaze of burnished arms and glittering standards; it is not, in short, the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war; no, nor yet, as I have said, the result of the battle, which often turns upon the cast of a die, that gives it importance. The nature of the quarrel,—the principles at issue,—the feelings that animate the combatants,—these are the circumstances that decide the influence of battles on the fortunes of the parties represented in them.

Your fathers went up to yonder mount on the day we commemorate in undisciplined, inexperienced, irregular, ill-clad, half-armed bands. No 'meteor flag' spread its flaming terrors above their heads. No antique Oriflamme, consecrated by religious rites and the memory of a thousand previous victories, inspired them with pious enthusiasm. The glorious banner of the Union had not yet displayed its star-spangled folds. Music, dresses, arms, artillery, above all, ammunition,—every thing was wanting except the one thing needful, the unconquerable mind. That they had; with that alone to sustain them, they went into battle with the flower of one of the finest armies in
Europe. After achieving miracles of courage and patriotism they were finally forced to retreat: they left the foe in possession of the honors of the day. What was the result?—By the effect of that defeat the spot on which we stand has been rendered classic ground. By the effect of that defeat, the day we celebrate has become an epoch in the history of our country, of the world. Yes, fellow-citizens and friends! when our neighboring metropolis and her sister cities shall have had their day of power, prosperity and glory, and passed away;—when Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia shall have been what Rome, Athens, Memphis and Babylon at their proudest periods never were, and shall have sunk again, in conformity with the immutable law that regulates all human things, into the state of ruin in which those celebrated seats of empire are now;—when of all the achievements of art and wealth that now surround us or may hereafter adorn this neighborhood, the hand of Time shall have swept away every thing excepting that simple granite obelisk which will probably outlast all the structures it is destined to overlook; even then, at that remote period, the friends of liberty and virtue will come up from the bosom of distant lands, peopled by nations as yet without a name, over intervening oceans and continents,—from the shores perhaps of Australasia,—Felix Boothia, or wherever else the genius of civilization may have fixed his temporary abode, to pay their vows on Bunker Hill.

The events of the day we celebrate are therefore
such as fully justify by their own intrinsic importance as well as by the interesting personal and local associations connected with them, a solemn public commemoration. In appearing as the organ of your sentiments on this occasion, I feel most deeply and painfully, fellow citizens and friends! my utter inability to do any thing like justice to the task. But this anniversary is not the time for a son of the Pilgrims to shrink from any call to action, however arduous the duty. I throw myself on your generous indulgence, and I know that I shall find in the deep interest which you feel in the subject the source of a sympathy which I might otherwise attempt in vain to excite, and which may give some effect even to the feeblest utterance.

In selecting the topics for the present address, you will not expect me, fellow citizens and friends! to enlarge upon the causes of the revolution or to discuss the political questions involved in the controversy. These are subjects which belong more appropriately to the approaching anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which is annually celebrated with so much propriety throughout the country. They will then become the themes of hundreds of eloquent discourses, repeating in as many different forms a tale, which, however frequently repeated, can never become tiresome to the American ear. I shall confine myself on this occasion to a sketch of the events of the day, and of the characters of some of the persons who were engaged in them. In reference to the nature and causes of the war, I will merely remark that it
was one, and a most important one, in a series of events which has been, for several centuries past, gradually elevating the Christian nations from the degradation into which they had fallen during the dark ages, and preparing them, as we trust, for a degree of civilization hitherto unknown, of which the new world was destined perhaps to become the theatre. It would be not uninteresting, did the limits of the occasion permit, to trace the progress of this improvement and to mark the manner in which the great events of our own history connect themselves with those which preceded and have followed them in other countries. To the student of history, to the inquirer into the destiny and character of our race, the topic opens a field of profound thought, of interesting and encouraging though sometimes mournful speculation, but into this at present we have no time to enter. I hasten to the immediate subject of our meeting.

For several years preceding the 17th of June, 1775, it was evident to all that the struggle between the colonies and the mother country was no longer for the amount of a trifling tax on tea and paper, but on the one hand for national existence, on the other for dominion over half the western world. John Adams, while yet a youth in his school house at Northampton, predicted the Independence which at forty he officially declared, and which at fourscore, amidst the agonies of dissolving nature, still faltered in trembling accents on his dying lips. Josiah Quincy wrote
from London that the faith of our political apostles must be sealed with blood. Finally, the events of the 19th of April announced to all the world abroad and at home that the long anticipated crisis had arrived, and that the question at issue must be settled by an appeal to arms.

New England was prepared to answer that stern appeal. The government of Massachusetts was at this time exercised by a representative assembly denominated Congress, and a Committee of Safety consisting of thirteen persons appointed by Congress, and composing virtually the Executive department. Four days after the battle of Lexington it was resolved in Congress that an army of thirty thousand men was wanted for the defence of New England,—that Massachusetts would raise thirteen thousand six hundred of the number, and that the other New England states should be requested to furnish their respective proportions. Before the middle of June about fifteen thousand troops were assembled in the neighborhood of Boston. Of these Massachusetts furnished ten thousand and Connecticut three: the rest were supplied by the other New England states. The troops were distributed into companies of fifty, of which ten composed a regiment. It was also resolved in Congress on the 10th of May, to raise a regiment of artillery, of which Richard Gridley, a brother of the celebrated lawyer of that name, was appointed Colonel. The train was to consist of nine small pieces, but the regiment was not completely or-
organised before the battle, and did but little service. On the 21st of May, Artemas Ward was commissioned as Commander in Chief of the Massachusetts troops, and his orders were obeyed by all the others within the limits of the state. His head quarters were at Cambridge where he had with him about eight thousand of the Massachusetts troops and one thousand of those from Connecticut. The latter, with Sargent's regiment from New Hampshire and Patterson's from Berkshire county, were under the immediate command of General Putnam, who was stationed in advance of the main body at Inman's farm, where a redoubt and breastwork had been thrown up near the Charlestown road. General Ward also had with him at Cambridge five companies of artillery. The right wing of the army, consisting of two thousand troops from Massachusetts, two thousand from Connecticut and one thousand from Rhode Island, were stationed at Roxbury under the command of Brigadier General Thomas, who had also with him three or four companies of artillery. A thousand of the New Hampshire troops under Colonels Stark and Reid, stationed at Medford, and another detachment of the same troops with three companies of Col. Gerrish's regiment stationed at Chelsea, composed the left wing of the army. On the night of the 16th a large guard detached from one of the Essex regiments commanded by Col. Little was stationed at Lechmere's point.

Such were the strength and composition of the army at the period immediately preceding the battle.
In regard to the character of the troops I need only say that they were the flower and pride of our hardy yeomanry. They were not, like the rank and file of the regular armies of Europe, the refuse of society, enlisted in the worst haunts of crowded cities under the influence of a large bounty or perhaps an inspiration of a still inferior kind. They were, as they are correctly described in the British circumstantial account of the Battle of Lexington, the country people. Though generally unaccustomed to regular service and not well skilled in the technical learning of the art of war, they were all, officers and men, expert in the use of arms, and in the habit of employing them in continual conflicts with the Indians. Many of them had already distinguished themselves in the French wars of 1745 and 1756, when the old provincial standard was displayed with so much glory in the Canadas. It is remarkable indeed on examining the composition of the New England army of 1775, how many names we find of men either previously or subsequently illustrious in the history of the country. The fact is one among many proofs how completely the spirit of the times had taken possession of the whole mind of the colonies and drawn within its influence the most eminent professional, political and military characters, as well as the mass of the people. Independently of Prescott, Putnam and Warren, who may be looked upon as the most conspicuous officers on a day when every soldier was a hero, there were several other persons in the army, whose names are
hardly less extensively known throughout the world
than theirs. General Green, by common acknowl-
edgment second only to Washington in military ser-
vice during the revolutionary war, was the Colonel
of one of the Rhode Island regiments. General
Pomeroy, of Northampton, had served as a captain
under Sir William Johnston in the war of 1756, and
in the celebrated action with the French and Indians,
under Baron Dieskau, had killed the enemy's com-
mander-in-chief with his own hand. As an honorary
trophy of his valor he was presented with the Baron's
watch which is still preserved in his family. Stark,
afterwards the Hero of Bennington, was the Colonel
of one of the New Hampshire regiments, in which
General Dearborn was a captain. Governor Pearce
of New Hampshire was also in the battle. Governor
Brooks of this state was present with the rank of
Major, and Governor Eustis as a surgeon of artillery.
General Knox appeared as a volunteer. Gridley, the
veteran Colonel of artillery, then sixty four years of
age, was an officer of high distinction. In the war
of 1745, when Massachusetts alone raised an army of
three thousand two hundred men for the expedition
against Cape Breton, he commanded the artillery, and
with scientific accuracy pointed the mortar which on
the third fire threw into the citadel of Louisburg a
shell that occasioned its surrender. He was reward-
ed by a captaincy in Shirley's regiment. In the
war of 1756, he again entered the service as chief
engineer and colonel of infantry, and two years after-
wards assisted at the second taking of Louisburg with so much distinction, that Gen. Amherst tendered him the valuable furniture of the French Commander's head-quarters as a present, which he, with chivalrous delicacy declined. At the siege of Quebec, he commanded the provincial artillery under Gen. Wolfe, and was fighting by his side when he fell. The crown rewarded his gallantry by a concession of the Magdalen Islands with an extensive cod and seal fishery, and half pay as a British officer. At the commencement of the Revolution, his agent inquired of him, by order of the British Government, what part he intended to take. 'I shall fight,' replied the noble-minded veteran, 'for justice and my country.' His pay as a British officer was of course stopped. The arrears which were offered him he with characteristic spirit refused to receive.

To this list of distinguished names, which might be much enlarged did time permit, I will add only one, more extensively known perhaps than any of those that I have mentioned, though in a different line,—I mean that of Benjamin Thompson, afterwards the illustrious Count Rumford. He held no commission, but accompanied Major Brooks as a volunteer with the last reinforcements that were sent from Cambridge. He had solicited in vain the place of Major in the artillery, which was justly due to his eminent merit, but which the parental partiality of Gridley had assigned to his own son. For this act of venial frailty, the veteran was sufficiently punished by the misconduct of his son
in the action, and by the loss to the country of the great talents of his competitor:—a loss, however, which we need not lament, since those talents were employed with so much brilliancy and success upon a still more extensive scale in the cause of humanity and the world.

While these and other kindred spirits of perhaps not inferior merit, though somewhat less distinguished fame, filled the ranks of the New England army of 1775, there were, as I have already said, three persons, who, on the great occasion which we now commemorate, were naturally called upon by their age, rank, or peculiar energy of character, to take the most conspicuous part in the action, and who may be looked upon as being, in a more peculiar sense than any of their gallant companions in arms, the heroes of the day. I allude, as you are aware, to Prescott, Putnam, and Warren. A few observations on the character and previous history of these eminent patriots and gallant soldiers, may serve as an introduction to the rapid sketch of the events of the day, which you will naturally expect as the principal topic of the present address.

Prescott, the Colonel of one of the Middlesex regiments, was the officer who, on the 16th of June, received the orders of the Council of War to occupy the heights of Charlestown, and who commanded in the redoubt on the day of the battle. He may therefore be considered, though not invested with the rank of General, as the real commander of the forces, so far
as any person has a right to claim that honor. He was of Pepperel, in the county of Middlesex, where his family, one of the most distinguished and respected in the State, still reside during a part of the year. Prescott had early inherited an ample fortune from his father, but he seems to have possessed a natural aptitude for military pursuits, and at the opening of the war of 1756, he, like so many of the other noble spirits of New England, joined the expedition against Nova Scotia under Gen. Winslow with a provincial commission. He served with such distinction, that after the close of the war, he was urged to accept a commission in the British line, but he declined the honor and preferred to return to his paternal estate. Here he resided, occupied in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and in dispensing a frank and generous hospitality to his neighbors, many of whom were his old companions in arms, until the opening of the Revolution summoned him, already a veteran, to the council and the field. He was tall and commanding in his person, of a grave aspect and the simplest manners,—holding in utter contempt the parade and pageantry which constitute with many the essence of war. During the progress of the battle of Bunker Hill, he was frequently seen on the top of the parapet, attired in a calico frock, with his bald head uncovered to the sun, waving his sword and encouraging the men to action.—Gov. Gage, who was at one of these moments reconnoitring the American works through a telescope, remarked the singular appearance of Pres-
cott, and inquired of Willard, one of his Council who was near him, who he was.—'My brother-in-law, Colonel Prescott,' was the reply. 'Will he fight?' inquired the Governor. 'Ay,' replied Willard, 'to the last drop of his blood.'

Putnam, another veteran of the old French wars, was not less bold in action and equally regardless of unnecessary show and ceremony. He was a native of Salem in this State, but had emigrated early in life to Pomfret in Connecticut, where he had employed himself like Prescott, in agriculture, though on a smaller scale, until he was called, like him, into the military service, by the war of 1756. He was then about forty years of age. He had, however, earlier in life signalized his courage, like the heroes of ancient Grecian story, by quelling the monsters of the forest. His encounter with an enormous wolf in a subterranean cavern would have done honor to Hercules or Theseus, and had made him known even in Europe long before he entered on a military career. In the war of 1756, he commanded a company of Provincial Rangers. In that capacity he rendered the most essential service, and passed through a series of hairbreadth escapes, the detail of which, though resting on unquestionable evidence, seems like a wild and extravagant fable. In the course of his adventures, he was taken captive by the Indians and experienced all the horrors incident to their ferocious mode of warfare. Once he was actually tied to the stake in the centre of a circle of burning fuel, from which he was only
rescued at the last moment of possible endurance by the timely interference of a French officer of rank, in alliance with the Indians, who happened to arrive from a distance at this critical instant, and released him with his own hand. After the close of the war of 1756, Putnam had returned to the plough, and was actually holding it with his own hand when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington. Like Cincinnatus of old he left it in the furrow and repaired at once to Cambridge, though now more than seventy years of age. After consulting with the leading characters at the camp, he returned to Connecticut to organize a regiment with which he appeared shortly after at head-quarters, as Brigadier General. He was athletic and active in person, energetic even to coarseness, but keen and pointed in conversation, and his face, though deeply furrowed by the savage tomahawk as well as by the finger of time, was always radiant with a broad good humor, which rendered him the idol of the soldiery. He was particularly earnest in the Council of War in recommending the measure of fortifying Bunker Hill: a part of his regiment was detached for the service, and he was present and active himself through the preceding night, as well as on the decisive day. Whether, as some suppose, he was charged by the Council of War, with a general superintendence of the whole affair, or whether, like Warren, he appeared as a volunteer, is not now known with certainty, for the official record of the orders of the day is lost, and the want of it is not supplied for
this purpose by any other evidence. It is certain however, from all the accounts, that his agency in the battle was great and effectual. He continued to serve with the highest distinction through the war, enjoying the confidence and esteem of Washington, and retired after the peace to his estate, where he died at a very advanced age. He was a fine example of the open, bold, hardy, shrewd, indefatigable New England character as modified by the life of camps; and though the sincere and deeply felt piety which belongs to that character under all its modifications led him in his old age to do penance publicly for his occasional irreverence in the use of language, his clergyman, the Rev. Mr Whitney, declared at the time that he deemed the ceremony unnecessary, and the Recording Angel, we may venture to say, had long before blotted out with his tears at heaven's high chancery every note of these venial though by no means commendable frailties of a Christian patriot and hero.

Prescott and Putnam were the veterans of the day. Ripe in years, full of honors, had they fallen in the battle their fate would have seemed like the natural consummation of their long and brilliant course of public service. But you! young, generous, gallant, lamented Warren! first in council! first in action! the pride, flower and beauty of the camp! What unhappy chance directed the fatal ball against your invaluable life?

Warren was only thirty four years of age. He was a native of Roxbury, where the modest family mansion
still bears witness to the respectable standing of his father, who was a farmer. Warren was educated at Harvard College, and displayed while a youth the union of a singularly bold and intrepid spirit with the soundest judgment and all the gentler social feelings which marked his character in after life. With these intellectual and moral qualities were combined the advantages of a fine person, a pleasing countenance and a graceful and winning deportment. He had devoted himself to the profession of medicine in which his family have since acquired such an honorable distinction, and was practising it with success when the controversies with the mother country came to a crisis. The high and paramount interest belonging to these subjects absorbed at once his whole soul. He engaged in political affairs with the ardor natural to his generous character, and his various and brilliant powers gave him an easy ascendancy in every field of action. At a moment of actual pressure, when life, property, every thing valuable is at stake, the effort, so frequent in ordinary times, of jealous mediocrity to exclude superior talents from public employment for fear of being itself eclipsed by their lustre, meets with very little favor. Warren was an active member of the private societies which directed most of the proceedings of the time, and was in the closest personal relations with the Otises, Quincys, Adamses, and other leading patriots. At the organization of the Massachusetts Congress, he was elected President of that body and chairman of the Committee of Safety,
so that he united the direction of the Executive and Legislative departments. A few days before the battle of Bunker Hill he was appointed a Major General in the army, but had not received his commission when the action took place. He possessed in a high degree the gift of eloquence, and on the 5th of March, 1772, delivered a powerful address to the people at the annual celebration of that anniversary. In 1775 the exasperation had so much increased, and the town was so strongly garrisoned with British soldiers, that it was considered a task of some danger to officiate as orator on this occasion. Warren volunteered for the service. When the day arrived, the aisles of the church, the pulpit stairs, and even the pulpit itself were occupied by the officers and men of the garrison, who were probably stationed there to overawe the orator, or perhaps to prevent him by force from proceeding. Warren, to avoid interruption and confusion, entered from the rear of the church by the pulpit window, and unmoved by the hostile military array that surrounded him and even pressed upon his person, delivered the bold and striking address that we have in print. It combines with a somewhat exuberant display of imagination, a firm exposition of the rights of the colonies and the sternest denunciations of the previous excesses of the troops in whose presence he stood. Such was the influence of his courage and eloquence that he was listened to without a murmur.

In council Warren seems to have leaned to the side
of caution. When Prescott and Putnam proposed to fortify the heights of Charlestown, Warren objected to the plan as too hazardous. In action, on the contrary, he was bold even to rashness. On the 19th of April, though then President of Congress, he was in the midst of danger throughout the day, and a ball passed so near his face as to carry away a portion of his hair. When the majority of the Council of War had decided on fortifying Bunker Hill, he told them that though opposed to the project, he should nevertheless take a part in carrying it into effect. He was strongly urged not to do so, but his resolution was immovable. On the morning of the 17th, at a meeting of the Committee of Safety, Elbridge Gerry expressed the same opinion as to the prudence of the attempt, and particularly conjured Warren not to expose his own person. 'I am aware of the danger,' replied the young hero, 'but I should die with shame if I were to remain at home while my friends and fellow-citizens are shedding their blood and risking their lives in the cause.' 'You will fall then,' said Gerry. 'I know that I may fall,' was his answer, 'but where is the man who does not think it pleasant and glorious to die for his country?'

Yes! noble spirit! generous martyr in the cause of liberty! Pleasant and glorious indeed to you: but who shall console your country for her loss? Who shall make up to her in the trying scenes that await her, in the long death-struggle for her rights through which she is to pass, for your pure and devoted patri-
otism, your splendid talents, your courage, your discretion, your fervid, soul-inspiring eloquence? Who shall guide her sages to wisdom and marshal her armies to victory, when the light in council, the flame of fire in the battle, is extinguished forever?—Ah! could you have tempered a little that excess of daring, or had a happier fortune averted the ball of fate, what a brilliant career of usefulness and glory would have opened before you! Your lofty powers, no longer limited to the sphere of a single province, would have swayed the councils and led the armies of a vast confederate empire! We should have seen you, like Washington, Adams and Jefferson, your fellow-patriots and contemporaries, sustaining the highest magistracies at home or spreading the fame of your country in her most important embassies abroad, and at length, in declining age, illuminating like them the whole social sphere, with the milder glories of a long and peaceful retirement! But it may not be. That destiny is reserved for them, for others. For you,—bravest, wisest, kindest, best of the band! is appointed in the inscrutable decree of Providence the crown of early martyrdom! Go up then, devoted spirit! to that mount of sacrifice! Put on unshrinkingly that thorny crown! Cruel, fatal indeed is its pressure: but wear it cheerfully, noble spirit! It is radiant with glory: it carries with it power of matchless, priceless value. The blood of martyrs is the nourishing rain of religion and liberty. The tide of your invaluable life shall not flow in vain on yonder sacred summit! Your
countrymen throughout all time, as they kneel upon
the sod that it moistened, shall gather from the influ­
ence of the place a virtue allied to your own!

Such, fellow-citizens and friends! were the compo­
sition of the New England army and the character of
some of the prominent leaders. The British army which
they were to encounter was quartered, as you know,
within the limits of Boston. It consisted at the time
of the battle of Lexington of about four thousand men;
but before the end of May large reinforcements ar­
rived which raised the number to about ten thousand,
including a squadron of cavalry for whose use the old
South Church was appropriated as a place of exercise.
The light infantry was encamped on the heights of
West Boston, then called Beacon Hill: there was a
strong battery for cannon and mortars on Copp’s Hill
opposite Charlestown, and this during the action was
the post of observation of the British Commander
and his staff. A strongly fortified line had been drawn
across the neck at the southern entrance of the town
from Roxbury: there was also a battery at the North­
ern extremity of the town, and others on the Com­
mon, on Fort Hill, and on the shore opposite Cam­
bridge. The troops were the flower of the British
army, and the officers were generally men of distin­
guished merit. Governor Gage, who held the chief
command, had served with honor in the old and new
world, had married an American lady, and in other
times would have possessed a great personal popular­
ity. Among his principal officers were Generals
Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Pigot, Grant and Robinson. Earl Percy, the heir of the noble house of Northumberland, illustrious alike in the poetry and history of the mother country, and Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquess of Hastings, commanded each a regiment. The latter took a part in the action, and was mentioned with honor in the official accounts. Earl Percy with his hardy Northumbrians felt a pride in braving the severity of the climate in an encampment upon the Common, and to secure themselves from the cold, made use of double tents, having the space between them filled with hay. The principal British and American officers were personally known to each other. They had served together in the French wars, and in some instances had contracted a close and intimate friendship. Not long after the battle of Lexington there was an interview at Charlestown between some of the officers on both sides to regulate an exchange of prisoners, and Governor Brooks, who was present, was accustomed to relate that General Putnam and Major Small of the British army no sooner met than they ran into each other's arms and kissed each other, to the great surprise and amazement of the army. The British troops were in the highest state of equipment and discipline and were amply furnished with every description of necessary stores and ammunition. In this respect their condition formed a complete contrast to that of the Americans. To aid them in their operations they had several ships of war stationed in the
waters around the peninsula. The Glasgow lay in Charles River not far from the present position of Craigie's Bridge, and her battery enfiladed the isthmus that connects Charlestown with the continent. The Somerset, the Lively and the Falcon were stationed in the channel between Boston and Charlestown, and during the action pointed their guns directly at the American works.

In this state of the hostile preparations of the two parties, and with a strong feeling in both of exasperation created by a long controversy and recently exaggerated by several instances of actual, personal collision, it was apparent that a trial of strength on a more extensive scale and of a much more serious and decisive character than any that had yet occurred, must soon take place. In this, as in all other cases of the same kind, accidental causes would naturally regulate in some degree the time, place and other circumstances under which the trial should be made. The concentration of the New England troops around the peninsula of Boston would of course suggest to the British Generals, if they intended to retain that position, the importance of occupying the neighboring heights of Dorchester and Charlestown. They had accordingly determined upon this measure and were making their arrangements to take possession of Dorchester heights, now South Boston, on the 18th of June. Information of these intentions and arrangements had been conveyed to the American army and become the subject of frequent and serious discussion in the Council of
War and the Committee of Safety. It was proposed on one side to anticipate this attempt of the British by a corresponding movement of our own, and to occupy Charlestown at once. The troops were full of zeal and eager for action. It was thought wise to take advantage of this disposition while it still existed in all its freshness, unimpaired by the weariness that would soon be created by absence from home and the privations and hardships of military life. It was urged on the other hand, that the attempt to occupy Charlestown would of course be resisted by the British, and if sustained would bring on a general engagement for which the army was entirely unprepared from a want of ammunition. There were at that time only eleven barrels of powder in the camp, and only sixty seven within the state of Massachusetts. It is remarkable that the more decisive, not to say rash course was recommended on this occasion, as I have intimated, by the veterans of the Council, Prescott and Putnam, while the part of prudence was sustained by the young and ardent Warren. The result evinced the correctness of his views. The attempt failed, as had been anticipated, precisely for want of powder. Strict prudence would undoubtedly have deferred the enterprise until farther supplies had been received. But it may be said on the other hand, that strict prudence would hardly have lent her sanction to any of the proceedings of the Revolution from first to last. It was throughout in all its parts an effort of noble and generous feeling made in open defiance of cool calculation, and the result
furnishes one among the numerous instances to be found in the history of the world in which such attempts have been crowned with success. Almost all the great political and moral revolutions have been the triumph of truth and justice over an overwhelming superiority of mere material force. The feeling that predominated in the Council of War and the Committee of Safety was the same that prevailed in the army and throughout the country. It called for immediate action. Colonels Gridley and Henshaw, accompanied by Mr Devens, had already by direction of General Ward, surveyed that part of the country and had pointed out Prospect, Bunker and Breed’s Hills as the points proper to be occupied. On the 15th of June it was accordingly voted in the Committee of Safety, which, as I have said, constituted the real Executive power, to recommend to the Council of War to occupy and fortify Bunker Hill at once, and Dorchester Heights as soon as might be practicable.

The Council of War proceeded in conformity with this recommendation, and on the day following, June 16th, General Ward with their concurrence, issued orders to Colonel Prescott to proceed to Charlestown and to occupy and fortify Bunker Hill. He was directed to take with him upon this expedition his own regiment and those of Colonels Bridge and Frye, a hundred and twelve men from that of General Putnam, and Captain Gridley’s company of artillery, with two field pieces. Col. Frye being absent on other duty, his regiment was commanded at the time by
Lieut. Col. Brickett, but the Colonel joined it in the course of the action, as I shall have occasion to mention. The whole force amounted to about a thousand men. They were ordered to take with them one day's provisions, and additional provisions and reinforcements were to be sent if they should be found necessary. The detachment was mustered early in the evening on Cambridge common, near the Colleges, where the main body of the army was quartered, and religious services were performed by President Langdon, after which the troops took up the line of march. Colonel Prescott himself led the way, attired in his calico frock, preceded by two sergeants with dark lanterns and accompanied by Colonel Gridley and Judge Winthrop of Cambridge. Governor Brooks, then a Major in Bridge's regiment, joined him at the neck.

To you, fellow citizens and friends! who inhabit the scene of action or its immediate neighborhood, it is of course unnecessary to enlarge upon its geographical features or even to remind you that Charlestown is a peninsula about a mile long and half a mile wide at its broadest part where it is separated from Boston by a narrow channel: that it diminishes gradually in breadth from this part until it terminates in a neck a hundred and thirty yards over which connects it with the continent; and that it rises from the channel and from the banks of the rivers Mystic and Charles into a height of land composed of two eminences, denominated Bunker and Breed's Hills. At the time of the
battle the latter name was less known and that of Bunker Hill was popularly applied to the whole height of land.

When the troops reached the ground and were preparing to execute their orders, the question arose which of the two hills was intended as Bunker Hill and was of course the one to be fortified. The northern eminence was more generally spoken of under that name, while the southern or Breed's Hill was evidently the one best fitted for the purpose. A good deal of time was consumed in discussing this question, but it was at length determined to construct the principal work on Breed's Hill and to erect an additional and subsidiary one on Bunker's. Colonel Gridley accordingly proceeded to lay out the principal work, and acquitted himself in the judgment of military men in a manner highly creditable to the conqueror of Louisburg and the companion in arms of Wolfe. He placed a redoubt eight rods square on the summit of the hill, with the strongest side, secured by projecting angles, looking towards Charlestown, and with an open entrance from the north on the other side. From the north-eastern corner of the redoubt he ran a breastwork on a line with its side to a marsh which lay between the hill and the bank of the river. There was an opening or sally-port secured by a blind between the redoubt and the breast-work. So much time had been lost in discussing the question where the works should be placed, that it was midnight before a spade entered
the ground, and there remained less than four hours before daylight, when the operations would of course be seen by the British. The men however went to work with alacrity. In the mean time a strong guard under Capt. Manners was stationed on the Charlestown shore to observe the enemy. The day had been fair, and it was a clear star-light night. Colonel Prescott, accompanied by Major Brooks went down twice to the shore, to reconnoitre, and distinctly heard the British sentries relieving guard and uttering as they walked their rounds the customary, but in this instance deceptive cry: *all's well.*

I may remark here that Governor Brooks, who was so conspicuous and useful through the day, was not at Cambridge when the detachment was ordered to march. He had appeared as a Major in Bridge's regiment at the Battle of Lexington, and received soon after a similar rank in the line. On the day preceding the battle he was at home at Medford on account of illness in his family, but hearing that his regiment was on duty he voluntarily repaired to his post and joined his companions on their way, as I said before, at Charlestown neck.

The troops continued their work unmolested until day-light, when they were discovered by the British. A heavy fire was immediately opened upon them from the ships and floating batteries on Charles River, as well as from the battery on Copp's Hill. It was for some time without effect but at length Asa Pollard of Billerica, who had ventured without the works, was
struck by a ball and killed on the spot. Such, fellow citizens! were the circumstances under which the first blood was shed. Not long after the British had opened their fire, some of the American officers, perceiving that the men were fatigued with the labors of the night, proposed to Colonel Prescott that they should be relieved by another detachment. The Colonel immediately assembled a council of war in which the same proposition was renewed. Prescott however strenuously opposed it. The enemy, he thought, would not venture to attack: if they did they would be repulsed: the men who had raised the works were best able to defend them: they had the merit of the labor and ought to have the honor of the victory. The proposition to send for relief was rejected. At about nine o'clock movements were observed among the British troops in Boston indicating the intention to attack: the men were now exhausted with fatigue and want of refreshment: the proposition to send for relief was renewed. Prescott again assembled a council, but still discountenanced the proposed plan. He thought it right however to send immediately for reinforcements and provisions. Major Brooks was ordered to proceed to Cambridge and apply to General Ward for this purpose. For greater expedition he was directed to take one of the horses belonging to Captain Gridley's company of artillery. To this proposal the captain demurred. Our fathers, fellow-citizens! as we shall see presently in another instance, seem on this eventful day to have
been more anxious for the safety of their horses than for their own. Captain Gridley's scruples prevailed, and Major Brooks was ordered to proceed as rapidly as he could on foot. He arrived at Cambridge at about ten o'clock and delivered his message to General Ward. The General hesitated about the policy of sending reinforcements to Charlestown. He feared that the enemy might seize the occasion to make an attempt upon the public stores at Cambridge and Watertown, and thought it hardly prudent to leave them unprotected. The Committee of Safety who were then in session at head quarters, were consulted upon the subject, and in this body there was also a difference of opinion. Your townsman, Mr Devens, who was a member of the Committee, urged very strongly the necessity of sending a large reinforcement. His opinion so far prevailed that General Ward despatched orders to Colonels Stark and Reid, who, as I have said, were at Medford, to join Colonel Prescott with the New Hampshire troops. Without intending to impute the slightest blame to Gen. Ward or the Committee of Safety, whose conduct through the whole affair is above all praise, it may be remarked, that had they perceived at the moment more distinctly the importance of sending reinforcements and especially ammunition, the fortune of the day might perhaps have been different. Had our men been supplied with powder enough to meet the enemy on the third attack as they had done on the two first, it is hardly probable that he would have returned a fourth time to the charge.
Stark and Reid received their orders at about eleven o'clock, and having supplied their men with powder and ball,—an affair which from the total want of preparation occupied two hours,—they took up the line of march at about one. When they reached Charlestown neck they found the entrance occupied by one or two regiments who had been stationed there the night before, but had not yet been ordered to march. Maclary, the Major of Stark's regiment, rode forward by his order and requested the Colonels of these regiments, if they did not intend to proceed, to open to the right and left and let the New-Hampshire troops pass through, which they did. The troops were marching to slow time. 'My company being in front,' says General then Captain Dearborn, in his account of the battle, 'my company being in front, and I of course marching by the side of Stark, I suggested to him the propriety of quickening our pace that we might the sooner escape from the enemy's fire. "Dearborn," replied the Hero of Bennington with a look peculiar to himself, "Dearborn, one fresh man in action is worth a dozen fatigued ones."' The march continued to slow time.

Stark, like Prescott, Putnam and Gridley, was a veteran of the French wars. He had served as a captain of Rangers with the highest distinction;—had fought with Wolfe at Quebec;—had been received after the war into the British service, and like Gridley sacrificed his rank and pay in the cause. Major Maclary was an officer of great repute. 'Nearly six feet and a half in height,'
says Colonel Swett in his excellent sketch of the battle, 'with a Herculean form in perfect proportions, a voice like that of Stentor, and the strength of Ajax, unequalled in athletic exercises, and unsubdued in single combat, he had overcome whole bodies of men, and seemed to be utterly unconscious that he was not equally unconquerable at the cannon's mouth. His mind and character were of the same grand and energetic cast with his person. He served unhurt in the hottest of the action through the day, and after the troops had retreated, rode back to Medford to obtain dressings for the wounded. On his return he ordered Captain Dearborn to advance with his company towards the neck while he crossed it himself to reconnoitre the enemy. He recrossed it soon after with Lieut. Col. Robinson and some other officers, the neck being at the time enfiladed by the British batteries, and was remarking to his companions that the shot which was commissioned to close his career was not yet cast, when a ball from the Glasgow tore him to pieces.'

The New Hampshire troops arrived upon the ground at about two o'clock. In the mean time the American lines had been extended to the left, where advantage had been taken of a fence, composed of stone surmounted by wooden rails, which ran about two hundred yards in the rear of the breastwork from the hill to the bank of Mystic river. A little in front of this fence the troops formed another of a similar kind out of the other fences in the neighborhood, and
by filling up the space between the two with the hay which was lying upon the field constructed an imperfect substitute for a regular breastwork. Between the south end of the rail fence and the north end of the breastwork there was an opening, as I have said, of about two hundred yards which was entirely unprotected by any work whatever. This was the weak point in the American defences, and the one through which the British finally poured in the raking fire from their artillery which compelled the Americans to retreat. General Putnam had posted his company of Connecticut troops under Captain Knowlton at the rail fence, and when the New Hampshire troops came upon the field was employed with a part of the original detachment in throwing up a work upon Bunker Hill, which he seems to have regarded as a very important part of the operations of the day. He retained a portion of the New Hampshire troops to aid him at this point and advised the rest to post themselves with the Connecticut company at the rail fence. Stark accordingly took that course, and having encouraged his men by a short address and ordered them to give three cheers, he put them at last into quick time and marched up rapidly to the lines. These were the principal reinforcements that came upon the field in season to be of any use. At about one o'clock when it had become apparent that the British intended to attack the works, General Ward ordered all the troops at Cambridge, with the exception of five regiments, to reinforce those that were
engaged; but it was now so late in the day that this order produced but little effect. Most of the troops did not reach the ground, and those that did, came too late to be of much service.

The disposition of the American troops at the opening of the action was therefore as follows. Col. Prescott, with Col. Bridge, Lieut. Col. Brickett, and the greater part of the original detachment of about a thousand men, were in the redoubt and at the breastwork. Capt. Gridley with his company of artillery and two field pieces, and Capt. Callender with another of the same force were at the opening between the breastwork and the rail fence. Colonels Stark and Reid with the New Hampshire troops, and Capt. Knowlton with the Connecticut company were at the rail fence on the left, and Capt. Manners with the troops that had been posted at Charlestown in the morning at another rail fence which had been formed on the right between the redoubt and the road. General Putnam who was on horseback, was employed in throwing up works on Bunker Hill, whence he rode, as occasion appeared to require, to the rail fence, and once or twice in the course of the morning, to headquarters at Cambridge.

The veteran Pomeroy, to whom I have already particularly adverted, and who at this time held no commission in the line, when he heard the pealing artillery, felt it as a summons to action and could not resist the inclination to repair to the field. He accordingly requested General Ward to lend him a horse, and
taking his musket set off at full speed for Charlestown. On reaching the neck and finding it enfiladed by a hot and heavy fire of round, bar and chain shot from the British batteries, he began to be alarmed,—not, fellow-citizens! as you may well suppose, for his own safety, but for that of Gen. Ward's horse. Horses, fellow-citizens! as I have already remarked, were at this time almost as rare and precious as the nobler animals that rode them. Too honest to expose his borrowed horse to the 'pelting of this pitiless storm' and too bold to dream for a moment of shrinking from it himself, the conqueror of Baron Dieskau dismounted, and delivering Gen. Ward's horse to a sentry, shouldered his musket and marched very coolly on foot across the neck. On reaching the hill he took his place at the rail fence. His person was known to the soldiers, and the name of Pomeroy rang with enthusiastic shouts along the line.

Such, fellow-citizens! were our fathers. Could any power compel such men to submit to oppression? Shall the sons of sires like these shrink from any danger, when the voice of honor and duty calls them into action? Never! never! never!

Let us now, fellow-citizens and friends! glance for a moment,—for the time to which I am limited will prevent me from enlarging upon every part of the subject,—at the preparations of the enemy. At day-break, when the movements of the Americans were first discovered, a fire was opened upon them, as I have said, from all the batteries, which was con-
tinued, but without doing much execution, through the day. At an early hour in the morning General Gage summoned a Council of War, at the building now called the City Hall. They were all of course agreed as to the propriety of dislodging the Americans, but there was some difference of opinion upon the manner of making the attack. Generals Clinton and Grant were for landing at Charlestown neck and taking the works in the rear; but this plan was considered by the Governor as too hazardous. It would place the British between two armies, one superior in force and the other strongly entrenched, by which they might have been attacked at once in front and rear, without the possibility of a retreat. The plan preferred by the Council was to land and attack the works in front.

Accordingly at about noon, twenty-eight barges left the end of Long Wharf, filled with the principal part of the first detachment of the British troops, which consisted of four battalions of infantry, ten companies of light infantry, and ten of grenadiers. They had six pieces of artillery, one of which was placed in each of the six leading boats. The barges formed in single file and in two parallel lines. The day was without a cloud, and the regular movement of this splendid naval procession, with the glow of the brazen artillery, and the scarlet dresses and burnished arms of the troops, exhibited to the unaccustomed eyes of the Americans, a brilliant and imposing spectacle. The barges advanced in good order and landed their freight.
at the south-eastern point of the Peninsula commonly called Morton's Point. Immediately after they had landed, it was discovered that most of the cannon balls which had been brought over, were too large for the pieces, and that it was necessary to send them back and obtain a fresh supply. 'This wretched blunder of over-sized balls,' says a British writer of the day, 'arose from the dotage of an officer of rank in the ordnance department, who spends all his time with the schoolmaster's daughters.' It seems that General Cleveland, 'who,' as the same author says, 'though no Samson, must have his Delilah,' was enamored of the beautiful daughter of old Master Lovell, and in order to win favor with the damsel, had given her young brother an appointment in the ordnance for which he was not qualified. This error, to whatever cause it might have been owing, created delay and somewhat diminished the effect of the British fire during the two first attacks. While the British Commander was preparing and sending off his second detachment, the first remained unmolested at Morton's Point, and quietly dined, most of the men for the last time, from the contents of their knapsacks. At about two o'clock, the second detachment left WinnisimMET Ferry in the barges, and joined the first at Morton's Point, soon after which, the reinforcements, consisting of a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, the forty-seventh battalion of infantry, and a battalion of marines, landed at Madlin's ship-yard, now the Navy Yard, near the east end of Breed's
Hill. The whole together composed a force of about five thousand men. Gen. Howe had the command of the expedition. He had under him Gen. Pigot, and Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie and Clarke.

The two armies, fellow-citizens, are now in presence,—prepared,—poorly enough on our side, but as fully as the occasion will permit,—for action. Before we follow them to the fatal encounter, let us pause for a moment, and contemplate in fancy the picture that was then exhibited by the two Peninsulas and the surrounding waters and country. Transport yourselves with me to the opposite heights at the northern extremity of Boston,—then the post of observation of the British Commander and his staff,—and let us look forth from that elevated point upon the spirit-stirring scene. Before us flows the silver-winding Charles, not, as now, interrupted by numerous bridges, but pursuing a smooth, unbroken way to the ocean. Between us and the Charlestown shore, are the ships of war, the Somerset, the Lively and the Falcon: the Glasgow lies on the left within the mouth of the river. Their black and threatening hulks pour forth at every new discharge, fresh volumes of smoke that hang like fleecy clouds upon the air. I see their lightnings flash: I hear their thunders repeated in deafening echoes by all the neighboring hills. From time to time as the veil of smoke is cleared away, I see before me on the opposite side, rising by a gentle ascent, your sister hills, clothed in the green luxuriance of the first flush of vegetation, excepting where their summits are
broken by the low and hasty works of the Americans. Behind these scanty defences methinks I see our gallant fathers swarming to the rescue of freedom and the country. Their homely apparel has but little to attract the eye; but now and then when some favorite officer makes his appearance, a shout of gratulation passes along their lines and proves the ardor that inspires them for the cause. Below the hill your flourishing town extends its white dwellings interspersed with trees and gardens along the shore, and farther to the right the British forces spread forth their long and brilliant array. There grim-visaged war clothes his iron front with all his bravest pomp and pageantry. The 'meteor flag' of England flames in the van: at the head of every regiment its gilded banner floats in dazzling beauty on the breeze. The splendid dresses charm the eye: the martial music bursts inspiringly upon the ear, while the brazen artillery and burnished armor almost mock, as they reflect his beams, the summer sun that shines above. To complete the picture, the hills of Chelsea, Charlestown and Cambridge, rise in the back ground, forming a vast natural amphitheatre, their summits crowded by the whole population of the neighborhood, men, women and children, who are also clustering like bees upon the house-tops and steeples of Boston and Charlestown. In the mean time the harbor sleeps without, in tranquil beauty, reflecting like a mirror, from its polished surface, the emerald isles that gem its bosom and the ships that are lying at
the wharves, while a clear unclouded sky spreads its blue canopy above the whole, as if the elements of nature were purposely contrasting their most magnificent forms of silence and repose with the agonizing effort and noisy bustle of the hostile movements of men.

Splendid panorama! How soon to be defiled with stains of dust and blood! Fearful, ominous silence! How soon to be broken by shouts of rage and groans of agony! How soon those peaceful, happy homes shall be wrapt in flames! How many of those hearts which are now almost bursting with the swollen tides of passion, shall in two short hours be cold forever! But while all is yet hushed in breathless expectation,—at the moment, when both the parties and the assembled multitude are eagerly, tremulously awaiting the signal for the action,—while the bolt of fate is yet for an instant suspended,—methinks I see, as I look to the American works, a horseman advancing towards them at full speed. He must be some officer of high rank. As he crosses Bunker Hill, Gen. Putnam, also on horseback, rushes forward to greet him.—'Good God! General Warren! is it you? I rejoice and regret to see you. Your life is too precious to be exposed in this battle. But since you are here, I take your orders.'—'General Putnam, I have none to give; you have made your arrangements. I come to aid you as a volunteer. Tell me where I can be useful.'—'Go then to the redoubt: you will there be covered.'—'I came not to be covered,' re-
plies the hero, 'tell me where I shall be most in dan-
ger,—where the action will be hottest.'—' The re-
doubt,' replies Putnam, 'will be the enemy's object:
if that can be defended, the day is ours.' General
Warren pursues his way to the redoubt. The troops
recognise his person and welcome him with loud huz-
zas. Colonel Prescott offers to take his orders.
'No, Colonel Prescott, give me yours,—give me a
musket: I have come to take a lesson of a veteran
soldier in the art of war.'

General Warren had officiated the preceding day
as President of the Congress which was sitting at
Watertown, and had passed the night in transacting
business. At day-light he arrived at Cambridge suf-
fearing severely with a nervous head-ache and threw
himself on a bed. When information was received
that the enemy were moving, General Ward sent to
notify him. He rose immediately, declared that his
head-ache was gone, attended the meeting of the
Committee of Safety, and then mounted his horse
and repaired to the scene of action, where he arrived
with the last reinforcements.

Let us turn our eyes again upon the scene of ac-
tion. It is now three o'clock. A movement is made
at the station of the British Commander, indicating
that the signal for action is about to be given.

Stay! brothers! men! Englishmen all! Rush not
madly into civil conflict! Stay yet a moment! Per-
haps some lucky chance,—some prudent word of
council may yet avert the catastrophe!—Alas!—no!
—The time for reconcilement,—for prudence, counsel, kindness, chance, has long since past. Years of controversy,—ages of preparation have announced this hour. The rash and thoughtless have brought it on: the wise have dreaded it: the bold and generous friends of their country now rejoice at its arrival. But welcome or not we must make the best of it, for here it is.

The signal is given by a general discharge of the field-pieces, for the movement of the British army. Their columns proceed slowly to give the artillery time to take effect. General Howe with the right division advances towards the rail-fence: General Pigot with the left towards the redoubt. Suddenly the fire of the British artillery ceases. Howe in consternation demands the reason. 'The balls are too large.'—'Fatal error! what delusion drives General Cleveland to pass all his time with the schoolmaster's daughters, instead of minding his business?—Pour in grape!' The fire is renewed: our little battery of field-pieces placed at the opening between the breastwork and the rail-fence, reply to it with effect. In the mean time the American drums beat to arms. Putnam, who is at work on Bunker Hill, quits his entrenchment and leads his men into action. I hear him addressing them. 'Powder is scarce and must not be wasted: reserve your fire till you see the whites of their eyes; then take aim at the officers.' The order is repeated along the whole line. The British are now within gunshot of the works. A few sharp-
shooters disobey their orders and fire. 'Fire again before the word is given at your peril,' exclaims Prescott; 'the next man that disobeys orders shall be instantly shot.' Lieut. Colonel Robinson, who with Col. Buttrick had led the troops so gallantly at Concord on the 19th of April, runs round the top of the parapet and throws up the muskets. The British are at eight rods distance. 'Now, men! now is your time!' says the veteran Prescott. 'Make ready! take aim! fire!'—The smoke clears away and the whole hill-side is covered with the dead. The British return the fire: they rally: they attempt to advance. In vain. Victory! victory! They have turned their backs: they are flying from the field.

Thus ends the first attack. But where in the mean time are the reinforcements of artillery? Where is Major Gridley with his battalion? Is he too slumbering in the lap of some beauteous Delilah? Ah, gallant, learned Rumford! could your thorough science, your vigorous and energetic action have done justice to the orders of the veteran hero of Louisburg, there would have been no want of amunition: powder enough would have found its way to the redoubt, and the day might still have been ours. But America must pay the penalty of Col. Gridley's parental partiality, as Britain does of Gen. Cleveland's supernuated gallantry.—The American artillery was badly served. Early in the day Captain Callender drew off his two pieces from the lines to Bunker Hill, that he might prepare his amunition in safety.
General Putnam attempted in vain to induce him to return, and was finally obliged to employ Captain Ford, who was passing the hill with his company, and who knew nothing of the military service, to drag the pieces back. By him and by Captain Perkins, who was also stationed at the opening between the breastwork and the rail-fence, they were served through the day. Major Gridley had been ordered to proceed with his battalion from Cambridge to the lines; but had advanced only a few yards beyond the neck, when he made a halt, determined, as he said, to wait and cover the retreat which he considered inevitable.

—At that moment Colonel Frye, whose regiment was in the redoubt, but who, being on other duty, as I remarked before, had not yet joined it, was riding towards the hill, and found Major Gridley with his artillery in the position I have described. Frye galloped up to him and demanded what it meant.—‘We are waiting to cover the retreat.’—‘Retreat?’—replies the veteran, ‘who talks of retreating?—This day thirty years ago I was present at the taking of Louisburg, when your father with his own hand lodged a shell in the citadel. His son was not born to talk of retreating. Forward to the lines!’—Gridley proceeded a short distance with his artillery, but, overcome with terror,—unequal to the horrors of the scene,—he ordered his men back upon Cobble Hill to fire with their three pounders upon the Glasgow and the floating batteries. The order was so absurd that Captain Trevett refused to obey it, and proceed-
ed with his two pieces. He lost one of them by a cannon shot on Bunker Hill; the other he brought to the lines. This little fragment of Major Gridley's battalion, was the only reinforcement of artillery that came into action.

Colonel Gerrish with his regiment of infantry reached the top of Bunker Hill on his way to the lines, but there his courage failed. He had served with distinction as a Captain in the provincial army of 1756, but he had now become unwieldy from excessive corpulence. On reaching the top of Bunker Hill he declared that he could not go a step farther, and threw himself prostrate on the ground. Putnam, who was on the hill, attempted in vain to induce him to proceed. His men, discouraged probably by the conduct of their commander, were equally indisposed for action. 'They could not proceed without their officers.'—Putnam offered to lead them himself.—'The cannon were abandoned and there was no chance without artillery.'—Gerrish was not immediately called to account for his conduct on this occasion, and was even employed after the battle upon another service, where his behavior was not much better. He was then brought to a court martial for his delinquency in both the actions, convicted of conduct unworthy of an officer and cashiered. Major Gridley was tried for neglect of duty and dismissed the service. Capt. Callender was also brought to a court martial, convicted of cowardice and dismissed the service: but he determined to clear away the stain upon his
character in the noblest manner. He continued with the army as a volunteer, and exposed himself desperately in every action. Finally at the battle of Long Island, after the Captain and Lieutenant of the artillery company in which he served as a private had been shot, he assumed the command, and refusing to retreat fought his pieces till the enemy were just upon him, when a British officer admiring his intrepidity, interfered and saved his life.—The noble heart of Washington was moved by this display of gallantry. He restored Capt. Callender to his rank, and sending for the orderly book tore out of it with his own hand, the record of the proceedings of the Court Martial by which he had been found guilty. He served through the war and retired with the highest reputation at its close. There were little harm, fellow-citizens, in occasional errors, could they always be followed by so noble an atonement.

Meanwhile an ominous pause, like the lull that from time to time interrupts the wildest tempest, prevails upon the scene of action, only broken by the occasional discharges of artillery from the ships and batteries. But the British are preparing for a second attack. Let us place ourselves again upon the opposite heights and mark its progress. General Howe has rallied and re-organized his men: with unshaken intrepidity they advance through the tall grass, under the heat of a blazing summer sun, loaded with knapsacks of more than a hundred pounds weight toward the lines. The artillery push forward to within three
hundred yards of the rail fence, and open their battery to prepare the way for the infantry. A deep silence broods over the American lines. The men are ordered to reserve their fire till the British are at six rods distance.

But while they are thus advancing, what new spectacle bursts upon the eyes of the assembled multitude and adds another grander horror to the scene? What rolling clouds of smoke overspread the town? What sheets of living fire flash out from among them in all directions? Charlestown is in flames! The British General, annoyed at his first onset by the fire of a detachment stationed in the town, has ordered it to be burned. Combustibles have been hurled into it from Boston. The first carcass fell short in the channel: the second has commenced the fatal work: a detachment of marines from the Somerset complete it. The ravenous element is now in full possession of the town. It devours with unrelenting fury house on house, and street on street. It reaches the church; envelopes the large edifice in its embraces, and ascends to the sky on its lofty spire, like the brilliant explosion of some vast volcano. Where now shall helpless age and infancy fly for refuge? Where shall the mother conduct her child, when death in all its various horrid forms surrounds her alike at home and abroad? But hark! what discordant clang breaks strangely on the ear through the noise of crackling flames and crashing edifices? The beam that suspended the church bell, is burnt off, and the bell in falling through
the ruins, rings continuously with a hoarse, unwonted, startling tone. Far different was the voice with which that bell in happier times summoned the neighborhood to religious worship, or announced the arrival of some joyous holiday, or tolled in solemn sadness for the burial of the dead. But the sounds which it now sends forth, are suited to the time: they are harsh and horrid like the tumult around: they respond not unfitly to the roar of the batteries, the rattling of the musketry, the shouts, the shrieks, the groans, that make up the fearful music of a field of battle.

Unawed by scenes like these, which in ordinary times would drive the dullest soul to desperation, the armies coolly prosecute their work. The British mount the hill by slow and regular approaches: they fire in platoons with all the precision of a holiday review, and though without aim, not entirely without effect. Colonels Brewer and Nixon are carried off wounded. Colonel Buckminster is crippled for life by a ball through the shoulder. Major Moore is shot through the thigh. While his men are carrying him off, he receives another ball through the body, which afterwards proves mortal. He calls for water:—'not a drop to be had this side of the neck:'—two of his men set forth to get it for him. In the mean time the Americans reserve their fire. At length, when the British are at only six rods distance, the order is given. The discharge takes place. Victory! once more victory!—Again the enemy are turning their
backs! Again they are hurrying from the hill!—Where are now the brilliant ranks that only a few moments since extended far and wide around its sides?—Hundreds of the men have fallen including a large proportion of the best officers. General Howe stands almost alone. His aids, Balfour, Gordon, Addison, allied to the author of the Spectator; almost every officer of his staff have been killed or wounded at his side. In another quarter Major Small in like manner stands almost alone. His companions in arms have been all swept away: his own life is suspended by a thread, for the marksmen have singled him out from the parapet: they see the brilliant uniform that distinguishes his rank, and have pointed their unerring rifles at his heart. Another instant will have stopped its pulses forever. No! not so! Friendship,—chivalry, come to his aid. General Putnam recognises him and flies to the rescue. He throws himself before the levelled rifles.—'Spare that officer! my gallant comrades! we are friends!—we are brothers!—do you not remember how we rushed into each other's arms at the meeting for the exchange of prisoners?' The men obey the veteran's well-known voice, and Small retires unmolested from the field; for, already, fellow-citizens, for the second time on this eventful day has the order been given for the British army to retreat.

Here ends the tale of triumph. Oh! that here too could end the story of the day! Let us hasten through the closing act of this glorious tragedy. Un-
daunted by this new repulse the British general gives orders at once for a third attack. Some of his officers remonstrate, but their objections are over-ruled by the unanimous consent of all the rest. Enlightened by experience,—cured of their vain presumption,—they now adopt a more judicious plan. They throw aside their knapsacks, reserve their fire, and trust to the bayonet. They concentrate their force upon the redoubt and breast-work. They have discovered the vulnerable point in our defences and have brought up their artillery to the opening between the breast-work and the fence, where it turns our works and enfilades the whole line. General Howe leads on in person the attack on the redoubt. General Clinton, who has seen from Copp’s Hill the defeat of his countrymen, though not himself on duty, volunteers his services and hastens to the rescue. His well-known gallantry and talents inspire new confidence. He takes his station with Pigot on the left.

In the mean time what remains for our gallant countrymen?—Their ammunition is exhausted: they have no bayonets: no reinforcements arrive. Colonel Gardner, who had received no orders through the day, has volunteered his services, and reaches Bunker Hill with three hundred men; but just as he is descending to the lines, he receives a wound from a musket ball, which afterwards proves mortal. As his men are carrying him from the field, his son, a youth of nineteen, second lieutenant in the artillery company of the gallant Trevett, who is just marching on, meets
and recognises his father. Distracted at seeing him in this condition, he offers to aid in conducting him from the field. ‘Think not of me!’ replies the noble Gardner with a spirit worthy of a Bayard, ‘think not of me! I am well: go forward to your duty at the post of honor and of danger!’—The son obeys his orders, and the father retires from the field to die. He was a member of the General Court from Cambridge, and one of the principal men in the Colony. His regiment is broken by the loss of their leader, and only one company comes into action. This was the Charlestown company commanded by Capt. Harris. It was the last to leave the field. Their line enfiladed,—without ammunition,—without bayonets,—the Americans await with desperate resolution the onset of the British, prepared to repel them as they best may, with the few charges of powder and ball that are still left, with the butt ends of their muskets and with stones. The foremost of the British are attempting to scale the works. Richardson, of the Royal Irish, is the first to mount the parapet. He is shot down at once. Major Pitcairn follows him. As he steps upon the parapet, methinks I hear his exulting cry, ‘the day is ours!’ but while the words are still upon his lips, he is shot through the body by a black soldier named Salem. His son receives him in his arms as he falls, and carries him from the hill. He led the detachment which first encountered our troops upon Lexington Green on the nineteenth of April: had a horse shot under him in the battle of
that day, and was left upon the field for dead.—General Pigot mounts the south-east corner of the redoubt, by the aid of a tree which has been left standing there, and is the first to enter. His men follow him. The Americans still resist. The veteran Gridley receives a ball through the leg and is carried off. Colonel Bridge, who came with the first detachment remains till the last, and is twice severely wounded with a broadsword. Lieut. Prescott, a nephew of the Colonel is wounded in the arm: it hangs broken and lifeless by his side. His uncle tells him to content himself with encouraging the men, but he contrives to load his piece, and is passing through the sally-port to point it at the enemy, when a cannon ball cuts him to pieces. Major Moore remains at the last extremity: his men who went to the neck for water, have returned and are offering to assist him, but he tells them to provide for themselves and leave him to his fate.—Colonel Prescott perceives at last that farther resistance is only a wanton sacrifice of valuable life, and issues the order to retreat. The Americans leave the redoubt and retire with little molestation from the field.

With little molestation did I say? Alas! one sacrifice, the dearest, greatest of all is yet to be made:—one other victim,—purer, more precious than any that has yet been offered up, must be laid this day upon the altar of the country.—Too rash,—too generous Warren!—you have come to learn the art of war from a veteran soldier:—you have come to take
his orders:——but your desperate courage refuses to obey the last. On the right,—in front,—the enemy are pouring in upon you: on the left their artillery sweeps transversely through the works: ammunition, every thing is exhausted: the post is no longer tenable: your comrades are leaving you: the best, the bravest are in full retreat: still you linger! Hasten, gallant Warren! Honor, duty, command you to follow them. Recollect how much depends on your life!——President of Congress!——Major-General in the army!——President of the Committee of Safety! Idol of the people! Throw not away in mere desperation a life that involves so many interests!——Gentlest, kindest, purest of beings! Think of home!——Recollect what tender hearts will be rent with agony by your loss! Recollect that beloved one who has clasped her babes in horror to her breast at the report of every gun that has been fired this day, from the mere imagination that your life might be in danger!——Thank God! you are leaving the redoubt! You are now at eight rods distance!——Alas! you present too fair a mark for the British musketry: they are all aiming at you. Major Small rushes to the rescue. His life has been saved this day in a similar extremity by the interference of Putnam: he means to requite the service by saving yours. He calls to you by name: he entreats you not to expose your person: he implores you to return;——to surrender yourself a prisoner;——to entrust yourself to his care:——he assures you of the most honorable treatment. Listen
to him, gallant Warren! you may yet be saved for your friends, your country.—You turn your head: you appear to recognize him: your lips move in reply. The distant accents die upon the air; but I feel, I know, I hear in fancy what you say.—‘Generous Briton! no! We have this day lost all but honor, that at least no act of mine shall sully.’ Major Small commands his men not to fire: he knocks up their muskets with his sword. In vain! Too late! A ball from some other quarter has done the fatal work. ‘The beauty of Israel has fallen upon his high places!’

General Howe, though slightly wounded in the foot, passed the night upon the field of battle. The next morning, as he was resting, wrapt in his cloak, upon a mound of hay, word was brought to him that the body of Warren was found among the dead. It had been recognized by General Winslow of Boston, then a youth. Howe refused at first to credit the intelligence: it was impossible that the President of Congress could have exposed his life in such an action. When assured of the fact he declared that his death was an offset for the loss of five hundred men. His body was buried at the place where he fell. The bullet by which he was killed had been previously taken from it by Mr. Savage, an officer in the Custom House, and was carried by him to London, where he afterwards delivered it to the Rev. Mr. Montague of Dedham. It was brought to me a day or two ago by a son of Mr Montague with an affidavit authenti-
eating the facts, and is the one, fellow-citizens! which I now hold in my hand. The cartridge paper which still partly covers it is stained, as you see, with the hero's blood. The next year the body was removed to a tomb in Tremont cemetery and was finally deposited in the family vault under St. Paul's Church.

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
With all their country's wishes blest?
When spring with dewy fingers cold
Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
It there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than blooming Fancy ever trod.

By Fairy hands their knell is rung:
By forms unseen their dirge is sung:
There Honor walks, a pilgrim gray,
To deck the turf that wraps their clay,
And Freedom shall a while repair
To dwell a weeping hermit there.

The battle, which commenced at three o'clock lasted about two hours. The number of the troops engaged on our side is estimated at about three thousand five hundred. The loss was a hundred and fifteen killed and missing, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty taken prisoners. Prescott's regiment suffered more than any other: in that alone there were forty two killed and twenty eight wounded. The other regiments which composed the original detachment and the New Hampshire troops also suffered severely. Col. Gardner, Lieut. Col. Parker of Chelmsford, Major Moore and Major Maclary were the only officers above the rank of Captain, ex-
cepting Warren, who fell in the battle. The number of the British troops engaged is estimated, as I said before, at about four thousand. Their loss was rated by the Massachusetts Congress in their official account of the action at fifteen hundred. Governor Gage in his official account acknowledges a loss of one thousand and fifty-four: two hundred and twenty six killed, eight hundred and twenty eight wounded, including nineteen officers killed and seventy wounded. Charlestown was entirely destroyed by the flames. After the battle the British took possession of Bunker Hill from which they kept up a fire of artillery through the night: the Americans occupied Prospect and Winter Hills. It was apprehended that the British would pursue their advantage by making an attempt on the stores at Cambridge, but their loss was probably too severe. They entrenched themselves on Bunker Hill, and the Americans resumed their former position.

Survivors of the battle! welcome to the scene of your toils and sacrifices in the cause of your country! Venerable men! This day sixty one years ago, you came up here in the freshness of youth's early morning to risk your lives in defence of that country's rights. In her auspicious name I bid you welcome to this consecrated spot. Accept our thanks for your attendance! Accept our warm congratulations upon the happy circumstances under which the celebration is held! Rejoice with us that your early labors were not lost:—that the blood which you poured out like
water has not been shed in vain:—that while others have been taken away, you have been spared in the goodness of Providence to witness, to enjoy yourselves the blessed fruits of your devotion to liberty! Behold them, venerable friends! in all that surrounds you,—in every proof of individual or national welfare, that greets your eyes as you survey this brilliant scene! This fair and smiling town;—these numerous bridges, channels of wealth, free at length as air to the footsteps of industry;—these cultivated fields that stretch in every direction as far as the eye can reach around us;—the ships that are waiting at the neighboring wharves, impatient to spread their snowy canvass upon every ocean;—the manufactories that are rising, as if by enchantment, in all our villages;—that Navy-yard with its noble Dock, where the glorious banner of the Union,—not yet unfurled, when you, venerable warriors! came up here to battle under the good old provincial standard of Massachusetts Bay,—now displays in pride and beauty its star-spangled folds to the summer air;—that celebrated city, the boast and honor of New England, renowned throughout the world as a strong-hold of Learning, Religion and Liberty, now bursting its bounds with exuberant prosperity and embracing in its constantly expanding grasp the whole vicinity;—above all, this crowd of happy faces,—this dense multitude of prosperous, educated, enlightened, virtuous, pious free-men,—of women worthy to share their happiness, honored mothers, tender wives, lovely daughters,—
there was little comparatively of all this, venerable friends! when you came up here sixty-one years ago to the help of the Lord against the mighty. A little one has become a thousand. To you and to your generous and gallant companions in arms and in council we owe this glorious change. What do I say? We owe it to you that the light of day greets us cheerfully,—that the air of heaven breathes kindly upon us,—that sleep refreshes us,—that the fruits of the earth nourish and gladden us: for when did the elements of nature perform their work benignantly upon the slave?—Fortunate men! you have lived to witness the good that you have done. Welcome then, friends and benefactors! to the scene of your patriotic efforts,—of your trial, your glory and now your high reward! Accept once more our warm congratulations! Accept our heartfelt thanks!

But the sphere of your services has not been limited by the bounds of this flourishing neighborhood,—or even this large and prosperous commonwealth. Look farther, venerable friends! Behold this vast, confederate Republic, the mighty mother of states and empires, stretching her boundless domain from the eastern to the western ocean through the whole temperate zone! Behold that range of inland seas alive with commerce,—those magnificent rivers bearing on their bosom to every quarter of the globe, the richest products of skill and industry,—the numerous cities, abodes of science, art and wealth, that shine like gems upon our far-extended coast,—the
fair plantations that enrich and adorn the interior,—
the schools, the colleges, the churches, diffusing knowl-
dge, virtue and piety among the people!—Turn your eyes to the seat of the General Government!—Observe there a new form of political society, comb-
ing the advantages of small communities with the
security of large ones,—uniting in happiest bonds the sister forms of Liberty and Law,—establish-
ing among a brotherhood of sovereign states, exten-
ting over a vast continent, the grand and
hitherto vainly desired consummation of Perpetual Peace! Behold this system heretofore regarded as
the idle, impracticable dream of wild enthusiasm, working out its beauteous miracles in quiet majesty amid the storms that convulse the political world in all other quarters, and already sanctioned and strength-
ened by the experience of more than half a century!
Lay open the volume of your country's history! Be-
hold there the record of a series of events unparal-
leled, unapproached in the annals of the world!—a
family of new nations springing as it were from the
soil under the quickening sunshine of justice and lib-
erty, and under the same impulse mounting with gi-
ant steps the heights of power, wealth, and social
improvement!—Read over the long list of the illus-
triuous names that crowd the pages of that precious
book,—your Hancock, your Adamses, your Frank-
lins, your Jeffersons, your Madisons, your Jacksons,
with their noble fellow-patriots and heroes, and above
them all the unique Washington! Hear Great Brit-
ain bearing public testimony through the mouths of her most enlightened sons to the 'astonishing superiority' of your statesmen in council,—sealing with the blood of her ablest generals on the battle-field the overwhelming power of your 'military chieftains':—

and, harder still, striking for the first time that 'meteor flag' that had braved the battle and the breeze a thousand years to the banner of your 'fir-built frigates!' To you, venerable friends and benefactors! to you and your contemporaries of the revolutionary age, we owe this splendid spectacle of national justice, greatness and glory. Without your labors, sufferings, sacrifices, successes, what would this country have been? An insignificant British possession on a remote, unexplored continent; a half-starved colony, kept on purpose just large enough to afford its contribution to the bloated greatness of an overgrown metropolitan state and not too large to endanger its dependance,—a Jamaica,—a Botany Bay. You gave us Independence and Liberty,—the conditions of our greatness, our glory, our existence. Splendid boon! How shall we reward such service? What thanks, what acknowledgments, what words of fondest love and warmest welcome can give any adequate expression to the obligations we are under and the feelings with which we are inspired?

But even these unexampled results do not comprehend the whole of the services which you rendered to the world on this eventful day. As friends of liberty, of human happiness, we limit our regards
to no single country, not even to our own. We extend them through the world. Wherever there are men, living, laboring, suffering, enjoying,—there are our brothers. Look then still further abroad, honored friends and patriots! Behold in distant countries,—in other quarters of the globe, the influence of your example and achievements in stimulating the progress of social improvement! Behold the mighty Spirit of Reform striding like a giant through the civilized world and trampling down established abuses at every step! That mighty Spirit, venerable friends! was rocked as an infant in yonder Cradle of Liberty. He fleshed his youthful sword with you at Lexington and Bunker Hill. Behold him working out his miracles in France, knocking off the shackles of neighboring nations in Spanish America, pursuing his course, sometimes triumphant, sometimes temporarily trodden under foot, betrayed by false friends, overwhelmed by superior force, but still in the main forward and onward over Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Greece! Behold him at this very moment planting his foot on the white cliffs of Albion and shaking to their lowest foundations the battlements of Windsor Castle! Yes, venerable friends! that mother country, whose unjust pretensions, whose wilful blindness to the true principles of liberty, brought you up in arms sixty-one years ago to yonder hill, is now studying the science of government in your school, and attempting to work out in practice the lessons which the world has learned from your exam-
ple. Yes, veteran patriots! for all this grand march of political and social improvement which makes up the business of the last half century and gives it a peculiar character in history, the world is indebted in no small measure to you. I mean not, noble friends! to mock you with extravagant praise. You have not done the whole of this mighty work. The lapse of centuries has slowly matured the consummation. Nations, races, successive generations of men have lent their aid in bringing it about. The student in his closet, the martyr at the fiery stake, Valor in the van of his armies, and Discretion in the dark chambers of civil polity, have all contributed their shares. Who could undertake to number the great and good of other times and other countries, who have borne testimony in various ways to the glorious cause of Reform, of Improvement, of Liberty? We acknowledge their services, we all but adore their memories; but while we render ample justice to their deserts, we feel, venerable friends! that our own revolutionary struggle in which you, and your contemporary patriots were engaged, constitutes a great, perhaps the greatest epoch in this universal progress of Improvement. That this very Battle of Bunker Hill, in which you personally took a part sixty-one years ago,—hurried, unprepared, unlooked for as it was,—insignificant as it may have appeared at the time to the proud statesmen and warriors of Europe,—was destined in the order of Providence to become in its results the Marathon of a new Greece. Rejoice then,
venerable friends! that you have been made the instruments in a work of such transcendant importance! Welcome once more to this holy mount of sacrifice, where you offered up your best blood, not for Massachusetts, not for New England, not for America only, but for the sacred cause of Liberty and Law throughout all countries, throughout all time!

Survivors of the Battle! your lot in life has been long as well as fortunate. Your companions in arms, who shared your trials and dangers on the memorable day we celebrate, have been successively called to receive their reward. The veterans of the old French wars, who gave you on that day the benefit of their tried valor and dear-bought experience,—Prescott, Gridley, Frye, Pomeroy, Stark, Gardner, Putnam and the rest,—already far advanced in the vale of years, slept soon after with their fathers. The great and good among your contemporaries whom their country called to her highest posts of trust and honor—they too have run their glorious course and passed away. The eloquent voice of Eustis is silent. The noble heart of Brooks no longer beats responsive to the call of honor. Knox and Dearborn have ceased to guide a nation's councils. The expanded mind of Rumford has found a fitter field of action in higher spheres. Their associates are fast disappearing.

Eleven years ago when you came up eagerly to meet the Nation's Guest, you still presented a numerous front. Two hundred of your number remained to take that generous stranger by the hand. You now
attend in diminished force. He, too, that noble stranger, the last Major General of the Revolutionary army, our illustrious friend, fellow-citizen, and guest, after passing through fresh trials,—after achieving new prodigies of patriotism and valor,—has closed his high career. You alone are left. Venerable friends and fathers! we greet you with deeper interest as the scanty, sole survivors of this memorable day. We rejoice that so many of you have been permitted to witness another solemn celebration of its return,—to hear once more, however feeble the voice that utters them, our cordial acknowledgments of your services and worth. May your lives be preserved yet longer for many years to come, and when in the fulness of time and honors, you too shall be gathered to your fathers and your brothers in arms, may you have the satisfaction in your last moments, of seeing the prosperity of the country which you did so much to establish, still unimpaired as it is now!

And you! fellow-citizens! fathers! friends and brothers! who have now united in the celebration of this interesting anniversary, may the scenes of this day not pass away from your minds like a vain and empty pageant without leaving behind them any useful traces! May the recollection of the virtues and achievements of your revolutionary fathers, strengthen all your nobler and better feelings, and inspire you with a desire to emulate within the sphere of your activity, their glorious example!
DISCOURSES

COMPRISING A HISTORY

OF THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

IN PROVIDENCE.

DELIVERED JUNE 19, 1836.

AFTER THE CLOSE OF A CENTURY FROM THE FORMATION
OF THE CHURCH.

BY EDWARD B. HALL,
PASTOR.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED BY KNOWLES, VOSE & CO.
1836.
NOTE.

The Discourses here offered call for a word of preface. The first century of the existence of this church expired in 1828. Circumstances prevented then the usual notice of the fact. The church being unwilling to let the occasion pass entirely, requested me to notice it. The present has been thought an appropriate time, as the first day when we again assemble in the house of our solemnities, after a temporary suspension for repairs and alterations, and as the year, and nearly the month, which mark the close of two centuries from the settlement of this town and state.

I have only to ask, that the errors of statement or inference into which I may have fallen, may be ascribed to the circumstance of my yet new connexion with this Society, and my very recent acquaintance with the facts which I am called to present. These facts have been drawn from imperfect records, and different, perhaps not always accurate, sources. But it is my happiness, and chief ground of confidence, that they have been submitted, in substance, to the judgment of one still among us, whose knowledge and accuracy are known to all.
NOTES.

NOTE, A.—p. 61.

The affidavit alluded to in the text, is as follows:—

I, William Montague, of Dedham, County of Norfolk, State of Massachusetts, clergyman, do certify, to whom it may concern, that in the year 1789 or 1790, I was in London, and became acquainted with Mr. Savage, formerly an officer of the customs for the port of Boston, and who left there when the Royalists and Royal troops evacuated that town in 1776.

When in London, Mr. Savage gave me a leaden ball, which is now in my possession, with the following account of it, viz.:—"On the morning of the 16th of June, 1775, after the battle of Bunker or Breed's Hill—I, with a number of other Royalists and British officers, among whom was Gen. Burgoyne, went over from Boston to Charlestown, to view the battle field. Among the fallen we found the body of Dr. Joseph Warren, with whom I had been personally acquainted. When he fell he fell across a rail. This ball I took from his body, and as I shall never visit Boston again, I will give it to you to take to America, where it will be valuable as a relic of your Revolution. His sword and belt, with some other articles, were taken by some of the officers present; and, I believe, brought to England."

(Signed) W M. MONTAGUE.

Norfolk, ss. Dedham, March 5, 1833.

The above named William Montague, appeared before me, and made oath to the above statement.

(Signed) SHERMAN LELAND.

Justice of the Peace

NOTE, B.—p. 63.

The survivors of the battle who were present at this celebration were as follows:—

Colonel Richardson, of Newton; Lieutenant Amos Pearson, of Newburyport; Simeon Tyler, of Camden, Maine; Captain Benjamin Webber, of Gloucester; Israel Hunt, of New Hampshire; Major Isaac Andrews, of New Hampshire; Jesse Smith, of Salem; Micah Alcott, of Braintree; Enos Reynolds, of Boxford.

OTHER REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

Dominicus Lord, of Kennebunk; David Smith, of New Hampshire; Nehemiah Holden, of Charlestown.
DISCOURSE 1.

JOB VIII. 8.
Inquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers.

To say that we feel an interest in the history of our churches, is but saying that we are interested in the history of New England. To be ignorant of the history of our churches, or indifferent to it, is to be indifferent and ignorant of the men from whom we descended, and of the institutions by which they secured and transmitted our highest privileges and choicest blessings. There are none of us who are indifferent. Ignorant we may be, unconcerned we are not and cannot be. It is unmeaning, it does but betray ignorance, for any to say that they care only for our civil polity and progress, and not for our religious. Our civil has been our religious polity. Or rather, the religious preceded and controlled the civil. Religion led the way. It laid the foundation. It reared the superstructure. It built not the church only but the school, it founded the college, it guarded the laws, it wielded the power, it threw its strong voice and stronger energy into all the forms and fashions, the institutions and interests, of the new State, and the new world.

We are made to smile, as well as to mourn, when we hear the modern aspirant for fame and professor of all wisdom,
sneering at the boasted power and blessings of religion, in any period of the world, in any portion of rude or advanced society. And the smile becomes amazement and pity, when the sneer is pointed at New England. New England, the child of religion! wafted in the Pilgrims' barque, planted on the Pilgrims' rock, baptized in the Pilgrims' tears, tears both of suffering and of gratitude. And what but religion, has crowned with such unexampled success and undying glory, the strongest wishes of the Pilgrims' heart—nerving the arm, sustaining the courage, guiding the counsels, inspiring the generous sacrifices and vigorous perseverance, which have made the wilderness and the solitary place glad for them, and caused that which was to them indeed a desert, should to us blossom as the rose.

With what kind of religion, as regards at least its external form, with what order of church polity and discipline, are we to connect the influence of which we speak, in the settlement of New England? It is in no spirit of boasting or exclusion, that we reply, the Congregational order. Not that we suppose this alone did the work, or that the power of religion resides in its mode of government, or that any order is the only true and acceptable. On the contrary, we regard it as the chief glory of the Congregational churches, that while they reserve to themselves, they extend freely to all, the liberty of deciding the question of order, believing that the Head of the church gave to all this liberty, and that the purposes of religion are best answered by guarding it sacredly, and exercising it independently, with no fear but of God, and no appeal except to Christ. It is therefore chiefly, though we acknowledge it is not only, as historical fact, that we trace to Congregational churches the influence which gave to New England its first and best impulse. In the history of Congregational churches, we read a large and most important portion of the history of
religious liberty. It was about twenty years before the landing of our fathers at Plymouth, that a Society of Christians in the North of England separated from the established church, "and as the Lord's Free People, joined themselves by covenant into a church-state, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it might cost them."* Here is the true spirit of Protestant and independent Congregationalism. It was in this spirit that these dissenters left their homes and crossed the wide waters, believing, as they said, that "the sun shines as pleasantly on America, as on England, and the sun of righteousness much more clearly," though they themselves were to open the forest and the soil, which would permit either sun to act in its power. It was in this spirit that the Plymouth colony, in 1641, passed an ordinance in these words: "That no injunction shall be put on any church or church member, as to doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, beside the command of the Bible." It was in this spirit, that all the early churches in this country were founded, each distinct and independent, in the making of its laws, in the choice of its pastor and officers, and in all its regulations; guarding their independence most suspiciously, carrying it out more consistently and fearlessly, than even their own churches in later times. Few churches except Congregational were founded in New England during its early periods.—As late as 1700, there were, as I find it stated on authority believed to be accurate, few Episcopalians, no Methodists, and with the exception of Rhode Island, very few Baptists; not a church of Baptists in Connecticut, and but two or three in

*Prince's New England Chronology. Prince and Norton give to this movement the early date of 1602. Neal dates the regular formation of the First Independent Congregational church at 1616, under Mr. Henry Jacob, a friend and convert of Robinson.
Massachusetts, while the Congregational churches in New England then were nearly one hundred and fifty.*

Here we find Rhode-Island made an exception to the general prevalence of Congregationalism. The statement is a common one, and is founded in truth, as a comparative view. But when given as a positive assertion, and applied to the first settlement of Rhode Island, it needs qualification. It is well known that Roger Williams and his associates came here as Congregationalists.† The first church which they formed in Providence, is stated by several writers to have been Congregational, and this it must have been, so far as it was of any order, or had any regular organization. But it is more probable that this little company formed no separate church at first, but worshipped, as they were able, after the manner of the church they had left in Salem, which we know was Pædobaptist and rigidly Congregational. The first church in Newport also, gathered in 1640, under the Rev. John Clarke, we are told, "was Congregational and Pæдобaptist, and continued so about four years, when it became Baptist."‡ It is also to be observed, that these and other churches, which afterward became Baptist, remained, and do still remain, Congregational in their general form and government. The First Baptist Church in Providence, formed in 1639, the first in America, has never bound itself by a creed, or used any articles of faith.|| This is true also of most of the old Baptist churches in this Colony. They are supposed, besides, by many of their own order, to have had at first open communion. Nor have any of

* History of Dissenters.
† Appendix, Note A.
‡ Dumont's Brief Notice, &c.—on the authority of Dr. Styles' Mss.—Is it not probable, however, that, both in Newport and Providence, the first settlers, though Congregationalists for the most part, did not at once organize a church, and that the first church regularly formed was Baptist?
|| Appendix, Note B.
these churches ever relinquished their separate independence, but continue, though associated for pastoral purposes, distinct and uncontrolled societies; adhering thus to the first principle of Congregationalism.

It is difficult to learn precisely what were the religious opinions and order of the first settlers of Rhode-Island. They seem to have been dissenters from all orders, and most of them were in character, if not in name, Independents and Seekers truly.* The most that can be confidently affirmed, is that they held various opinions, and that they changed their opinions when they saw fit, without admitting the right of any one to call them to an account for the change. They would therefore probably have been compelled, had they not been inclined, to allow to each other and to all, perfect freedom of opinion, where there were so many divisions and each a minority. Without meaning to detract in the least from the glory that belongs to them, as being the first community in the new or old world, who incorporated with their principles of government the fundamental article of Liberty of Con-science,† we cannot overlook the fact, that this measure, honorable and noble as it was, did not abate prejudice, nor prevent the more private, but not least baneful or least criminal kinds of persecution. We find it recorded, that “our fathers of this church and society had to plead the right of conscience, as contained in the fundamental law of the Colony, against reproach and insult.” We have no wish to dwell upon the fact; we advert to it only, as we have made all these prefatory remarks, in explanation of the circumstances in which our own history begins.

That history finds its first date in 1720, the same year that the Congregational church in Newport, the first in the colony,
was organized. The church here was not organized for some years after. But the first movement towards it was made in the year just named, 1720; and the individuals who made it, not having the ability to accomplish their object unassisted, sent out one Dr. Hoyle to get aid from the neighboring provinces. This aid was obtained, chiefly from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the first house of worship was erected "on or near the ground," says the record, "now improved as a burying ground on the west side of the great bridge."* We are told that the "disposition of the monies in the purchase of the land and locating the house, was very much if not wholly, according to the notion and humor of the said Hoyle; for though he had set up the house and partly covered it, the situation of it was so disagreeable to those that were in town, and their patrons and friends abroad, that it was taken down (some have said pulled down under the covert of the night.)" The objection to the location of the house seems to have been, that it was so far out of town, though not far west of Mr. Wilson's present church. A compromise was at last made with Dr. Hoyle, who seems to have taken good care of himself, if not of the Society, by which he gave them for all the money he had collected, one acre of land, in the same place where the house had been erected by him. This lot was used as the first burying-ground of this Society, and so continued until the purchase of the present burying-ground in 1785.

In 1723, a favorable lot was obtained of Daniel Abbot, supposed by many to have been given by him; and his general character would authorize the belief. On that lot a house was soon after erected, in which the society worshipped seventy-two years, and which still stands as the Town House, hav-

* Meaning the old burying-ground near the present junction of Pawtuxet and High streets.
The first name here given to this Society, Presbyterian, I know not how to explain. It is found in the earliest records and deeds, and was long the popular if not only name. It was the first name that met my own perplexed ear when I first inquired what church this was, and it is still betterknown probably, at least by those in the vicinity, than any other name.—And yet no reason is given for it. There is no intimation, that I can find, of a Presbyterian order existing here at any period. There is not now, and never has been, that I can learn, a Presbyterian church in Rhode-Island, and but two or three, in all New England. It is therefore very singular, that any churches should have taken and retained the name, and especially that they should call themselves Presbyterian or Congregational, as if these were synonymous terms.†

For some time after its formation, this Society depended upon neighboring ministers for the supply of the pulpit. The first minister who was in any way connected with it was the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, Maine; whose services were so ac-

"This is thought by many to have been the first Congregational Meeting-House erected in Rhode-Island. The church in Newport, though formed earlier, is supposed not to have had a house so early. This however may be doubted. There is reason to think there was a house in Newport earlier, as they built a second in 1729, which is still standing; and is this very month, having been purchased and almost rebuilt by the Unitarian Society, dedicated anew to the worship of God.

†The orthodox churches in Providence are commonly called Presbyterian now, though in their formal title and government they are wholly Congregational. I am inclined to think, that the name originated in the old and obstinate defence of Presbyterian or Congregational ordination, as opposed to the claims of Episcopacy.
ceptable, that messengers were sent to his people, and great exertions made, to obtain him as a permanent pastor. But all that his society were willing to grant,—and this is more than every society is willing to grant to others, however destitute—was that he might remain in Providence and preach three months. This he did, to the great satisfaction and apparent edification of the people. He came in 1724, when sixteen persons were baptised by him, whose names are given in the record, and who are to be regarded as constituting in some sense the first church. Mr. Moody graduated at Harvard College in 1697, and died in York at an advanced age. He continued to correspond with this Society, and to aid them by occasional visits, and must be considered as one of their best friends in their greatest need.*

In 1726, the first Bell was procured, with much difficulty and not without foreign aid. But being soon broken "by some unlucky stroke," as we are told, "it was sent back to London to be run anew." It was not replaced till near the time of the first ordination.

The first stated minister of this Church and Society, was Josiah Cotton, one of that family whose names are so prominent in our early history. He had graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He was ordained here the 23d of October, 1728; and the event, though the church was very small, and the society still feeble, attracted no little attention, as we gather from the minute and original account of it which we have found on a loose memorandum, written by Mr. Cotton himself.†

At this ordination, the first of the kind in Providence, and the third in Rhode-Island, the sermon was preached by Mr.

* Allen's 'Biog. Die.' contains a brief notice of Mr. Moody's character, from which we give an extract in the Appendix, Note E.

† This account is so peculiar, and says so much for the simplicity and humble devotion of Mr. Cotton, that we give it entire in the Appendix, Note F.
Nath. Appleton of Cambridge, and a church was embodied, consisting of nine male members, beside the Pastor, whose names he has given in the note to which we have just referred. The Confession of Faith and Covenant, which these individuals subscribed, is too long to be here inserted. It is decidedly Trinitarian and moderately Calvinistic, but not harsh or at all exclusive. It is in the common language of that day, and its temper is more than commonly humble and charitable.

Before the first communion, the Church received from a few friends in Boston, complete furniture for the pulpit and both ordinances. Joseph Bagley and Timothy Carpenter were the first Deacons.

The ministry of Mr. Cotton continued for a term of nineteen years. Of these the first fifteen were undisturbed and happy. It was a period of extreme feebleness with the church as to their pecuniary ability, and they were then, as for many years afterward, obliged to seek aid from abroad. But they were at peace among themselves and with those around them, and additions were made to their numbers. I find no record of important changes or material facts, until the year 1742, when this Church began to feel, what few churches in New England wholly escaped—the pernicious effects of the great Whitefield revival. We are not in the habit, and I desire we may never be, of speaking contemptuously of any of the actual or supposed operations of God's spirit. But it is a duty to speak decidedly of that, whose end as well as beginning we can see, that which is no longer matter of conjecture, but of history, and whose results are too strongly marked to be unnoticed or mistaken by any. Of the excitement that prevailed about the middle of the last century, the period now under review, there can be but one opinion. And if the impartiality of our opinion is doubted, there are witnesses whom none
will question. I have one before me of the highest authority, who was closely connected with the scenes of which we speak. I refer to Dr. Stiles, then Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport. In his full, valuable, and truly catholic discourse on Christian Union, delivered in 1760, before the Congregational Convention assembled at Bristol, he makes these general remarks, which will help us to understand the causes of the only schism, that this church has ever experienced.

"One source of different sentiment, were the unhappy excesses into which our churches have been transported in the late enthusiasm that has prevailed since the year 1740. In the public mistaken zeal, religion was made to consist in extravagancies and indecencies, which were not according to the faith once delivered. Multitudes were seriously, soberly, and solemnly out of their wits. The scriptures were in danger of being neglected for the indistinguishable impulses of the spirit of God; sober reason gave way to enthusiasm; the terrors of eternal damnation, instead of subserving rational and sober convictions, were improved to throw people into that confusion, frenzy and distraction, which unfitted them for the genial illuminations of the Holy Spirit. Besides this, the standing ministry were aspersed, and represented under abusive suspicions of being unconverted, legalists, arminians. And as they were thus publicly and indecently vilified, so it was taught as a duty to forsake their ministrations, and form into separate assemblies. And as was natural to expect, our churches were hereby rent and torn and thrown into convulsions and confusions, to the great dishonor of the general cause."

There is no reason to suppose, that these remarks were in-

* Discourse on the Christian Union, page 50.
tended for any particular place, for unhappily there were too many places to which they would apply. But had this church been in the mind of the writer, he could hardly have described more exactly the scenes it had witnessed, and from the effects of which it had not then recovered, though nearly twenty years had passed. We have seen that the Covenant of the church was open to no suspicion of heresy, unless the not being infallible and exclusive was heretical. Nor is there any evidence that this Covenant had been departed from, or that Mr. Cotton's mode of preaching had changed, or that his character was not highly exemplary and irreproachable. But he did not escape reproach. Some of his own church brought against him the charge of "not being evangelical enough."—This charge was clothed in the most offensive language, and accompanied with violent and indecent epithets. He was called "an opposer of the work of God's spirit, a preacher of damnable good works or doctrines, a hypocrite, &c." His church was honored with equally beautiful and consistent epithets. It was called "Babylon, Egypt and Anti-Christ, whom God would destroy; their priests were hirelings and wolves in sheep's clothing; therefore, they said, it was their duty to come out from among them and be separate." They did come out. They took the name of separates, and a very appropriate name it was.* On the 7th of March, 1743, about half the church, with many of the congregation, formally withdrew, and "set up a separate meeting, where they attended the exhortation of a lay brother, who had been brought up in the business of house carpentry." The record goes on to say of them—"they were entertained on the Lord's day with loud vociferous declarations of the downfall of Babylon, and

* They passed also by the name of New Lights, the more general name given to the zealots of that day. This name has until recently been common in this connexion.
the necessity of coming out and being separate, and not touch-
ing the unclean. Such like exhortations were liberally held
out, and freely, for hirelings in their esteem were the bane
of the church."*

They however did not witness the downfall of Babylon.—
The church remained firm. They upheld their Pastor. They
patiently examined thirteen "articles of grievance," brought
against him, and found them to be wholly without reason.
They returned not railing for railing, but reasoned both prvi-
ately and publicly with their unreasonable brethren,† expes-
tulated, warned, entreated, all in vain. They sent commit-
tee after committee for conference and conciliation. They
could get not even argument in return, but usually encon-
tered the bald allegation, that "Mr. Cotton had come, not in
the spirit of God, but in the spirit of the devil," as one of the
leaders said to his face. In these circumstances, it is not to
be wondered at, that the seceders were publicly admonished
by the church, censured, and suspended from the privilege of
the ordinances. The committee who were sent to read this
admonition and suspension to the "backsliding brethren," re-
ported that they met with very unchristian usage. They
had been vehemently told, that "their Pastor was leading
them, and his hearers, right down to hell, &c." The only
excuse that the Separates appear to have offered, at any
time, for this violation of Christian and common decency, was
that they believed themselves to be "the major part of the
church," and had thus a right to exercise authority. And
they engaged, if it could be made to appear that they were

* That ministers should be "hirelings" seems to have been a great
stumbling-block to these seceders, and an unpardonable sin. We are in-
formed, however, that their own minister, before his death, found both
truth and comfort in the text—"the laborer is worthy of his hire."

† The record says, "They were beyond measure obstinate and implace-
ble in their temper."
not the majority, to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and to return. This is the only circumstance in the whole transaction, which indicates, on the part of the seceders, any sense of their possible infatuation or error. But this is at once destroyed by the fact, that when they found they were really a minority, they forgot or disregarded their promise and refused to return.* A mutual council was afterward agreed upon, and other attempts made at reconciliation, but nothing was effected. The Seceders formed a new church, or perhaps considered themselves already a church, and in 1747, one of their number, Joseph Snow, Jr., was constituted minister of the gospel and Pastor of the new church.

Mr. Snow is believed to have been a perfectly upright and pious man, of a benevolent disposition and some strong traits of character. His ardent temperament, and the excitements of the day, operating upon an uneducated and undisciplined mind, produced in him a zeal, which was "not according to knowledge." He continued to labor assiduously, and we trust successfully, in the cause he had so vehemently espoused, for nearly fifty years.† But the close of his ministry, like the beginning, was troubled. His infirmities requiring an assistant, and one having been obtained, difficulties arose, with which we have no concern, except to say that they led, in 1793, to another separation, when Mr. Snow again seceded with a minority of his church, and formed what is now the Richmond-street Congregational Church. Mr. Wilson, who had been engaged first as assistant to Mr. Snow, and continued in that relation two years, received, at the time of the separation, a call to settle over those of the church and society who remained, and was ordained in October, 1793, as Pastor of the

*Appendix, Note I.
†Appendix, Note II.
Beneficent Congregational Church. He has filled the office faithfully from that time to the present, and still lives in a good old age, the second minister of a church that separated from this more than ninety years ago! Thus have both the Congregational churches on the west side, or "Presbyterian churches," as they also are commonly but wrongly called, sprung from this church; and from them a third has been recently and amicably formed.

I have dwelt perhaps too long on these first features and early struggles of your church, my friends. But they seem to me more important both in their character and their consequences, than almost any that followed them. They undoubtedly did much to determine the present complexion of this church, as a wholly independent and liberal church.—And in that view, we can see, that good has been brought out of seeming evil. We do not pretend, no one can suppose, that all the blame belonged to one party in these conflicts and changes. There may have been much fault, it would be marvellous if there were not some fault, on both sides. But I can find no manner of justification for the conduct of those who first removed, in the way they did. And I do think, the conduct of those who remained, as the first church, if it is represented truly, is worthy of all praise for its forbearance; and not its forbearance only, but its unusual generosity. For it is a fact too rare to remain unknown, if it be so, that this church allowed to those who had thus left and thus branded them, the continued use of land for burial, to which they had forfeited all legal claim by their separation; and moreover permitted them to share the advantages of a subsequent exchange of lands, dividing with them the profits from the sale of the old, and even giving their Pastor, Mr. Snow, a choice
of the new lots; thus securing to them, as to you, the eligible ground, where both still bury their dead.

And there have both been constrained, and we trust willing, to bury all, if aught remained, that was wrong or unkind in the feelings which had severed them. This fellowship of the grave, unbroken through all their differences and still continuing, is a beautiful moral. In life they could not remain together, but in death they again form literally one congregation. It is an instructive fact. It is a monument of solemn warning. Let it not be unheeded. Go, ye disciples of two sects, and now four churches, formed from one—go, stand on that eminence, reserved for the dead and sacred to the living. See there your Pastors and people reposing quietly in the same resting-place, side by side, their conflicts all over, their common dust mingling with the common earth, their spirits having gone to render their account to the God who gave them. Pause there, and see the utter vanity of human pride and prejudice. Amid those mute but eloquent mounds, learn your frailty and folly. Know your present and your future selves. Let the living listen to the dead. And when you are tempted to strife and uncharitableness, to evil-speaking or any evil-doing, look forward but a few years, and see your own bodies laid low there, and your souls humbled and trembling before the universal Father who hath called us all to be brethren, and the pure and gracious Saviour who died to reconcile us to one another and to God.

The unhappy division which we have now noticed, as impartially as we were able, left this church in so broken and feeble a state, that the support of Mr. Cotton became difficult and his situation uncomfortable. He continued however to bear up under the discouragements and struggle with the dif-
Acuities for some time, retaining the confidence of his people, and endeavoring faithfully to subserve their spiritual, though they were unable to advance his temporal interests. In July, 1747, he resigned his charge, believing it best for himself and the people, and received an honorable dismissal; thus closing a laborious ministry of nineteen years, the first and the most eventful that this church has known.

I regret that I can find no account of Mr. Cotton's previous or subsequent life,* and that so little is said of him personally in the records. We must be content to rest in the fact, that all we do know of him is favorable. His fidelity to the church and his attachment to the ministry are well attested. He seems to have been very mild, but decided and firm. He had a full share of obloquy and trial, even for those days, but there is no evidence that he resisted evil with any but Christian weapons. That he was rational and charitable, appears from the very fact and manner of the separation. His memory should be cherished by the descendants of those whose church he founded, and whose fathers he led and animated in circumstances so unlike those with which we are favored. It was a day of small things. It was a season of anxious fear and peculiar trial. But the providence of God was over it, and the life of his church, though feeble and often flickering, was not suffered to expire. Let His goodness be praised, and the services of his faithful minister and persevering people be ever held in grateful remembrance.

* Farmer, in his register of the Cotton family, gives this line:—"Rev. Josiah, of Providence, Woburn, and Sandown, N. H." He makes him to have been the son of Roland, who was grandson of the first and famous John Cotton.
DISCOURSE II.
DISCOURSE II.

JOB VIII. 7.

Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase.

For five years after Mr. Cotton's departure, this Society had no stated minister or regular ordinances. Indeed the record says, "the sacraments of the New Testament were not statedly administered for about sixteen years." But they were not without preaching and occasional administration of the ordinances, during any large portion of this time. Early in 1752, they succeeded in procuring the services of John Bass, who became the second minister of the church. There is no record of his formal installation. As he had been previously ordained in Connecticut, they probably thought it unnecessary in their feeble state, to incur the expense and trouble of a special service. His ministry was short, and is summed up in this scanty record.

"In the spring of the year 1752, Mr. John Bass, before of Ashford, in the colony of Connecticut, moved into the town, who supplied them with preaching till about the year 1758, when by reason of an ill state of health, and the small encouragement he met with, as to support and number of hearers, he gave up the business, and entered upon the practice of Physic. In which time the number of hearers did not often-
times exceed twenty. And the church was so scattered and divided, that it was scarcely known whether there were any of them left."

This is discouraging indeed. And it could have been only strong principle and a high value of privileges, that carried them on. Mr. Bass graduated at Harvard College in 1737, and after closing his ministry of six years, lived as a Physician in Providence until 1762. In the Providence Gazette of that year, a friend has found for us a brief notice of his death and character. He is there spoken of as "a gentleman, who in his public performances, was evangelical, learned, rational and accurate; and in private life was amiable, beneficent, compassionate, instructive and exemplary."

In 1761, this people made a vigorous effort to rise from their depression. For direction and encouragement, they convened an Ecclesiastical Council, from the three churches in Bristol, Medfield and Rehoboth. In all humility, they asked them first to determine, "whether they would consider the remaining members as the Congregational Church in Providence, and proceed to add to them." This was decided in the affirmative, and after prayers and other services, a covenant was submitted and subscribed by eleven males and ten females, of whom several were then members of other churches. This covenant is different from the first, resembling more nearly that now in use.

Being thus confirmed, the church obtained more regular supplies, and in the next year, 1762, invited David Sherman Rowland, of Plainfield, to become their Pastor. He accepted the invitation, but there is no record of the exact time of his ordination. He brought his family here

* Appendix, Note I.
in the Fall of 1762, and from that time devoted himself to the service of his people, with no little self-sacrifice and with encouraging success.

The congregation now increased and accessions were made to the church. Still their resources were very limited, and their embarrassments at times so great, that they were compelled to send messengers repeatedly to other and distant places to solicit aid. They commissioned even their Pastor to go out for this purpose. In one of the minute-books of the Society, we find a resolution passed in the year 1771, commending the unwearied care and labor of Mr. Rowland, wishing to retain his services, but lamenting their inability to support him unless they can have immediate relief from abroad, and therefore requesting him “to proceed to such place or places, on this continent, as he shall think proper, for and in behalf of this Society, to solicit and to receive the charity of such person or persons, whom God hath blest with affluence and liberality, &c.” We find several instances of members of the Society who were travelling on their own account, being charged with the same commission. These facts show us how great and protracted were the difficulties with which they had to struggle. They show us also how many are the obligations under which we are laid to render aid to others, now that from a beginning so small we have greatly increased. Is it for us, in the plenitude of those means and the independence of that strength, which have been drawn, in part at least, from the benefactions of strangers, to turn away from the calls of destitute societies, pressed down by the hard necessities, or torn and racked by the divisions, under which our own church once groaned? While we thank and serve that God who hath prospered us, let us resolve, “as we have opportunity, to do good unto all men, especially to those who are of the household of faith.”
And here I may notice, both in commendation and exhortation, the origin of that peculiar name, by which this Society is sometimes called—"the Benevolent Congregational Society." It is a mistake to give this name to the Church, or the religious Society, as such. It belongs to a distinct body, formed with corporate powers about this period, consisting neither of worshippers nor pew-holders exclusively, but of those in either relation who voluntarily associate, "for the purpose of raising a fund for the permanent support of the institutions of religion, and for such charitable purposes as the Society shall think proper, after the other object shall be accomplished." This association was incorporated in 1770, by the name of The Benevolent Congregational Society in the Town of Providence. It continues still a separate body, holding the funds by which the ministry is supported here, and directing all the financial concerns. And though it must be regarded as somewhat an anomaly in the external character of our churches, it has undoubtedly rendered important services to religion, and may continue to do so, as it is formed for "charitable purposes," beside the direct support of public worship. It is to be hoped, at least, that we shall vindicate our title to the character of Benevolent, in other and better features than that of a name. Our obligations multiply by the force of example. One of the churches to which we have given birth, be it remembered, is called Beneficent, and another Pacific. It were an offence indeed, should either of these distinguished Societies leave it to be inferred from any of their deeds, that there is not only a peculiar taste in names, but also an incongruity between names and things.

In 1774, Mr. Rowland, finding new difficulties in the way of his continuance with the Society, asked and received a dismission after an arduous ministry of twelve years. Thus was the third minister removed, not by death, but from the feeble-
ness of the Society, and the divisions and difficulties of the times. There are intimations here of an uneasiness in the church, and tares that were sown; but there is no explanation, and we are left to infer that it was a part of the same difficulties that occasioned the loss of Mr. Rowland, of whom we would now speak more particularly.

Mr. Rowland was not an ordinary man. He has left evidences, not only of diligence and acceptableness in the pastoral relation, but likewise of more than common study and learning. I have seen but one of his publications, but that, though a sermon, would make no contemptible volume; enough, at least, to alarm those modern hearers, who grow uneasy the moment a preacher trespasses beyond a half-hour. The discourse before me was delivered by Mr. Rowland, in 1772, at the Congregational Convention assembled at Bristol. Its title is *Catholicism, or Christian Charity*, and it extends to seventy-five full octavo pages. It shows a well-furnished and vigorous mind, an easy writer, and a Christian of discriminating and liberal views. Its doctrine, so far as it presents doctrine, would be called orthodox, but it is orthodoxy of a very safe kind. It was not every minister of that day, nor is it of this day, who would have the disposition and the courage, to quote with commendation that noble passage of Dr. Watts, which Mr. Rowland gives entire, and which shows what was his own spirit.

"It is a very uncharitable practice, to think that a man can never journey safely to heaven, unless his hat and his shoes be of the same color with ours, unless he treads in the very track of our feet, and his footsteps too be of the same size. It is a curious and perverse fancy to pronounce a man no Christian, because every thought of his soul, and all the atoms of his brain, are not just ranged in the same posture as mine. — How ridiculously unreasonable is it, for a man of brown hair
to shut his brother out from the rank and species of men, and call him an ox or a lion, because his locks are black or yellow? I am persuaded there is a breadth in the narrow road to heaven, and persons may travel more than seven abreast in it. And though they do not trace precisely the same track, yet all look to the same Saviour, Jesus, and all arrive at the same common salvation. And though their names be crossed out of the records of a particular church on earth, where charity fails, yet they will be found written in the Lamb's book of life, which is a record of eternal love, and shall be forever joined to the fellowship of the catholic church in heaven.”*

Whatever have been or may be the peculiar doctrines of this church, so long as it breathes or recommends this spirit, it is liberal enough. We are prepared to hear Mr. Rowland, as he does in the conclusion of his discourse, exhort his brethren in the ministry—“to receive into their affection and communion, sober regular Christians, whether they are called by the name of Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Independents, or Baptists, that there may be no schism or rent in the visible body of Christ.”†

It would seem, that as regards theological attainments and pulpit powers, this church has at no time been more favored or honored than in the gifts of Rowland. And to his standing with his brethren, the associated pastors of the colony gave their public testimonial, after he left, commending him, as “a brother, whose praise is in all the churches, a brother deservedly beloved.”

In the following year, Dr. John Lathrop, pastor of the Second Church in Boston, came here to reside. It was the year 1775, when the British had possession of Boston, and he, with most of the inhabitants, being compelled to leave, this Society

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* Convention Sermon, 1772, page 64.  † Ibid, page 74.
invited him to take up his residence with them, as their minis-
ter, until he could return. To this he consented, and preache-
ed to them nearly a year to great acceptance. Short as this
connexion was, and though not solemnized as the pastoral re-
lation, it is gratifying to associate with any period of your his-
tory, so honored a name as that of Lathrop. He returned to
Boston and remained in the ministry there until 1816, when
he died at the age of seventy-six.

During the four next years, the Society was broken and
scattered by the effects of the war. They had occasional
preachers, of whom Mr. Grosvenor is the only one mentioned.
In the Fall of the year 1780, "they began," says the record,
"to collect in from their dispersion in the country, and felt
encouraged to keep a steady supply. They applied to the
Rev. Enos Hitchcock, of Beverly, Mass, who came in De-
cember, and after tarrying three Sabbaths, received the unan-
imous invitation of the Society to remove his family to this
place, and to tarry at least one year." This was soon follow-
ed by an unanimous invitation to become the permanent pas-
tor. He accepted the invitation in a letter expressive of the
deepest humility and devotion to the cause of Christ. His
Installation took place, October 1st, 1783, six churches com-
posing the council, and Dr. Cooper, of Boston, preaching the
sermon.* The services were performed "in the Baptist meet-
ing-house, which had been kindly offered by that Society for
the better accommodation of hearers." Thus after an inter-
val of ten years, this church enjoyed again a pastor devoted to
its interests; and after a broken and troubled existence of six-
ty years, manifested a stability and strength which have been
steadily advancing.

The first recorded act of Mr. Hitchcock's ministry, reflects

* Appendix, Note K.
upon him and his church a lustre, which, we fear, the records of very few churches can show, in this age of uncharitableness. I take it as I find it in the oldest record, where it is simply entered as an act of the church, without a word of comment, or any intimation that they regarded it as any thing more than a christian duty. It is a free and most cordial restoration of Mr. Snow and the other Seceders, “to the full charity and communion and fellowship of this Church,” all censure being taken off; and the kindest feelings expressed. The exact votes by which this was done, are given in another place, and particular attention is called to them.*

Let all the circumstances of this case be kept in mind, let it be remembered in what way, in what temper, with what language, these same individuals withdrew from this church, let it be considered that they are not known to have asked, perhaps would have disdained to ask, this offer of conciliation and fellowship, then let the strong and generous terms of those votes be noted—and where are we to seek, would we could find, many instances of equal charity, christian forgiveness and magnanimity. I know not how the offer was received or answered, if answered at all, by the church to whom it was made. In a recent “Annual Report of the Beneficent Congregational church,” presented in 1832, with an outline of the history of that church, these votes, which we have cited, are quoted, probably from our records, not in terms of commendation or acknowledgment of any favor conferred by this church, but rather, it would seem, in testimony of the admitted fair character of that church and its former pastor. I mention it, not in censure or complaint, but only as illustrative of the men of whom we speak, and their times.

It is matter of regret, that our records contain nothing more

* Appendix, Note L.
relative to the proceedings of the church or the state of the society under Dr. Hitchcock, except baptisms, admissions to the church, and invitations to assist at ordinations. These last indicate a much more liberal interchange of ministerial offices and christian fellowship, than has since prevailed. Letters missive, for instance, were received, and cordially accepted, from the church in Newport to ordain Rev. Wm. Pattern, in 1786, and the church in Providence to ordain Rev. James Wilson, in 1793.*

Under the faithful services and exemplary character of Dr. Hitchcock, the society increased until it became necessary to provide a more commodious house of worship. Their first house, in which they still worshipped, they had enlarged more than once, and had now used it more than seventy years.—Accordingly a new house was begun on the same site with this, in which we are now worshipping, and completed in 1795, the service of Dedication being performed on the 16th of August of that year, in the presence, and with the aid, of clergymen of different denominations. On taking possession of the new house, many additions were made to the society, and their hopes and prospects brightened.

Their enjoyment of the house itself, however, was destined to be of short continuance; and we may anticipate a few years, to tell its brief story. It is said to have been a beautiful house, and for that period and this region, must have been unusual for the style of its architecture, and its commanding position.† On the morning of the 4th of June, 1814, just twenty years from the laying of its foundations, the whole edifice was in a few hours made level with those foundations by a devouring fire. The sensations with which that dread conflagration was witnessed by many who now hear me, must be

* Appendix, Note M.  
† Appendix, Note N.
still too vivid to ask the aid of description. Sorrowful indeed must have been the feelings, yet strong the trust, with which you listened, on the following Sabbath, to the impressive discourse of my predecessor, from those apt and affecting words:

“Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burnt up with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste.”† And full must have been your gratitude to that Being, who prompted and enabled you to take measures, the very next day, for the erection of a new and superior house, and also to the generous friends, near and distant, of your own and other names, who gave proof of their kind sympathy.—Gratitude was indeed due to that Society especially, to whom we have been compelled to refer in a different way, the Beneficent Congregational church, for their truly liberal and unusual offer, at that time, of their own house of worship, half of every Sabbath “during your pleasure,” the pastors of the two churches to share the pulpit and other services. It is among the most gracious alleviations of sorrow, that it so often brings us unwonted pledges of the kind feeling and generous aid of those around us.

It is in place here to remark, that while it was neither necessary nor convenient for this Society to avail itself of the generous offer just mentioned, the relations between the church that made the offer and this church, were for many years—through the whole of Dr. Hitchcock’s ministry, and a large portion of his successor’s—the relations of almost sister churches. And although this has changed with change of times, and ministerial fellowship has for some years been withheld, we cheerfully acknowledge many proofs of friendly feeling.

† Dr. Edes preached from this text, (Isaiah LXIV. 11,) on that occasion, in the Town House, where the Society worshipped for two years until a new house was erected—this being, as we have said, their old and first meeting-house, sold to the town after they left it in 1795.
and christian kindness, given us by that pastor and people. May it long continue. May it increase, as the distance widens which throws the causes of variance farther and farther into the forgotten past. And may the time come, if not on earth, yet in heaven, when those churches which have sprung from the loins of this, shall look back upon it with the countenance, and pray for it with the voice, not of aliens, but of children!

We return to the ministry, which, as we have seen, did all in its power to accomplish so desirable an object—the ministry of Dr. Hitchcock. It was one of his strongest desires to preserve peace among different sects. And he labored to connect this object with the support of religious institutions, by proposing a union among all the ministers of this town, each to preach in his turn, at a stated time and place, on the observance of the Sabbath—a subject more neglected in this State perhaps than in others, and more then than at present.* In this attempt, however, he did not meet all the encouragement from his brethren that he desired. Nor was his strength equal to his labors. In 1802, his health failed, and on the 27th of February of the next year, consumption terminated his life, at the age of fifty-nine, in the twentieth year of a peaceful ministry.

"Great was our sorrow," says one of his church, "for his loss; and the whole community seemed to sympathise with us, for he was highly respected. The Town Council directed the Preceptors of the public schools to attend with all the children of the upper classes, and they proceeded the hearse at the funeral, as did the officers and students of Brown University. The Rev. Dr. Tappan, Professor of Divinity in Harvard Col-

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* It is said that in the early days of Rhode-Island, even ministers, or preachers at least, worked at their common business one part of the Sabbath, and preached the other. Are there no people now, who work all the day, or do nothing better? Does "religious freedom" mean freedom from religion?
lege, preached the funeral sermon, the Sabbath after the interment. The second Congregational Church and Society attended with us on this occasion, and the meeting-house, though seventy feet square, and the aisles filled, could not contain the people."

In the want of other materials, I am compelled to draw the character of Dr. Hitchcock, if I attempt its delineation, from the few discourses which he published, and the impressions of those among you whose recollections of him are still fresh. Perhaps it were better not to attempt it, but to leave with those recollections, a subject with which most of you are much more conversant than myself, and which I may not rightly appreciate. But something is due to the new generation who have risen up since his death, and yet more is due to the completeness of this sketch, imperfect enough at best.

Enos Hitchcock was born at Springfield, Mass., in 1741, and graduated at Cambridge, in 1767. He gave himself at once to the study of divinity, and preached very early. His first settlement in the ministry was in 1771, when he was ordained colleague pastor with Mr. Chipman, over the second church in Beverly, Mass. His connexion with that venerable man, whose infirmities threw most of the duty upon his fresh associate, was happy to the last: and before and after that connexion was broken by the death of the elder, the younger pastor is said to have possessed the confidence of his people, and to have labored faithfully and successfully for their good. But those were times, when the minister of religion felt himself called to engage in other beside spiritual warfare. Stirred by the enthusiasm of the Revolution, Dr. Hitchcock became a Chaplain in the American army.* As the war ad-

* No opinion, of course, is intended to be expressed by these remarks, in regard to war, or to the part which so many of the clergy took in our revolutionary struggle. We are simply giving facts.
vanced, he believed the claims of his country to be stronger than those of his parish, especially as in the fluctuating state of the currency, it was difficult to remain where he was. His pastoral relation was therefore, after nine years continuance, amicably dissolved. Yet that he had lost none of his interest in the ministry, nor relaxed his efforts, is evident from the fact, that we find him preaching here in December of the same year in which he left Beverly, 1780. He continued to supply this pulpit, in all the intervals of more public service, until, in 1783, he was induced to leave that for his first high calling.

From that time until his death, he devoted himself, with such ability as he possessed, to the true welfare of this society and this town. For he did not look merely at the religion or the benefit of a single church. He aimed to promote good morals and good manners, sobriety and intelligence, in the whole community. Education received an early and a large share of his attention. He made the schools his care, and did much to establish those free schools, whose advantages you are now reaping. His interest in the young was always strong, and he secured their respect and attachment. One of his earliest labors here was the preparation of a catechism, which he called The Parent's Assistant, and which he published at his own expense and distributed gratuitously. I have the third edition before me. It is a short simple manual, well adapted to its purpose. He is said, by Dr. Tappan, to have published several books on education, but they have not come in my way.

All his publications which I have seen are highly respectable. They leave the impression, that while he was not profound in thought, nor eloquent as a writer or speaker, he was far from superficial or tame. He seldom rises, even as the
Orator of our early Independence, above an easy, direct, unadorned and unimpassioned style. But neither does he ever fall below the sensible, the manly, and the useful. He is seldom original and never trivial. He is perspicuous rather than splendid, judicious if not commanding. He was often called to public services, and seems to have been considered, by this and other communities, a trustworthy and most useful, if not superior man. His discourses from the pulpit were always acceptable, and the prevailing character of his preaching was evangelical and practical. If he did not attract or astound the many, he did not weary or fail to instruct the few. Under his ministrations, as we have said, the Society greatly increased in strength and piety, and was honored among all. Its harmony was never disturbed. Its confidence in its pastor was never impaired. Its respect, and the respect of the community, for his character and course, rose as his strength declined.

To the public he was an active friend and a true benefactor. He gave not only time, but by his scrupulous frugality enabled himself to give money to great and good objects, and that not by stint. In his intercourse with all, he was social, dignified, and remarkably urbane. Like other men, he had his preferences in social life, even among his own people; and if he sometimes forgot, or never cared to know, that, unlike other men, a minister is forbidden to indulge those preferences, it was an error more willingly pardoned then than now. None who sought his sympathy or aid, sought in vain. None who needed his kindness, and showed that they valued his counsel, were ever forgotten. All who desired, experienced his open hospitality and lasting friendship. And at home, that test-place of all true feeling, a feeble and suffering wife, an adopted daughter, and a faithful servant redeemed by him from
slavery, and loaded with favors in life and in death, attest his humanity, his fidelity, and Christian benevolence.

As a divine, Dr. Hitchcock was probably in early life a Trinitarian and an Arminian, never a Calvinist. There was no bigotry in his nature. No narrow or gloomy theology could ever have found a home there. He followed Christ, not man. He preached Christianity, not tradition. He loved peace more than party. And he taught and lived for nothing less, and nothing more, than to do away actual transgression, and promote practical holiness. There is evidence, satisfactory to those who heard him most and knew him best, that his doctrinal views passed through a material change while he was here; a change which removed all that remained, if any thing there was, in the way of his becoming what we now understand by a liberal Christian.* I should be convinced of this, were there no other proof, by an examination of his Catechism, and his treatise on the Lord's Supper. Every word there is in remarkable accordance with our doctrine, discipline, and whole aim. Still he was no sectarian or dogmatist. He loved all who loved truth. He pitied all who loved error, or fell into its wiles. The character of his mind, the working of his heart, the creed of his life, might be written in a line: "Faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

To this church his memory is sacred. His monument is here, and not in marble alone, but in enduring gratitude. It is not there only, that you read and know of his having been "a faithful pastor and munificent benefactor." It is written upon more durable tablets. It is associated and blended with the very support of religious institutions among us. The tokens

* It is not meant by this that he was a Unitarian, for the name was not then used; but that he was nearer this than the opposite, by far. See some material facts in Appendix, Note O.
of his love, the fruits of his beneficence, the proofs of his humble piety and christian faithfulness, are with us, and will be cherished and blessed by us, and by all who come after us.*

An interval of two years and a half occurred, between the death of Dr. Hitchcock and the settlement of another pastor. The pulpit was regularly supplied, by different men, and for some time by Mr. Strong, of Hartford, whose services the society appear to have highly valued, but were unable to retain.

In March, 1805, Henry Edes, of Boston, who graduated at Harvard College six years before, was invited to preach four Sabbaths, and immediately after received a unanimous call to take the pastoral charge. This call he accepted, and was ordained the 17th of July following; by a Council, not so large, it is true, as that which Mr. Cotton describes, but surpassed by few for its constellation of honored names.† It was another instance of renewed fellowship, and must have awakened mingled but delightful emotions, to see Mr. Wilson offering the consecrating prayer, and laying the ordaining hand, on the pastor of a church from which his own had so singularly separated.

From this period the Society was tranquil and prospered, until the sudden and disastrous loss of which we have spoken, the destruction of their house of worship in 1814. This compelled them to return to the old house which they had long before abandoned, and suffer its inconveniences for more than

*The words quoted make a part of the Inscription on the chaste monumental tablet, crowned with an urn, which is fixed in the wall of the present church, to the memory of Enos Hitchcock. The amount of his donations to the Society, directly and indirectly, is six thousand one hundred and forty dollars. It is not common for ministers to leave such sums to their people, especially with a salary of 200 pounds, part of which the minister is said to have subscribed sometimes himself, when it was difficult for the parish to do it!

† Appendix, Note P.
two years. The commanding edifice in which we are now gathered, was dedicated to Almighty God, Oct. 31, 1816, by a discourse from the pastor, Dr. Edes, and other appropriate and impressive solemnities. The promptness with which so costly and commodious a house was begun after so great a calamity, and the generous perseverance with which it was carried to its completion, are a better monument than stone or taste can rear, to the praise of its builders, and the religious interest, as we hope it was, of its rejoicing worshippers. It has now, after a term of twenty years, been for the first time closed for a few weeks, to be altered and repaired to meet the changing taste and increased numbers of those who frequent it. May their tastes and their privileges help them the better to understand its true purposes, and make them resolve to bend every thing and sacrifice every thing, to the paramount object, their own growth "unto an holy temple in the Lord." May the sentiments expressed by your late pastor, at the laying of this corner-stone, be long remembered, and the fervent prayers which he offered for your spiritual edification, be abundantly answered; that here "thousands, born and unborn, may become prepared for a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."*

We have to notice another prominent event of late occurrence, in the ministry of Dr. Edes; the formation of a second church of our own denomination, from this. In October, 1828, just a century from the formation of this church, one of the Deacons, with fourteen members, associated with others in the formation of a new church and society in this city, called the Westminster Congregational Society. Their communication to those from whom they parted, was of the most friendly and christian character, and was promptly answered in the same

* Appendix, Note Q.
brotherly spirit, with the offer on the part of this church, and the grateful acceptance by them, of a communion service. Thus with the increase of inhabitants, and the progress of those views of religion which we dearly prize, we are permitted to see a sister church growing up at our side, extending and receiving the warm hand of cordial fellowship, and cooperating with us “in one spirit, with one mind, for the faith of the Gospel.” God be with them and strengthen them, imparting to them the best gifts, even the riches of his grace!

It should be remarked in this connexion, that no period in the doctrinal history of this church is more prominent, or has been the occasion of more comment, than this which we are now reviewing. Dr. Edes was the first minister of the church who was called, by the progress of opinion and the urgency of the times, to declare himself and his people distinctly Unitarian. Not that there had been any concealment of opinion before. Not that there was any actual change now. But that they were forced into a new position and more public and emphatic avowal. They had always been liberal, always protestant and consistent. No one can point to a pastor or measure, a principle or act, of this church from its beginning, which shows the least violence in doctrine or exclusiveness in spirit. There had never been a multitude of religious services, or periodical religious excitements, or any imposition of creeds or severity of discipline. We discover at no period, any one feature, speculative or practical, that resembles the stern character of those churches which are styled orthodox. In the Covenants only do we see any difference between the original and the present constitution of this church; and there, not to the degree sometimes alleged. The first Covenant, adopted at the formation of the church in 1728, was, as we have said, Trinitarian and moderately Calvinistic. But even the little Cal-
vinism it contained, could hardly have been carried into the preaching or discipline, for then we should have heard less of Mr Cotton's "not being evangelical enough," and holding to "damnable good works," and the *New Lights* would not have found it necessary to come out of the darkness of Egypt and the corruptions of Babylon. As early as 1761, the church set aside that first covenant, or at least adopted a new one, which is a simple covenant, without the previous articles of faith. This was in fact as great an advance in liberality, as has ever been made here. There is nothing in the second covenant that we cannot now subscribe; and the one adopted since, which we now use, differs from it more in form than in doctrine. So that the most material doctrinal change and the greatest heresy of this church must be traced back seventy-five years.*

We are fully authorized therefore in the assertion, that the character of this church has been always liberal. But at the time to which we have now come, under Dr. Edes, there was a crisis which demanded not only liberality itself, but the declaration of liberality, a *manifestation* of doctrine. It became necessary to speak distinctly and strongly of doctrinal differences, to take perhaps a peculiar name, and incur if not invite remark and odium. And the Pastor of this church did not shrink from the crisis, nor in any way evade the demand. He met them firmly, without the least concealment. He instituted lectures, for the express purpose of avowing and defending his doctrines; lectures which are said to have been very able. The doctrine of the church was thus proclaimed to be, what in fact it had long been, evangelically liberal; or, according to present distinctions, Unitarian.

Having noticed the prominent events in the ministry of my immediate predecessor, it is unnecessary to speak of it more

*Appendix, Note R.*
particularly. It is too recent and too familiar to you all to require it. It was a period of entire harmony in the church, and was of longer continuance than either ministry before it—being twenty-seven years. It was terminated in June, 1832, at the request of the Pastor, who carried with him the affections and prayers of many hearts.

The present Pastor came here the following September, and in October received the invitation which resulted in his settlement. He had graduated at Harvard College in 1820, and passed his first ministry in Northampton, Mass., where he was ordained over the Second Congregational Church in August, 1826, but was compelled by ill health to resign that charge after holding it four years. His installation as pastor of this church took place the 14th of November, 1832.*

We have thus brought our review of the ministries, experiences, and leading characteristics of this church, to the present time. It will be seen that a period of a little more than a century, has been occupied by five pastors, Cotton, Bass, Rowland, Hitchcock, and Edes, of whom one only, the fourth, died in the office. The others have each asked and received regular dismissions; and the last is yet living.—It may have been observed also, that all of them, unless we except Rowland, whose place of education is not known, have graduated at the same College, Harvard.

It will be seen too, that with a single exception in the early history, an exception partaking of the character of the times, no root of bitterness has sprung up in this church. There has been no discord or alienation among ourselves, and no excommunications for heresy or immorality deface our records. No doubt there has been immorality, seen and unseen, in the

* Appendix, Note S.
congregation and the church. No doubt there has been error, and error there may be now, perhaps hurtful and guilty error. But there has been no attempt to punish immorality and error, to prevent, exclude or correct them, except by the humble, faithful use of Christian means, in the spirit of meekness and love. There has been entire freedom of opinion and expression, entire liberty to differ and to improve, entire equality of privilege, no dictation by the pastors, no interference by the people, no attempted dominion over other churches, or by other churches over this, no assumption of power by the church over the congregation, or even over its own members, except to warn, counsel and exhort. In a word, there has been no infringement or departure, in a single instance, from the great principles of genuine Congregationalism and sound Protestantism. The aim has been, not only to avow, but to practice the noble sentiments of Callender, in his memorable century sermon, now itself a century old; viz: "that every man's opinion must be taken from his own understanding and judgment, and not from the understanding and judgment of other men." And again, that "the Bible contains the religion of Christians, and the word of God is a sufficient rule of Faith and Worship."

Do we say this in self-commendation? By no means. We say it rather in explanation and self-defence. We are called to say it, in justice to the past, and in view of the present. We are called to say it, by the charge of defection and apostacy, brought against this church. The charge is vague and groundless. It may be brought against all, and has been. All Protestants have apostatized, if apostacy you call it, from the

We rejoice to learn that the Rhode-Island Historical Society are about re-publishing this discourse of Callender. Beside its historical value, it is a noble monument to Religious Liberty. It breathes the true spirit of Protestant Christianity.
religion of their Fathers, in important respects. All Christians, indeed, have come out from that, which, under the first dispensation, was the true and accepted church. And as to later times, not a modern sect is there, that has not departed essentially from some of the opinions and practices of its founders. Nay, they who are most apt to bring against us this charge, have themselves departed from the principles, and some of the best principles, of those in whom they glory. They have lost the simplicity of the puritan and pilgrim creed, and the spirit of moderation, and calm devotion, and independent thought and action, which once prevailed. They have given cause to the fearless Robinson, could he address them as he addressed our parting fathers at Leyden, to say again—"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." So we feel. And we say also, of some of our ancestors and revered teachers, as he said—"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 further light, as that which they first received."

No, we are not recreant to our fathers of this church. We are true to them. We listen to their teaching. They bid us search the word for ourselves, and believe not in them, but in God and Christ, as they may give us light. We go back, and we find liberality and inquiry, freedom and charity, on every page of their own history. We find nothing so marked, nothing held so precious and inviolable, as these cardinal principles. As they held them, so do we; and recreant and apostate shall we be verily, when we prove false to them. Even when we look at the very language of the creeds—though
creeds, in the common sense, there were none—in this church from the first, we see them all standing on that fundamental article, which, for more than half a century, and under three Pastors before the present, has been at the head, and constituted the very essence of our Covenants—a firm belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice.

The field which our view of the past has opened to us, tempts me on to other thoughts and wider views; but I must consider myself and you, my friends. We have seen enough to make us grateful to that good Being, who watched over this church in its weakness, who guarded it in its dangers, who inspired it with high trust and humble perseverance, raised up to it in every period friends and benefactors, reared it from infancy to maturity, and fulfilled to it the promise—"Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end shall greatly increase." Let us 'rejoice, with trembling;' trembling, not for the faith, but in the thought of our multiplied privileges and fearful obligations; in the thought of our defection, indeed, from many of the virtues of our ancestors. Let us copy, as well as honor, all that was praiseworthy in them. Let us follow them in all things, in which they followed Christ. Let us live as his disciples alone. Let us deny ourselves, and serve him, and serve one-another. Let us cherish distrust of ourselves, and confidence in one-another. May ours be the spirit of mutual concession and forbearance, not in matters of faith only, but in all our intercourse as fellow-worshippers, as christians, and as men. Remembering always our accountability to God, our allegiance to Christ, our professions of charity and love to all of every name who share our frailty and our hopes, "let us walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called,
with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbear­
ing one another in love; endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.”

Brethren, Fathers, Friends, let us dedicate ourselves anew, this day, with this renewed House, to Him on whom it was founded, and to the service to which it was solemnly devoted. Let us consecrate ourselves and our children, our church and our faith, our property and our lives, the gift of time and the hope of eternity—to God, to Jesus, to truth, purity, and immortal glory.

“Here to the High and Holy One,
Our fathers early reared
A house of prayer, a lowly one—
Yet long to them endeared
By hours of sweet communion
Held with their covenant God,
As oft, in sacred union,
His hallowed courts they trod.

Gone are the pious multitudes,
That here kept holy time,
In other courts assembled now
For worship more sublime.
Their children, we are waiting
In meekness, Lord, thy call;
Thy love still celebrating,
Our hope, our trust, our ALL.”
APPENDIX.
APPENDIX.

Note A—p. 8.
Roger Williams.

Not only was Roger Williams a Congregationalist before he came here, but he came from the bosom and the vicinity of a church most remarkable, and as many would say now, most extravagant, in its adherence to Congregational principles, and in carrying them out to their full extent. It is a memorable fact, that the four first ministers of the first church in Salem, viz: Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, Roger Williams and, Hugh Peters, were invested with the pastoral office by laymen from the midst of the congregation. And this principle was long persevered in by the church and guarded most jealously, the ministers and messengers of other churches not being allowed to take part in the services of ordination, and being present, if at all, only as spectators. It was to such facts that we referred, in saying that the early churches were more strictly and consistently congregational, than many which have followed them.

So suspicious was Roger Williams of every movement that appeared to threaten in the least the entire independence of his own and every separate church, that he opposed strenuously the formation even of the Pastoral Association; and the fears that many expressed in regard to that Association, though groundless fears, show their peculiar principles and the character of their churches.—See Upham's Second Century Lecture, Salem, 1829.

Note B—p. 8.
First Baptist Church, Providence.

Mr. Benedict thus speaks of the First Baptist Church in Providence:—

"This church has experienced some changes as to its doctri-
sentiments; it was, as we have seen, first founded on the Particular or Calvinistic plan; in process of time they became what our English brethren would call General Baptists, and so continued, for the most part, more than a hundred years. From the commencement of Dr. Manning's ministry, they have been verging back to their first principles, and now very little of the Arminian leaven is found among them. From first to last the Bible, without comment, has been their Confession of Faith."—(History of the Baptists, I. p. 480.)

Note C—p. 9.

Rhode-Island Religionists.

Seekers, was the name, as is well known, that was taken by Roger Williams and those who withdrew with him from the Baptists.—He then doubted the existence of any true church on earth. His first connexion with the Baptist church has been differently viewed. It is questioned by Callender and other writers, whether he ever belonged to that church properly, or was ever its regular pastor. That he was actively concerned in its formation, and regarded virtually as its pastor for some time, there can be no doubt. But there is enough of uncertainty in regard to his actual opinions and those of the other settlers of Rhode-Island, to make us willing to smile at the manner in which Cotton Mather speaks of the religious character of this State, in 1695.

"I cannot learn that the first planters of this Colony were agreed in any one principle so much as this, that they were to give one another no disturbance in the exercise of religion; and though they have sometimes had some difference among them, as to the exercise of that principle also, I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on so small a spot of ground, as have been in that colony. It has been a Colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians, Armenians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, every thing in the world but Roman Catholics and real Christians; though of the latter, I hope, there have been more than the former, among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of opinionists."—(Mather's Magnalia, b. VII. ch. 3.)

Note D—p. 9.

Religious Liberty.

There can be no question, that Roger Williams and the government which he established, deserve all the praise that has ever been
awarded them, for their early promulgation, and fearless, consistent vindication of the principle of Religious Liberty. We say consistent, notwithstanding the alleged exception excluding the Roman Catholics from this Liberty. That amounts to very little. It is admitted, and regretted, that a clause to that effect did appear, at a late day, in the revised statutes, though little now is known of it except its nullity.—It is certain it never was acted upon, so that the great principle itself remains inviolate. And it must ever stand alike to the honor of one province, and to the disgrace of the others, that when, in 1686, the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Hartford and New Haven, attempted to force their sanguinary and savage laws against the Quakers upon Rhode-Island, calling upon the General Assembly to unite in a persecution of that sect, and enforcing their call by a threat of cutting them off, if they refused, from all commercial intercourse, this colony, unmoved even by the fear of a measure from which they must greatly have suffered, made the noble reply—"We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle, on which this colony was first settled; to wit, that every man, who submits peaceably to civil government in this colony, shall worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation."

Nor should it be forgotten, with what directness and beautiful simplicity, this principle was first expressed, in conclusion of the code of laws adopted by the first General Assembly, in 1647. "Otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk, in this colony, without molestation, in the name of Jehovah, their God, forever and ever."

Again, in the Preamble to the charter of 1663, there is this strong language, showing both liberty and restraint:—"That all and every person or persons may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concerns, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury nor outward disturbance of others."

After such declarations, which have never been rescinded or violated, it is idle to bring up a clause which appeared only in later revisions, which could not take effect in any way, there being no Catholics in the State, which was probably introduced merely to obtain favor with the mother country, or else to guard this very liberty of conscience against the infringement to which it would be exposed if Catholics should come in and get power, and which in fact has been a dead letter. But were all this otherwise, and at the very worst, it is wrong in the extreme to charge any inconsistency upon Roger Williams or his associates, for an act which did not exist till after
their time, and against whose temper all that they said and did was totally opposed. Whatever else may be true or false of Rhode-Island, there is both merited justice and merited rebuke in what was early said of the people of this State. "They are much like their neighbors, only they have one vice less, and one virtue more than they; for they never persecuted any, but have ever maintained a perfect liberty of conscience."

**Note E—p. 12.**

*Samuel Moody.*

"Mr. Moody had many eccentricities in his conduct; but he was eminent for piety, and was a remarkably useful minister of the Gospel. In his younger years he often preached beyond the limits of his own parish, and wherever he went, the people hung upon his lips.—In one of his excursions he went as far as Providence, where his exertions were the means of laying the foundation of a church. Though a zealous friend to the revival of religion, which took place throughout the country a short time before his death, yet he gave no countenance to separations. His spirit was pacific. He was bold and resolute in the cause of Christ. Such was the sanctity of his character, that it impressed the irreligious with awe. To piety he united uncommon benevolence. While with importunate earnestness he pleaded the cause of the poor, he was very charitable himself. It was by his own choice, that he derived his support from a free contribution, rather than a fixed salary in the usual way. In one of his sermons he mentions, that he had been supported twenty years in a way most pleasing to him, and had been under no necessity of spending one hour in a week in care for the world. Yet he was sometimes reduced almost to want, though his confidence in the kind providence of God never failed him."—*Allen's Dict.* p. 436.

**Note F—p. 12.**

*Mr. Cotton's account of his Ordination.*

"23 of October: 1728: Was the Day of My Solemn Ordination over a Church of Jesus Christ in Providence gathered into such a state the same Day: (N: B: This is the Third that ever was organized or Embodied in the Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, and of the other two the Reverend Nathaniel Clap and John Adams are Pastors both of them being Att Newport.)

This Little Flock of ours Consisted at their first formal Constitu-
tion of Nine Persons, Males; (Exclusive of my self their Unworthy Pastor;) viz; Cornelius Salisbury: Nathaniel Blague: William Randall: Joseph Bagley: Timothy Carpenter: Joseph Barstow: John Church: Thomas Pollok: And John Taylor: My Ordination was solemnized and Performed in the following most decent manner: Viz: My Eldest Brother John Cotton Began the meeting with Prayer: (I might have first said yt before we went to meeting the Reverend Baxter did in Cap: Abbot's Chamber open the Council by Prayer: thirteen Churches with yr Elders and Messengers being actually present, at which time The Reverend Baxter (being our Moderator) was unanimously Chosen to give me the Charge, and the Reverend White to give me the Right hand of Fellowship, and several others to lay on hands, &c.) Then The Reverend Appleton preached from 6: Isaiah: 8: After Sermon was over, the Reverend Prince Embodied Our church; we each of us Pastor and Church mutually renewing of our Call and Answer to and accepting of each Other: yn the Reverend Baxter (after yr appearing no one to bar our proceedings) gave me the Charge, And the Reverend White the Right hand of Fellowship: Those that imposed the hands of the Presbytery were The Reverend Baxter, Eells, White, Prince, Cotton, And Appleton: The Reverend Eells concluded with prayer. (I might have said (in its place) that the Reverend Baxter did pray both before and after his charge to me.) Then I appointed the last part of the 118 Psalm to be sung and to it I added the Gloria Patri extempore. And then we concluded all by my pronouncing the Divine Blessing: And all the Council resorted to the house and great chamber of Cap Daniel Abbott: Where they had prepared for them a very Sumptuous Dinner, And I served the Tables, &c. A very large Concourse of persons yr were together on the occasion—for we sent to twenty-three Churches: viz: To the Seven United Churches in Boston, and to two In yr Colony, to one In Connecticut, and to thirteen In the Massachusetts Bay: eighteen of which were on the spot, assisting in the Ordination, With their Reverend Elders and Messengers, and of the Band-Men there were supposed to be near forty, Besides many Candidates for the Ministry, &c. The like to which, as to Ministers and Churches for ye Numbers and possibly too for ye populace, this North America never saw: And oh That I may ever more keep it in the Imaginations of the Thoughts of my heart The awfulness the weight and the Moment of this most Arduous Work In which I'm engaged; and Particularly of the most solemn and tremendous charge that has now been laid upon me and I wish to God that I may so preach Christ to others as not to prove a cast away myself but may save both you and me. Amen. Josiah Cotton.
As this matter of the majority is always a vexed question, and as we desire to be just, if we can, we give the precise words of the Record. “The separate brethren had before this pretended they were the major part of the Church, and in consequence of such a persuasion had assumed a power and authority, which Christ nor his Apostles never invested the Church with. They were so confident of their being the majority, that though their number did not exceed twelve, yet they promised and engaged that if it could be made to appear that the standing part were the greater number, they would acknowledge that they had done wrong and would return, and that what they had done should stand for nothing. Whereupon the Reverend Pastor proceeded to call over the names of the standing part of the church, which was found to be fourteen besides two that at that time missed being mentioned, and which would make the number sixteen. But notwithstanding their solemn engagement and promise, they neglected and refused to return.”

This was early in the year 1744; and those who thus withdrew and were suspended, were the following:—“Ten males, viz: Benjamin Cary, Dea. Joseph Snow, Thomas Knowlton, Alexander M’Karry, Solomon Searle, Peter Tift, John Paine, Joseph Snow, Jr., Ebenezer Knight, and Berzil Richmond—with fifteen females, &c.”

Some of these names may be wrongly spelt; but in quoting a Record, it is best to quote it as it stands.

The only account we have seen of Mr. Snow’s life or character, is that given by Mr. Benedict in his History of the Baptists, I. 488.—“Mr. Snow was one of the zealous New Lights of Whitefield’s time, was ordained at Providence in 1747, and was, in early life, a companion in labors with Mr. Backus, and other successful itinerants of those times. He was a Pediobaptist in principle, but saw fit to administer baptism in any way his disciples chose; and as the Providence people are much inclined to the ancient mode, a considerable number of them were immersed. Mr. Snow was well esteemed by the Baptists in Providence and elsewhere. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Gano, from 2d Tim. IV. 7, 8:—‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, &c.’”

Mr. Benedict speaks here of Mr. Snow as having been ordained in 1747. It was one of the peculiarities of those times and those trans-
actions, that this ordination of Mr. Snow is understood to have re­sem bled that by which the first ministers of Salem were inducted in­to office, i.e. it was performed chiefly, if not wholly, by laymen. Our records tell us, that this church earnestly protested against the ordi­nation, on the ground that Mr. Snow was under censure, had not been regularly dismissed, and had not been "an examined and ap­proved candidate for the ministry." This protest they addressed—"to Messrs. Deacon Marsh, Solomon Paine, Thomas Denison and Thomas Stevens, the assuming ordainers of the said Mr. Snow." No minister is here specified as on the council, though we have been in­formed there was at least one. The record thus closes. "But not­withstanding this remonstrance and protest, the pretended council proceeded to the ordination of said Snow."

Whether, in this particular act, Mr. Snow and his associates were wrong, it would require a greater knowledge of the circumstances than we possess, to determine. It shows his independence, though many may ascribe it to different characteristics and motives. We are no friends to hasty judgment, or any manner of ecclesiastical as­sumption or interference. The divine right of Kings, Bishops, Councils, Presbyters and Brethren, seems to us alike preposterous and pernicious.


From the Providence Gazette, October 30, 1762.

"Last Lord's Day morning, departed this Life, in the 64th year of his age, the late Reverend Mr. John Bass, of this town—A gentleman, who in his public Performances was evangelical, learned, rational and accurate; and in private life was sociable, beneficent, compassionate, instructive and exemplary. In his last sickness, which was of long continuance, he submitted to the dealings of Divine Providence, with the Patience and Resignation of a Christian, united to the calmness and fortitude of a Hero. His funeral obsequies were attended on Tuesday last by a numerous concourse of people."


Installation of Rev. Enos Hitchcock.

"The parts were performed as follows:
The Rev. Mr. Howard, of Boston, began with prayer;
Rev. Dr. Cooper, of Boston, preached;
Rev. Mr. Townsend, of Barrington, gave the Charge;  
Rev. Mr. Hitchcock, of Pembroke, gave the right hand of Fellowship;  
Rev. Mr. Rodgeron, of Rehoboth, made the concluding prayer.

Note L—p. 30.  
Church censure taken off.  
"At a meeting of the Church, July 13th, 1784; duly notified—  
"The Pastor laid before the members the annual records of the church, respecting the suspension of "Mr. Joseph Snow and others" from the fellowship of the church. The members, impressed with a sense of the great importance of Christian charity, and desirous of preserving the unity of the body of Christ:  
"Voted unanimously—That in consideration of the fair character and exemplary lives of said "Mr. Joseph Snow and others" named, the censure formerly passed upon them by the church, be, and hereby is, taken off; and he, with such of them as are now living, are restored to the full charity and communion and fellowship of this church.  
"Voted also—That the church is ready and willing to receive into their christian charity and all good fellowship, the Church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Snow, being desirous "above all things, to put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." Col. 3, 14.  
Voted also—That the Pastor be desired to furnish the Rev. Mr. Snow with a copy of the foregoing votes:—which was done accordingly."—Records of the Church.
The Former House.

I acknowledge the favor of a beautiful Engraving of that ill-fated church, executed by William Hamlin, of this city and society. It confirms what we have said and heard of the house. Though of less costly and durable materials than the present, it was a little larger, and with its two towers must have made a more imposing appearance. In the Discourse which Dr. Hitchcock preached at its Dedication, from Ps. cxxii. 1, 2, he intimates his own satisfaction and the general opinion in regard to the building, by cautioning his hearers, with his characteristic simplicity, not to let their principal pleasure in coming there, "be the gratification of the eye."

The destruction of this house was caused by an insane man, who, impelled probably by the double power of insanity and an old grudge against the Society, communicated fire to the house by perforating a column, and inserting a lighted candle. Yet this was called by some a judgment of heaven! The new heresy of Unitarianism was just declaring itself, and this was a designed rebuke! Alas, since that time, or before, almost every denomination in the land has incurred a similar judgment! But it is too solemn a subject for trifling. Let Christians, of the 19th century, acknowledge the presence of God, and adore his power, and bless his goodness, with higher thoughts and better purposes, than are implied in these pitiful and wicked bickerings.

Dr. Hitchcock's Doctrines.

The change to which I have alluded, and which was noticed in the last half of Dr. Hitchcock's ministry, related to the use of Trinitarian forms and phrases. He did not declare the change formally, but silently discontinued these peculiarities, especially the singing of the Doxology, and those threefold ascriptions at the close of his prayers, which are of human device, substituting for them scriptural forms.

Since writing these Discourses, I have learned a fact which is instructive on this point, as indicating the earlier bent of his mind.—While he was a chaplain, he was in habits of intercourse with another chaplain, who was quite "orthodox." This man used afterward to hint at Dr. Hitchcock's unsoundness in the faith, as he regarded it; and said that Dr. H. himself told him more than once, that he had examined one after another of those doctrines which are termed orthodox, and which he with others had taken for granted, and set them aside; so far at least as not to feel that confidence in them, or attach
to them that importance which was common. Indeed it is doubtful praise, in any case, to say that he held those views, for he certainly did not preach them. And it would seem enough to settle this question, that out of eight or ten published discourses from him, there is not one, nor a page or line that we have seen, that is inconsistent with Unitarian preaching and believing.

We have presented these facts, not in eulogy or vindication of Dr. Hitchcock, for had he held the opposite opinions, we should have felt the same respect for his character and gratitude for his services. But it has been thought right, if not necessary, to settle this question, from the circumstance, that in this case as in almost all similar cases, it is sometimes alleged that the bequests which Dr. H. made to this church have been turned from their designed use, and are in fact illegally, at least doubtfully, held by a Unitarian Society. In answer to all such allegations or suspicions or hopes or fears, we simply quote the language of the instrument, by which the legacy was originally made.

Dr. Hitchcock's Will is dated Jan. 7, 1803; and begins thus:—

"Imprimis: Impressed with the importance of preserving religious Institutions, and the necessity of establishing Funds for the support of Religious Worship, I give to the Benevolent Congregational Society in Providence, Five shares in the Providence Bank, estimated at two thousand, five hundred dollars—the dividend, interest or income only arising therefrom, to be applied solely to the support of a learned and pious minister of the Congregational Order: &c."—His other bequest was made in similar language. Congregational is the only condition annexed; unless the terms "learned and pious" be thought to involve a condition. And that, we suppose, must be left to the judgment of the Society who are to choose the pastor, not of other Societies, however orthodox, or other individuals, however assuming.

Note P—p. 38.

Ordination of Henry Edes.

July 17, 1805. The Council convened at the chapel of Brown University, and after the usual proceedings, the exercises were assigned and performed as follows: Introductory Prayer, by Rev. William E. Channing, of Boston; Sermon by Dr. John Eliot, of Boston, from Luke x. 18; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. James Wilson, of Providence; Charge, by Dr. John Lathrop, of Boston; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Dr. John T. Kirkland, of Boston; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Th. Gray, of Roxbury. The other members of the Council, as Pastors, were the Rev. Pitt Clark, John Hill, John Piper, Samuel Watson, Henry Wight.
The laying of the corner-stone of the present House, May 29, 1815, was an event of peculiar interest, from the manner in which the former House had been destroyed, and the promptness of spirit and generosity of plan with which this was begun. And there was another cause of peculiar interest. The destruction of the former House had been regarded by some as a judgment, as we intimated in another place. We do not suppose this was a general feeling, but it was thought sufficiently so by Dr. Edes, to call for an allusion at least. And every one must approve the manner in which he refers to it. We give parts of his Address, from the records, beginning with the subject of their recent loss.

—"We who were most nearly and deeply affected by this occurrence, considered it ourselves, as it seems to have been viewed by others, as a judgment from heaven upon us—not sent perhaps on account of our distinguished transgressions, the peculiar heresy of our doctrines, or the uncommonly wicked practices of our lives; "not because we were sinners above all who dwell in Jerusalem," but as a merited correction from our Divine Father, which we hope will be religiously improved by us, and ultimately made to work for our good, as we are assured all things will towards those who fear God. Bowing, as we trust, with Christian resignation to this correcting stroke, and confessing the goodness as well as justice of God in its infliction, our desire and our intention now is to repair the breach he has made upon us—to rebuild our ruined walls, and from the ashes of our old, to cause to spring up a new edifice to the honor of his name; fervently praying, that both as respects the beauty and elegance of the building, and the zeal and piety of those who may hereafter worship in it, the glory of the latter temple may be incomparably greater than that of the former. With our own, we hope the prayers of all Catholic Christians, will ascend. At least, we should be extremely sorry to suppose, that there should be any so uncharitable in their feelings and principles, so unfriendly to our interests as a Christian community, as not to wish us God speed. Towards our fellow-christians of every denomination, we have ever cherished sentiments of cordial esteem and good will. The rights of conscience, which we hold among the dearest, and which we are ready to defend at any risk, we have never been disposed to deny to others. Our affections have never been withheld, nor our fellowship refused to any, merely on account of a diversity in their forms or modes of worship, or a variance from our own in what we are led to consider speculative points in theology. We acknowledge all as Christians, who conscientiously profess, as we do, to love the Lord Jesus Christ.
in sincerity and truth; and whether of our own particular communion or not, we never have failed, and I trust never shall fail, to pray that “grace, mercy and peace may be multiplied unto them.” We receive the Holy Scriptures as containing the revealed will of God, agreed and determined to construe their meaning for ourselves, and desiring to make them, and them only, the rule of our faith and our practice. We claim no infallibility of judgment in our peculiar construction of the doctrines they unfold, nor, on the other hand, do we shrink from the anathemas and reproaches which our openly avowed sense of their sacred contents may draw upon us. Our spiritual edifice we profess to build upon that foundation which God has laid in Zion, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom we hope all the building, fitly framed together, will grow up into an Holy Temple in the Lord.”

The address, after laying the corner-stone, closes thus:

“To this spot, as in times past, may many soon again resort, to hear these glad tidings of great joy, which proclaim peace on earth and good will to men. Here may a new altar for spiritual worship be erected, and therefrom may pure and abundant incense of prayer and praise rise up in acceptance before the throne of God. Never, within these walls which we hope to see swiftly rise upon this foundation—never may the bloody or persecuting spirit of bigotry take up her residence or erect her standard. There may religious intolerance, gloomy fanaticism, ignorant and over-heated zeal, or pharisaical pride, never find a place; but there may the angel of love descend, the heaven-born spirit of charity ever delight to live and dwell. To this spot, at no distant time, may many come to plume their wings for flight to happier worlds, and in the temple, about to be here erected, may thousands, born and unborn, become prepared for a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.”

Note R—p. 41.

Present Covenant of this Church.

“We, whose names are undersigned, do humbly and solemnly devote ourselves to the service of God, in Jesus Christ, through the Holy Spirit.

We profess our firm belief in the sacred scriptures, as containing the revealed will of God, and engage to take them for our sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice.

We do covenant and engage to and with each other, that in consequence of our relation to the visible kingdom of the Redeemer, signified by our baptism, we will walk together as a Christian Society in
the faith and order of the gospel—agreeably to the laudable practice of the Congregational Churches in New-England.

And we do farther engage that we will endeavor ourselves, and, so far as in our power, will strive to induce all under our care, to live in all good conscience towards God and man; professing ourselves to be in charity with those of every communion, who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.

For the faithful performance of these engagements, we depend not on our own unaided strength, but on the assistance of the divine spirit, which is promised to all who sincerely ask it.

We rely for the pardon of our sins, and our future and final salvation, on the mercy of God, as declared to us by Jesus Christ. And we beseech our Heavenly Father to strengthen us, and to enable us to keep this our covenant inviolate; and, at last, to unite us to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect."

This Covenant is signed, in the presence of the Pastor, by those who join the church, their names having been previously announced from the pulpit. Nothing is read or said to them in public, except in the case of their being unbaptised, when baptism is administered in the usual way previous to communion, in the presence of the congregation or of the church only, as they prefer, the former being the accustomed and almost universal mode. Communion is administered at the close of the afternoon service, on the first Sabbath of every month. On the Saturday evening previous to each communion, the members of the church, both male and female, hold a meeting at some private house, for religious exercises and social intercourse, when a discourse is read and prayers offered by the brethren in rotation, the Pastor taking no part, and not being present unless perfectly convenient to him. This is an old practice, recently revived, one in which all appear to take satisfaction, and one which is calculated to exert good influences in many ways.

There are two standing rules of this Church, which may be peculiar to it. One—"That the Covenant be read, at least once every year, to the church; the members standing up in token of their consent and renewal of it."—This is usually done the first Sabbath in May. The rule was adopted and the practice begun in 1783.

The other rule, adopted at the same time, is as follows:—"That the Pastor be directed, on sacrament days, before the assembly is dismissed, to invite all members of other churches, who are present, without any regard to their denomination, to sit down with us at the table of our common Lord and Saviour."—There is nothing peculiar in this practice itself, for we believe it is observed in all our churches at
least. The peculiarity is, that it is here an early and standing rule of the church. They chose not to leave it to the discretion of the Pastor, and not to let it be his invitation alone, but to make it their own voice and their own direction.

**Note S—p. 42.**

*Installation of Edward B. Hall.*

The present Pastor of this church, was installed the 14th of November, 1832. Services of Installation were as follows: Introductory Prayer by Rev. John P. B. Storer, of Walpole, Mass.; Sermon by Rev. Orville Dewey, of New-Bedford, from Ps. xl. 9, 10; Installation Prayer by Rev. Francis Parkman, of Boston, Mass.; Charge by Rev. Convers Francis, of Watertown, Mass.; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. F. A. Farley, of Providence; Address to the people, by Rev. Caleb Stetson, of Medford, Mass.; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. S. J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn.

**Summary.**

A table of prominent events and dates may be found convenient for reference.

- This Society first met for worship, A.D. 1720
- Erected first House for worship, 1723
- Employed stated Preacher, Samuel Moody, 1724
- Settled a Pastor, and embodied a Church, 1728
- Divided, by the secession of Mr. Snow and others, 1743
- Formed the “Benevolent Congregational Society,” 1770
- Engaged for one year an ordained minister, John Lathrop, 1775
- Erected a second house of worship, [dedicated Aug. 16,] 1795
- Lost that house by fire, [June 14th,] 1814
- Erected a third, the present House, [dedicated, Oct. 31,] 1816
- Helped to form a second Church, of its own faith, 1828

The Pastors have been,

- Josiah Cotton, nineteen years, 1728 to 1747
- John Bass, six years, 1752 to 1758
- David S. Rowland, twelve years, 1762 to 1774
- Enos Hitchcock, twenty years, 1783 to 1803
- Henry Edes, twenty-seven years, 1805 to 1832
- Edward B. Hall, 1832 —
REMINISCENCES OF FORTY YEARS,

DELIVERED,

19 MARCH, 1837,

THE LORD'S DAY AFTER THE COMPLETION OF FORTY YEARS
FROM HIS SETTLEMENT IN THE MINISTRY, IN

BROOKLINE,

BY JOHN PIERCE, D. D.
The fifth Pastor of the Congregational Church and Society, in Brookline.

PRINTED, BUT NOT PUBLISHED, BY SUBSCRIPTION AMONG HIS PEOPLE.

BOSTON,
MINOT PRATT, PRINTER.
1837.
As the author has already published two historical discourses relating to the Town and Church; the first, delivered, on 24 November, 1805, at the termination of a century from the incorporation of the Town; and the second, on 9 November, 1817, the Lord's day after the completion of a century from the gathering of the Church, he will not be expected to repeat many facts contained in those Memoirs. But, as he shall have frequent occasion to refer to them, to save needless repetition, he will designate the former by the letters T. C. D. and the latter by C. C. D.
Thou shalt remember all the way, which the Lord thy God led thee, these forty years.

It is common in scripture to recall the memory of the past. This, it is obvious, is the part of wisdom. How else shall we be sensible of divine mercies? How else shall we make a suitable improvement of our trials? How else shall we realize the swift flight of time, and seize the fleeting moments, as they pass? How else shall we be mindful of our defects and sins, and “flee for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us”? How else shall we prepare for the destination, which awaits us?

Accordingly Moses, the man of God, the conductor of the Israelites from Egypt, the place of their servitude, to Canaan, the land of their inheritance, employs the whole book, from which the text is taken, in recapitulating their distinguished national mercies, in reviewing their trials, in bringing to mind the principal scenes, during their peregrinations in the wilderness, in admonishing them of their egregious transgressions, and in showing them by what means they might become and continue a prosperous and happy people.
As, during the past week, the exact period, to which Moses so expressively refers, has elapsed from the commencement of the pastoral connexion between the minister* and people in this place, the thought has suggested itself to my mind, that an appropriate use might be made of the monition, with which I introduced my discourse. "Thou shalt remember all the way, which the Lord thy God led thee, these forty years."

I. Let me then begin the memorial of events, in which we are mutually interested, by a brief review of our privileges and blessings, as a religious society.

By adverting to the "Discourse, delivered, on 24 November, 1805, the day, which completed a century from the incorporation of the Town," you will find, that the early settlers of this place found many difficulties in procuring and enjoying religious, as well as municipal privileges. For about three quarters of a century, it formed a part of the neighboring Capital, to which the inhabitants here addressed repeated and earnest petitions, before they could obtain their consent to become incorporated. Similar difficulties prevented their formation of a religious society; so that the first meeting house was not raised, till 10 November, 1714.† Its Dedication sermon was preached, on 3 June, 1715, by the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, pastor of the First Church, in Roxbury, for several years colleague with the divine, familiarly denominated the apostle Eliot.||

† The builders were Deacon Samuel Clark and Mr Isaac Gardner, inhabitants of the Town, and members of the Church; the former died, 7 May, 1766, aged 81; the latter, 11 March, 1787, aged 83. Deacon Samuel Clark was the first, who was published in the New Meeting house.
|| It is not a little remarkable that the ministry of these two divines extended to 120 years; the Rev. John Eliot having been in the ministry 58 years, and the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, 62 years.
This Church was gathered, on 26 October, 1717, nearly one hundred and twenty years ago. By this it appears, that your present pastor has officiated here, a little more than one third of the period, since this Church was formed.

The Rev. James Allen, first pastor of this Church, was a man of piety and talents.* For the greater part of his ministry, he and his people were happily united. During the troublous times, which deeply agitated the Churches, in this region, just before the middle of the last century, he was active in the new measures, which were then pursued, and prepared for "The Christian History,"† a glowing account of a most glorious Revival of religion here, in which he was greatly instrumental.

But from certain causes, to such excesses did it lead, that he, who had, during its progress, considered it, as the work of God, in a public and explicit manner ascribed it to a very different origin.

No sooner was this tergiversation made known, than a portion of his Church abjured his Church and ministry, loaded him with reproaches,‡ formed a separate society, in this Town, and after employing, for a course of years, lay exhorters and preachers, on 17 January, 1711. ordained, as their stated pastor, Mr. Jonathan Hyde,|| a zealous, but illiterate layman from Canterbury, Connecticut.

* T. C. D. p. 13. What I then conjectured, I have since ascertained to be fact; that Mr. Allen, according to the custom of the times, preached his own ordination sermon, which was from Matthew xxiv. 43, 46, 47. "Who then is a faithful and wise servant" &c.

† Published, in Boston, 1743, in two volumes. The work was expressly designed to publish accounts of Revivals of religion, and was edited by Thomas Prince, son of the Rev. Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church, Boston. For the above mentioned Document see Appendix I.

‡ See Appendix II.

|| He died, 4 June, 1787, 81st. 78.
It has been uniformly represented to me, as the evident effect of these convulsions on the mind of the first pastor, that he fell into a decline, and expired, at the age of fifty six.*

In about a year after his decease, the Church gave a united call to Mr Cotton Brown, son of a former minister of Haverhill; and the people were about to proceed peaceably to his settlement. In the mean time, certain "busy bodies in other men’s matters" circulated the report, which was not slow in travelling, that he was an unsafe spiritual guide.

Now could they have prevailed on the Church to call a Council to settle the matter, in the nomination of which they should have had a share, it would not have been difficult to find ministers, who would have confirmed these rash judgments, and thus have increased and perpetuated, instead of healing the incipient divisions. But your fathers more wisely decided, as they were to sit under his ministry, and to support him, as their pastor, to judge for themselves.

Accordingly they called a meeting of the Church, and passed the following resolutions.†

"That although this Church, when they gave Mr Cotton Brown a call to be their pastor, were well satisfied with regard to his principles in religion, as far as they were able to form a judgment of the same from his public preaching; yet, inasmuch as there have been, since that time, rumors abroad, as well as jealousies at home, in the minds of some among ourselves, as if Mr Brown was not sound in the faith; therefore,

* The Rev. James Allen died, 18 February, 1747, Aet. 56. His wife Mehitable, daughter of the Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, of Lynn, died, 27 June, 1748, Aet. 62. For singular vicissitudes in their family, see appendix III.
† Brookline Church Records.
“Voted, That Mr Brown be desired more fully to communicate his principles to this Church, and to lay before them the articles of his faith, which desire Mr Brown readily complied with.*

“Upon which it was voted, that this Church are fully satisfied with regard to Mr Brown’s principles, and do approve of the same, as being, in their apprehension, agreeable to the oracles of truth.”

They then proceeded to call a Council for his ordination, which took place, on 26 October, 1748.†

His ministry was duly estimated, the short time it lasted; for he expired, on 13 April, 1751, having sustained the ministerial office but two years, five months, and eighteen days.‡

To show how differently this young divine was considered by the Separatists of the day, and those most competent to form a correct judgment, I will rehearse the character given of him, at the time of his decease, by the eminent Dr Cooper, of Brattle Street Church, Boston, his class-mate at the University.

“On the 13th instant, died, at Brookline, the Rev. Cotton Brown, pastor of the Church, in this place, son of the Rev. John Brown, of Haverhill; a gentleman, who, by the happiness of his genius, his application to study, and taste for polite literature, his piety and prudence, his sweetness of temper, and softness of manners, had raised in his friends the fairest hopes, and gave them just reason to expect in him one of the brightest ornaments of society, and a peculiar blessing to the Church.

“The short time he sustained the ministerial charac-

* See Appendix IV. † T. C. D. p. 15. ‡ Mr Brown was engaged to be married to Mary Allen, only daughter of his predecessor; and the house now owned by Reuben Hunting was raised for him.
ter, he so well performed the duties proper to it, that he has left with his charge a very lasting remembrance.

"In public he clearly taught and persuasively urged and enforced the important truths and duties of Christianity with a voice and manner singularly engaging, and expressive of the modesty and benignity of his nature. His example, at the same time, gave a peculiar force to his sermons; and in his life we saw those beauties of holiness exerted into action, which in his discourses he so handsomely recommended; so that those, who heard him from the desk, admired his talents, as a preacher; and those, who conversed with him, in private life, the more intimately they did so, the more were they charmed with his virtues, as a Christian.

"To such a person no death could be sudden or premature. Young as he was, he had looked through the world with too piercing an eye, to be loth to leave it, at the call of God; and had learned to die, at an age when but few, in any good measure, have learned to live. He met the king of terrors with that calmness, which became his character, that rational calmness, which the principles of religion can alone inspire; having a humble confidence in the great Mediator, and an expectation of the life and immortality, which he brought to light. Through the burning restlessness of a fever, and frequent returns of violent pains, as his senses never left him, he never showed the least impatience, but expressed the most profound submission to the determinations of his heavenly Father, and died with a will entirely resolved into the divine.

"To his friends, his pastoral charge, and to all, who were acquainted with his virtues and his worth, his death was indeed untimely; for he had but just com-
pleted his twenty fourth year. But to himself he had lived long, and died full of days. 'For wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.'"

This Church proceeded, in due time, to invite two young men* to settle over them, who successively refused their invitation.

They next invited Mr Robert Rogerson, a native of Scotland, a young man of unimpeachable character, to be their minister, who accepted the invitation. But parties arising among the people, on the ground, that he was a foreigner, whose early life they had not personally known, he was induced to leave them without ordination, and was settled at Rehoboth, where he fulfilled a long ministry, honorable to himself, and profitable to his people.

Mark now the inconsistencies, into which short-sighted mortals sometimes fall. Those very people, who objected to the candidate just mentioned, that he was a stranger, though he possessed ample credentials, proceeded suddenly to give a call to another;† from a distance, without credentials, before they had even ascertained his christian name, whom they as abruptly settled, and who, though professedly orthodox in faith, was destined, during a short ministry, to give woful emphasis to the apostle's monition, "Lay hands suddenly on no man."‡

On this disappointment of their fondest hopes, the people proceeded immediately to settle the Rev. Joseph

* T. C. D. p. 15.
† T. C. D. p. 15.
‡ Rev. Nathaniel Potter married a Livermore, of Waltham, by whom he had a daughter Sarah, who died in infancy. After his death, his widow was married to Robert Pierpont Esq. of Roxbury.
Jackson,* my highly venerated predecessor, their fourth pastor, who, through a ministry of more than thirty six years, maintained a uniform character for prudence, integrity, and piety.

But two† are now living in this Town, who were living here, at the time of his ordination, 9 April, 1760, almost seventy seven years ago.

The ministry of Mr Jackson, as it has been always represented to me, was conducted with much wisdom and discretion, in a great measure undisturbed by internal dissensions, or outward assaults.

The severest trials he experienced, on the ground of interference, were from the son of a principal malcontent,‡ during the latter part of Mr Allen's ministry, who, as a Baptist exhorter, drew some from his fold; and who, with others, was instrumental in converting to the anti-pedobaptist faith nearly, if not quite every member of Mr Hyde's Church, with the exception of the pastor, who, to the day of his death, remained a pedobaptist, though he worshipped with the Baptist Church, in Newton. Such was the opinion entertained of his piety, it was the remark of the first pastor|| of said Church, that "he was always glad to see father Hyde at meeting; for he knew, that he had one praying hearer."§

* T. C. D. p. 16.
† Widow Jerusha Craft, born, 1 August, 1749, and widow Elisabeth Corey, born, 12 October, 1746, the oldest person now living in the Town.
‡ Deacon Elhanan Winchester. See Appendix V.
|| Rev. Caleb Blood.
§ For a minute account of the gathering of the Baptist Church, in Newton, and of the agency of Mr Elhanan Winchester, Jr., son of the Deacon, in making converts, see "A Sermon exhibiting the origin, progress, and present state of the Baptist Church and Society, in Newton, preached before them, on the first Lord's day, in January, 1830, by Joseph Grafton, Pastor of said Church."
It is not a little remarkable, that the young man,* who gave my predecessor so much trouble by attempts to build on his foundation, should, on his conversion to a new faith, give him still greater annoyance by the busy propagation of doctrines in his vicinity, regarded by him as highly latitudinarian in their tendency.†

I have given this sketch of our Church, before my own times, to impress on your minds, my hearers, and my own, our obligations to God for his distinguishing goodness to us, the last forty years. We have had our trials; but they have been greatly overbalanced by mercies; and our trials have been light, compared with those, which were suffered, in the earlier history of our Church.

At the commencement of my ministry, few were the avowed diversities of religious opinions in this place and among ministers and Churches in the surrounding region. Of late years how great the changes! Instead of the fathers have come the children, some of whom have embraced a different faith; and the frequent instances of emigration and immigration have tended to multiply these differences.

But notwithstanding these changes in our religious views, it is a subject of devout gratitude to God, that they have not led to such heart-burnings and alienations, in families and in neighborhoods, as have, in other places, disturbed the peace, and separated sworn friends. Though some have left us, and sought more congenial society and worship, with whom, in past seasons, we have "taken sweet counsel together, and gone to the house of God in company"; yet a respectable

* Appendix VI. 
† Appendix VII.
society still remains, who, it is devoutly to be hoped, will transmit unimpaired the religious institutions of their fathers to the latest posterity. In this regard, how different is our condition, my hearers, from that of many societies, which are continually changing, and never long satisfied; or in which the ordinances of our religion, so dear to the hearts of our fathers, have gone to decay; the ministry has become extinct; the people are indifferent to religion under every form, and are liable to the insidious arts of every designing intruder!

Blessed be God, who in these, and in other respects, makes us to differ from so many less favored communities. In point of toleration and brotherly love, only compare our intercourse among those, who differ from us, with that of dissentients in our neighboring Capital, during the early history of our country. There were then sanguinary laws and bitter persecutions levelled against the Baptists and Quakers. Gloomy are the pages, in the accounts of our puritan fathers, which record these transactions. How lovely the contrast which we now witness! How uniform, how undisturbed, how intimate the union between the recently organized Baptist Society* here and our own! In various benevolent enterprises of the day, how remarkable the cooperation! We have pleasantly walked together, where we could agree; and where we could not see, eye to eye, we have agreed to differ. Concerning their pastor, who has lately been separated from them, it is my willing testimony, that, during his residence among us, never have I heard a word from him, nor witnessed a transaction, in relation to our Society, which has given me a

* Appendix VIII.
moment’s uneasiness. On the other hand, his kind offices, and those of his family, have been uniformly experienced, and gratefully reciprocated; and his efforts for the general peace and prosperity have been unintermitted and salutary. Most cordially do I respond to his parting testimony,* "rarely, very rarely does it happen, that two ministers of different denominations labor so harmoniously in the same field, as you and myself have done; and more harmoniously no two ministers of even the same communion could have labored." It is my firm belief, that a similar union so sincerely cherished, and so touchingly expressed, has been generally maintained between the two Societies. What lover of peace and religious toleration but must strive and pray, that it may be perpetual!

The forty years, to which my ministry has been prolonged, it will be recollected, is the period, in which the Israelites were traveling and sojourning in the wilderness from their departure out of Egypt to their arrival at the promised land. It will be also remembered, that of the immense numbers, who left the place of their inglorious servitude, at adult age, but two, Caleb and Joshua, survived to enter the country of their inheritance. All the rest of this great company fell in the wilderness. "Having obtained help of God," you, my friends, have been more highly favored. For of the comparatively small number, below six hundred, who were living here, forty years ago, twenty six, of whom nine are men, and seventeen women, who were adults, at that period, are now living in the Town. The whole number now surviving here, who were born at that period, is fifty five,

* In a letter to the author.
of whom twenty one are men and thirty four women.

Of this number I reckon twenty one men and twenty six women, in the whole forty seven, older, than your pastor; and there are ten couples in the Town, who have been longer connected in the marriage union.

At the organization of this Church, there were thirty nine, of whom were seventeen men and twenty two women.

At the close of Mr Allen's ministry, the number of communicants had been one hundred and fifty four. During Mr Brown's ministry, but three were added to the Church; during Mr Potter's, sixteen; during Mr Jackson's, one hundred and thirty; and, for the last forty years, one hundred and ninety five, fifty three males and one hundred and forty two females. Of this number, seventy six were of those, who had attended my catechisings or the sabbath school.

At my ordination, there were twenty two resident male communicants and thirty female, making fifty two; and eight non-resident male members, and twenty five female, in the whole eighty five.

All the communicants of this Church, who were admitted, during the ministry of the first three pastors, have deceased. Of those admitted, under Mr Jackson's ministry, twenty three are living, eight men and fifteen women. Of members admitted, during my ministry, are thirty men and one hundred and seven women, making the whole number alive one hundred and sixty.

Of the one hundred and ninety five admitted, during my ministry, fifty six have died, fifty six live out of Town, fifteen have been dismissed to other Churches,
eleven have become Baptists, six* have been preachers of the gospel, of whom one is President of Bowdoin College, four have left without joining any other Church, one became a Roman Catholic, and one a Universalist.

There has been, for a number of years past, a gradual, but steady increase of population. By the census of 1790, there were 515 inhabitants; in 1800, 605; in 1810, 784; in 1820, 900; in 1830, 1040.

At the time of my ordination, there were 72 dwelling houses,† and the same number of families. Of these dwellings, 34 were below the Meeting house, and 38 above.

There are now 151 dwelling houses, 79 below the Meeting house, and 72 above; in which, during some part of the year, there have been 176 families, 99 below the Meeting house, and 77 above.

II. It becomes us, in the second place, to remember not only the Lord's mercies; but also our trials.

In the retrospect of forty years, how great has been their number! What considerate person has passed so short a period, as not to have experienced his share?

Wherever we turn our view, what changes salute us! Even if for the better, they loudly admonish us, that "the fashion of this world passeth away," and we are passing away with it.

Though, if we properly contemplate the subject, we

Rev. Jesse Fisher, late minister of Windham, Conn.
Rev. Samuel Clark, late minister of Burlington, Vt.
Rev. Increase Sumner Davis, minister of Wentworth, N. H.
Rev. David Hatch Barlow, minister of Brooklyn N. Y.

† C. C. D. p. 27.
must acknowledge, that the Lord's mercies are far more numerous, than his judgments; yet who has passed over the period specified in the text, and has not had his days of mourning? Few, through so long a season, are exempt from bodily diseases and pains; none are without grievous mental inquietudes.

If, for a length of time, relieved from personal sufferings, how deeply is our sympathy excited by the sickness and death of those, who are near and dear to our hearts!

Since my settlement in this Town, there have been 423 deaths, 209 males and 214 females. Of these 20 lived to 80 and upwards; 51 to 70 and upwards. The oldest person was 94, and the next oldest, 92. In Roxbury families, worshipping with us, the deaths have been 58, 28 males and 30 females.

The deaths of church members have been 71, 33 males and 38 females; of occasional communicants, 6 males and 25 females; and belonging to all other communions, 4 males and 9 females; in the whole, 115, more than one quarter of all the deaths.

During my ministry, 2 have died, who joined the Church under the first minister, 73, who were admitted by Mr Jackson, and 56 of my admissions, in the whole 160.

Alas! in the successive occurrence of so many deaths, how many tender ties have been dis severed! How often has the conjugal union been invaded! How many brothers and sisters have been separated! How often have children been called to mourn the departure of beloved parents! How frequently have the hearts of fathers and mothers been torn with anguish, at the loss of promising children!
III. Thirdly, the season calls on us to consider the swift flight of time, that we may properly lament, what has been misimproved, and more faithfully occupy the short span, which remains.

I know not, how it is with others; but, in my view, the last 40 years have rolled away with inconceivable velocity.

Events succeed each other so imperceptibly, that, unless you take some landmarks, you can hardly realize, how rapidly you are passing down the stream of time.

As one memorial, take then the fact, that of the 72* houses, standing, 40 years ago, 14, about one fifth part, have been demolished; that but 35 have fragments of the same families living in them, as then; that 6 only have the same owners, 3 below the Meeting house, and 3 above; that but 4 of these have the same occupants; and but 2, the same united heads.†

Thirty years ago, last June, 66 pews in this house were either purchased or hired. In 14 only of these do any of the same families now sit, as then. Eleven only have the same owners; 8 the same occupants; and of these 6 only, where both partners are living.

At the time of my call to settle, there were 66 legal voters, but 12 of whom are supposed to be living, 9 belong to this Town, 8 to this Parish, and 6 are communicants of this Church.

Of 22 male Church members, at the time of my ordination, but 4 are living, 3 of whom communicate with us.

In 40 instances, both heads of families have died; and in 4 cases, there has been the death of a husband and two wives.

*C. C. D. p. 27.  
†Appendix IX.
In this period, there have died 75 male heads of families, and 70 female, amounting to 145.

There were two Committees, one of the Church, consisting of three, and the other, of the Town, consisting of two, who presented me the call to settle in the ministry; but one of the whole number is now living.

Of housekeepers here, at the time of my ordination, 10 are living below the Meeting house, and 6 above; but 8 of whom occupy the same houses; and but 3 couples remain, who were then living together.

Fourteen ministers were invited to assist in my ordination; but 5 of whom are now living. Of the 6, who took part in the public religious exercises, but one remains, and he has recently resigned his pastoral office.

IV. The season should, fourthly, lead us, both as pastor and people, to ponder our defects and sins, and "flee for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us."

What these are, let the conscience of each one decide. If we will but impartially examine ourselves by the word of God, we may find much, that is amiss; much, which should humble us under the mighty hand of God, and lead us to pray earnestly for forgiveness through the mediation of Jesus Christ. Faith in him, repentance, and correspondent fruits are the only revealed terms, on which we are encouraged to hope.

These things being so, it is of infinite importance to decide, whether our faith be such, as the Lord Jesus requires? Is it within us a vital, practical principle, formed by diligent study of the scriptures? Or are we indifferent, whether we have faith, or not? Or do we content ourselves with a merely speculative faith, which, though with great pretensions to soundness, produces not its proper fruits, and is therefore barren and in effectual?
Let us also be solicitous to ascertain, whether we have repented after a godly sort? We cannot become acquainted with the rudiments of the gospel, but we must perceive the stress laid on repentance by our Savior, his evangelists, and apostles. This was the leading doctrine urged and reiterated by him, who came to prepare the way of the Lord. By the testimony of Mark, our Savior began his public ministry by calling on men to “repent and believe the gospel.” The apostle Paul shows his sense of its importance, when he speaks, as the burden of his preaching, of “testifying to the Jews and also to the Greeks repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Does not pastoral fidelity require me then, my beloved hearers, to inquire, with due solicitude, whether you have thought on your ways, by the instructions and directions of God’s word; and whether you have cherished that godly sorrow for your sins, which is the first step toward their renunciation?

But faith and repentance, their connected duties, and intended results, it is well known, are exceedingly liable to perversion. There are good reasons for supposing it the main design of the apostle James, in his epistle, to guard against the false constructions of many, in his day, who had misinterpreted the expression of Paul, that “man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.”

It is however a sufficient safeguard against every such misapprehension, if we will but attentively consider, that each apostle adduces the patriarch Abraham, as evincing a right faith. But how is it possible to conceive of a more practical faith, which led directly to correspondent works, than that, which was evinced by this “father of the faithful?”
In relation to this subject, there are two extremes against which it becomes us carefully to guard.

One is to make faith and repentance merely speculative principles, without regard to their indispensable practical results; and hence to judge of their acceptability, in the sight of God, by lively emotions, by sensible experiences, or by positive convictions of the truth, akin to infallibility, and by forwardness to search and condemn others, who come not to the same standard. This disposition argues an arrogant claim to unerring rectitude of opinion. It would be difficult to find a temper, against which our Savior and his apostles bear more decided testimony.

The opposite extreme, which demands equal caution, is to conclude, that a life influenced by the mere maxims of worldly policy is sufficient to recommend us to the favor of the Most High. So thought not the blessed Jesus, as he traces all virtue to the heart. “A good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth that, which is good; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth that, which is evil.”

Settle it then in your minds, my hearers, whether the Bible make not repentance, faith, and holiness essential to divine acceptance, on the merciful terms of the Christian covenant; and if so, whether “these things are in you, and abound, so that ye are neither barren, nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

These truths and admonitions, it is believed, have been proclaimed to you and your fathers by your five successive pastors, for more than 118 years.

If your pastor knows himself, it has been his heart’s desire, and daily prayer to God, that you may all come
to the knowledge and practice of these truths, and be saved, through the mediation of our merciful and faithful High Priest. It was the prayer of John Wesley, an eminent instrument in the salvation of souls, "Lord, let me not live to be useless." To the same sentiment your pastor most devoutly responds.

It has been my privilege, either in person, or by substitutes to supply the pulpit, during these forty years, twice, every Lord’s day, but one; and that was, on 27 January, 1805, when the depth of snow prevented the person engaged from coming to this place. I have been detained from preaching, by indisposition, since my settlement here, but thirteen sabbaths; the last, on 3 March, 1816, more than 21 years ago.

There have been, in this time, 449 communions, all but six of which I have administered.

I have had 327 public Lectures, of which 149 were preached by myself, and 178 by others. Within the last ten years, there have been 200 private meetings, at all, but five of which, I have officiated.

There have been 4682 sermons, preached here, in public, since the care of the pulpit was intrusted to me. Of these 2443 have been preached by myself and 2239 by others.

In the mean time, our Church has received 66 letters to attend ordinations and installations; and 8, soliciting our aid on advisory Councils.

I have solemnised 180 marriages; and it is not a little remarkable, that there have been for the last 45 years, but 5 couples so united, of which each party was a native of this Town.

V. In the fifth and last place, the occasion urges all to prepare for the destination, which, we know not how soon, awaits us.
This use the apostle to the Hebrews makes of this portion of sacred history. After considering the rest, for which the Israelites sighed in Canaan, as typical of the “rest, that remaineth for the people of God,” he exhorts, “let us labor therefore to enter into that rest.”

To attain to this consummation is, my hearers, the great object, which your pastor should propose, and which, he humbly trusts, he has had mainly in view, both for himself, and his people.

I presume not to judge, how many, who have made no profession of their faith in Christ, have good hope, through grace, of final acceptance. Much less will I attempt to decide, what portion of those, who are the nominal friends of Jesus, are nevertheless, by their habitual temper and deportment, “the enemies of the cross, whose end is destruction.” Admonished by the apostle to “judge nothing before the time,” I readily submit this decision to the judgment of the great day.

But this I will declare, that it gives me great pain to be able to induce no more to come forward, and espouse the cause of Christ before men. There are several of different ages, especially among the younger part of my hearers, and, above all, who are young heads of families, with infants growing up under their care, whom I long to see choosing “that good part, which cannot be taken from them,” devoting not only themselves, but their offspring also to their God and Savior. I marvel, that my earnest prayers and endeavors to this purpose have not been more successful. It is perhaps to excite me to more zealous and promising efforts, and to convince me, more and more, that “God alone can give the increase.” Not that the people, under my ministry, have been singularly deficient in this respect. The ar-
verage additions, from the gathering of the Church, have been about 4 annually; while, during my ministry, the average has been about 5.

Of the present Church I reckon 19, who are lineal descendants from the founders, in 1717,* some of the fourth, fifth, and sixth, and one, at least, of the seventh generation, both inclusive, from Joseph White, the fourth among the founders.

Of the 76 members of my Church, who had attended my catechetical instructions, 17 are numbered with the dead. May God almighty raise up others from our youth, who shall offer the flower of their age to the blessed Redeemer!

To all capable of weighing the subject, and desirous of presenting themselves "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God," I am commissioned by my Master to say, "All things are ready; come to the marriage" supper of the Lamb, and begin no longer to make excuses.

Let me also urge all concerned, who have no plea of ill health, to bring their children to the baptismal font. Were a judgment to be formed from the growing neglect of public infant baptism, it might be natural to infer, that we are becoming anti-pedobaptists. O let not fashion be suffered to extend its iron sway to the house, and the very ordinances of the Lord. There are obvious reasons, which should induce parents, who are able and conscientious, to make a public presentation of their offspring, in the ordinance of baptism. It certainly requires much less effort and self-denial, than the ordinance, as it is administered by our Baptist brethren.

The privileges and blessings of Sabbath schools† I

* C. C. D. p. 25.
† Begun here, 2 July, 1826, and continued without intermission from 4 May, 1828.
can omit no opportunity of earnestly recommending, because I feel morally certain of the advantages, which they are instrumental in affording to both teachers and pupils, as well as parents. Much has been done in this business, among us, which I hope duly to estimate, and gratefully to acknowledge. My earnest wish is to press more into this delightful service. How can we better execute the direction of the wise man, "Train up a child in the way he should go?" How can we more rationally hope to enjoy the gratification acknowledged by the apostle? "I can have no greater joy, than to see my children walking in the truth?"

There is a continually increasing call for this instruction. In my investigations, the last season, to ascertain the number of children to be included in the School return to the General Court, I found 142 below the Meeting house, and 108 above, between the ages of 4 and 16. What can be more desirable, than that these should enjoy every possible advantage for receiving early religious instructions and impressions? Who can doubt, that Sabbath School instruction offers the best opportunities for all, and the only opportunities for some to seek and to acquire religious wisdom?

Finally, my hearers, "I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and are 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 endeavor, that ye may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance."
APPENDIX.

I.

Account of a Revival of religion in Brookline, by the Rev. James Allen, pastor, in a letter addressed to the Rev. William Cooper, Moderator in a meeting of ministers.

It appears, that the Convention of ministers, who assembled, in Boston, in May, 1743, were not, as a body, favorable to the revivals of religion produced by the instrumentality of the Rev. George Whitfield, and others.

A meeting of Congregational ministers friendly to such measures was therefore called to meet, in the Capital, the subsequent summer; and the following is the testimony of Mr Allen. See Christian History, Vol. I. p. 394.

"Brookline, July, 1743.

To the Rev. William Cooper.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—Mr Balch has been pleased to come thus far out of his way to bring me the glad tidings of your united testimony to the work of God. I am not able to express the joy, with which I received the news; and consequent upon it, I was not able to come to town to-day, being very much indisposed by the head-ache, &c. But, Sir, I was thoughtful of you, the committee, I mean, and now thank the Lord, that my secret supplications are so suddenly and fully answered. I did not give in, as some did, a verbal testimony to the effusions of the Divine Spirit in a work of conversion and grace among us. I thought, my being present was sufficient; and then my natural temper ever restrains me from speaking upon such occasions before those much wiser and better than myself. But I have since wished, I had, to the glory of free and sovereign grace, made a short declaration in the following manner.

That there has been a very distinguishing and remarkable work of God going on in the land, I have been so much a witness to,
in many towns, where I have occasionally been, within these two years, that, I think, I am as firm in the belief of it, as of the sun in the firmament, or of my own existence. For what, but the God, that formed it, can so impress the mind with the sense of sin, and its destructive consequents, as to cause the greatest sorrow of heart, and streams of penitential tears to flow from the eyes? What can create in the soul earnest, restless, and vehement desires after the love, grace, and fellowship of Christ, but that God, who first formed the spirit of man within him, and can turn the heart, as a river of water? Who, but the God of grace, can make the drunkard temperate, and the prodigal son a sober, serious man, &c., which things have been common in other places, in my frequent observation.

Nor are we destitute of some signal instances of free and sovereign grace among us here. There have been scores of persons under awakenings. Yea, I have sometimes thought, there has not been a single person in my congregation, but has been under more or less concern about the important matters of another world, and what he should do to be saved. Though these impressions, I fear, are worn off in many; yet in others, I have no reason to doubt, that they have been carried on to a sound and saving conversion. Additions to the Church have been considerable for numbers of such, as, I hope, through grace shall be saved; and chiefly of younger persons; one of but eleven years of age, another in the eleventh and last hour of life, being above seventy; three of a liberal education, two of them since, hopeful young preachers. In some few the terrors have been so great, that they have cried out in distress. In others, the liberal communications of divine light and joy have had a like effect. One of our young converts died, the last Fall, in a very glorious and triumphant manner; the only one, that has died among us, since the blessed work began. I was called to visit her, about ten, the evening before she died; and finding her very low in spirits, as well as body, I tarried all night, sometimes discoursing, and sometimes praying with her. But she received no comfort. In the morning, after prayer, she turned her face to the wall, and lay still, for a little time, and then broke out, and said, 'Now I am ready to die; now I am ready to die.' I immediately stepped to her, and said, Child, have you found Christ? 'O, yes,' said she, 'I have
found him; I have found him.' I asked her, if she was now as­
sured of the love of Christ to her? She answered, ‘I am sure;
I am sure. Now I can leave parents and friends, and all for
Christ. Come, Lord Jesus; O sweet Jesus! O the anthems of
joy! O sweet! sweet! sweet!' and other expressions of the like
nature. In which happy frame she continued, about two or three
hours, and then breathed out her soul into the bosom of Jesus,
her beloved. These things are the Lord's doings, and loudly call
for our admiration and praise.”

This statement is in the style of extravagance usual with the
friends of these excitements, at that day. For a minute account
of such proceedings, in many places, see “Seasonable thoughts
on the state of religion in New England, by Charles Chauncy,
D. D. pastor of the First Church of Christ, in Boston,” an 8vo.
of 424 pages, published, in 1743.

That the above account partakes of the exaggerations, common
in those times, may appear from the following considerations.

1. There was not a single addition to the Church, in Brookline,
during the whole year, in which Mr Allen’s communication was
written. There were but 8 admissions, in 1742; 13, in 1741; 1,
in 1740; and none, in 1738 and 1739. Surely the additions to
the Church of but 22, in six years, less than the average, during
his ministry, can hardly warrant the language employed by Mr
Allen in his letter.

2. From the phraseology used, it seems clearly im­
plied, if not
asserted, that the three of liberal education, mentioned in the let­
ter, were fruits of the revival. Yet the only men of liberal edu­
cation, admitted to the Church here, near to that period, were the
Rev. Jonathan Winchester, afterward of Ashburnham, who joined
this Church, 11 December, 1737; the Rev. Charles Gleason, af­
terward of Dudley, who was admitted, 29 June, 1740; and John
Druce, afterward physician, in Wrentham, who was received, on
25 April, 1742.

3. The excited state, into which Mr Allen’s mind was brought,
was soon succeeded by very different feelings and views on the
subject, as will appear by the date and tenor of the paper, in Ap­
pendix II., written but nine months after his account of the revi­
val, a communication from persons, who seceded from his Church
and ministry, on account of the sudden change in his sentiments,
preaching, and measures.
To the Rev. James Allen.

Whereas we, whose names are underwritten, as well as some others, having withdrawn ourselves from your ministry, and from communion with your Church, where you with the Church received us, promising to watch over us, and be as helpful to us as you can, which, we think, has not been fulfilled, inasmuch as you have not called any of us to give the reasons of our conduct, although you say, that we have run into a damning error; and having desired you to set apart some time to discourse about the reasons of our withdraw; but you refused, and said, you would not take the name of God in vain so much, as to talk with us.

Now we desire with humility and meekness to give you the reasons of our withdraw from you and your Church, hoping, that the blessing of God will accompany them for the removing of those stumbling blocks, which, we fear, some have stumbled at. And we desire, that you would lay them before your Church.

And now the reasons are, as follows.

I. The first reason, we shall mention, is Mr Allen’s speaking against that, which, we think, to be the glorious work of God, but he calls it a delusion.

II. His speaking against those ministers, which, we believe, the Lord has sent out to invite sinners to Christ. Mr Allen warns people not to go to hear them, and said, they, that go to hear them, go upon the Devil’s ground.

III. We cannot join with Mr Allen in letting in those to preach, who, we fear, are strangers to the life and power of God in their souls; because they preach only the form, as we think. One of which coming into Mr Allen’s house, one time, he said, he had as lief seen the Devil.

IV. We think, Mr Allen’s preaching had a tendency to settle persons down upon works; for he, speaking to persons out of Christ, that, if they used the means, as praying, and attending public worship and ordinances, and refrained from all sin as much, as they could, they might humbly hope to be saved.

V. We fear, Mr Allen had not such regard for truth, as he should have. For when Mr Buel preached at this Town, he said, it was enough to convince an atheist, that he was wonderfully assisted by the spirit of God. But afterward he seems to deny it.
all; and said to some, the more they heard him, the more they
would see of his weakness; and said, if they followed him, they
would be lodging in hell. And Mr Allen told a woman, that she
had not heard a sermon, for two years, who had, within that time,
heard old Mr Walter, Mr Moody, Mr Davenport, Mr Bliss, Mr
Rogers, Mr Buel, Mr Paine, &c.

VI. We cannot join with Mr Allen in saying, Lord, thou know-
est, if we had the command of our own hearts, we would open
the door to let Christ in; and saying, that natural persons will
fare the better in hell for their duties.

VII. We fear, that Mr Allen is not a faithful shepherd; for when
speaking about one of the brethren of the Church, he said, he did
not care, what became of him. The person said, do you not care,
what becomes of his soul? He said, he did not care, what be­
came of it. Speaking of another of the brethren of the Church,
he said, that fellow had corrupted the whole family, meaning his
father's, some of which, we do believe, are the children of God.

VIII. Mr Allen has lived at variance with one of his neigh-
bors, almost four years, and declines to make it up with him,
though requested by him and others.

Now these are the reasons, with some others, that might have
been given, for which we withdraw from you. And now for these
things we have been much displeased; and we desire to mourn
before the Lord for these things, whereby the spirit of the Lord
has been grieved. And now we desire to confess to the great
Lord and Head of the Church our sin in going away, before we
had given these reasons of our going away. And we desire the
forgiveness of those, whom we have justly offended; and now we
desire the prayers of all those, that do love our Lord Jesus Christ,
that we may be enabled to walk, as becomes the gospel of our
Lord Jesus Christ.

Ebenezer Kenrick, Nathaniel Shepard, John Seaver, Jr., Elha-
nan Winchester, Jr., Richard Seaver, Dudley Boylston, Jr.

This change in Mr Allen's views of the state of religion in this
place, tradition uniformly ascribes to the growing extravagances
of the day, and among his people, from which his mind revolted.

That he retained, to the end of life, the popular faith, is evident
from his Election sermon, delivered, 30 May, 1744, entitled 'Ma-
gistracy an institution of Christ upon the throne,' as also from the
testimony of a clergyman of the like faith, who preached here, during his sickness, and who visited him on his dying bed.*

The only remark, which will now be made on the result of these transactions in this place is, that, for nearly fourteen subsequent years, but four persons were admitted to this Church, and they by letters from sister Churches, and of these two were ordained, as pastors.

III.

In the Boston Weekly Newsletter, 1 March, 1750, is the following.

"Brookline, 28 February.

On Wednesday last, died here, of a fever, Mary Allen, daughter of the late Rev. James Allen, of this town, a young gentlewoman of an unblemished character, the virtues of whose life were so conspicuous, as to render her very amiable in the eyes of all her acquaintance.

The late dispensations of heaven toward this family have been surprisingly grievous and sorrowful. Mr Allen, their head, made his exit, 18 Feb. 1747; his consort, 27 June, 1748; their son, Dec. 1749; and now this young lady; upon which last bereavement, the whole family is cut off; and all within the term of three years. But though their name is now blotted out from under heaven, we trust it is enrolled above the stars; and that they are all of them possessing an inheritance there."


IV.

Mr Brown's articles of faith delivered to the Church.

"I believe, that the scriptures are given by inspiration of God; that they are the unerring rule of faith and practice; that they are able to make us wise unto salvation; and that whatever is necessary to be known or believed, in order to salvation, is clearly revealed, and made level to every common capacity.

I believe in God the Father, the Creator of the world, and Lord

of heaven and earth; and in his Son Jesus Christ, who is the
brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his
person, and the only Savior of men; and in the Holy Ghost, by
whose influences men are sanctified and comforted. I believe,
that these three are united in the common design of advancing
their own glory, and promoting the happiness of men.

I believe the scripture doctrine of original sin, viz. that by one
man sin entered into the world; that by his disobedience many
are made sinners; that our natures are very much depraved; and
that, as all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God, so
they are become guilty before him, and are unworthy of the least
of his mercies.

I believe, that salvation is the free gift of God; that it is en­
tirely owing to his unbounded mercy, that any of the children of
men do arrive at everlasting glory; that it is not by works of
righteousness, which we have done; but according to his mercy
and grace, that he sauveth us.

I believe the scripture doctrine of election, viz. that God has
chosen us in Christ, before the foundation of the world, that we
should be holy, and without blame before him in love; that he
has predestinated us to the adoption of children by Jesus Christ
to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will; and that
we are chosen to salvation through sanctification of the spirit, and
belief of the truth.

I believe, that to accomplish this great salvation, God was
pleased, according to the riches of his grace, to send his Son into
the world to die for the sins of men; and that accordingly he suf­
ffered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification;
and that it is by virtue of his meritorious passion, that we are
now reconciled to God.

I believe, that God's tender mercies are over all his works;
and that he is not willing, that any should perish; but that all
should come to repentance.

I believe, that, unless God afford the gracious influences of his
spirit, we cannot do any thing in religion, that shall be accepta­
ble in his sight; and that he must work in us both to will and to
do of his good pleasure, and carry on the work of faith with pow­
er; otherwise we cannot be saved.

I believe, that we are justified freely by God's grace, through
the redemption, that is in Jesus Christ, without the deeds of the law; that justification is of grace, and not of debt.

I believe, that it is necessary, we should be sanctified by the Divine Spirit, in order to our obtaining heaven; and that without holiness no man shall see the Lord.

I believe, that, after man is born again of the Spirit, or becomes the sincere servant of God, it is necessary, he should continue with patience in the ways of well doing, in order to his obtaining everlasting life; and that God, who begins the good work in us, will carry it on to the day of Christ.

I believe, that the souls of all men, immediately upon their separation from the body, do enter into a state of happiness or misery; and that every human body shall be raised again, and be reunited to its respective soul.

Lastly, as there shall be a general resurrection of the just and unjust, I believe, that all men must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and be rewarded, according to their works; that the righteous shall obtain eternal life, and the wicked suffer everlasting punishment."

V.

For some account of Deacon Elhanan Winchester, father of the celebrated preacher, bearing the same name, see C. C. D. p. 31. I have since seen memorable sayings of Elhanan Winchester, preserved, in manuscript, by the Elders of "the Millenial Church, or United Society of Believers, commonly called Shakers," at Harvard. But they sound too much like the effusions of a man, in his dotage, to be worthy of publication, he having been converted to the faith, which he last embraced, at the close of life. He died among the Shakers, at Harvard, immediately after his arrival there, on 10 September, 1810, Aet. 91.

VI.

Elhanan Winchester, junr. son of Deacon Elhanan, was born, in Brookline, in 1751, and baptized, in his infancy, by Mr Jonathan Hyde, Separatist and Pedobaptist. In process of time, Mr Winchester, was converted to the Baptist faith, was highly celebrated in preaching its doctrines, and admitted numbers into the church by immersion. On visiting England, he embraced the doctrine of the final restoration of all men, preached it there and in his own country with considerable success, published a number
of volumes defending his sentiments, both in Europe and America. He died in Hartford, Connecticut, where, in the North Burial ground, there is a monument with this inscription.

"The General Convention of Universalist Churches, in memory of their dear departed brother, the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, erected this monumental stone. He died, 18 April, 1797, Æt. 46.

Twas thine to preach with animating zeal
The glories of the Restitution morn,
When sin, death, hell the power of Christ shall feel,
And light, life, immortality be born."

VII.

The Rev. Joseph Jackson married Hannah, daughter of John Avery, Esq., of Boston, by whom he had two children, Sarah and Joseph.

Sarah married Atherton Thayer, Esq., of Braintree, and then his brother Stephen. By the former, she had two daughters: and by the latter a son and a daughter.

She died, 7 Feb. 1809, Æt. 45.

Her mother died, 2 October, 1800.

Joseph, the only son, was graduated at Cambridge, in 1787, and died, while student of Medicine with Dr Cutter, of Portsmouth, N. H. 19 August, 1790, Æt. 23.

The late Dr Foster, of Brighton, has repeatedly informed me, that, at his own ordination, 1 November, 1784, Mr Jackson was Moderator, and prevented him from reading the confession of his faith before the Council, on the ground, that the Council had no right to demand it; and added, that, at his own ordination, 9 April, 1760, he had, on the same principle, positively refused to be examined, as to his religious faith. From such a man, and at such periods, these facts are not a little remarkable.

VIII.

The Baptist Church, in Brookline, was gathered, on 5 June, 1828, consisting of 12 males and 24 females.

The Meeting house was dedicated, on 20 November, of the same year.

The Rev. Joseph M. Driver was installed their first pastor, on 25 March, 1830.

The Rev. Joseph Andrews Warne, from the city of London, was installed their second pastor, 14 April, 1831, and preached
his farewell sermon, on 29 January, 1837, and was soon installed over the third Baptist Church, in Providence, R. I.

IX.

Of the 61 Dwelling houses enumerated in C. C. D. p. 26, standing, in 1740, 18 are now remaining; but not a single house is inhabited by a descendant of a proprietor at that time.

Fill the blank at 6 in the number of the houses with Samuel.

X.

In addition to the Church plate, mentioned in T. C. D. p. 26, two silver cups were presented to the Church, on 2 August, 1818, by Miss Prudence Heath; and, on 4 October, of the same year, two silver cups were also given, one by Deacon John Robinson, the other by Mrs Lucy Robinson, his wife.

The Church, in the meantime, purchased from their own fund two large silver plates; so that the whole Communion service is now of silver.

XI.

Of the graduates at Harvard University, who were natives of Brookline, mentioned T. C. D. p. 27, the following, as there numbered, have since died.

15. 1761. * Samuel Sewall, went, as a refugee, to England, where he died, May, 1811, Æt. 66.

16. 1764. * Hon. William Aspinwall, M. D., an eminent practitioner, as a physician, in his native Town, died, 16 April, 1823, Æt. 80. See his biography in the Medical Biography of Dr James Thacher, of Plymouth.


23. 1804. * William Aspinwall, M. D. died, 7 April, 1818, Æt. 34.

25. 1805. * Rev. Samuel Clark, son of Deacon Samuel Clark, great-grandson of Deacon Samuel Clark, one of the early officers of this Church, died at Burlington, Vt. 2 May, 1827, Æt. 45.

26. 1805. * Isaac Sparhawk Gardner, grandson of Isaac Gardner, Esq. who fell in Lexington battle, and great great grandson of Deacon Thomas Gardner, first Deacon of this Church, is supposed to have died at the Southward, some years since; though it is not known when, nor where.
Since 1805, two natives of the Town have been graduated at Harvard University.

27. 1831. Rev. John Tappan Pierce, son of the present pastor, was ordained an Evangelist, at Oberlin, Ohio, 15 Oct., 1836.

28. 1834. * Nathaniel Bowditch Ingersoll, teacher of the Classical School, in Brookline, where he died, 31 May, 1836, Æt. 22.

So that there are but three graduates at Cambridge, natives of Brookline, supposed to be alive.

The graduates at other Colleges from this Town have been,


2. 1811. Brown University, R. I. Dr Luther Metcalf Harris, M. D. Physician in Roxbury.


The last three are brothers.

Mr. George Griggs is Senior at Brown University.

There is also a Baptist clergyman from this town, the Rev. Benjamin Niles Harris, who has not received a collegiate education.
AN

HISTORICAL ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITIZENS OF THE TOWN OF DEDHAM,

ON THE

TWENTY-FIRST OF SEPTEMBER, 1836,

BEING THE

Second Centennial Anniversary

OF THE

INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN.

BY SAMUEL F. HAVEN.

DEDHAM:
PRINTED BY HERMAN MANN.
1837.
At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Dedham on the 14th day of November, A. D. 1836—

VOTED,—That the thanks of the Town be presented to Samuel F. Haven, Esquire, for his excellent Address delivered on the late Centennial Anniversary—and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

A copy of the Record.

RICHARD ELLIS, Town Clerk.
ADDRESS.

We have assembled, sons and citizens of Dedham, in honor of the time when the long dull rule of rude uncultivated nature was first interrupted on this spot by the organization of a civilized community. We commemorate the planting of institutions, the commencement of physical improvements, with whose growth and progress our family histories are intermingled, or in whose results our present fortunes and future hopes are interested. Heirs of a goodly heritage, we deem it a debt of common gratitude to remember the labors that acquired and preserved it for our enjoyment. On the last verge of one of those great periods by which human existence, collectively speaking, is measured, we would, ere overstepping its limits, reflect upon the past and thereby gather wisdom for the future. Upon the page of history, or in the village record, we find names, now the familiar appellations of our kindred or friends, associated with scenes and events that lie dim in the shadow which advancing time throws behind it, and the mind seeks the satisfaction of more distinct knowledge and clearer perceptions of them.

The impulse that brings us together today is one of the most common instincts of our nature. The savage race who once
held possession of the soil where we stand, but of whose blood
‘now runs not a drop in human veins,’ were accustomed to honor
the memory, and renew in recollection the achievements of
their fathers, as we would now do of ours. Yet how different
the task! The red man required no record of customs and
manners to aid his conceptions of the by-gone of his tribe. He
had but to look within and around himself for a living history
more exact than words could delineate. Hardly less uniform
than the wild herbage that sprang up annually beneath his feet,
the child grew into the place of the parent, and occupied it without
improvement. No inventions added to his powers; no discoveries enlarged the limits of his knowledge; no gradual labor
developed the resources of material creation; no happy effort of
intellect raised the general mind into clearer light and more extended comprehension. Could he have recalled his sires from
their graves, they would have been startled by no unaccustomed scenes. The same canoe, which he of today had tied to the
same unchangeable shore, might be entered familiarly by the whole line of his progenitors, each thinking it his own. The
same bow and arrow, the same scanty blanket of skins, the same ornaments of shells, each might assume as the ones laid down by himself ere he fell on his last sleep.

When arts of improvement came, they operated but to destroy;
and these denizens of the wilderness were annihilated before they could be changed. They could pour forth from their minds the glowing figures and vivid illustrations of natural eloquence; they could argue and reason with an address and shrewdness that would not discredit a practised logician; they could form sagacious plans of policy; their chiefs were often adroit diplomats, governing their subjects wisely in peace and leading them skilfully in war; they could even enter into the subtleties of theology, and dispute upon the principles of ethics; but to en-
gage successfully in any of the branches of mechanical industry, farther than the twisting of willow into rude baskets, and the stringing of a few fanciful shells, seems to have been beyond their capacity.

There was much meaning in the notion of the ignorant man, (as Winthrop calls him,) who, on being enquired of by an inquisitive Indian, as to what were the first principles of a Commonwealth, replied, 'Salt is the first principle, by means of which we keep our flesh and fish, to have it ready when we need it; whereas you lose much for the want of it, and are sometimes ready to starve. A second principle is Iron, for thereby we fell trees, build houses, till our land, &c. A third is Ships, by which we carry forth such commodities as we have to spare, and bring in such as we need.' 'Alas!' (saith the Indian,) 'then I fear we shall never be a Commonwealth, for we can neither make salt, nor iron, nor ships.'

They are gone, all of them, with the forest of which they seemed a part, and we, children of art, as various in our generations as are the arts which we have made, and by which in turn we are modified, upon the same soil, and beneath the same skies, can scarce follow or realize the rapid changes which the restless spirit of our race has effected and is effecting in outward circumstances, and through them in its own condition and character.

The invention of printing, by multiplying copies of the bible, till then a sealed book in the hands of the priests, led to the reformation. Out of the reformation, from a free, untramelled perusal of the scriptures, sprang that half religious, half political party, in England, called the puritan party; whose members, not satisfied with the partial reform from the absurdities of popery, made by the church of England, sought to introduce what they

deemed a purer system of worship, deriving its rules of discipline, not less than its standard of faith, directly from the bible.* Their efforts involved a civil as well as ecclesiastical revolution, which, under Cromwell, was finally, for a brief period, accomplished. Fortunately, before the strength of their party gave much hope of ultimate triumph at home, a portion of them, more self-denying or more zealous than the rest, led quite as much by a desire to carry out their principles in the establishment of a religious commonwealth, as impelled by actual or apprehended persecution, came to these shores, prepared to devote themselves and their substance to the accomplishment of a work, which they believed God had ordained. They expected here to rear a chosen seed, and bring back the human race to that free and sacred communion with its Maker, from which it had fallen. The polity of the pilgrims partook of the intolerance and superstition natural to men engaged in what they deemed a divine mission, and applying the prophecies of the bible to their own condition and expectations. The excitement attending this imagined position pervaded all classes, making religion or theology the absorbing subject of all minds. They were prepared for any and all miraculous manifestations either of good or evil agency. In favor of their enterprise the good spirits of heaven would exert their choicest influence; against it the demons of darkness would as strongly contend. Between the two they must win their way, secure of final success, but subject to many difficulties and disappointments. The effect of withdrawing from the ancient prejudices and long established associations which were interwoven with the ecclesiastical system of the old countries, was different from what had been expected. Instead of the quiet enjoyment of a uniform faith, their minds, released from outward constraint, and having the opportunity which a new country affords for re-

* Neal’s History of the Puritans.
constructing both civil and religious institutions from their original principles, became prolific of new lights, new revelations, and new constructions of scripture.* The more strict and staunch of the puritans saw with pain one of the main objects of their labors liable to be defeated, and much severity and unpleasantness of temper was manifested towards those who differed from the more orthodox creed. Many consequently sought in new plantations that peace which was denied them in the places then settled. New locations about the country were thus established sooner than otherwise might have happened; and to this cause the origin of Dedham, at first called "Contentment," has sometimes been attributed. Other and sufficient motives, however, also influenced the inhabitants of Watertown and Roxbury, from which places the founders of Dedham more immediately came. The grass land, from the increase of cattle, had become deficient in the older towns, and there prevailed among men to whom the possession of landed property was new, and associated in their minds with wealth and power, a strong desire for larger farms and more extensive domains.†

The settlement of Dedham, it has been supposed, was begun in 1635.‡ The people of Watertown and Roxbury had leave from the General Court to move as early as May, and we have the record of a birth here, on the 21st of June following, precisely six years and four days from the morning when Winthrop and his associates first entered the unexplored harbor of Boston, 'to find a

* At a synod in 1637, there were condemned eighty opinions which had spread in the country—' some blasphemous, others erroneous and all unsafe. Winthrop, vol 1, p. 238.

† 'Most men unlanded till this time
For large lands eager sue,
Had not restraint knocked off their hands
Their farms too big had grew.'

‡ Good news from New England.' London 1648;

† Worthington's Hist.
place for sitting down.' This brief space of time had sufficed to render the settlements about the bay ' crowded by their nearness to each other,' and from that year we may date the beginning of inland plantations in Massachusetts.*

Those who first embarked above the falls of Charles River on the voyage of discovery which resulted in the selection of this place, may well have felicitated themselves on the success of their enterprise. The natural meadows, on whose coarse grass the cattle of the first comers depended for sustenance, till through the dry leaves of the cleared forest a finer herbage should struggle upward to meet the sun, not only spread in wide luxuriance on either side of this tranquil stream, but ran up among the swell and expanded around and between the patches of hard-land. This plain too, of gentle elevation, surrounded by the low grounds, save a narrow neck at the west, would seem favorable for a garrison, should a place of security from the savages be required.

The Indians of this neighborhood, however, had been nearly all carried off by the small pox, a year or two before;† and most of those remaining alive had probably joined themselves to the tribes whose habitations were at some distance to the south and west. The location must have been considered as possessing peculiar advantages, from the number of intelligent and wealthy men who immediately became inhabitants, and the care which was taken to prevent any but such as were well recommended from joining the new society.

The first recorded public meeting was on the 15th day of August 1636, at which were present eighteen persons. These adopted a constitution or covenant, by which each individual bound himself to give information concerning any persons who

* See Appendix, A.
applied for admission, and also to submit to such fines as might be imposed for violation of rules. There was also a meeting on the 29th of the same month. The next assembly, on the 6th of September, at six o’clock in the morning, was held for the purpose of subscribing a petition to the General Court, for the confirmation of their grant of all that was left from former grants on the south side of Charles river, and five miles square on the north side. Nineteen persons signed at the meeting, and three, after the meeting was dissolved. So that, says a note in the record, “all the names of those who are admitted to our society are subscribed thereto.” These are, Edward Allen the leader of the enterprise, Abraham Shaw, Philemon Dalton afterwards settled at Ipswich, Ezekiel Holliman who founded the first Baptist church at Providence and baptized Roger Williams,* John Kingsbury, John Dwight the progenitor of the late president Dwight of Yale College,† John Coolegedge, Richard Evered whose distinguished descendant§ now honors us with his presence, Ralph Shepherd, John Hayward, Lambert Genere, Nicholas Phillips, John Gay, Thomas Bartlett, Francis Austen,‡ John Rogers, Joseph Shaw, William Beardstowe, Robert Feke, a citizen of some note at Watertown, who never came here, Thomas Hastings, and John Huggen.|| A grant of the General Court was made in conformity with this petition, changing the name however from Contentment to Dedham, out of respect to some

† Worthington’s Hist. of Dedham.
‡ Gov. Everett.
§ A man of property who attempted to return to England, but was taken by the Algerines and carried into slavery. This fate, according to Winthrop, had been foretold to him previous to his departure.
|| John Ellis, Daniel Morse, and Joseph Morse, who were present at the first meeting, are not upon this list. Allotments of land had been made to them, but they did not take possession immediately, which occasioned some complaint.
persons who had lately arrived from Dedham, in England. This document bears date September 10th, 1636, corresponding in the new style to this day, which completes the second century since the incorporation of the town.

A portion of the individuals above mentioned remained on the ground the first winter. In the Spring following, there seems to have been some alarm from the Indians,* as watches and wards are ordered to be set, and an invitation is sent to Thomas Cakebread, a renowned soldier of Watertown, to come and be at the head of military affairs. This was probably a false alarm, as we hear no more of it, and the gallant Captain Cakebread did not long lend the terror of his name for the security of the place, but disposed of his allotment to Francis Chickering.§

In the course of the succeeding year, the village lots being entirely taken up, it became necessary to deny admission to numerous applicants, until it was ascertained what farther accommodation could be provided for new comers. By continuing the list of inhabitants in the order of their admission to that period, or a little beyond, we shall find it to include many of the names now most respected among us, and some of persons afterwards leading men in other places. First came Jonathan Fairbanks; then Thomas Carter, afterwards minister at Woburn; then John Eaton "is enterayned into the lot which Thomas Hastings had layd downe." Ralph Wheelock, ancestor of the founder and first president of Dartmouth College, and Henry Phillips, both candidates for office as teachers in the church, accompanied Captain Cakebread from Watertown. The first was one of the founders of Medfield, the other, disappointed of promotion, is supposed to have returned to England. There were admitted,

*This was about the time of the Pequod war.

§ In 1664, "Thos. Breadcake" (Cakebread) was "allowed to take two guns from Winter Island" for the defence of Sudbury. Col. Record.
by one vote, Ferdinando Adam, Michael Metcalf, Mr. John Al­
lin, Anthony Fisher, who occupied "the Smith's lot till his father
should arrive," Thomas Wight, Eleazer Lusher, Robert Hins-
dale whose bones now lie in honorable company beneath the
monument at Bloody Brook, John Luson, John Fisher, Thomas
Fisher, Mr. Timothy Dalton, and John Morse. The two misters,
John Allin and Timothy Dalton, were rival candidates for the
station of pastor. It was therefore very sagaciously replied to
the application of this party for admission—that it is consented
unto, "upon manifestation of their disposition to sit down with
us in a civil condition without farther expectations." Mr. Dal-
ton was afterwards sent by the Governor and Council,* with Mr.
Bradstreet and the noted Mr. Peters, to settle a controversy
between two ministers at Pascataquack,† where the same wise
precaution seems not to have been adopted. Larkham and
Knowles, two pugnacious persons, each claimed to be pastor of
the church at that place, and having excommunicated each oth­
er, at length marched out, accompanied by their friends, to do
battle with worldly weapons, one of them brandishing a pistol,
the other bearing a bible upon a staff for an ensign.§ The com­
misioners very naturally determined both sides to be in fault.
One result of the journey was that Mr. Dalton became minister
at Hampton in that neighborhood. Next came John Batchelor
and John Roper, the first of whom went to Hampton, where his
brother was teacher;‡ the other settled at Lancaster, and with
his family was destroyed by the Indians; then Nathaniel Col­
burn; then Jeffrey Mingey, who was afterwards a leading man
at Hampton. Henry Smith, Edward Colver, (wheelwright)
John Frary, Rowland Clark, Thomas Kempe, (blacksmith) rul-

‡ Belknap's Hist. New Hampshire.
§ Stephen Batchelor of Hampton was suspended from the pastoral office
by the Gen. Court for "contempt of authority." Col. Records.
ing elder John Hunting, and some others who did not tarry long, were obliged to wait for a new survey of lands. William Bullard and John Bullard next appear; then follow Giles Fuller and Edward Richards; and not long after the names of Farrington and Guild occur.

These men were Puritans; most of them undoubtedly of character and standing in their own country. The year 1635 had been remarkable for the number of respectable men which introduced into the Colonies. It was the time when Sir Henry Vane came over, and when Pym, Hampden, Sir Arthur Haddo, and Oliver Cromwell, intended to have done so.* No less than eleven ministers were among the number of emigrants. This will explain why so many of that class are found with the first settlers in Dedham. Each might hope to obtain pastoral promotion in the new town. They were of somewhat different sentiments, but the religious character of the settlement was not yet determined. Never was there such excitement on the most subtle points of theology as prevailed in the colony at that time. When Mr. John Allin formed a church here in 1638, these clergymen generally left and became pastors in other places.

The first village was formed around the spot where we now are.† Two highways, one leading from ‘Little River’ as far west as the common, the other from the landing place on Charles river to Wigwam Pond, crossed each other as Common street and Court street do at the present day, and occupied nearly the same places. It was probably intended to erect the meeting-house on some position farther west than where it now stands, as the Record states, that ‘for the loving satisfaction of some neighbors on the east side of Little River, it is condescended that it be set on the end of John Kingsbury’s lot,’ the present location.

† See Appendix B.
Let us borrow from fancy her wand, and waving it over the objects around us, restore them to the condition in which they were a little less than two hundred years ago. Aid us, powers of imagination, to pronounce the magic words which shall bid this house shrink within the limits of thirty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high, return to its rustic walls of logs, and renew its roof of thatch. Let us obliterate the well trod streets around it, change yon elms into straggling forest trees, annihilate all those fair edifices, and let a few low dwellings range upon the north and east sides of the bushy and unsubdued plain. We will then a little by our right, among the stumps, pile up from the forest timber a school house, eighteen feet one way, by fourteen the other, two stories high, with a small watch tower above for our security, and we shall find ourselves in the first village of Dedham. Does the scene seem strange to us? The grave men with curled mustaches and long tufts of beard* depending from their chins, that should occupy the seats on one side of this house, and the not less grave women in their scarlet hoods and cloaks on the other side, and that solemn array of boys and girls vainly striving to stiffen the elasticity of youthful faces into equal gravity, seem not less strange.† Wait till this congregation, whom we have thus called together, have sharpened their intellectual appetites on a four hours' lecture—then ye, who now bear the names that have come down to you from the progenitors of the town, step forth and greet your ancestors. They will gaze in wonder at your appearance not less than you at theirs. But passing that by; can you fall in with the current of their thoughts—sympathize in their associations? Or suppo-

* Beards went out of fashion not long after this period.
† The seats of men and women were always on different sides of the meeting house. The boys and girls were seated in the aisle, or else on the 'hind seats,' which were raised that the children might be conspicuous and easily watched.
sing them to be occupied with the absorbing subjects of their time, are you prepared to discuss, not the expediency of rail roads or the success of manufactures, or the operations of political parties, but the exciting questions, "whether a believer is more than a creature?" "Whether a man may be justified before he believes?" "Whether a man might not attain to sanctification in gifts and graces, and have spiritual and continual communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned?" These were the topics agitating and dividing the public mind at that period. Can you follow their lead through scripture, and couple every thought and circumstance with an appropriate text? Or if a lighter mood chance to prevail, can you join in scripture jests, pious conceits, religious puns, and draw your humor from the same source that furnishes your weapons of controversy; extract political science, business maxims, and heavenly wisdom, all from one book, the bible?* I fear it will be an awkward family meeting: Not merely because the conversation might have, (as Hutchinson says of the correspondence between the regicide Goffe and his wife,) "too much religion in it for the taste of the present day;" but because on all subjects the method of reasoning and the bias of mental action have undergone a change, not less marked than has taken place in the nature of the topics, or in the common customs and fashions of society.†

Tell Richard Evered‡ that he who now fills the seat of the Winthrops and Dudleys, is of his own blood—one who not less than Winthrop himself hath "a gift at exhortation"—at whose

* 'I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath in one of his prefatory pages to his golden chain, that the word and scriptures of God doe conteyne a short upoluposis, or platforme, not only of theology, but also of other sacred sciences (as he calleth them) attendants and handmaids thereunto, which he maketh Ethics, Economies, Politicks, Church government, Prophecy, Academy.' Letter from Mr. Cotton to Lord Say and Scal. 1636.

† See Appendix C.

‡ So spelled in the records.
lips choice words wait on choice thoughts, and lead them to the ear in all the pleasing harmony of appropriate expression. The stern puritan will perhaps propound a passage from scripture and call upon his descendant to 'exercise.' Yet I doubt whether some 'Salathiel Bangtext,' hammering out with heavy rhetoric the hard doctrines of the period, would not better suit the rough fancies of these stiff minded men.

The first organization of society in Dedham was of the most primitive character. Each man was provided with a home-lot of twelve acres if married, and eight acres if unmarried—This to begin with. The grants afterwards seem to have been made according to the necessities of members, or as a reward for services performed. 'The number of persons in a family (says the record) is a rule to divide the lands by, and a very considerable rule. Quality, rank or desert and usefulness in church and commonwealth, are also one rule considerable in the division of lands; and thirdly, such men as are of useful trades, and are fit to commence the same, are to be encouraged thereto by receiving some lands near home if it may be; and husbandmen also who can improve more, are to have lands fit for their calling.' Portions were also set apart for the purposes of education and the support of religion. A large part of the lands, however, continued to be public property, and the interest of individuals therein was determined by the number of cows or sheep they were entitled to pasture in the public herd-walks.

Those labors, which are necessary in preparing a new plantation for comfortable occupancy, were immediately and earnestly entered upon. With a commendable forethought, or to use their own expression, 'careful of the comfort of succeeding times,' they were anxious to lay out in the beginning such roads and public ways as might, so far as they could judge, be after-

* Scott's 'Heart of Mid-Lothian.'
wards needed. Their municipal rules, embracing the relations of private property and mutual interest, were peculiarly systematic and sensible. Highway work, of all public employment at the present day, the most grudgingly undertaken, and least profitably executed, was of course the most burdensome tax. To this the men were summoned at first by beat of drum, they were called to meeting on the sabbath; afterwards by the ringing of the bell, morning and afternoon. Other public works seem in ordinary cases to have been done by committees, who were paid in wheat or indian corn, which at fixed rates constituted the currency, except where the purchase of certain things considered as cash articles, were necessary. Sometimes the people gave a day, for the accomplishment of a particular object. So late as 1657, the town having declared, 'that the meeting-house should be lathed upon the inside, and so daubed and whited over workmanlike,' the inhabitants turned out in a body, and the thing was done up at once; how workmanlike cannot now be determined.

They had a pastor in Mr. Allin capable of commanding both love and respect, and in Eleazer Lusher, that 'man of the right stamp,' as the historian calls him,* they found all the mild firmness and gentle decision of character, connected with the most accurate business habits, qualifying him to take the lead in public affairs. But it was necessary that many others, and a large proportion of the society, should have been of the right stamp, as in fact they were, to maintain that strict discipline and perfect system of affairs, which, with the utmost good feeling, was kept up during the lives of the first generation.

* One of the 'right stamp and pure mettle, a gracious, humble and heavenly minded man.' Johns. 'Wonder working Providence.' In a description of 'some of our chief helps, both for Church works Military and Commonwealth worke.'
It is not too extravagant eulogy of the first settlers in Dedham to say, they were a remarkable collection of people. Tradition brings down a high character attached to most of the names found on its early records, and their public and private acts fully confirm it. Orderly and industrious in their habits, they allowed no one to remain in their community, who was not engaged in some regular occupation.* Any violation of rules was followed by a penalty; yet the most exact strictness was accompanied by equally unfailing loving kindness. Delinquents are in gentle phrase 'appointed' to pay a fine, proportioned to the offence, and generally take upon themselves this office without a murmur; or, as is frequently the case, offset it by some public service. Liberal are they towards each other. If an individual's crops have come short, or any other misfortune has befallen him, he is allowed to take shingles or clapboards from the public stock, that he may repair his fortunes by selling them at Boston. And because the town of Medfield, a child as it were of Dedham, did not feel able to pay the whole of a debt of £100, it was resolved to take £50, and allow two years to pay it in, 'in consideration of the many and great charges lying upon that town, and other like considerations.' Thrifty are they, husbanding both public and private resources, with great economy and industry. Their remoter lands, not immediately wanted, they let out to people in the neighboring towns, and for many years received a regular income from meadows hired by Mr. Stoughton of Dorchester, and other responsible individuals. And as to private dealings, a contemporary writer says, 'the coin and commodities of the most populous town allure the Dedham people to many a long walk.'† Enterprising and sagacious.

* By the Colonial law the constable of every place was to take knowledge of all persons who spent their time idly or unprofitably; 'especially of common coasters, unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco takers.' Col. Record 1633.

† Johnson's Wonder Work's Providence.
cious, they encourage by free grants the introduction of every
branch of mechanical industry,* and, in three years from their
first occupancy, they create a water power, carrying at this time
four valuable and extensive manufacturing establishments, by
digging a canal, which, robbing the tranquil Charles—flowing
here unconscious of fall—of a portion of its waters, conveys it to
a spot where nature, at the distance of a mile, had provided a
descent, whence the stream wends its way and joins another ri-
er on its passage to the ocean.|| Public spirited were they; fre-
frequent in donations to Harvard College; and in their anxious
efforts to procure a good school among themselves, they did not
stint their appropriations to a single winter or summer, but voted
£20 a year to be paid for eleven years together, the least sum
for any one year, and to be increased as circumstances might
render it practicable.† When a regular teacher could not be
obtained, they called from their farms some of their own citi-
zens, many of whom were competent to the station. Michael
Metcalf did much service in this way; and Lieut. Fisher, who
kept the Ordinary, in his annual bill for 'dieting the Selectmen'
had often another charge for keeping the school. As these citi-
zens were summoned from their regular vocations, it was agreed
that 'no advantage be taken to discount from their salaries for
not attending the school, except it be discontinued a full week
together.' Above all, they pursued a liberal and enlightened
policy in matters of religion. The Church, severe within itself,
would spend a whole winter in enquiring into the qualifications
of applicants for admission; rejecting upon the slightest doubt,

* Appendix D.

|| The first canal made in the country—unless the undertaking of one John Maisters in 1631 was accomplished, of which I am not sure. He petitioned the Gen. Court for aid in making a canal or passway for vessels from the river through the marshes at Cambridge. Col. Rec. See Appendix E.

† See Appendix F.
and trying gifts and graces by all the subtle tests made use of at that age; yet they molested no one who was not a member, for his private opinions. In such a sound and sensible community, we find, as might be expected, no persecutions, no witches, no supernatural occurrences. In 1660, the General Court sent out Judah Brown and Peter Pierson, convicted of Quakerism, to be whipped at the cart tail in Dedham;* not improbably from a belief that the people here would inflict the stripes with a gentle hand; or the motive might be to compel the inhabitants to take a share in these acts, as they were deemed, of public justice.

Under the wise administration of the first settlers, the town prospered to a degree hardly equalled by any other plantation in the country. In 1645, the Dedham rate was one fourth greater than that of Concord, whose beginning was one year earlier. It is spoken of at that period as abounding in gardens and orchards;† and although the inhabitants had not then, as was the case some years after, attracted the attention of the General Court, and become amenable to the laws for excess of luxury in their apparel, yet a description of the good fare of New England, under date of 1642, was no doubt a faithful representation of the state of things here at that time. ‘Now good white and wheaten bread is no dainty, but even an ordinary man hath his choice, if gay clothing, and a liquorish tooth after sugar and plums, lick not away his bread too fast. All which are but ordinary among those that were not able to bring their own persons over at their first coming. There are not many towns in the country but the poorest person hath a house and land of his own, and bread of his own growing, besides some cattle. Flesh is no rare food, pork and mutton being frequent in many houses. So that this

† Ogilby’s Hist. This historian says Dedham began with about 120 persons.
poor wilderness hath not only equalled England in food, but gone beyond it in some places for the plenty of wine and sugar which is ordinarily spent. Apples, pears, and quince tarts, instead of their former pumpkin pies. Poultry they have plenty and great variety, and in their feasts have not forgotten the English fashion of stirring up their appetites with variety of cooking their food."

The history of Dedham, and indeed that of New England, may be divided into three distinct portions of time, unequal in duration, but each marked by its own peculiar characteristics, which definitely separate it from the others. The first, that of the Pilgrims, who were mostly gone at the end of forty years, or about the time of Phillip's war, may be considered as purely puritan. During the second, the character of the people is mixed and changing; the puritan severity is gradually passing away; English habits, tastes, and prejudices, appear much modified in the new and less cultivated generation, whose sole experience of life is derived from the scenes and incidents around them. Their fathers might tell them of the corruptions under which the church was suffering in the old countries; of the grasping and dangerous power of papacy; of the numerous foes by which the true worship was beset; of the constant creeping in of worldly men into the offices of the church, bringing with them the pomp and ceremonies and luxury of worldly pride, and showing the necessity of cautious and strict discipline; but to those brought up in the wilderness, these representations would seem more like tales of other times, than as indicating dangers against which they must exercise unabated watchfulness. The divine right of kings; the important distinctions in society, of which they would see some slight specimens around them; the

† Johnson.
duty of loyalty to their liege sovereign; the dangers which would arise from admitting too much freedom among the mass of the people, might be expatiated upon; but, far removed from the imposing splendors of a court, from a nobility to whom the magic influence of wealth and the venerable sanction of antiquity had given dignity, on the one hand, and from a crowded populace, whom poverty, ignorance, and vice, had combined to unhumanize, on the other; these lessons would make slight impression, compared with the voice of nature, inculcating the more agreeable doctrines of equality and independence. Hence the mixed or Anglo-American character, which marks the second period—more liberal in ecclesiastical polity, more independent in matters of political doctrine, and by degrees approaching that consistency and completeness in itself, which in 1775 resulted in throwing off the remains of anglicism in the feelings and habits of the people, and the establishment of institutions better adapted to the American character, which then at the beginning of the third period had become predominant. It is generally supposed that the Pilgrims brought with them those principles of freedom, in whose mature development we claim superiority over all other nations—our boast—our peculiar pride. Yet I believe all that is peculiar in the nature of our institutions is wholly of American growth. The seeds which germinated here are implanted in human nature, and were permitted to expand and grow up to healthy maturity from the necessity of the case, arising out of the manner in which a body of men, equally intelligent, equally vigorous, equally able to satisfy the wants of nature, and all compelled to a degree of corporeal labor, were thrown together in a new land. Such a position, which in a measure carries society back to its elementary condition, is apt to result in that excess of liberty which leads to misrule and licence, and which, to use the expressive words of Winthrop,
not true liberty, but 'a distemper thereof.' * That anarchical freedom, which renders it impracticable to enforce the edicts of just authority, has always been a fruitful source of destruction to colonial establishments. In New England, it was tempered by the character of the people, accustomed to self denial and to subjecting their desires to their sense of duty. Its action therefore was strong but healthy. The leading men were inclined to an aristocratical civil government, which they said was according to the light of nature and scripture, and conformed to the aristocratical system of subordination which they believed the apostles had ordained for the church. They were willing to elect magistrates for life—to create an order of nobles. The spirit which corrected these prejudices needed not to be brought from the other side of the Atlantic. The free air of nature's wilds is full of it. We breathe it on the mountain's side. It comes up with the morning's mist from the meadow and the lake.†

Between the years 1670 and 1675, the era of the Pilgrims may be deemed to have terminated. A few venerable men, the Patriarchs of Dedham, were still here; but the management of affairs had fallen mostly into the hands of the second generation, and a new era, less tranquil, less marked by forbearance and love, less creditable in itself, yet the embryo of many of those traits of American character, to which we are indebted for much that is desirable in our present condition, had begun. The pastor, Mr. Allin—the chief counsellor, Eleazer Lusher—and Joshua Fisher, who kept the ordinary and was much in public affairs, died near each other about this period.‡ It is not to be

* Winthrop's Journal vol 2, 229. The expression is applied by Winthrop to unlawful exercise of authority, but is still more applicable to an unlawful use of liberty.

† Appendix G.

‡ Appendix H.
supposed that these men left none behind them worthy to fill their places, but their successors entered upon the charge of public concerns under less favorable circumstances. The common bond of perils past, of obstacles jointly encountered and overcome, with the sweet participation in the fruits of united labors, did not encircle and bind together the sons, as it had done the fathers; and it must be acknowledged that the flame of religious zeal burned more dimly in their bosoms.

They chose a new pastor, Mr. Adams, but they could not trust to the liberality of private deposits in the contribution box, for his support. Conscience began to prove an inefficient collector of the ministerial tax. It became necessary to settle the proportion of every individual.† Yet the form of a contribution each Lord’s day was still kept up. ‘And in case any shall be at some time shortened in money, he shall put in for that time a paper, wherein his name and his day’s payment as shall be due is entered; which papers he shall once within one month take out of the Deacon’s hands and pay the debt. And every man shall put his money in a paper each Lord’s Day, and his name written therein, and so deliver it into the box.’ They erected a new Meeting house, in size and convenience corresponding to the increased wealth and population of the place; but they could not agree upon the manner of sitting in it. The rules of precedence, by which the seats were distributed according to rank in society, had become difficult of application. They grew uneasy under the constraint of old formalities, as a man might under a garment he had outgrown; and the accurate measurement of dignity, the nice calculation of personal importance, suited not the new notions of equality which were dawning upon them.

† As early as 1630, there was a Colonial order that ministers should have houses built for them and regular salaries paid them, but it was either repealed or not enforced. Col. Record 1630.
Having finished the house of worship, they were careful to have all things within and without in a state of neatness and propriety. A new horse block is set up, a new publication provided and painted. The old building is sold 'to procure a Terū to hang the bell in.' Loose stones are cleared away; and all persons 'forbid tying their horses to the meeting house ladder.' Those duties and responsibilities which we are accustomed to devolve upon that general factotum, the Parish Sexton, were divided among several. One functionary was appointed 'to whip the dogs out of meeting, and to go of errands for the reverend Elders, and also to take care of the cushion and glass.' It was then 'agreed with the widow Dunkly and the widow Ellis to procure the bell to be sufficiently ringed upon the Lord's day, and in season, and to keep the meeting house clean, and take care of the doors and windows that damage come not unto the glass.' A graver dignitary was required to keep his eye upon the boys during service; they being seated in the broad aisle, 'that they may be watched over according to law.'

Alas! that the humble school house, near by, should at this time have been suffered to fall into decay, and that the ordinances of education, next in importance to those of religion, should have been neglected. It is a mortifying fact that the Selectmen, who in the month of January 1674, delegated Daniel Fisher to answer in behalf of the town which was presented for being deficient in a Schoolmaster, were almost at the same time, even the May following, obliged to notify the people, that they were likely to be prosecuted for not enforcing the law against excess in apparel.

The great increase of population, the number of young men who had become old enough to participate in public affairs, to-

* Town Records.
† Appendix I.
gather with the multiplication of conflicting interests, rendered the government and regulation of the town, for many years after the death of the Pilgrims no easy or enviable duty.

The magistrates, instead of gracefully conforming their measures to the change of times, adopted that policy, which has, under similar circumstances in national affairs, caused the overthrow of more than one government. They revived old regulations, and enforced them with greater strictness, in proportion as they were unadapted to the altered condition of things; and amid the breaking up of ancient landmarks and the pouring in of new elements, changing the face of society and requiring a corresponding change in public policy, they only clung to antiquated forms and obsolete laws with greater tenacity. The law against the admission of strangers, under which Zerubbabel Phillips is the only one I find by the early records to have been proceeded against, is revived, and strictly enforced. Grown up children are not allowed to sojourn even with their parents, without leave obtained, on condition of good behavior, and a bond given to save the town harmless from all charges on their account. So of servants; and it was a matter of difficulty to get permission to retain them at any rate. Many are the applications on the record accompanied with the brief adjudication—'not granted.' Joseph Smith asks leave to have a journeyman to work with him. 'Not allowed.' Another thinks it hard that he cannot be permitted 'to entertain' a fair kinswoman. As soon as notice is given that any strangers have appeared in town, a committee is chosen to wait upon them, not to perform the rites of hospitality, but to bid them depart, as their tarrying in town is 'disallowed.'

In the year 1675, Dedham was in the full enjoyment of the fruits of the wisdom and industry that distinguished the first settlers. The fertile spots within the limits of the grant had been
discovered and improved. One portion, which had been early occupied, received in 1650 a distinct incorporation, and under the name of Medfield was now a prosperous town. A settlement had also been formed on the southern boundary in 1661, at a place called Wollomonopeag; which, being found ‘fit to carry on a plantation in Church and Commonwealth’ became in 1673 the town of Wrentham. On the West was the village of ‘praying Indians,’ to whom a tract of two thousand acres had been conveyed out of the Dedham grant, where the experiment of civilizing and christianizing was tried with a zeal and liberality of means, never before or since equalled. The subjects of this benevolent enterprise were a milder portion of the Indian race, scattered parts of broken-up tribes, who, with less spirit and loftiness of character than existed among the nations yet entire and under the rule of their hereditary chiefs, were on that account more easily operated upon and moulded into the new character intended for them. Their language was rude and imperfect. The learned and superstitious Mather, finding it had no affinity to or derivation from any language on earth, that he was acquainted with, was surprised at some indications which seemed to him to render it probable that it differed no less from that of the regions under the earth. ‘I know not, (says he,) what thoughts it will produce in my reader, when I inform him, that once finding that a possessed young woman understood the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of this Indian language, and the Demons did seem as if they did not understand it.’

Yet this tongue, which thus puzzled the powers of darkness, the indefatigable Eliot contrived to master, and translating the Bible into it, laid the foundation, as he supposed, of a civilized and christian community.

Although the subjects of these humane efforts occupied a part of the original soil of Dedham, and were in other respects intimately connected with its early history, time will not permit me to enlarge upon their condition or ultimate fate. Mr. Allin, the pastor of this town, was among Eliot’s first and most earnest assistants; frequent in his visits, preaching and praying among them, and receiving some of their most interesting religious confessions.*

These ‘ruins of mankind,’ as an old writer calls them, proved troublesome neighbors. They would not confine themselves to their own territories; and much controversy on that account grew up between them and the Dedham people.§ In their treatment of the Indians, our fathers are said to have manifested ‘an awful respect to divine rules,’|| and certainly the doctrine of returning good for evil was often put in practice towards the tribe at Natic. Notwithstanding their frequent and vexatious encroachments, the town, in 1659, voted, ‘That whereas it appears that the 2000 acres granted and laid out to the Indians at Natic, does not take in the sawmill, in good part already built by them, the town does farther grant to said Indians free liberty to finish the same, and the free use of the stream whereupon it stands.’ And for their farther encouragement in this remarkable undertaking, which seems not to have been noticed, if known, by any writer, the town proceeds to grant them liberty to cut any timber they may want, within the limits of Dedham, with the

* Appendix K.

§ Voted, that Sarg’t Richard Ellis have ll. 7s. 6d. for serving two tachments at Natic, and attending as a witness at Bostowne to that cause betwixt Dedham and ye Indians. Town Records 1661.

|| Hubbard M. S. N. Eng. ch 1.
simple proviso that it shall be cut from the common lands of the town, and only taken as they have occasion to use it.*

This sawmill was never completed, and so entirely was the attempt forgotten, that the accurate and minute historian of Natic seems not to have been aware of the fact. The Indians are said to have erected a meeting-house like the workmanship of an English housewright, but it was with the aid and direction of two carpenters from Boston. They did build a bridge over the river, which, much to their pride and gratification, withstood a freshet that carried away the bridges at Medfield.

In exchange for the two thousand acres conveyed to the use of the Indians, the town received a grant from the General Court of eight thousand acres, to be located anywhere within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on lands not previously bestowed. With a degree of taste and judgment most creditable to those who made the selection, the beautiful and fertile position now called Deerfield, then bearing the Indian name Pacoutuck, was chosen, and the title of the natives thereto fairly and equitably purchased. This Township was laid out in 1664, and, for nearly ten years, Dedham sustained and governed its colony with all the dignity and authority of a Lord Proprietary.†

That doubtful and bloody contest, known as 'Philip's war,' commenced in 1675. Indications of hostility had been increasing since 1671. The first actual outrage was committed in Dedham. A white man, shot through the body, was found in the woods. The circumstance agitated the whole colony. An Indian was arrested on suspicion, but whether executed or no

* The conduct of the Dedham people was quite the reverse of a disposition to encroach upon the rights of the Indians. They made it a point to buy up every claim of theirs whether well founded or not. See account of Indian deeds Appendix M.

† Appendix L.
does not appear.* Then John Sausaman, the Indian schoolmaster at Natic was murdered, he having acted as a spy upon Philip and betrayed his councils. By this event the die was cast. Philip, to whose agency the murder was directly traced, finding himself detected threw off the mask, and began the war by an attack upon Swansea. Massachusetts was not unprepared. Ded- ham was not unprepared. The militia here had been equipped and put in a posture for war, with a supply of powder, bullets, and match,§ two years before, and the inhabitants were encouraged to enlist in the troop, early in 1675, by an abatement of taxes; a kind of bounty that shows what substantial men entered into the service. This troop, forming a distinct force, under the command of Captain Prentice, was the first company engaged in the war. On the 26th of June, they received the alarm of the massacre at Swansea, where eight or nine men had been slain; and although it was late in the afternoon, immediately set out, intending to reach Woodcock’s tavern in Wrentham that night.† They were delayed on the way by an eclipse of the moon; and some melancholy fancies would not be persuaded but that the eclipse, falling out at that instant of time, was ominous; conceiving also that in the centre of the moon they discovered an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an Indian. Others, not long before, imagined they saw the form of an Indian bow, accounting that also ominous; although (says the narrator) the mischief following was done by guns, and not by bows.‖ Being joined by a body of volunteers under Captain Mosely, they reached Philip’s lands the next day a little before night. Twelve of the troop, unwilling to lose time, passed at

§ Appendix M.
† They set out from Boston.
‖ Hubbard’s Ind. wars.
once into his territories. They immediately received a fire from
the Indians concealed in the bushes. This they returned with
spirit. The savages soon fled, and the troopers retired for the
night, with the loss of one killed and one wounded. Such was
the first battle. Philip was soon pressed with so much energy
in that quarter, as to be compelled to change the scene of his
operations. The next assault was made by the Nipmuck In-
dians upon Mendon,* where they slew four or five persons,† be-
ing led by one Matoonas, supposed to be the father of him who
committed the murder in Dedham. The track of war then pas-
sed on by Brookfield to Connecticut river, into the neighborhood
of Deerfield, that thriving settlement, in which this town might
well feel all the interest of a parent. Thither the Massachusetts
forces hastened, and in that region were enacted some of the
bloodiest scenes of the war. The Dedham people would natu-
ally fly to the aid of their friends and kindred. Captain Mosely,
commanding the principal detachment, was well known to them;
and Captain Beers, who with most of his company soon fell near
Deerfield, was a popular neighbor at Watertown. Many from
Dedham must have been out in that campaign. John Wilson,
John Genere, and Elisha Woodward, slain with Captain Beers,
belonged, I have no doubt, to this town; and among the victims
at Bloody Brook, was Robert Hinsdale, one of our earliest set-
tlers.

In December 1675, the combined forces of the three colonies,
led by Gen. Winslow, marched upon their disastrous, yet suc-
cessful expedition, against the Narragansetts. Those belonging
to Massachusetts on that occasion, consisting of six companies,
were collected together at Dedham. Here their muster rolls

* Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 423. It was on the 14th July.
† This according to Mather was the first blood ever shed within the lim-
its of Massachusetts in the way of hostility. Mather's Ind. wars, 5.
were made, and here Major Appleton assumed the command. What citizens of the place joined the enterprise, I do not know, having been able to meet with but one muster roll out of the six. The distinguished troop of Captain Prentice went with the other forces, probably as volunteers, they not being drawn as part of the regular proportion of this colony.

Defeated on Connecticut river, the savages again haunted our more immediate neighborhood. Lancaster fell, and with it several who had moved thither from this village. The turn of Medfield came next, although garrisoned with 160 soldiers, not 300, as sometimes represented. It was the very sense of security that proved fatal to the inhabitants of that place. The town, like most inland plantations, was overgrown with young wood, the houses being seated in the midst of bushes. With the aid of these, the savages were easily enabled secretly to convey themselves about the village after dark. Peering into the windows from their covert of shrubbery, they doubtless watched every movement of the unsuspecting inmates during that fatal night. The soldiers were billeted about in different parts of the town, and, after a dreary guard through the long hours of a February night, as the first beam of day began to appear in the east, and the morning light seemed hastening to relieve their weary watch, might naturally give way to the weight of slumber pressing upon their eyelids. Alas! this was the moment for which the vindictive foe had waited with untiring patience. Then pealed the deathshot through the windows, while the fierce tomahawk found its way, mid fire and confusion, to innocent and trembling bosoms.

The attack was simultaneous in all parts of the town. Eighteen persons, men, women and children, were massacred, and

† Hubbard's Indian wars.

more than forty houses burned, before the invader could be repelled.

Soon after this event, John Monoco, or one-eyed John, made his famous boast at Groton. He said he had burned Lancaster and Medfield, was then burning Groton, and would next burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Boston—adding, 'what me will me do.' In this threat he has quite neglected Dedham. But the omission was probably a matter of policy, to put the people off their guard, as Indians were constantly detected lurking in the neighboring woods. If such was the intent, it failed most signally of its object. Except in the instance of Medfield, they never approached this region without reason to lament their rashness. They met with a notorious repulse on the confines of Medway. A party attempting to surprise Wrentham were discovered, and almost wholly destroyed. Old Woodcock's gun is said to have brought down one of them at the distance of eighty rods. Medfield redeemed her character by such a vigorous attack upon a body of them, that they never dared to show their faces in that quarter afterwards. Still worse fortune befell them nearer this village. In one instance, they were set upon and a negro taken captive, who informed of an intended assault upon Taunton, to which place notice being seasonably sent, the foe was repulsed and the town saved. In another instance, venturing too near, they were attacked and seven of them killed and taken, among whom was the Sachem

† Hubbard's Ind. wars.

∥ Hubbard. He was hanged in Boston 1676.

* Wrentham was afterwards burned by the Indians and the inhabitants did not return till 1680. Hubbard.

† Math. vol. 2, p. 497.
of the faithless tribe at Springfield,† and also a Sachem of the Narragansetts.

As it was the fortune of Dedham to be particularly connected with the events that immediately led to the breaking out of the war, so had it the honor of an exploit which contributed more than any single occurrence, perhaps, next to the death of Philip, to bring it to a close. Pomham, Sachem of Shaomet, (now Warwick R. I.) was probably the only chieftain, except Philip, possessing sufficient energy and talent to have united the scattered tribes and infused into them his own spirit and courage. He was a double traitor. He had quarrelled with Miantonomo, chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, to whom he was tributary, and voluntarily subjected himself to the Colonial Government for the sake of protection. When the war began, he joined Philip, and became next to him the most dreaded of the Indian warriors.‖ He was slain by a party of the Dedham and Medfield people, on the 25th of July 1676. Fifty of his band were made prisoners, but he, refusing to be taken alive, was slain, raging like a wild beast.§ The death of Philip, eighteen days after, soon brought this destructive war to a close.

The sons of the pilgrims inherited from their fathers a decidedly martial spirit. Not that the love of military fame found a place in the bosoms of the puritans. They did not 'seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth.' It was not chivalry in the usual sense of the word that excited them to bold exploits.

† The Springfield Indians had lived in so good correspondence with the English for 40 years, that more dependence was placed upon them than upon any other Indians. In consequence of their perfidy the Naticas and others called 'praying Indians,' falling under suspicion, were sent under guard to Deer Island, where they remained during the winter, and suffered much hardship. Hutch. Hist.


§ 'Even Philip was scarcely more feared than he.' Thatcher's Ind. Biol.

‖ Hubbard's Ind. Wars, p. 131.
Their courage had little of romance in it. It may rather be termed a general disposition to encounter and overcome obstacles; such a spirit of combativeness as animated Martin Luther, and must ever be a leading characteristic of all earnest and successful reformers, guiding the pen in intellectual conflicts with the same energy that discards bodily fear in a contest with the sword. Archbishop Laud called the Pilgrims, ‘men of refractory humours.’ The firmness of some may have assumed the form of dogged resistance or obstinate endurance; but in more there was a stern and active resolution, that went out to meet danger, and breasted opposition manfully. Kindled by religious enthusiasm, it produced an elevation of feeling such as led the covenanters into battle, on the moors of Scotland, with a sneer upon their lips, in scorn of all that mere human strength, or the weapons of worldly warfare, could accomplish against them. The same compound of moral and physical nerve, which enabled our foremothers to sleep quietly in their lonely houses, with the not improbable chance of being roused by the yells of the unsparing savage, whom their husbands and sons had gone far away to encounter, led these husbands and sons to march against the foe, unsustained by the pomp and circumstance of modern military movements, in small parties of twenty or thirty, through the silent paths of the unexplored forest, seeking an enemy that in numbers treble or quadruple their own, might be hid in this thicket, or that swamp, where they could not tell, till a volley ringing from their dark recesses should lay in the dust perhaps half of their little company, whose remnant must charge upon an unseen foe intrenched behind their natural fortifications of trees and bushes. But, in addition to these traits of firmness, our ancestors were not wholly unconscious of ‘the stern joy that warriors feel,’ and many were there among them, besides Standish and Church, who stood in the way of peril as we might stand in
a summers breeze, enjoying the grateful excitement of its presence.

With less, it may be, of fortitude and power of endurance, the second and third generations had, perhaps, greater love of adventure, and were easily induced to engage in military expeditions, to which they could not be considered as called by patriotism or imperious sense of duty. The Dedham people partook largely of that spirit, and scarce an enterprise of importance was undertaken by the colony, in which this town was not numerously represented. In 1741, an expedition against the Spanish West-India settlements was ordered by the English Government. Massachusetts furnished 500 men on that occasion, of whom but fifty ever returned, a fatal disease having swept off a large portion of the army. Six men, from the South Parish alone of this town, were among those who perished.

In 1745, Gov. Shirley projected an attack upon Louisburgh, a French fort on the island of Cape Breton, near Nova Scotia. This fortification had been twenty-five years in building, and was deemed so strong and impregnable as to be called the Dunkirk of America. It was surrounded by a rampart of stone more than thirty feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. It mounted one hundred and forty-eight cannon and six mortars. The enterprise seemed so rash that most of the colonies refused to join in it. Sir William Pepperel, who commanded the forces, had resided in Dedham; and it was probably from a personal acquaintance thus formed that Mr. Balch, minister, of the South Parish, was induced to accompany him in the capacity of chaplain. Many of our citizens also served as soldiers. This undertaking, which astonished all Europe, was completely successful. It enabled Britain to purchase a peace with France. Yet such a brill-
iant exploit, 'planned by a lawyer, and executed by a merchant at the head of a body of farmers and mechanics,' was too great to be simply admired; and is said to have excited envy and jealousy in England towards the Colonies. When this fort was taken anew, by the British, thirteen years afterwards, it was deemed so great an achievement, that the colors and other trophies were carried to England and deposited with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral; and a form of thanksgiving was ordered to be used in all the churches.||

In the last French war, from 1755 to 1763, a sufficient number of Dedham people were out to have formed a very respectable company by themselves. In a list of fifty-two men employed in that service, almost all of our ancient families may find their names represented; many of them more than once.* It is said that at this period one third of all the effective men in Massachusetts were in some way engaged in the war.†

During the first historical division which I have assumed, we beheld a community of foreigners, in whose minds the idea of home, that word of early days, was associated with different and far remote scenes. The second, embracing a whole century, from 1675 to 1775, exhibits the nonage of a young nation, submitting with increasing impatience to the restraints of colonial guardianship. The third, upon which I shall not enter, is the history of an independent people. After the year 1700, the Dedham records are filled with evidences of those struggles which

|| Holmes' Annals.

* See Appendix. Communication from Hon. Wm. Ellis, containing the names of men engaged in military service at different periods, from Dedham.

† Dr. Nath'l Ames, in his Almanac of 1756 speaks thus of the army:
'Bethold our camp! from fear, from Vice refined,
Not of the Filth, but Flower of human kind!
Mothers their Sons, Wives lend their Husbands there!
Brethren, ye have our Hearts, our Purse, our Prayer.'
always attend the dismemberment of an overgrown town, during the process of separating and defining the new corporations that spring up within its limits. Besides Medfield and Wrentham, Dedham gave birth to Needham, Bellingham, Walpole, Franklin, Dover and Natic.* After many and long efforts to stretch the pastoral wing of a single church over the remaining limits of the town, and to distribute the advantages of education, by sending a circuit school to hold its sessions in different neighborhoods, distinct parishes were at length formed; a measure which contributed much to the harmony of the town.

It is proper to extend our reminiscences to those public events of a civil nature, in which the people of this place have taken a part, and are entitled to a share of whatever honour may be attached to them.

There is something in the meagre account that has come down to us of the first pastor of this town extremely puzzling. A noted man he undoubtedly was, and for a long period; yet his private history is almost wholly lost. He is represented as remarkable for his mild and gentle temperament, yet he was constantly placed in the front rank, on occasions requiring energy and spirit as well as discretion. At the first great trial of the firmness of this Colony in sustaining her liberties and asserting her rights, when in 1646 the Long Parliament was inclined to encourage appeals from the authorities here, and a factious party in New England attempted to subvert the charter and introduce a general governor from abroad;† at this juncture, the Gen. Court having called upon the Clergy for advice and assistance, the Elders of all the Churches met for consultation, and selected Mr.

* Worthington's Hist.

† There were attempts made in 1635, and also in 1638 to revoke the charter, but the people seem not to have been then very apprehensive of losing their rights.
Allin to present the result of their deliberations. 'We conceive (says he in the report,) 'that we have, by our patent, full and ample power of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us,—of making all laws and rules of our obedience,—and a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice—that no appeals or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us; and if the Parliament should be less inclined to us, we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties.' Had the measures which struck the very life and foundation of the rising Commonwealth succeeded, (says a late historian,)† the whole tenor of American history would have been changed. Fortunately, through the firmness of the General Court and Clergy, and the prudence of Mr. Winslow, who was sent to England on a commission by the Colony, the danger was averted, and those who had appeals from our Government were compelled to humble themselves before it.||

These troubles had been occasioned mainly by religious differences, and it was deemed expedient to summon a Synod for their adjustment. Here Mr. Allin, who seems to have been a leading mind through the whole of this period, was called on to preach; and gave, according to Winthrop, out of Acts 15th, 'a very godly, learned and particular handling of near all the doctrines and applications to that subject, with a clear discovery and refutation of such errors, objections, and scruples, as had been raised about it by some young heads in the country.'§ At this convention was framed the famous Cambridge Platform,

* Winthrop.
† Bancroft.
|| Mr. Allin advanced the money to pay the expenses of this embassy. See Appendix N.
§ Winthrop's Hist.
which, for a long period, was considered as the religious constitution of the New England Colonies.

When sundry complaints against the Colony again endangered its charter, after the accession of Charles II. to the throne of England, and it became necessary to send out the celebrated John Norton and Simon Bradstreet, 'to take off all scandal and objections, and to see that nothing was done that might be prejudicial to the charter,' the business talents of Eleazer Lusher were put in requisition in preparing their instructions and providing funds for meeting their expenses. In connection with them and some others, he had been engaged during a recess of the Legislature, in drawing up a declaration of the rights of the Colony, which was afterwards adopted by the Court; and now he was on a committee to whom the whole arrangement of this important embassy seems to have been entrusted. His handwriting, with which every person who has examined our early state papers must be familiar, may be found in many of the acts, reports and resolutions, of that and other periods.* The doings of Norton and Bradstreet did not please the people. They were charged with being 'too compliant,' with having 'laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties,' and it was strongly intimated by some of the malcontents, that Mr. Allin, meek and gentle as he is represented to be, would have done better in that service.§

The next great crisis in the liberties of the Colony, occurred when Randolph, 'the evil genius of New England,' was engaged in those hostile measures which resulted in the subversion of the charter. The case grew desperate. Many were discouraged. Gov. Bradstreet, and some others, were for making a merit of necessity and submitting to the encroachments of the British

* Hutchinson — In 1666, 500 acres of land near Sudbury were by order of the Court laid out to 'the worshipful Eleazer Lusher, as a reward for his public services. Col. Rec.

§ Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 222, note. See Appendix O.
Government. Another party, with the Deputy Governor De-
forth, were for adhering to the charter according to their con-
struction of it, and 'leaving the event.'* Here was the origin of
the two parties, Patriots and Prerogative men, or, as they would
now be called, Whigs and Tories, between whom, says Minot in
his history of Massachusetts, controversy seldom intermitted, as
was never ended until the separation of the two countries. Da-
niel Fisher, the representative from Dedham, then speaker of
the house, was the leader of the Patriots among the Deputies. He
was one of the four whose impeachment, says Randolph in a
letter to the Earl of Clarendon, 'will make the whole faction trem-
ble.'§

Then follows the third remarkable period in the history of
American resistance to arbitrary power. The charter was dis-
solved in 1686, and soon after Sir Edmund Andros was appoint-
ed Governor. His administration was grievous oppression. In
1689, an indirect rumor having arrived, by the way of Vira-
ginia, of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, and
the consequent revolution in the government there, the people,
without waiting for a confirmation, determined to take its truth
for granted, and simultaneously set about accomplishing a revo-
lution of their own. On the morning of the 18th of April the town
of Boston was in arms. The Governor and Council were seized
and confined, and the old magistrates reinstated. The country
people came into town in such rage and heat as made all trem-
ble to think what would follow. Nothing would satisfy them but
that the Governor must be bound in chains or cords and put in
a more secure place;|| and for their quiet he was guarded by

* Hutchinson's Hist.
† Hutchinson’s Hist.—note.
‡ He declared the title to lands here to have become void by the dissolu-
tion of the Charter, and exacted heavy sums for the repurchase of them.
|| Hutchinson’s Hist.
them to the Fort. Whose hand was on the collar of that prisoner, leading him through the excited crowd, at once securing him from escape and guarding him from outrage? It was the hand of Daniel Fisher of Dedham;* aye 'a second Daniel come to judgment,' a son of the former, and heir of his energetic ardor in the cause of freedom.§

As the last struggle against foreign imposition and despotic exaction approached, and the American people were stimulating and encouraging each other for the final effort; when the sunny shores of independence were in view, but a dark and bloody stream of contest and revolution lay between, into which they were preparing to plunge, no town in the country went beyond Dedham in the firm and decided measures proposed and sustained by its people. Yon monumental stone, once surmounted by a comely pillar and patriotic bust, consecrated to Liberty and Liberty's friend, will with its renewed inscription this day declare to the passers by, what spirit animated them in 1766.†

The town records overflow with patriotic resolutions; and so difficult was it for the citizens here to comprehend how an individual of common understanding could make use of tea, after the odious attempts to raise a revenue from it, that, in one of their resolves, they close a storm of indignation and contempt, directed partly against the article itself, and partly against those who had not self denial enough to abandon it—by pronouncing its use an act of 'flagrant—stupidity.'|

* Worthington's Hist.
† Had the rumor of the revolution in England, which was a very uncertain one, proved incorrect, the consequences would have been serious to those engaged in this revolt. Even as it was, the British government took the matter into consideration; but it was deemed rather absurd to punish the Americans for following an example which had been set by themselves.
‡ This Stone was the pedestal of a column erected in honour of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as a testimony of gratitude for his efforts in behalf of the Colonies.
¶ Town Records, 1774
The details of that interesting period cannot be comprehended within the scope of a discourse intended to be so general as that.

There are annual occasions consecrated to the commemoration of that national declaration of independence and assertion of the rights of man, whose prototype had often been proclaimed in the unostentatious meetings of humble towns, and entered upon the pages of their simple records.

Samuel Dexter, known in history as the elder, but to us the second of that name, then guided the councils of the Dedham people at home, and represented their views in the General Court. His name stands by the side of those of Otis, Bowdoin, the two Adamses, Hawley, Hancock, and Quincy, the most active and influential men, applying their combined talents in support of charter rights, and the liberties of the people.* In this association of patriotic spirits, his pen was among the busiest, and his vigorous mind among the most earnest in controverting arbitrary doctrines by the force of reason, and enlightening the people on the subject of their rights and capacities. In the same honorable company he received the proscription of the royal Governor, who more than once was called upon to say, that by his Majesty's command he negatived the election of Samuel Dexter to the Council.†

On the 6th of September 1774, a convention of Delegates from every town and district in the county of Suffolk, was assembled at the house of Richard Woodward, in Dedham, "to deliberate and determine upon all such matters as the distressed circumstances of the Colony may require."‡ To this grave Assembly, met upon its own soil, for the discussion of such weighty matters, the town sent five delegates. Those who now, or in

* Bradford's Hist. of Mass.
† Appendix P.
‡ This Convention was adjourned to Milton.
after times, shall examine the journal of the earliest Continental Congress in search of the first recorded resolution to try the issue with Great Britain, if need be at the point of the sword, will find the doings of this Convention entered at length upon its pages, appearing as the medium through which the object of their assembling was first presented to their deliberations, and serving as the basis of their subsequent proceedings. The house of Richard Woodward most of us remember. In it was born Fisher Ames. Was it also the birth place of the American revolution?

There are a few yet living, some perhaps may be present, who can recall the excitement of the scenes that followed, of gloom without and light within. We at this day can hardly realize the force of that zeal, which, raging in the bosoms of the brave, woke unwonted valor in the hearts of the timid, and kindled woman's milder fortitude into masculine daring.

We cannot foresee the events that lie hid in the undeveloped future. Occasions may arise when the American people will again be called upon to sacrifice comfort, possessions, life, upon the altar of freedom. I trust we shall not be found wanting in generous devotion whenever brought to the test. Yet hardly again can we expect to see the whole community animated by the same spirit, when from every hamlet in the land shall flow an equal stream of fervid enthusiasm, uniting in one great torrent of solemn earnest resolution. We are in the manhood of our political existence. The simplicity of childhood, perhaps the ardent generosity of youth, are past. A calmer balancing of considerations, colder calculations of interest, will hereafter mingle with the best and purest services in the cause of our country. It is not given to nations any more than to individuals to experience a second period of unsophisticated impulses. No overgrown, voluptuous, or even populous nation, could conduct to successful
completion a revolution in favor of liberty. This continent, now teeming with its rich harvest of progressive population, may hereafter be made desolate, and another career of renewed growth be begun in the freshness of youth; but that will be a new people, the subjects of a new history.

The 19th of April found the Dedham people prepared with five companies of militia or infantry, and an association of veterans, who had done service twenty years before against the French. These last, roused by the familiar sounds of war which had stirred their young blood at Ticonderoga, Fort Edward, and Fort William Henry, were ready now to peril what was left of life in a more sacred contest.

The news of the battle of Lexington reached the village a little after nine o’clock in the morning. It came in by the way of Needham and Dover, having in its course sent off all who could bear arms, as by an electric impulse, to the scene of action, hurrying them towards Lexington, as if the foe were driving instead of attracting them. The companies here, when enough could be mustered of their numbers to form a platoon, hastened to the combat, leaving others to follow, in squads of half a dozen, as they happened to collect together. Capt. Joseph Guild led the minute men, and meeting with one on the road who declared the alarm to be false, he seized him with his own hand, gagged him and left him under the charge of one of his men, lest the report should reach more willing ears and find readier credence. Lieut. George Gould, Capt. William Bullard, Lieut. William Ellis, and Capt. Ebenezer Battle, commanded the other companies. But the most interesting spectacle was presented by the corps of veterans, the relics of former conflicts, who assembled on the green in front of this house. Here they were met by the Rev. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury, who had left his home from apprehensions of personal danger. He, ascending the steps of the
ancient meeting house, invoked the blessing of Heaven on their enterprise. The grey headed warriors then began their march, leaving the town, almost literally, without a male inhabitant below the age of seventy and above that of sixteen. How could the event of that day have been other than it was, when the sanctifying influence of religious trust consecrated the courage of the patriot and the soldier. We have the authority of Washington for saying, that, had the retreat of the British troops been delayed one half hour, they must have been totally cut off.*

Of those who had an opportunity to participate in the action, one from Dedham, Elias Haven, was killed, and one, Israel Everett, wounded. He who stood by the side of Elias Haven when he fell, yet survives, at the venerable age of ninety.†

We have then arrived at the generation of the living. As memory begins to take the place of history, events multiply, and incidents crowd upon each other too fast to be properly noticed on this occasion, more appropriate to the recollections of remoter times. I have reached the limits within which I intended to confine myself. Yet gladly would I dwell upon later events not less worthy of commemoration. The struggle for liberty, whose beginning the people of this place so earnestly encouraged, they did not forget to sustain with their resources and personal services. Nor in more peaceful days that followed the achievement of national independence, have there been wanting men whose talents have reflected honor upon the home of their ancestors.

Can I speak of Fisher Ames and not rouse an echo from 'every log-cabin beyond the mountains'! With us he lived, with us he died, but it is not for us to appropriate the rich patrimony of his reputation. His eloquence and his fame are the inheritance of his country. The name of Samuel Dexter, first

* Washington's Letters.
† Mr. Aaron Whiting of Dover, since dead.
connected with him who one hundred years ago stood in the place and gathered up the reminiscencies of the previous century,† has in our own time been associated with commanding eloquence, and intellectual vigor, rarely excelled.*

Citizens of Dedham! you will find in your history much to gratify a just pride, much to excite honorable emulation. By intelligent and godly ancestors was this town planted; by a manly and virtuous race has it been nourished and sustained. Its sons have fought the battles of their country—they have led in its councils. At no time, in no manner, have they failed to contribute an honorable share of the talent, the patriotism, the domestic virtues, which created and have built up this great republic.

May such be the verdict that posterity shall pass upon us and our descendants, when the close of another century shall summon a new generation to a new commemoration.

† The Rev. Samuel Dexter preached a Discourse partly historical at the close of the first Century from the organization of the Church, which was printed. Appendix Q.

* Sam'l Dexter, late Sec'y at War.
APPENDIX.

NOTE A. See page 10.

There having been some difference of opinion in regard to the most proper time for commemorating the settlement of Dedham, I have put down all the events and circumstances which have come within my knowledge relating thereto, and tending to elucidate the subject. They are as follows.

About the middle of May 1635, the inhabitants of Watertown and Roxbury had leave to remove whither they pleased, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Colony Records.

Next, under date of Sept. 2, 1635, Col. Record, we find, 'It is ordered that there shall be a plantacon settled about two miles above the falls of Charles river, on the northeast side thereof, to have ground lying to it on both sides the river, both upland and meadow, to be laid out hereafter as the Court shall appoint.' Also, 'Ordered that there shall be a plantation at Musketaquid to be called Concord, &c.' It is to these orders that Winthrop refers in his journal, Sept. 1635, where he says, 'At this Court there was granted to Mr. Buckley and —— merchant, and about 12 families more, to begin a town at Musketaquid, &c. A town was also begun above the falls of Charles River.' Winth. vol. 1, p. 167.

The next notice of the future town of Dedham is in the Col. Record, March 5, 1635. 'Ens. Jennison, Mr. Danforth, and Mr. Win. Spencer, are deputed to set out the bounds of the new plantacon above Charles River against all other towns that join upon it. And each town is permitted to send one of their members to accompany them—also they are to view the meadow 7
about the blue hills, to inform the next Gen. Court to what town it may most conveniently be layd.' Here it should be remerbered that the year by the old method of division began on the 25th of March.

On 'the 13th of the 2d month (May) 1636,' the above named persons make their report. 'Wee whose names are underwritten being appointed by the Gen. Court, to set out the bounds of the new towne upon Charles ryver, do agree that the bounds of the towne shall run from the markt tree by Charles ryver on the northwest side of Roxbury bounds one mile and a half northeast, and from thence three miles northwest, and so from there five miles southwest—and on the southwest side of Charles Ryver from the southeast side of Roxbury bounds to run four miles on a southwest line, reserving the proprieties to several persons granted by special order of Court.'

WILLIAM SPENCER.
NICHOLAS DANFORTH.
WILLIAM JENNISON.

The proprieties here mentioned were probably grants which had been made by the Court to individuals who had filled public offices, as extra compensation. The custom was common. In 1634, John Haynes, Thos. Dudley, Samuel Dudley, and Daniel Dennison had lands granted them above the falls on the easterly side of Charles River. Col. Records. These lands were afterwards made a part of Dedham, being purchased by the inhabitants. The persons above named were all men of great distinction in the Colony.

We now come to the town records.

The first leaf of the earliest book is missing, but it is alluded to as containing a copy of the petition to the Gen. Court for a confirmation of their grant, and the Court order thereon. The outside of the second leaf is numbered page 3d. The word Contentment is written at the top near one corner, but has lines drawn through it and the word Dedham written above it. There is then the record of a meeting headed 'The 13th August 1636, being ye 6th month. Assembled whose names are hereunder written,' (then follows a list of 18 names) 'and with one accord agreed upon these conclusions following.' These relate to the kind of persons that shall be admitted to the Society—to the giving of information concerning applicants for admission—the imposition of fines for the non-observance of rules and the freedom of all waters in the town for fishing. It is then added, 'Got out and measured by Thomas Bartlett, Lotts for several men as followeth'—then are named seven men, to whom are granted twelve acres each. 'All these confirmed at this meeting, and are abuted as by the particulars in full appe'th.' Grants are then made
to several other persons; among the rest to Edward Alleyn, of island and meadow, &c. The record of this meeting occupies the 3d and 4th pages. On the 5th page, the word Contentment is written and erased, and Dedham written as before. The heading is: '1636, the 29th of ye 6th month, called August.' Assembled, &c. 18 persons named; but not all the same individuals as before. Here follow some more conclusions. Such as that single men shall have but eight acres for a house-lot, &c. and that 'the next meeting shall be upon ye 2d day of ye next month, at ye 6th hour in ye morning, at John Gay's house.' This record occupies one page. The next record, on the 6th page, is headed, 'The 6th of ye 7th month, called September, 1636. Assembled, &c.' 19 names. All these being assembled, subscribed their names unto a petition unto ye General Courte, for confirmation of our Grant—to be comprehended into our towne whatsoever is left from all former grants on that side of Charles River, and five miles square upon ye other side of ye said River, with certeyne privileges of exemption from country charges for four years.' Confirmed unto Edward Alleyn that little Island, &c. before granted at ye first meeting.* An order is passed about mending 'ye foule swampe;' and it is mentioned that after the meeting was dissolved, Robt. Feke subscribed his name, and Thos. Hastings and John Huggen did the like in Boston. So that all the names of those who are admitted to our Society are subscribed thereto. The copy of which petition is in ye beginning of this book, as also the Court order upon the same.'

A copy of this petition and order was found on a leaf apparently torn from the Records, at the house of John Bullard, Esq. together with other valuable papers hereafter referred to.

On the 10th September, 1636, the General Court ordered, 'that the plantacion to be settled above the falls of Charles Ryver, shall have three yeares immunity from publike charges, as Concord had, to be accounted from the first of Maye next, and the name of the said plantacion shall be Dedham. To injoye all that Lands on the Easterly and Southerly side of Charles River, not formerly granted unto any Towne or particular person — And also to have five miles square on ye other side of the River.'

Col. Record.

There is the record of another meeting in September, one on the 25th November, and one on the 31st December, at which various regulations are adopted, and grants of lands made. In the record of the last meeting we find this resolution: 'Whereas certeyne of our company are gone up to inhabit this winter at our towne of Dedham, and that other materials are not well to be had for the closing in of their houses in such a season, we do therefore give liberty only for every such inhabitant abovesaid
to make use of clapboards to any part of his house for his present necessity, &c." After two more meetings, one in January and the other in February, we come to the record of a meeting on the 23d of the first month, called March, 1636-7, which begins thus, 'The first Assembly in Dedham,' &c. proceeding to name those who were present.

I should infer from the foregoing facts, that after leave was given, in May 1635, for the inhabitants of Watertown and Roxbury to remove, this place having been examined and found favorable for a town, notice was given to the General Court, which caused the order first quoted, September 2, 1635; that after the laying out of the town by the Committee, as appears by their report of 13th May, 1636, certain persons, who intended to locate themselves here, came together August 15th, 1636, for the purpose of a mutual understanding, and to begin the distribution of village lots: That on the 6th September, 1636, being ready to proceed with their settlement, they requested of the General Court a confirmation and enlargement of their grant, the appointment of a constable, and an immunity from public charges, as was usual at the beginning of new towns. The act of the legislature, in consequence of that petition, 10th September, 1636, may fairly enough be considered as creating the town, the company of settlers being then first legally organized.

It would also seem from expressions in the records, that the earlier meetings were not held upon the spot, but probably in Watertown; the first Assembly or town meeting in Dedham being on the 23d of March, the last day but one of the year 1636. The place being so near to Watertown and Roxbury as to admit of going backwards and forwards from one to the other in the same day, the people would be likely to build their houses, and make comfortable arrangements, before moving their families. When a majority of the company were established, the books, in which their transactions were recorded, would naturally follow them. Several of the persons, named as present at the first meetings, did not reside in Dedham for some time afterwards, and some never came at all. The gradual manner in which the settlement of the town proceeded will explain why no distinct account of its commencement is to be found in history. Had a body of men emigrated at once from some other place and located themselves here, as was the case at Concord and other remote towns, the fact would have been noticed in the annals of the time.

There are two circumstances which, unless explained, indicate the presence of inhabitants here at an earlier date than otherwise appears. The first is the fact that in the Register of births and deaths we find this record—'John, son of John Balden and
Joanna his wife, was born 21st of the 4th month (June) 1635. Mary, daughter of John and Hannah Dwite, born 25th of ye 5th month (July) 1635.' The other circumstance is the impression of Mr. Worthington that he has seen a book containing a record of the meeting of twelve men September 1st, 1635.

With regard to the births it may be remarked, that no record was kept of them till the end of the year 1642, when Michael Powell was 'deputed to Register the Births, Burials and Marriages, in our Towne according to the order of Court.' (Town Records 6th of 12th mo. 1642.) The date of the births of children then in town might be entered in the book, without regard to the place where they were born; especially if no record had been made of them elsewhere. Moreover, it is hardly probable that as the requisite permission to remove was not given till the middle or latter part of May, 1635, parents, expecting the immediate birth of children, would leave their homes without necessity, to be the pioneers of a new settlement.

The book which Mr. Worthington speaks of, cannot now be found, and I do not meet with any one else who remembers to have seen it. When I first obtained the town records for examination, a part of the first volume was separated from the rest, corresponding in thickness to the book which Mr. Worthington describes. Some leaves of this had been turned back out of place, bringing them into such a position as apparently to constitute the beginning of the book. The first of these was a blank leaf. The second, which bore the page mark (159) in very pale ink, purported to be 'a Register or particular description of all such Lands or Lotts granted out unto several men by virtue of a Free grant of our said plantacon made unto us, by ye Hon. Courte Generall houlden at Newtowne the 2d of ye 7th month, 1635, and confirmed with enlargement at Boston ye 30th of ye 7th month, 1636.' Then followed a list of grants to sundry persons, eleven in all, most of which are partly erased. By turning to the Book of grants, we find the same entered there, and the record continued. From the position of this leaf, it had the appearance of being the first record, and from the obscurity of the writing, a mistake might arise as to the date. I was at first under misapprehension myself in regard to it, supposing it to correspond with the passage in Winthrop's journal before referred to, which, under date of September 1635, says 'a town is begun above the falls of Charles river.' I mention this as possibly accounting for Mr. Worthington's impression of another book.

The length of the foregoing remarks is justified by the fact, that owing to their shattered and decaying condition, the disjecta membra of our early Town Records may not at a future time be easily placed in their proper connection.
NOTE B. See page 14.

I am informed by the Hon. William Ellis, that according to tradition, the first houses were built upon the rising ground on the north side of Little River, or Dwight's Brook, in front of the present bridge. The village lots, however, were laid out upon the highways which I have described; forming two sides of a triangle, between which were situated the Meeting-house and Burial ground.

The lane to the present landing place at the river was laid out in 1705.

NOTE C. See page 16.

I trust I shall not be thought to allude to these matters too lightly, or in a manner not sufficiently respectful to the Pilgrim Fathers. My object is to present such a picture of the period, as will bring to view not merely their piety, energy and self sacrifice, universally known and admitted, but those less heroic traits, not so often commented upon, a knowledge of which is necessary to a clear conception of their character and the state of society among them. Their chief enjoyments were religious exercises; their principal discussions were upon theological subjects. The varieties of human temperament will display themselves, let the prevailing tone of society be what it may, and the sacredness of the topics did not prevent a considerable infusion of humor and satire from mingling with their most serious debates. The puritans, instead of being always solemn and austere, had, many of them, a strong humorous tendency. Besides the quaintness of their style, in itself a species of humor—a play upon words, and a laboring for odd conceits, which would seem very undignified at the present day, were common in the writings of the most learned and grave divines. The familiar manner of quoting the bible, and applying passages from scripture, customary two hundred years ago, would now seem very profane and irreverent.

During the years 1636, 1637, and 1638, the Antinomian controversy was at its height. Even some of the principal magistrates and clergy began to incline towards the tenets of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright; and the question whether man is to be saved by grace or by works, with its various corollaries, was agitated in every meeting public or social. Winthrop says, in 1636, 'the differences in said points of religion increased more and more, so that all men's mouths were full of them.' Vol. 1, p. 213. And Hutchinson remarks, 'The town
and country were distracted with these subtleties, and every man
and woman, who had brains enough to form some imperfect con-
ception of them, inferred and maintained some other point, such
as these, a man is justified before he believes; faith is no cause
of justification, &c.' Hutch. Hist. vol. 1, p. 57. We may there-
fore fairly enough presume that the Dedham people, after Lect-
ture, would be thus engaged.

I insert some lines by Johnson, the historian, written in honor
of Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, he having encountered opposi-
tion from the followers of Mr. Wheelwright, who in turn had to
suffer for adherence to their leader.

'The they deprave, thy ministry despise;
By thy thick utterance seek to call men back
From hearing thee: but Christ for thee did rise,
And turned the wheel-right over them to crack.'

A specimen at once of the poetry and puns of that period.

Books intended to be serious and religious were published in
London not far from the time referred to, with the following ti-
tles: 'A most delectable sweet and perfumed nosegay for God's
saints to smell at.' 'A pair of bellows to blow off the dust cast
upon John Fry;' 'The snuffers of divine love.' The author of
a work on charity entitles his book, 'Hooks and eyes for believ-
er's breeches.' Another called his labors 'High heeled shoes
for dwarfs in holiness.' Another, 'Crumbs of comfort for the
chickens of the Covenant.' A Quaker published 'A sigh of
sorrow for the sinners of Zion, breathed out of a hole in the wall
of an earthen vessel known among men by the name of Samuel
Fish.' About the same time were published 'The spiritual mus-
tard pot;' 'A shot at the Devil's head quarters through the tube
of the cannon of the covenant.' 'Reaping hook well tempered
for the stubborn ears of the coming crop; or, Biscuits baked in
the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the Chickens of the
Church, the Sparrows of the Spirit, and the Sweet Swallows of
Salvation.' 'Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin, or the
Penitential Psalms of the Princely Prophet David, wherunto
are also annexed William Huinnis' handful of Honeysuckles and
divers Godly and pithy ditties, now newly augmented.'

NOTE D. See page 20.

A Blacksmith seems to have been the first mechanic in town.
He was furnished with tools at the public expense. There are
also mentioned, very early, a Joiner, a Wheelwright, a Brick-
maker, and a maker of wooden ware, who all receive from the town some facilities for carrying on their business. In 1656, the subject of setting up iron works was discussed, but probably the ore was not found in sufficient abundance. There was a strong expectation among the emigrants to this country of finding mines of precious and other metals, and a good deal of labor was employed in the search here, as well as elsewhere. As an inducement to those thus employed, it was voted, that a grant of any mine, which might be discovered, should be made to the finder, he paying ten per cent. of the profits to the use of the town. In the preamble to this vote, it is stated, that 'seeing amongst other things wherewith God blessed his people Israel, he exposeth divers metals for their encouragement, Deut. 8, 9, and seeing that already amongst ourselves a plenty of iron and some lead is discovered, it appears to us that he hath afforded us also a land furnished with such blessings; and also, considering the barrenness of a great part of our town, doth give us particular hopes thereof, &c.'

In 1647, John Dwight and Francis Chickering gave notice of their 'hopes of a mine' near certain ponds, thirteen miles from town, probably at Wrentham, claiming the right, &c. Similar notice was given of a mine on the north side of Charles river, 'over against Mr. Cooke's farm.' Another notice was given 1649, by the Pastor, Mr. Allin, and Eleazer Lusher, of a mine 'of metal or other mineral, near the Great Playne, &c.' Joshua Fisher and Daniel Fisher also, of one near the same place; and Anthony Fisher, of a mine 'near where the Neponset river divides.' In 1637, Abraham Shawe had a grant from the General Court of 'half the benefit of the coals or iron stone, which might be found on any common ground at the Country's disposing.'

NOTE E. See page 20.

The erection of mills, for grinding corn and sawing timber, was one of the first things that engaged the attention of the settlers in Dedham. In 1636, Abraham Shawe undertook to erect a mill on Charles river, probably on that part of the stream which is now in the town of Dover. He soon died, and the lands, granted to him in aid of the enterprise, were offered to any one who would accomplish the same object. No one, however, for several years, was induced to make the attempt. In 1639, it having been discovered that a water power might be obtained by means of a canal from Charles river, through 'Purchase Meadow,' to East Brook, the work was immediately begun, and inducements offered to citizens or others that might be disposed to
erect mills thereon. One John Elderkin was the first who avail-
ed himself of these proposals; and grants of land were made to
him accordingly. In 1642, he sold one half of all his rights to
Nathaniel Whiting, and the other half to Mr. Allin, the pastor,
Nathaniel Aldis and John Dwight. In 1649, Nathaniel Whi-
ting purchased the interest of the other owners. In 1652, he
made sale of the mill and all his town rights to John Dwight,
Francis Chickering, Joshua Fisher and John Morse, for £250.
In 1653, he repurchased the same. In 1664, a new corn mill
being deemed necessary, leave was given to Daniel Pond and
Ezra Morse to erect one above that of Nathaniel Whiting, on
the same stream, to be finished before the 24th of June the fol-
lowing year. In 1666, Nathaniel Whiting, who had demonstra-
ted against the establishment of the new mill without effect, com-
plained of damage therefrom to his own works, and in 1667 he
commenced a suit against Ezra Morse, as obstructing the water
to the injury of his mill. This suit did not result in his favor.
In 1669, Nathaniel Whiting having made a new water course
which crossed the highway leading to the new mill, some com-
plaint was made, and both he and Ezra Morse were summoned
before the Selectmen, and being advised with, agreed to live in
peace and not interfere with the rights of each other.

There were, however, frequent complaints on the part of Na-
thaniel Whiting. In 1674, a committee was chosen to regulate
the water at the upper dam. Complaints being renewed, in
1677, the town resolved to do nothing farther about it. So the
matter stood till May 1699, when it was thought advisable to re-
move Morse's dam, and let the water run in its ancient channel.
As a compensation for this measure, which seems to have been
suggested by the owner himself, a grant of forty acres was made
to Ezra Morse, 'near Neponsit river, at the old saw mill, or at
Everett's Plain, where he may find it most to his satisfaction
provided that the town may be otherwise provided with a mill to
their full satisfaction.' In 1700, the Whiting mill was burned,
and the town loaned £20 for one year, 'without any use or rent,'
to Timothy Whiting, who then held the mill seat, as aid towards
the erection of another mill.

The subject of 'setting up a saw mill' had been agitated from
the year 1652 to 1658, when on the 4th March 1658–9, a long
written agreement was entered into between the town and Elea-
zer Lusher and Joshua Fisher, in which these persons engaged
to erect a saw mill on Neponset river, near the Cedar Swamp,
to be completed before June 24, 1660. This was afterwards, in
1674, in possession of Thomas Clap. In 1672, Robert Cross-
man undertook to build a mill at Wollomonopeag, (Wrentham.)
In 1676, Ezra Morse had leave to cut timber to build a saw mill
on Hawes' brook, in the way leading to the South meadows, and, in 1681, was allowed to make a reservoir for the same, on the town lands. In 1682, Jona. Fairbanks and James Draper asked leave to build a fulling mill below the corn mills on Hawes brook, or mill creek, (as the whole stream is now called,) but the town thought proper to give the privilege to Nath'l Whiting, who was accordingly associated with James Draper in the project. In the permission given them, there was a proviso, that if the town, at any time, see fit to set up a corn mill upon the place, they may do so, unless the persons aforesaid will do it at their own charge, to the town's content.

It is worthy of remark, that the descendants of Nath'l Whiting and Ezra Morse, have held the principal mill seats of the town, quite down to the present generation. The numerous branches of both of these respectable families, have always been among our most substantial citizens.

NOTE F. See page 20.

We are told by Winthrop, in his Journal, that free schools were established at Boston, Roxbury, and divers other places, in 1643. It appears by the Records, that the same thing was done in Dedham, in 1644. 'The inhabitants, taking into consideration the necessity of providing some means for the education of youth in our said town, did with an unanimous consent, declare by vote their willingness to promote that work, promising to put to their hands to provide maintenance for a free school in our said town.' They then vote £20 per annum, and appropriate certain lands for this purpose. T. R. 1st 11 mo. 1644.

By a Court order, passed in 1642, the Selectmen of every town were required to see that the education of children was properly attended to. It was customary for the Selectmen to divide the town among themselves, each one having an eye to the children of a certain district. As an amusing instance of the orthography of some of these 'rude forefathers of the hamlet,' I insert an extract from a small book, which seems to contain memoranda of the doings of the Selectmen, &c. afterwards transferred to the large book:

'It is agreed that the Selectmen doe take their course to see the execution of the Court order concerning childring, viz. that we doe agree that two goe to gather when they goe to take account of the propheting of the youth.'

In the year 1680, Dr. Wm. Avery made a donation to the town of £60 for a latin school. Afterwards the town proposed to sell their school lands, and appropriate the proceeds to the instruc-
tion of youth. This was done about the year 1700. What became of the funds, thus obtained, does not appear. It was probably gradually expended. The second generation were less willing to raise money for schools, than the first comers.

NOTE G. See page 24.

Views of the Pilgrims in regard to government, &c.

'It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God.' Winthrop's Speech in the Hingham case, 1645.

'Two distinct ranks we willingly acknowledge, from the light of nature and scripture; the one of them called Princes, or Nobles, or Elders, (amongst whom gentlemen have their place,) the other the people. Hereditary dignity, or honours, we allow to the former, &c.: Hereditary liberty to the other, &c.' Reply to the demands of Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and other persons of quality, made as conditions of their removing to New England, 1636.

'Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government, either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for Monarchy and Aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved and directed in scripture.' Letter from Mr. Cotton to Lord Say and Seal, 1630.

NOTE H. See page 24.

The town voted to erect a tomb for their reverend pastor, and to pay the expenses of his funeral, which were always very considerable in case of ministers or magistrates.

It was customary to purchase gold rings for the bearers, and white leather gloves for the ministers who were present. At the funeral of the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, of Ipswich, in 1685, among the articles provided were 32 gallons of wine, and a larger quantity of cider, with 104 pounds of sugar, and about 4 doz. gloves.

In 1637, the Gen. Court ordered that no cakes or buns should be made or sold, except for burials or weddings.* Col. Rec.

* This licence having been extended to other public occasions was probably the origin of what is called 'Town meeting cake.'
It seems singular that a people situated as our forefathers were, in a rude wilderness, living, many of them, in log houses, or dwellings scarcely superior, and above all professing the severe puritan character, should be subject to the charge of extravagance in their apparel. They lived, however, at a period when great parade of dress was usual, especially upon public occasions. They came here with their habits formed in this respect, and costly lace ruffles, worn by either sex, wrought fur-below, silk or satin vests and breeches, supposed necessary to the dignity of the wearer, were not easily laid aside.

In 1636, the Gen. Court ordered, ‘that no person, after one month, shall make or sell any bone lace, or other lace, to be worn upon any garment or linen, upon pain of 5s 8d the yard for every yard of such lace so made or set on. Nor shall any tailor set lace upon any garment; provided, that binding, or small edging lace, may be used upon garments or linen.’ In 1639, the same law is repeated in substance, and it was further enacted, ‘that hereafter no garment shall be made with short sleeves, whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered. And that hereafter no person whatsoever shall make any garment for women, or any other sex, with sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest part, and so proportionate for bigger or smaller persons. And for present reformation of immoderate great sleeves, and some other superfluities, which may easily be redressed without much prejudice or spoil of garments, as immoderate great breeches, knots of ryban, broad shoulder bands and rayles, silk rases, double ruffles, cuffs, &c.,—it is ordered, &c.’ Slashed clothes, except one slash in each sleeve, and one in the back, embroidery, bands, crayles, gold and silver girdles, hat-bands, belts, cuffs, wings, beaver hats, and long hair, came under the ban of the law, in 1634. In 1675, there was a statute passed against periwiggs, and ‘the cutting, curling, and immodest laying out of hair,’ and against ‘the addition of superstitious ribbons both on hair and apparel.’ Col. Rec.

We may judge from these what is meant by the ‘excess in apparel,’ for which our ancestors became amenable to the law.

NOTE K. See page 29.

The questions addressed by the Indians to Mr. Allin and others, who sought to enlighten them, will illustrate their intellectual condition, and degree of aptness for religious instruction, better than any description could do.
*Why have not beasts a soul as man hath, seeing they have love and anger as man hath? Why doth God punish in hell for ever? Man will let out of prison. Does God understand Indian? Since we all came from one father, how came English to know God and not we? Why does not God kill the Devil? Does the Devil dwell in us as we in a house? What says a soul when it goes to heaven or hell? If a man think a prayer, does God know and reward it? If a man be almost a good man, and die so, whither goes his soul? If I sin, and know not it is sin, what will God say to that? Is faith in my heart, or my mind? If my heart be full of ill thoughts, and I repent and pray, and yet it is full again and again, what will God say?* A woman asked, 'Do I pray when my husband prays, if I speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like what he saith, and my heart goes with it?' One Indian said to another, 'what do you get by praying? you go naked still, and our com is as good as yours.'

**NOTE L.** See page 30.

In 1673, the inhabitants of Pocomptuck complain that by reason of their remoteness from the place where the power of ordering prudentials resides, they are subject to many distresses. Whereupon the Dedham people, in lordly style, appoint their 'trusty and well beloved and much esteemed friends,' naming a Committee of five persons, with various powers, among other things in connection with the inhabitants, with the advice of the Elders of the two neighboring churches, they 'have liberty to procure an orthodox minister to dispense the word of God amongst them.'

**NOTE M.** See page 31.

The guns in general use at the time of Philip's war, were matchlocks, heavy and inconvenient. A crotched stick was carried for a rest, and the match was kept ignited in a tin tube with small air holes in it. Flint locks, called 'snaphances,' were rare, yet a few of them were used. The town of Dedham had a small field-piece called a Drake, given it by the General Court in 1650. The small canons then in common use, were called Drakes and Sakers.

An extract from Holmes' Annals, of 1673, will give some idea of the resources of the Colonies at that period.

* N. E. is supposed to contain at this time, about 120,000 souls, of whom 16,000 are able to bear arms. 1500 families in Boston.
There be 5 iron works, which cast no guns. There are 15 merchants, worth about £50,000 or £5,000, one with another. ... persons worth £3,000 each. No house in N.E. hath above 20 rooms. Not 20 in Boston have 10 rooms each. The worst cottages are looted. No riggers. Not three persons put to death annually, for theft. There are no musicians. A dancing school was set up, but put down. A fencing school is allowed. Holmes vol. I. p. 416.

The number of Indians within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in 1674, was—

- Pequods, 300 men formerly
- Narragansetts, 1000 " "
- Pawkanawkets, nearly extinct, formerly
- Massachusetts, 300 men
- Pawtuckets, 250 " "


The Pequods had been nearly exterminated in the war of 1636. Their tribe was broken up, and the remnant of them distributed among other tribes. The Narragansetts were nearly destroyed during Philip's war. There was an Indian by the name of Ephraim, who lived in Dedham during Philip's war, and was regularly assessed with the other inhabitants on all the tax lists, having, from the amount of his rate, considerable property. He was undoubtedly the same Indian referred to in history, as 'Peter Ephraim,' who acted as guide to the forces of the Colonies in the expedition against the Narragansetts, and performed at other times many important services.

The Massachusetts were mostly carried off by disease. The lands of these Indians, it is believed, were fairly purchased.—Chickatabot made a conveyance of the country around Boston, including the territory now occupied by Dedham, to the Mass. Colony, very early after the arrival of Gov. Winthrop and his associates. After the death of Chickatabot, which happened in 1632 or 1633, a committee was appointed to find out such Indians as remembered the bargain. A short time before the delivery of this address, Mr. John Bullard discovered in his garret, a bundle of ancient Indian deeds, which are referred to in the town records, but were supposed to be lost. Among these is one beautifully engrossed upon parchment, from Josias Wampatuck, grandson of Chickatabot, in which he states that forasmuch as he is informed by several ancient Indians, &c., that his grandfather did, for a good and sufficient consideration, convey to the English Planters the tract of land now called Dedham, he therefore, in consideration of that fact, and of a reasonable sum of money, quit claims, &c. This deed, which is long and particular, is dated 1685. There was also a quit claim from William Nahatan, alas
Quaanan, and his brothers, Peter Natooqus and Benjamin Nahatan, and their sisters, Tahkeesisk Nahatan and Hanna Nahatan, alias Jammewwosh, all of Punkapogg, dated 1680, and another from John Magus and Sara Magus, of Natic, dated 1681.—There were also three deeds of the territory at Deerfield, from the Pacomtuck Indians. It is to be hoped that these will be carefully preserved hereafter.

There are still several deeds missing, one from Phillip, of lands near Wrentham, and another from the Pacomtuck Indians. The last of the Aborigines in Dedham, were Alexander Quabish and Sarah David, his wife. Sarah died in 1774, at the house of Mr. Joseph Wight. She was interred in the old Indian burial place, about half a mile from Mr. Wight's house, at the foot of Wigwam hill—the last person there deposited. The funeral was attended by the Rev. Jason Haven. Alexander died in Natic, or Needham, in 1776.

NOTE N. See page 40.

'Mr. Winslow being now to go for England, the Court was troubled to furnish him with money or beaver, (for there was nothing in the treasury, the country being in debt one thousand pounds, and what comes in by levies is corn and cattle,) but the Lord stirred up the hearts of some few persons to lend one hundred pounds, to be repaid by the next levy.' Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 295. This sum was advanced by Mr. Allin, as appears by the Col. Records of 1649. 'Ordered, that the Treasurer doe forthwith pay and satisfy unto Mr. John Allin, one hundred and thirty pounds, in the best and soonest pay that comes into the treasury out of this levy, for his hundred pounds he paid to Mr. Winslow.' Five pounds, six pounds, and thirty shillings, are also mentioned as having been loaned by other people.

The factious Gortonists sent two messengers to the Gen. Court to make their peace. On their way, having got as far as Dedham, they learned that the Court had adjourned. One of them, therefore, addressed a letter to Gov. Winthrop, in which he says, 'hearing at Dedham that the Court was adjourned, I made bold to advise with Mr. Powell, who advised me to repair to your worship, which upon consideration I could not do till I was assured of your worship's favorable reception.' This 'Mr. Powell' was Michael Powell, who kept the ordinary. He afterwards founded the second church in Boston, where they wished to make him Pastor, but the Gen. Court interfered, supposing him not to have sufficient learning. He was however allowed to be ruling Elder, an office nearly as important as that of Pastor. Winthrop's Hist. Col. Records.
Other evidences are not wanting of Mr. Allin's decision of character, and of his standing in public estimation. In the year 1660, a famous Synod was held at Boston, by order of the Court, to determine, among other things, who were the subjects of baptism. It was decided that the children of such as made a public profession of their faith, although not in full communion, might be admitted to baptism. This decision was attacked by Mr. Chauncey, President of the College, in print, and defended by Mr. Allin, it is stated, with much ability. Mr. Allin also published a defence of the 'nine positions.' His name stands at the head of a list of seventeen of the most distinguished divines in the Colony, who remonstrated against the proceedings which occasioned the formation of the third church in Boston, in 1670.—It also stands at the head of a similar list of clergymen who presented an address to the General Court, vindicating their own conduct in the abovenamed matter. Hutch. Hist.

Mr. Allin was of sufficient note in England to make it necessary for him to escape in disguise to this country. This was also done at the same time by Mr. John Eiske, who was at first settled in Salem, and afterwards in Chelmsford. They were in the habit of preaching to the passengers on board the vessel, every day—so that one of the latter, being examined about his going to divert himself with a hook and line on the Lord's day, protested he did not know when the Lord's day was; he thought every day was a Sabbath day, for they did nothing but preach and pray from one end of the week to the other. They arrived in 1637.

Cotton Mather says of Mr. Allin,—'being a very humble man, he found that sanctified knowledge grows more luxuriant in the fat valleys of humility—being a very patient man, he found that the dew of heaven, which falls not in a stormy or cloudy night, was always falling on a soul ever serene with the meekest patience.' Mather's Magnalia.

Mr. Dexter wrote much both upon politics and theology, but as he, before his death, burned most of his manuscripts, but few writings known to be his, remain. Bradford, in his History of Massachusetts, states that he intended to have inserted in his appendix, an able essay on the supreme power of Parliament, written by Mr. Dexter, but had mislaid it. When Gen. Washington took the command of the army at Cambridge, Mr. Dexter, at
that time a member of the Council, was recommended to him as one in whose judgment and fidelity he could rely. Becoming dissatisfied with some measures that were adopted contrary to his advice by the government, he retired wholly from public life, and devoting himself to his favorite studies declined accepting any office afterwards. He left a bequest of five thousand dollars to Harvard College.

NOTE Q. See page 48.

I have purposely omitted to dwell upon that portion of the History of Dedham which relates to Ecclesiastical matters and the character of the ministry here, knowing that at the close of the second century from the organization of the Church in this place a suitable commemoration of that event is contemplated.

While aiming to give a concise review of a portion of the History of Dedham appropriate to the occasion, the writer of this address has endeavored to select such incidents and pursue such a course of narration as would encroach as little as possible upon the labors of Mr. Worthington, to whom the credit of first undertaking to develope the history of the town belongs. In the present case, the Town Records, and the Public Documents preserved in the State house, have been, except where a different reference is given, the chief sources of information.

The writer is much indebted to the Rev. Mr. Felt, who is now engaged in arranging the State papers, for his politeness in affording every facility for their examination.

Some facts have been verbally communicated by gentlemen of the town.
Communicated by the Hon. William Ellis.

It appears by our ancient Records, that the inhabitants of Dedham have frequently turned out Soldiers or armed men, for their defence and safety, from the early settlement of the town.

The following statement of Officers and Soldiers from Dedham, who, at sundry periods, rendered military services in the principal wars and commotions of this country for two centuries past, was taken from the Army Rolls, from Town Records, and from other sources to be relied on, but is believed to fall short of the actual numbers who served on most of those occasions,—Viz:

War with King Philip.—1675.

Names of men from Dedham who received pay for military services between the date of Feb. 29, and Dec. 10, 1675, viz.—

John Parker  Daniel Breight  Samuel Barry
William Dean  John Fuller  Nathaniel Richards
Thomas Bishop  Samuel Whiting  Jonathan Smith
Jonathan Fairbank  John Paine  John Rice
John Streeter  Richard Wood (supposed Woodard) John Baker
Richard Bennett  Josiah White (21)
Joshua Fisher  John Ellis
Jonathan Dunning  John Ellis

Men who received pay for military services between January 24th and December 27th, 1676—viz:

Joseph Skelteane  James Macanab  Abraham Hathaway
John Smith  Thomas Herring  Jonathan Metcalfe
Caleb Rey  Samuel Shers  Daniel Fisher
Nathaniel Dunklin  John Houghton  Jonathan Whitney
Benjamin Mills  Samuel Rice  Daniel Haws
John Colborne  Eleazer Guild  Samuel Guild
James Heering  Nathaniel Kingsbury  James Vales
Samuel Fuller  John Elleworth *John Groce
William Makeyms  Nathaniel Heaton *Samuel Nowannett (29)
John Fairbank  John Fisher

Besides those above named, John Freeman, John Day, Samuel Colburn, Robert Ware, Henry Elliot and Ephraim Pond, are spoken of as having been 'impressed' by virtue of a warrant from ye Major.'

At this time, Dedham included the territory since incorporated into the towns of Needham, Natick, Bellingham, Walpole, and Dover.

* Indians.
There is a tradition concurred in by the aged people of the south parish, that about the year A.D. 1740, six men engaged from that part of the town, in an expedition against Havanna on the Island of Cuba, and that no one of them ever returned, but died of sickness, the names of two only are ascertained, viz.—Walter Hixon and Eleazer Farrington.

FIRST FRENCH WAR.—1744—5.

Served at the long and memorable siege of Louisburg, Cape Breton, a number of men from Dedham; the names of eight only are ascertained, viz.:—Rev Thomas Balch as Chaplain, Capt. Eleazer Fisher, William Weatherbee, Samuel Weatherbee, John Thorp, Michael Brite, Samuel Thorp, and Hugh Delap.

Mr. Balch, and others of these men, returned home from this siege, after an absence of sixteen months. Capt. Fisher also returned as far as Boston, but there died of sickness. Hugh Delap, a skilful gunner and engineer, was killed at the siege, by the bursting of a cannon. He had, previously to that event, disposed of his effects by a Will, which he sent to his friends in the south parish, where the same has been preserved to the present day.

LAST FRENCH WAR,—1755 to 1763.

Served—Viz:

Capt. Wm. Bacon
Capt. Timothy Ellis
Capt. Eliphalet Fales
Lt. Aaron Guild
Lt. Daniel Whiting
Ebenezer Everitt
Benjamin Fairbanks
Joseph Wight
Stephen Hart
Moses Fisher
Aaron Ellis
Isaac Little
William Calleyham
John Carby
Eliphalet Thorp
John Hawes
Anthony Dyer
William Hart
Joseph Morse
James Whitaker
William Sterret
Ezra Bullard
Gilead Morse
William Lewis
Joseph Whittemore
Hezekiah Farrington
Thomas Balch, jr.
John Lewis
Benjamin Lewis
Ephraim Farrington
Samuel Colburn
Joseph Lewis
Samuel Farrington
Samuel Backet
Lemuel Richards
Hezekiah Gay
William Ellis
Isaac Stowell
Aaron Gay
Thomas Weatherbee
Joseph Farrington
James Weatherbee
Robert Mann
Levi Morse
Josiah Everitt
Nathaniel Farrington
Ephraim Richards
Seth Farrington
Moses Richards
Joseph Turner
Joseph Wight, jr.
Nathan Whiting
David Cleveland
(52)
The military services in this war, were rendered at Ticonderoga, Fort Edward, Fort William Henry, Lake George, and other places in that direction westward, at Canada northward, and at the Bay of Fundy, and Louisburg at Cape Breton, eastward.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

1775 to 1783.

Names of men who served in this war, either in the regular Continental Army, or who in the State service, performed military duty in one or more distant campaigns.—Viz:

Capt. Joseph Guild *N. Kingsbury, Esq. *Jacob Guild
Capt. Timothy Stow *Nathl. Chickering *John Richards
Capt. Elipht. Thorp *Joshua Whiting *Joshua Fales
Capt. Wm. Stephens *Jonathan Richards *Josiah Draper
Capt. Ebenr. Everitt Joseph Dean *Hezekiah Turner
Lt. John Gay Lemuel Herring *Nathaniel Bills
Lt. Samuel Doggett Joseph Onion *Enoch Harris
Lt. Lemuel Richards Abner Lewis William Mason
Lt. James Kingsbury Ichabod Farrington Ebenezer Bills
Lt. Ichabod Gay John Croshier David Humphrey
Oliver Guild William Everitt Hezekiah Whiting
Aaron Guild, jr. David Dana John Ruggles
Thomas Larabee Thomas Eaton Thadeus Fuller
Enoch Talbot Abner Nevers Nathaniel Fisher
Thomas Colburn John Smith Hezekiah Metcalf
John Johnson Samuel Fairbanks Archillus Clark
Abiel Pettee Eliphalet Fuller 2d Abijah Crane
Luther Bullard Jacob Smith Samuel Clark
Timothy Morse Nathaniel Gay Seth Farrington
Benjamin Dean Benjamin Fisher Stephen Arnold
George Sumner Daniel Pettee Samuel Farrington
Benjamin Fuller Seth Fuller Aaron Fisher
Lemuel Stowell Samuel Adams Thadeus Richards
Jacob Cleveland Thomas Lewis Timothy Lewis
Abner Bacon Zaccheus Haves David Smith
Moses Guild Abner Farrington Samuel Chickering
William Coney William Graham Barak Smith

* Living in Dedham, or its vicinity, at the time of the Centennial Anniversary. There are others of the above list yet living in the neighboring States.
Beside the men above enumerated, very considerable numbers of our townsmen performed longer or shorter tours of military service, in this vicinity only, viz:—at Lexington battle, at Roxbury, Cambridge, Fort Hill, Lamb's Dam, Dorchester Heights, Castle Island, Nantasket, and at many places on the frontiers of Rhode Island.*

A number of this class of men were still living in Dedham and Dover on the day of the celebration.—Viz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lt. Aaron Whiting</th>
<th>Jere. Shuttleworth</th>
<th>Joel Guild</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dea. Jesse Gay</td>
<td>Thadeus Gay</td>
<td>Jeremiah Baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dean</td>
<td>Reuben Richards</td>
<td>Phinehas Colburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Baker</td>
<td>Elihu Onion</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin Whiting, Esq. John Brown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INSURRECTION.—1786—1787.**

In the month of December, 1786, the Executive Government of Massachusetts made a requisition on the town of Dedham for a quota of men to march to the westerly part of the State, to sustain the supremacy of the laws, and suppress an Insurrection instigated by Daniel Shays. The requisition was promptly complied with, by a company made up of volunteers, who in the midst of a most severe winter, marched to Connecticut River and Vermont. The Insurgents were soon dispersed and order restored, with the loss of but few lives.

**Names of the men who thus volunteered.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capt. Daniel Fisher</th>
<th>David Bullard</th>
<th>Timothy Morse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Lewis Colburn</td>
<td>Jacob Penniman</td>
<td>Nathan Ellis, jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Ellis</td>
<td>Josiah White</td>
<td>Edward Buckminster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amasa Guild</td>
<td>Isaac Smith</td>
<td>Enoch Harris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemuel Gay</td>
<td>Thomas Farrington</td>
<td>David Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Baker</td>
<td>Comfort Weatherbee</td>
<td>Ebenezer Shepard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Howe</td>
<td>William Symms</td>
<td>William Fisher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The late Fisher Ames, then quite a young man, went out in one or more of these expeditions, in the company of Capt. Abel Richards.
The Dedham Light Infantry Company, under Capt. Abner Guild, performed several months military service, at South Boston, in the war of 1812.

The preceding military services are not mentioned by way of boasting, but merely to show that the inhabitants of Dedham, from its early settlement, have not been behind other towns in their readiness to meet danger and privation, in defence of their firesides, their rights and liberties, or to sustain the supremacy of the laws, when menaced by unlawful power. With the sincere hope that the bright examples of virtue, moral courage, military ardor and patriotism, exhibited by our townsmen in the cause of justice and humanity, in the two Centuries past, will inspire the hearts of their successors with a determined zeal in all coming time when justice calls, to 'go and do likewise.'

CELEBRATION AT DEDHAM.

September 21, 1836.

At a town-meeting, held on the 9th day of November, 1835, a committee of twenty-one citizens was appointed to make arrangements for the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of the incorporation and settlement of the town, and to report their proceedings at a future town-meeting.

The Report of this committee was made on the 7th of March, 1836, as follows—

The committee appointed, &c. Report,

'That they have procured and engaged Samuel F. Haven, Esq. to compose and deliver an Address on that occasion. And
your Committee submit to the Town the following Report as to
the Arrangements to be made to carry their vote into effect.

1st, That the Address be delivered in the Meeting house in
the first parish in Dedham, on Wednesday, the twenty first day
of September next, at eleven o’clock in the forenoon.

2d, That the Reverend Clergy of the several Societies in the
Town be invited to attend, and that Prayers be offered by such of
them as they may agree upon.

3d. That the Choirs of Singers in the several religious Socie­
ties in the Town are invited to attend and perform Sacred Music.

4th, That the Dedham Light Infantry Company are requested
to attend and perform Escort duties.

5th, That a procession be formed, and move to the Meeting
House at half past ten o’clock in the forenoon, preceded by the
Escort and Music.

6th, That a public Dinner be provided for those who choose
to subscribe, and that the Rev’d Clergy be invited to partake of
it with the Subscribers.

7th, That suitable Instrumental Music be provided to attend
the Escort and Procession, at the expense of the Towr.

8th, That these, and all minor Arrangements for the occasion,
be made by such Committee as the Town may see fit to choose.’

At a town-meeting, held on the 11th day of April A. D. 1836,
William Ellis, Enos Foord, Ira Cleveland, William King Gay,
and Jabez Coney, Jr. were chosen a committee to carry the ar­
rangements, recommended in the foregoing report, into full ef­
fect.

Under the direction of this Committee of Arrangements, were
the following proceedings.

On the 21st of September, at sunrise, the bells of the several
Churches were rung, and a salute of one hundred guns fired.
At half past ten o’clock, a procession was formed at the town
house, under the direction of Nathaniel Guild, as Chief Mar­
shal, assisted by Marshals,
The procession moved under the escort of the Dedham Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. William Pedrick, with a band of music, through the principal streets, to the Meeting House of the First Parish. At the Norfolk Hotel, the procession was joined by His Excellency, Edward Everett, Governor of the Commonwealth, and his suite; and also by the reverend Clergy and other invited guests. On the green, in front of the Meeting House, was an ornamental arch, erected for the occasion, and covered with evergreens and flowers. Upon one side of it was inscribed, 'Incorporated, 1636;' and on the other, '1836.' Between this arch and the Meeting House, eight Engine Companies had placed their engines and apparatus, in two lines, leaving a space between them for the passing of the procession. On the inner sides of these lines, about five hundred children of the different schools were arranged by their instructors. Through this arch, and between these lines of children, the procession passed into the House.

The services were commenced by singing the anthem, 'Wake the song of Jubilee,' &c. Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Alvan Lamson, of the First Parish. The following hymn, composed for the occasion by the Rev. John Pierpont of Boston, was read by the Rev. Calvin Durfee, of the South Parish, and sung to the tune of 'Old Hundred.'

Not now, O God, beneath the trees That shade these plain at night's cold noon, Do Indian war-songs load the breeze, Or wolves sit howling to the moon.

The foes, the fears our fathers felt, Have, with our fathers, passed away; And where, in their dark hours, they knelt, We come to praise thee and to pray.

We praise thee that thou plantedst them, And mad'st thy heavens drop down their dew, We pray that, shooting from their stem, We long may flourish where they grew.

And, Father, leave us not alone:— Thou hast been, and art still our trust:— Be thou our fortress, till our own Shall mingle with our father's dust.

The foregoing Address was then delivered by Samuel F. Haven.
Another anthem was then sung, and the services were closed with a Benediction by the Rev. Samuel B. Babcock, of the Episcopal Church.

At the close of the services, a procession was again formed of the subscribers to a Dinner, and their guests, and was escorted to a Pavilion, erected for the occasion, on land of John Bullard, a few rods west of the Meeting House, where about six hundred persons were seated at the tables. James Richardson presided at this dinner, assisted by John Endicott, George Bird, Abner Ellis, Theron Metcalf and Thomas Barrows, as Vice Presidents. A blessing was asked, by the Rev. John White, of the West Parish, and thanks returned by the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Homer, of Newton.

After the cloth was removed, the President announced the following (among other) sentiments, which were received with great satisfaction, and interspersed with music from the band which accompanied the procession, and with appropriate songs.

1. The Day, with all its hallowed associations and congenial joys: May we prove true and faithful to our ancestors, to our institutions, and to posterity.

2. The memory of the first settlers of this town, their resolution, fortitude, perseverance, and devotion to civil and religious liberty: May we never, in our zeal to outstrip them in accomplishments, leave their virtues in the rear.

3. The Governor of the Commonwealth: The stock was the growth of our own soil; a branch is refreshing the State by its shadow, and its fruit has been healthful to the nation.

His Excellency, the Governor, then addressed the President and company, as follows—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I cannot but be sensibly affected by the kind notice you are pleased to take of me. The occasion is one, which must interest every reflecting mind.—No one can witness what we behold at this moment, or hear what we have heard this day, without being highly gratified: but the toast, which has been announced, must prepare you for my saying that though personally a stranger to almost all present, I take more than a stranger's interest in the celebration. My ancestors, from the very first foundation of Dedham in 1636, were established here, and like the great majority of the people, in the unambitious condition of cultivators of the soil. The name of the first of them, who has been so kindly remembered
by the orator of the day, in his most appropriate, eloquent, and instructive discourse, is found in the list of the original settlers of the place. In the second generation, I have just perceived in one of the interesting ancient parchments, which have passed along the table, that another of the name was one of the four Commissioners, who in 1686 received a confirmation of the Indian title, from the grandson of Chickatawbut, of whom it was originally purchased. My own honored father was born and grew up to manhood here, in the same humble sphere;—and as I came back to-day, fellow-citizens, to breathe among you the native air of my race,—I must say that, with the greater experience I have of the cares and trials of public station, the more ready I am to wish, that it had been my lot to grow up and pass my life, in harmless obscurity, in these peaceful shades, and after an unobtrusive career, to be gathered to my sires, in the old Dedham grave-yard, where,

Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

But not to dwell any longer on what is merely personal to an individual, let me say, sir, that I regard a festival like this, not only as highly interesting but exceedingly significant and instructive. It is often said by superficial writers in Europe, that our institutions are a mere experiment,—the mushroom growth of yesterday;—and from this assumed fact of their recent origin, their short-lived duration is foreboded. To this reproach, let the expressive answers be given in the golden cyphers blazoned on the front of the pulpit this day, 1636, and tastefully wreathed in evergreen on the arch which adorns yonder lawn. The mushroom growth of yesterday! Sir, this is a centennial, a second centennial anniversary. Our Institutions, political, civil, and social are not of yesterday,—they are substantially two hundred years old. Their foundation is not laid on modern straw or stubble; it goes down to the lowest stratum,—the origin of the colony,—the primitive rock. We have, I trust, in all things where it was needful or practicable, kept pace with and even gone beyond the improvements of the long intervening period, but as all the substantial elements of our rights and liberties were implanted by the fathers, so in all things there has been a measured progress and a slow ripening towards maturity. The federal constitutions and the constitutions of the States, which have most attracted the notice of Europe, are indeed the work of the last generation; but the great principles on which they are founded are coeval with the country. You might as well call the great oak tree in front of Mr. Avery’s house, in East street, the growth of yesterday, because its broad expanse of
The foliage has put forth the present season, whereas its acorn was deposited generations ago, and its trunk has braved the blasts of two centuries. The wonderful progress and development which have taken place in the country, in the last forty years, and nowhere perhaps more than in Dedham, are but the spreading branches, the waving foliage, the ripened fruit from that germ, which our fathers planted in tribulation and watered with their tears. The principles were early here. Here in Massachusetts,—more than two centuries ago, while the people yet abode in those log houses, which were alluded to by the orator, and constructed by each man for himself, (for artizans as yet there were none,) with the Indian in the neighboring swamp, and the wolf at midnight before the threshold,—there was a solid frame-work of representative government,—a well compacted civil society,—there were laws and tribunals to enforce them,—there were schools and provision for their support; there was a college generously endowed by public and private liberality, of which Mr. Allin, your first minister, was one of the first overseers; and there was meet provision for the maintenance of the Worship of God, and the dispensation of the Gospel. All this is two hundred years old among us, and I trust in Heaven that before it ceases, from among us, it will be two thousand.

I derive from the age of these our Institutions, (and surely they are the life and soul of the body politic,—that which gives outward forms their power and value,) an argument in favor of their permanence. They will not go down with tomorrow's sun, for they did not spring up yesterday. They were not reared by our hands, and when we perish they will survive us. They guided and cheered our fathers, and carried them through dark and trying times, and I have a cheerful hope that, for long generations to come, they will guide and direct our children.

Sir, I mean no empty compliment when I say, that, taking the character of your ancient town as it appears in history,—or even in the instructive summary, which the Orator has given us of it, it appears to me an admirable specimen of the true New England character. We may take a distinction in this matter. In first breaking the way in the arduous enterprise of settling a new country,—especially under the discouraging circumstances in which our fathers were placed,—it was perhaps unavoidable, that some harsh and repulsive traits should be found on the part of some of the leaders:—and in point of fact, such traits are found in the characters of some of the chief men at Boston and Salem. But I do not find them here. The settlers of Dedham appeared, to use a homely phrase, singularly disposed to keep out of hot water. They left the harassing controversies of the day to their brethren at the Northern part of the Colony.
There was but one topic, on which they warmed into passion, and that was Liberty. When that was in peril, they were wrought to a noble frenzy. If a poor Quaker was to be scourged at the Cart-tail, as the Orator told us, they waited in Dedham for orders from the Metropolis; but when a usurper was to be prostrated, when the country people were to rush to Town ‘in such heat and rage’ as to make the Boston folks tremble: when a bold champion was required, to burst into Mr. Usher’s house, to drag forth the tyrant by the collar, to bind him, and cast him into the Fort, then Dedham is ready with her intrepid Daniel Fisher,—the son of the proscribed speaker of the same name,—‘a second Daniel,’ as the Orator beautifully expressed it, ‘literally come to judgment!’

But this was the overflowing of popular feeling, at a crisis. In ordinary times, the name they wished to give their settlement, Contentment, though of a somewhat puritanical sound, well expresses their character. But though they were contented with their condition, it was not a stupid contentment. They had not ‘the flagrant stupidity,’ to use the quaint combination of ideas, which the Orator quoted from your revolutionary records, to set at naught all efforts at improvement. Theirs was a rational contentment,—pretty busy in trying to better their condition, that they might have more to be contented with. Not to speak of the great enterprize of settling Deerfield, they set an example, in the very infancy of the Town, of an enlarged and liberal policy of improvement, in constructing the Canal which unites the waters of the Charles with those of the Neponset, and this, as we were told by the Orator, as early as 1639. Why, sir, this communication used to be spoken of, as a wonderful natural phenomenon. It has turned out to be an artificial work, executed by the order of the town, three years after the settlement. Well may it be called Mother Brook, parent as it is of all the thousand works of internal improvement, which have spread their net-work over the country, bringing Art to the aid of Nature, and calling Science to minister to the comfort and prosperity of Man. It is a pleasing proof of the good judgment, with which the work was projected, that it still serves the purpose, for which it was originally designed, and is the seat of activity, industry, and productive power, contributing essentially to the prosperity of Dedham. Without taking up more of your time, Sir, I beg leave to propose as a closing sentiment:

Our Fathers—In their piety and humility, contented with a little, may their posterity, to whom they have bequeathed a heritage of the richest blessings, be contented and grateful in its enjoyment, and faithful in its transmission!
4. The University at Cambridge—the offspring of the labors and privations of the Puritan Fathers: while we venerate the parents, let us cherish the child; and may it always be guided by as unerring a hand as now holds the reins.

5. Practical Education: That teaches what to do, and when to do it, and never to rest satisfied till it is done, and well done.

6. The objects of the deep solicitude of our ancestry—the church and the school house: May the progress of religious, moral and intellectual culture within, transcend that of material beauty without.

7. The memory of the Rev. Samuel Dexter and Doctor Nathaniel Ames, Senior: Townsmen, distinguished for piety and learning, science and philosophy; and whose descendants have been, and are, among the gifted and illustrious men of our nation.

8. The principles and spirit that brought the pilgrims to these shores—cherished and venerated by succeeding ages, embodied in our constitution and laws—dispensing blessings over our whole country—in peace or war, in weal or woe, may we never abandon those principles, nor prove recreant to that spirit.

9. The memory of Governor Winthrop: His presence awed the savages during his life: He is indebted to a Savage for the best edition of his memorable ‘Journal.’

10. The Militia—the only safe defence of Republics: When legislators doubt, let them consult the spirits of Warren, Prescott, and the Heroes of Bunker Hill.

On announcing sentiments alluding to the guests, or their ancestors, several, besides the Governor, addressed the company—among others, John Davis, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts—Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College—Henry A. S. Dearborn, Adjutant General of the Commonwealth—William Jackson, Representative in Congress—Franklin Dexter—Alexander H Everett—and Robert C. Winthrop, Aid to Governor Everett. A great number of sentiments were also given by invited guests and by the citizens of the town.

An interesting part of the proceedings at this celebration was performed by the Ladies of Dedham. They spread a table the whole length of the lower floor of the Court House, and very tastefully furnished it with a most ample collation. The court room was used as a drawing room, and the library room was ad-
mirably decorated, and tables there supplied and adorned with delicate fruits, native and exotic.

A piano forte was placed in the court room, and music formed part of the entertainment. The following Hymn prepared for the occasion (by a lady,) was sung by the ladies, accompanied by the piano.

Welcome, all dear friends, returning,
Though from different paths you come;
Welcome all whose hearts are yearning
For their dear-loved native home.

Some in foreign lands have wandered,
Some from the ‘far west’ have come;
Yet where ’er the footsteps lingered,
Thought still turned to ‘home, sweet home’!

Many a well-known face shall meet ye,
Many a joyous smile shall bless;
Many a kindred heart shall greet ye,
While old friends around you press.

Come then, hasten, with us gather
Round our simple festive board;
Come, and with us bless that Father,
Who on all his love hath poured.

Condescend to grant Thy blessing,
Thou who dost our lives defend,
While Thy children Thee addressing,
Own Thee as their common Friend.

At the request of the managers of this exhibition, a gentleman made an informal suggestion to the Governor, in the morning, that the ladies, at the court house, would be happy to receive him and his suite, and to tender him their respect and hospitality. His Excellency expressed his readiness to accede to their wishes; and on retiring from the table at the pavilion, at about five o’clock, he proceeded to the court room, where he passed an hour, to the great gratification of the ladies, and apparent with pleasure to himself. The singing of the hymn was repeated, while he was in the room. After he had been invited into the library room, and had partaken of the fruits, he returned to the court room, and from the bench made a short address to the ladies—in which he remarked on the privations, sufferings, fortitude and piety of the first mothers and daughters
of the colony, and concluded by inviting them to cherish the memory of the Lady Arbella Johnson.

The informal invitation of the ladies was extended to all the other gentlemen who were invited as guests, by the Committee of Arrangements; and several of them, besides the Governor's suite, accompanied him to the court house.