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DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Society for Propagating the Gospel

AMONG THE

INDIANS AND OTHERS, IN NORTH AMERICA,

November 4, 1830.

BY ALDEN BRADFORD.
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF JOHN PUTNAM.

1830.
AT a meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, November 4, 1830,

Voted, "That Rev. Dr. Lowell, and Hon. Judge Davis be a Committee to present the thanks of the Society to Mr. Bradford, for his Discourse, delivered this day, and to request a copy for the press."

Note—Several paragraphs, not publicly delivered, but prepared with the rest of the Discourse, are printed. A part of the Notes have been prepared since the Discourse was spoken.
DISCOURSE.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others, in North America, the members of which are now assembled, on the occasion of a stated annual meeting, was formed in the year 1787, by some gentlemen of this place and vicinity, both of the clergy and laity; and was incorporated by the legislature in the same year. It is the oldest Missionary Association in the Commonwealth, and I believe in the United States. It has been thought proper, by the committee of the Society, that a concise history of its proceedings should be given, as well as of the success which has attended its efforts in the cause of religion. And the public, to whose liberality we annually appeal for contributions to aid us in the benevolent object we have in view, may also justly expect to know the course generally pursued, and the amount of good which has resulted from our continued expenditures.

This duty has been unexpectedly assigned to me; from the consideration, undoubtedly, that I have been a member of the Society from an early period, and am at present the official keeper of its records. I regret that it had not devolved upon the former secretary, who long held the office, and who would have discharged the duty with far more ability than I can justly promise or hope.
In attempting to fulfil this duty, I shall not confine myself to a mere reference to dates, nor to a simple detail of facts, but shall offer such remarks, as the statement, and the occasion may suggest; which, I trust, neither the committee, at whose request I address you, nor any other members of the society will consider altogether irrelevant. If, in any respects, the sentiments advanced should not meet your entire approbation, I cannot doubt, that they will be received in the same spirit of christian candor, in which they will be offered. I shall express my opinions with freedom; but wish it understood, that I alone am responsible for them.

As introductory to the brief historical sketch, which I have principally in view, I will take a rapid glance of other societies and efforts, for the extension of Christian knowledge in New England, from its first settlement till the separation of these States from Great Britain.

When our pious ancestors first settled themselves in this country, they considered it their duty to communicate the knowledge of the gospel to the heathen natives; and they made early efforts for this benevolent purpose. But their situation was so peculiar, that little was accomplished for several years, except by individuals. The Rev. Mr. Mayhew in 1643, and Eliot in 1646, devoted themselves to this Apostolic service; and were eminently useful, the former at the Vineyard, and the latter at Newton, Natick, and elsewhere.

In 1648, when the Independents and Presbyterians had influence in England, a Society was there formed for propagating the Gospel among the Indians of this country, and the Commissioners of the four United Colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, were appointed its agents. Mr. Winslow, sometime governor of Plymouth Colony, was particularly active in forming that Society; and, perhaps, it is not too much to say, that its formation was chiefly owing to his personal exertions. He
continued a zealous and useful member until his death. Herbert Pelham, who was several years in Massachusetts, was also a member of that Society; and so also was James Shirley, an early and effective friend of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Plantations, though he never visited New England. Eliot, Mayhew, Bourne, and some others received donations from that Society, for many years; and were thus encouraged in their pious labors for the education, civilization, and religious improvement of the natives.

Soon after the restoration of monarchy in England in 1660, the Society was dissolved; but on urgent application, another was soon formed, and the celebrated Robert Boyle was appointed its president. It afforded support to Eliot, Mayhew, Bourne, and others in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and to some in Connecticut; and assisted in the education of such Indian youths as were disposed to receive it. The Indian school at Cambridge was supported from the funds of that Society.*

The labors of Eliot, and others, were effectual in forming a few of the Indians to the Christian character; but many who made profession of faith in Christ, and gave early promise of piety, returned to a savage course of life, and ceased to be governed by the spirit of the gospel. In 1664, almost twenty years after Eliot began to teach them, he says, "it is a day of small things with the Indians."†

* In 1665, there were eight Indian youth in that school; and the building was erected at the expense of that corporation. Eliot's Indian Bible was printed at the expense of the corporation, and cost about £500. In the same year, (1665,) the General Court of Massachusetts made efforts to civilize and christianize the Indians, and to instruct them in human learning, and in the knowledge of God, and the doctrines of the gospel.

† In 1797, Rev. Mr. Badger says, "it is evident beyond contradiction, that the success of the missions among the Indians has been very small, and that where there have been promising appearances of their good influences and effect, they have been far from durable, and they have generally returned to their old habits of indolence, intemperance, and vice. This has certainly been the case with individuals, and often, I believe, with whole tribes."
There appears to be a strong natural aversion in the American savage, to the forms and pursuits of civilized life, and a no less inveterate opposition to the controlling spirit of the Christian religion. The few solitary instances of genuine religion among them are but exceptions to the remark, generally applicable to them, as a people. Their feelings may be powerfully affected, for a time, by the solemn truths of revelation, but their savage nature and uncivilized habits place them, in a great measure, beyond the influence of its benign and gentle spirit.* Men of the greatest experience and deepest reflection, have expressed the opinion that the most probable method of making a savage people true Christians, is by educating them when young in the rudiments of useful knowledge, and teaching them the arts of civilization, and thus preparing them for the reception of the gospel; while some of the present day, consider it most effectual to press upon them the single doctrine of the death

* Is it probable that savages will be made real Christians, by preaching to them solely of the death of Christ, and representing their pardon and salvation to be involved entirely in their belief in his atoning blood? Is there not great danger that it would render them presumptuous, and lead them to believe they were Christians while impure, cruel and revengeful? Are there facts sufficient to show that this doctrine will make a true Christian of an ignorant, uncivilized savage? Are there not instances to show, on the contrary, that, where the doctrine of vicarious suffering is taught and urged, as some teach it, there is danger that men will turn the grace of God into sin, unless care is taken so to qualify it, as in effect to deny it, by teaching that without repentance and holiness we cannot be saved? When Mr. Eliot preached his first sermon to the Indians, it is said, “he began with the principles of natural religion, which they acknowledged, and then proceeded to the leading doctrines and precepts of the gospel. He repeated and explained the ten commandments. He informed them of the dreadful evil and misery of sin, and spoke to them of the character and death of Christ, of his present exaltation, and of his coming again to judge the world. He taught them the blessed state of those who sincerely believed in Christ, and exhorted them to repentance and a holy life.” See Dr. Homer’s history of Newton. He adds, “it was frequently said by Mr. Eliot, and deserves our attention, in our efforts to convert the Indians to the Christian religion, that they must be civilized, as well as, (if not in order to their being,) christianized.
of Christ, as a sacrifice for sin. The former believe Christianity is designed for an intelligent and civilized people. It is, indeed, happily calculated to influence the illiterate, as well as the philosopher. But it was certainly better understood by a Grotius, a Locke, and a Fenelon, than by any ignorant savage, who may have professed it, or to a certain extent felt its controlling influence. The apostles preached to heathens, but not to savages. It is only in civilized society, that many of the virtues of Christianity have opportunity for development and exercise. And yet the good effected in a few instances, and in a very limited degree, is a consideration sufficient to encourage further efforts for the moral improvement of the most ignorant and barbarous people.

From the writings of Eliot, and Gookin, a civilian, but a zealous laborer for the improvement of the American Indians, in the early days of the country, it appears, that they were convinced of the importance of civilizing the natives, in order to their becoming perfect Christians. They urged the plan of educating their children, and of introducing among them the arts and pursuits of civilization. They thought it proper to unite exertions for rendering them a civilized and a Christian people.* Whether these efforts should proceed pari passu, or which ought to precede, if either, they did not expressly say; and yet their letters on the subject imply, that there would be a greater probability of their becoming Christians when civilized and educated, than before. At a much later period, and in our own time, Dr. Belknap expressed the same opinion. Speaking of the comparatively mild and pacific character, the semi-civilization and social state of the Peruvians, he says, "they appear to have been fit objects for an Apostolic mission; and if the simple and original doctrines of the Gospel had been preached to them, they probably would have embraced it." Dr. Lathrop, in a discourse be-

* Homer's history of Newton.
fore this Society, soon after its formation, remarks, "that attempts to propagate the Gospel among the natives of the wilderness, in their wild and savage state, is to little purpose. The forest must be cleared away, and the ground prepared, before the seed is sown, or a harvest cannot be justly expected." "And the principle," he adds, "is as true in a moral and spiritual sense, as in a temporal." The early history of our country will furnish abundant proof that the religion of the Indians was very superficial, and that most of the professors among them fell lamentably short of the true Christian character. The salutary effects produced by recent efforts to plant the Gospel among the natives of some of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, however, are highly encouraging, and go to confirm the opinion of Dr. Belknap, that an uncivilized people may be benefited by Missionary labors, if possessed of a mild character.

In 1730, a Society in Scotland, which had then been some time established, for extending Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and the adjacent Islands, appointed Gov.

* In 1791, the Society applied to the Federal Government to afford aid for civilizing the Indians within the United States, in the belief that it would prepare the way for propagating the gospel among them. And in the report of the first secretary, Rev. Dr. Thacher, 1797, I find the following remark: "the Society, believing that to civilize the Indians is one great and necessary step towards Christianizing them, has supplied them with various implements of husbandry, and provided for the education of their children."

Rev. G. Hawley says, "Mr. Bourne, [in 1650,] was a man of that discernment, that he considered it in vain to attempt to propagate Christianity among the Indians, unless they had a territory, where they might remain in peace and in a social state." Roger Williams says, "by acquaintance and converse with English, the Indians may be brought to civility, and then, in due time, to Christianity." E. Hazard, Esq. in a letter to Rev. Dr. Holmes, 1816, says, "the trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in Pennsylvania, suggested to the Assembly in 1800, the Gospelizing of the Indians on the frontiers of our country, connected with their civilization, the want of which, it is believed, has been a great cause of the failure of former attempts to spread Christianity among them." The Assembly soon after sent a Mr. Blackburn to keep a school, and to instruct Indian youth in the English language, agriculture, and the mechanic arts. See Hist. Col. vol. iv. 2d Series.
Belcher and others, in this province, to be their correspondents, with power to choose persons duly qualified for Missionaries, and to specify the places in which it would be most proper to employ them. In pursuance of this plan, three Missionaries were employed; one at George’s river, one on the Kennebec, and one on the Connecticut, near the boundary line between this State and New Hampshire. In each of these places, the British government had forts, and it is probable that some reference was had to the military, stationed in these places, though there were Indians in the vicinity. But it appears that their services were not very useful, and that after two years they were discontinued.

In 1760, Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson and others were appointed correspondents, by the same society, and for similar purposes. Under their direction, three ministers were sent to an Indian town on the Susquehanna. They were received with apparent cordiality; but their labors were unsuccessful, and they soon returned to Boston.

A Board of Correspondents was also established at New York by the Society in Scotland, about the year 1740; and in 1743, Mr. David Brainerd was employed, first among the natives near Albany, and afterwards among the Delawares in Pennsylvania, and on the borders of New Jersey; and, during four years, he was eminently useful. He was second only to Eliot and Mayhew, in his efforts and success, though his Missionary career was not of so long duration.

On a request from the Board of Correspondents in Boston, the parent Society in Scotland made an appeal to the General Assembly in that country, and a collection was taken in most of their parish churches for promoting Christianity among the North American Indians. The sum collected was five hundred and fifty pounds. It appears also, that about this time, as well as at an earlier period, the people of Boston contributed very liberally for the same benevolent purpose. The funds thus collected were appro-
priated for the support of ministers to the Indians, at Marshpee, on Martha’s Vineyard, to a tribe in the western part of this province, and to others in the province of New York.

In 1754, Dr. Wheelock established a charity school at Lebanon, in Connecticut, for the education of Indian youth, and also of English young men, for Schoolmasters and Missionaries to the various tribes in the country. He applied to the Society in Scotland for a Board of Correspondents in that colony. The Society granted the request, and, on the solicitation of Dr. Wheelock, applied again to the Presbyterian churches in that country for funds; when the contributions amounted to two thousand and five hundred pounds. But the Society in Scotland chose to retain the money in their own hands, to secure, as they said, its faithful appropriation. The only Indian youth educated in the school at Lebanon, who was a preacher of the Gospel, I believe, was Sampson Occum; and though he was several years zealous and useful, it is humbling to reflect that his conduct late in life was not so exemplary and irreproachable as his holy profession and vocation required. Dr. Lathrop, late of this place, and the late Rev. Samuel Kirkland were educated at the same school—truly Christian characters, and yet differing somewhat in their theological sentiments.

In 1757, the Board in Boston, with other pious individuals of this town, agreed to send a Missionary and a Schoolmaster to the Cherokee tribe, and proposed to the Society in Scotland, also to employ two persons in the same character. The plan was approved by the parent Society, and persons sent to the Cherokee country; but the war between England and France prevented their long residence among the Indians. I believe only one reached the country before the war broke out.

It may be expected that reference should also be made to the efforts of the Episcopalian Society in England, for the
support of the Gospel in this country. I am sorry that truth obliges me to say, that there was too much of an exclusive spirit manifested by that Society. The Missionaries employed were not only required to be of the church of England; but, instead of being sent to new settlements, where the people were destitute of a preached Gospel, or into Indian countries, they were located in our old settled towns and villages; one was placed in Cambridge, under the pretence, by those exclusively attached to a particular form and creed, that the University needed other watchmen and teachers than its own able and pious professors. This perversion, or mistake, to use the mildest term, of that Society, (by its agents,) was so fully detected and exposed by the powerful pen of Dr. Mayhew, that the Society, in a great measure, discontinued its operations in this country, before the separation of the Colonies.

In 1762, a Society for spreading the Gospel among the Indians and others, in New England, was formed by some persons in Boston and vicinity, who collected a considerable sum, and obtained an act of incorporation from the legislature of Massachusetts; but owing, as it was said, to the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, the king gave his negative to the act. The same jealous and exclusive feeling, which induced the members of the hierarchy in England, to plant Missionaries in our old settled towns, where the Gospel was faithfully preached by Protestant dissenters, operated, no doubt, in preventing the king from approving of the Society here then proposed to be estalished by our fathers.

As already observed, our Society was formed in 1787, and owes its origin, in some measure, to the appointment, in the same year, of a new Board of Commissioners in this place, by the old Society in Scotland. The object of that Board, under the direction of the parent Society, is to Christianize the Indians. The persons composing that Board, with several others, "ashamed," says, Dr. Thacher, our
first Secretary, "that more solicitude, for this purpose, should be manifested by foreigners than by the citizens of this country, revived the former plan, (of 1762,) and associated for a similar object to that proposed by the Society in Scotland; with the further design, however, of sending Missionaries and Schoolmasters to the new settlements of our own people."

The Society originally consisted of an equal number of clergy and laity; and an enumeration of the early members would shew that they were among the most eminent characters of the day. It is enough to name Governor Bowdoin, Chief Justice Dana, Hon. Richard Cranch, Judge Wendell, and Samuel Dexter, senior, among the laity; and Rev. Drs. Willard, Lathrop, Howard, Professor Wigglesworth, Drs. Belknap, Thatcher, Eckley, Eliot and Clarke, among the clergy. Only two of the original members now survive; one of whom is the respected Vice-president of the Society. Those who personally knew, or who have been correctly informed respecting the characters who founded and first composed the Society, will readily perceive, that its spirit was not sectarian and exclusive, but enlarged and Catholic. There were, in this truly respectable Association, professed Calvinists and Arminians; but the latter, I believe, were the most numerous. The great divisions into which Christians are now separated, in name at least, (and it is hoped in name only,) were not then so much known, nor so strongly marked; and yet there were several of the Society, even from the time of its formation, who differed from the commonly received opinion on the point to which I allude. Drs. Lathrop and Howard, Professor Wigglesworth, Samuel Dexter, Richard Cranch, Drs. Eliot and Clarke, to name no others, were known not to be supporters of the Athanasian or Trinitarian creed. But this difference of opinion did not prevent their united efforts in the cause of our common Christianity. They all acknowledged Jesus Christ as their divine
Lord and Master, and his Gospel as the rule of faith and practice. If some were ready to defer to this theological theorist, and some to that, few, if any, were disposed to exclude from their Christian fellowship those who believed in Jesus as the Son of God, and received his religion as of divine authority. They all professed the truly Protestant principle, that every one has a right to interpret Scripture for himself.

The progress of this enlarged and protestant spirit was gradual and almost imperceptible. Nor can it justly be matter of surprise, that where there is freedom of inquiry, there also will be a diversity of opinions on speculative and metaphysical subjects. It was the belief of one of the most zealous ministers among the Separatists in 1620, from the (then) corrupt Church of England, that a light might break from the word of God, which, in his day, had never shone upon the Christian world; and it was his solemn admonition to his people, when they fled to a wilderness for liberty of conscience, "not to follow him nor any other fallible man, farther than he followed Christ."

It is only where freedom of inquiry is forbidden, and where men are required to receive a creed, without examination, or liberty to dissent, that no progress is made in religious truth, and no diversity of opinion discovered on speculative points in theology. While, therefore, the members of the Church of Rome, or of the Church of England, had precisely the same creed, thirty or fifty years ago, which their fathers had two hundred years before, Protestant Dissenters, on Free Inquiry, have been led to entertain sentiments, in some respects, though not materially or essentially, different; more favorable, as some believe, to the interests of virtue, and more honorable to the character of God, as well as more agreeable to the apprehensions of sober reason. One great and essential privilege is thus assured to us, as rational and moral beings, that we may examine into the foundations of our faith, and
that we may have a reason for the hope of immortality, which we cherish. That faith, which is not fortified by reason and argument, can be of little avail in the trials of life, or in the hour of death. Every intelligent Christian will search the records of inspiration, to learn if the doctrines which he is required to believe, are there taught; and he must exercise his own reason, or he must lean upon the reason of another to decide what is its true meaning and import.*

The most active members of our Society, at the time of its formation, and for several years after, were Rev. Drs. Willard, Thatcher, Howard, Lathrop, Eckley, Eliot and Clarke,—Judge Wendell, Hon. Thomas Russell, Judge Sullivan, (the three latter were some time Presidents,) Judge Lowell, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, and Samuel Eliot, Esq. The early donors to the Society, were Gov. Bowdoin, Thomas Russell, Samuel Dexter, senior, Moses Gill, William Hyslop, Jonathan Mason, senior, William Phillips, senior, Rev. Eliakim Willis, of Malden, and especially Col. John Alford, of Charlestown, who gave about $10,000 soon after the Society was formed. At a later period, Deacon Samuel Salisbury, David S. Greenough, Esq., Mr. James White; and above all, the late lamented and respected President, Lieutenant Governor William Phillips, who gave $500 annually for several successive years, and at his death bequeathed the sum of $5,000.

The General Court, on petition of a Committee of the Society, early made a grant, and continued it for several

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* As an apology for not adopting all the doctrines required of him by the Church of England, the celebrated Mr. Cotton said, in a letter to his Bishop, (1633,) "Your Lordship well knoweth it to be a principle both of the prophets and apostles, [and it holdeth in every righteous man,] justus ex fide sua vivit, non aliena: and therefore, however, I do rightly prize, and much prefer other men's judgment, learning, wisdom and piety, yet, in things pertaining to God and his worship, I must live by my own faith, and not theirs."
years to the amount of $500. And with their approbation, at the request of the Society, the Governor issued a brief to the several towns in the Commonwealth, for the purpose of making collections, to be added to the funds. The sum thus collected was only $1560.

It was not until three years after the formation of the Society, that a Missionary was appointed. This period was devoted to mature a plan of operation, and to prepare finances with a view to future and permanent usefulness. Besides donations and contributions in money to the funds of the Society, books were given by pious and benevolent individuals, some of which were distributed before any Missionaries were employed. These were chiefly bibles and testaments, the works of Watts, Doddridge, and Dr. Hemmenway, of our own State.* By this prudent foresight, the funds were very considerable, before any expenditures were made; and for several years, the number of Missionaries employed were few; only two or three, except those to the Indians on the Vineyard, to the Marshpee tribe near Sandwich, and those at Stockbridge, who afterwards removed into the State of New York: and these were supported in part by the income of the fund established by Col. Alford; which he had appropriated specially for the benefit of the native Indians. The tribes at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy were under the superintendence of Roman Catholic priests, and would not attend to the instructions of a Protestant minister. The latter tribe, at a more recent period, has manifested more readiness to receive instructions from Protestants, and the Society has maintained a teacher and schoolmaster among them, on several occasions.

In 1800, about thirteen years after the Society was formed, the funds amounted to $20,000 and upwards. At pre-

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* Rev. Dr. Thatcher says, in 1795 "No books on controversial subjects are distributed, because the object of the Society has been not to serve any particular sect or denomination, but to promote the interests of our common Christianity."
sent, they amount to $32,000; and the average income is nearly $1500 a year; the sum varies, however, according as the banks and other stocks yield a greater or less interest.

The first Missionary was appointed in 1791. This was the Rev. Daniel Little, of Wells, in the county of York. His appointment was for three months; and he was directed to visit the settlements in the two lower counties of Maine, but now composing five counties. There were then only eight settled ministers eastward of Portland, including an immense extent of territory, and a population of 40,000 souls. Now there are upwards of fifty.

Mr. Little had been sent into that part of the country, a few years before, by the General Court, on account of the lamentable destitution of the means of religion; and he was now received as our missionary with great respect and cordiality. His visit was like the morning dawn upon a region long deprived of the cheering light of day. A portion of the people, indeed, had been educated in the old towns and settlements of the State, and had formerly received Christian instruction; but the young were growing up with very little knowledge of divine things; and both were living, in a great measure, without God in the world. But they all gathered round this apostolic man, and listened with earnest attention to his heavenly instructions. He was rather advanced in life, at this period, his reputation was unspotted; his deportment dignified but conciliating; he was a peace maker, and truly a son of consolation. In imitation of his Divine Master, he spoke pardon and peace to the humble and penitent, he comforted the broken-hearted, and gave spiritual food to all who were hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

Mr. Little was well acquainted with the human character. He neither appreciated nor depreciated human nature, unduly. He expected neither to find angels nor demons; but ignorant, thoughtless, worldly, sinful man; who need-
ed instruction, exhortation, and encouragement. Like Jesus, his Lord, the first great teacher of the Gospel, like Peter and Paul, he exhorted men to repentance, and to newness and holiness of life. His preaching was like the mild and gracious doctrines of him who spake in the father's name, and invited his erring, wandering children to return unto him, that they might be blest. While he taught them to fear offending a holy God, he also displayed his parental character, and urged upon their ingenuous minds the consideration of the love of God, and the compassion of Jesus Christ, who came to seek and to save those who were lost. He instructed the attentive, he encouraged the timid and well disposed, he exhorted to consideration, to repentance, and to reformation; and thus commended himself to the reason and conscience of all who heard him. The young listened with affection as well as respect; for while he bore testimony against all immorality and vice, he addressed them "with the meekness and gentleness of Christ."

He was content with the commission and the directions of his Divine Master. He proposed no other rule of faith, he pressed no speculative tenets, no unintelligible proposition, and no doctrines revolting to reason and common sense. He did not teach the Athanasian creed, nor insist upon the five points of Calvinism. For he knew, that on these points, great and good men differed, whenever they undertook to explain or discuss them. He knew that the discussion of these subjects would rather perplex than improve and sanctify the heart; and he considered it his duty therefore, to speak of the doctrines of the Gospel in the language of revelation, and not in terms invented by the wisdom of men. He did not assume to be wise above what was clearly revealed; and, remembering that it was a distinguishing feature of the Christian system that it should be preached to the poor and illiterate, he taught only the plain and simple truths of the Gospel; that they must be-
lieve in God, as the moral governor of the world; and in Jesus Christ, as his divine messenger and the appointed Saviour of men; who, in the faithful performance of his high mission, was subject to sufferings and death, but whom God the Father raised from the dead, and made Lord and Christ, and by whom we are called to repentance and holiness, to glory and virtue.

The effect of his preaching was highly favorable, and gladdened the hearts of rational and serious Christians. The people earnestly requested his return to them the following year. The Society rejoiced, that so fit an instrument had been chosen, and employed him for several subsequent seasons. The second year he was accompanied by Mr. Abiel Abbot, not then an ordained minister, but afterwards settled in Connecticut, and who has passed through many vicissitudes and trials, exemplary, devoted, and useful, (though he has often been reproached and persecuted in his Master's service,) and who still lives to labor as a Christian minister in an adjoining State. Mr. Abbot had much of the mild and catholic spirit of his principal; and those who witnessed their labors, their deportment, and the good effects of their evangelizing efforts, were ready to compare them to the venerable Barnabas and Mark, in their journies and voyages to make known the doctrines of the Gospel, in the early period of Christianity.

The language of Mr. Little, in a letter to Dr. Thatcher, the first secretary of the Society, soon after he was appointed a Missionary, will shew that I am not mistaken in the opinions and spirit of that excellent man. "There are," he says, "some illiterate teachers, who propagate narrow and party notions, spread a spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm, and, under the pretence of extraordinary divine influence, have lessened the influence of a learned ministry. How much to be lamented is a sectarian, enthusiastic spirit. Many towns are thus weakened, and rendered incapable of settling such ministers as they need, and which the happy few, liberal
and candid souls wish for, men of knowledge, piety, wisdom and catholicism. The bitter and indiscreet zeal of some high professors, and the equally indiscreet zeal of some of their opposers, have conspired to lessen the credit of that glorious Gospel, which proclaims peace on earth, and good will among men. No other thing have I more desired for my Eastern friends, than that they would imbibe the spirit and follow the example of the Divine Author of the Gospel, whose great command was, that they should love one another. In this view of human bliss, a party spirit is abandoned, and the blessings of heavenly peace carried to every heart, without respect of persons, of the same or different sentiments, either as to doctrine, or modes of worship.

This venerable man was several seasons in the service of the Society, in the eastern parts of the State, until the infirmities of age induced him to decline the appointment. The savor of his catholic, pacific spirit, remained long after his labors had ceased, and he was gathered to his fathers. I speak from personal knowledge and observation, for it was my lot to meet him on several occasions, particularly on one too interesting and impressive to be forgotten. "And I fully know his doctrine, manner of life, faith, patience, and charity."

And here, my brethren of this Society, if I mistake not, we have an example which we ought to follow. What if this early missionary had insisted chiefly, or prominently, upon the doctrines which some professing Christians so strenuously urge, who teach "that the Lord of heaven and earth became a man, and gave his life a ransom, and shed his blood for us;" who assert, that Christ was in such a sense, a substitute for sinners; that he felt all the guilt incurred by, and suffered all the punishment due to the sins of the whole world; and that the few who will be saved are converted and sanctified by a miracle as absolute as that which arrested St. Paul, in his opposition to the infant
church? If your Missionary had advanced and insisted on these tenets, would he probably have made many converts to the faith of the Gospel? Or would his preaching have been revolting to the minds of serious inquirers, and served to confirm the irreligious in their indifference and unbelief?

Shall I be told, that the truths of the Gospel will always excite the opposition and meet the rejection of the natural man; and that hostility to the strange doctrines of Calvin is but proof of their correctness? I think the history of Christianity affords evidence to the contrary. Did not our Divine Master himself, and did not his inspired apostle appeal to the reason and moral sense of mankind? And where is the Gospel treated with most neglect and disrespect; where does infidelity prevail, but in places where human creeds and human traditions are insisted on as the word of God, and the commandment of Jesus Christ? Whose faith is most firmly established, and most likely to produce obedience and virtue? His, who understands what he affirms; and can give a reason for his faith and hope? Or his, who receives an unintelligible proposition, and places his dependence on the positive assertion of another for its truth?

I know it is sometimes contended, that in order to the real conversion of men to the Gospel, and as a foundation of the Christian character, it is necessary to assent to the Athanasian creed, or to the substance of it, and to the distinguishing tenets of the Calvinistic system. But many pious men tell us, they find no authority in the bible for such opinions. They do not find that Christ himself advanced such doctrines; or that Peter or Paul taught such doctrines. If it is said, that the tenets to which I allude, are built upon certain declarations of our Lord or his apostles, it is sufficient to reply, that such construction is not admitted by many of the brightest ornaments of the Christian church; and that it is both wiser and safer to use the phrases of scripture, on disputed points, than the words
which man’s wisdom dictates, or undertake to be wise above what is written.

Am I asked what they did require and teach, I answer, they taught, that there is one God and Father of all; that Jesus Christ is his special messenger, sent to reveal his will and his purposes of grace to mankind; that he was raised from the dead, and made Lord and Christ, and constituted the Saviour of those who believe and obey him. From these doctrines the apostles drew their authority, to exhort men to repentance for the remission of sins, from which they could not be justified by an observance of the laws of Moses.

In this outline of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, all intelligent Christians will agree; and the greater part will also admit that it includes the essential tenets of the Christian faith. If other doctrines are by some supposed to be contained in the sacred volume, still they cannot justly be considered essential, because they are not clearly revealed; because they are differently understood and explained, even by those who profess them; and because many learned and pious men have rejected them, or hesitated to receive them.

Those who believe other doctrines to be a part of the revealed will of God, have certainly a right to profess such belief. But are they justified, when those who cannot follow them on some of these difficult points, according to their particular interpretation, and when they reflect that learned and good men have had different views respecting them,—are they justified in requiring that these particular doctrines, confessedly of a mysterious character, should be acknowledged and preached, as necessary to salvation? Here is one, who takes the bible for his oracle and guide, who is ready to subscribe the Apostles’ creed, which is fully sustained by express passages of scripture; or to make a good confession of faith in God and in Jesus Christ; in the moral perfections of the Deity; in the doctrines reveal-
ed by our Lord, his messenger and minister; in the accountableness of man, and a future retribution;—will you insist, that he is unfit to be a herald of the Gospel, and that he must subscribe a creed formed by fallible men; in which it is assumed to explain what is unrevealed, and what is not of practical influence? It may be said, that the whole counsel and will of God should be declared. But everyone must examine and judge for himself, what is the revealed will of God. If we can agree upon certain doctrines, as expressly taught, why not be satisfied with such, rather than to insist upon others, which are of doubtful authority, and not clearly revealed? We all believe in Jesus Christ, as a divine teacher, who was specially sent of God, to instruct and save the world; and that he is our Master and Lord, whom we are to believe and obey in all things. But some of his declarations admit of different constructions. They are evidently figurative, and require the exercise of reason to be rightly understood. Who shall decide which is the true construction? We must compare scripture with scripture, and judge for ourselves. But then it is said, there will be danger of not believing all which is important. How shall we avoid this? When, using my own reason and all the lights I can obtain to guide me, I am still not convinced that certain tenets are contained in the sacred volume, shall I build my faith on the reason, or rather on the belief and positive tone of another?

Is it said, there is danger in not believing all truth; and is there no danger of receiving for divine truth what are only the doctrines of man? The whole counsel of God ought to be declared; but is it not an error, and a grievous error, to teach for his will and his truth, what has not full support in his word? Is it not improper, is it not presumptuous to be wise above what is revealed, to impose a creed formed by men comparatively ignorant, or prejudiced by education, and to shut the doors of the church against those whom Christ himself invites, encourages, and will accept?
Is there no danger of this sort? Does not the history of the church admonish us of errors such as these? Had not Paul to contend for Christian liberty against ignorant and bigotted Jews, who said, that, unless men were circumcised and kept all the laws of Moses, they could not be saved? Had not Ireneus, and Origen, and Lactantius, and Arnobius, and Eusebius, to oppose men, in their times, who were for enlarging the Christian creed? Did they not, for two or three centuries, hold to the creed of the Apostles, which included only the simple doctrines of Christianity, in opposition to the converts from heathenism, who attempted to engraft the philosophy of man upon the Gospel? Did not the Reformers oppose the complicated system of the Papists for one more simple and scriptural?

In urging mysterious and disputed tenets, it is sometimes said, there is no danger in believing too much. But is this the language of wisdom or of religion? The advocates of an erroneous and superstitious religion may wish men to believe without reason or examination, and to receive all which they require of them. But is such a course indicative of true philosophy or of a rational mind? What is the value of faith, unless it is founded in reason and evidence? One article after another may be shaken, or shown to be untenable; and thus the whole system will be in danger of being abandoned.

You send forth a Missionary to the heathens, or to the ignorant in our own country, with the bible for his directory, and he declares the plain, but solemn truths of this sacred volume; if he has the true spirit of the Gospel, and a due sense of his responsibility to his divine Master, he cannot insist upon any doctrines, which this inspired book does not, in his opinion, fully reveal and teach. And to what other source, indeed, would you direct him, to collect doctrines and motives, to be urged in his appeal to the reason and consciences of men? The love as well as the holiness of God, the benevolence as well as the obedience of Christ,
are urged upon his hearers. He declares, that God has raised up Jesus from the dead, and made him Lord and Christ, and appointed him to judge the world. And in this name, and with such authority, as Peter and Paul did, he exhorts to repentance, and reasons of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. What more is essential or important to be added to his creed? He may meet a Papist in his journey, who shall insist on his believing in the infallibility of the Bishop of Rome, in the doctrine of indulgences, the power of the priest to forgive sins, and in the necessity of praying to the Virgin Mary, as the mother of God, to intercede in our behalf. Shall the faithful Missionary, through fear of not believing and teaching enough, acquiesce in these doctrines and teach them to the ignorant, as essential to salvation? The Jesuit might plead the infallibility of his church; he might be as positive and authoritative as if he were inspired; and might pronounce all others heretics and in fatal error, and as not preaching the true Gospel. But, if well instructed in the doctrines and kingdom of Christ, and guided by the words of his Divine Lord, and of his inspired Apostles, your Missionary might justly and safely say, "that he knew no master but Christ, that he was content to preach according to his instructions, and that he dare not add to the word of God." And every true Protestant would approve the decision.

But there is another plea for insisting on certain doctrines, though of a speculative character, in order to the conversion and salvation of men; which is, that these doctrines have long been considered important, if not essential.
in the church; that religious truth is immutable and always the same: and, therefore, that what was preached as the Gospel two or three hundred years ago, is still true and necessary to be taught, to enlighten and save the world. A part of this proposition may be correct, but the conclusion is not admitted. Erroneous opinions have sometimes prevailed in the church for ages; but their reception by the majority, for one century, or ten, cannot make them true. True religion is indeed immutable; and is the same, except that additional revelations have made known more of the will and purposes of God than were previously received. But is it not possible, is it not evident to those well acquainted with the bible, and with ancient ecclesiastical history, that opinions, (not truth itself,) have been added or changed, since the days of the Apostles; and that what prevailed for Gospel truth in the 6th, or in the 16th and 17th centuries, were such as fallible men had represented it to be, and not such in all respects as were taught by Moses and the Prophets, by Jesus and his apostles? Religious truth is, indeed, immutable. It is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. And this is a most consoling reflection. Then Abraham, and the patriarchs, Samuel, David, Isaiah, Daniel, Simeon, and John Baptist knew the truth, (though not all truth,) as well as Peter and John, Paul, Luke, Cornelius, and other disciples of Jesus; then all who worship God and work righteousness, know the truth, and will find mercy, and be accepted; then all the virtuous and pious among the heathen, through all ages, who have sought to know and obey God, shall come from the east and the west, from the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

And what are these redeeming, these sanctifying and saving truths, which are immutable and eternal? They are few, and if I may say so, they are plain and simple. They must be so, if religion is intended for the benefit of all.*

* "Protestants maintain that every article of faith and practice necessary to salvation, is delivered in so clear and plain a manner, in the bible, that ev-
The immutable, the essential doctrines of religion are these: that there is a God of moral perfections, who is to be sought and feared, worshipped and obeyed; that they who have erred and strayed, if truly penitent and reformed, will be forgiven; and the sincerely and habitually virtuous approved and accepted. There is a union of holiness and grace, of righteousness and mercy in all the revelations and dispensations of God. So spake the patriarchs; so spake Moses and the prophets. So spake the forerunner of the Messenger of the covenant; and so spake our Lord himself, and his inspired Apostles. Religious truth, then, is immutable; and what God requires was manifested in the consciences of men; for God hath shewed it unto them. And yet, we, on whom the superior light of the Gospel has shone, have cause of peculiar gratitude, that what was matter of probability and hope to good men in ancient times and in heathen lands, has been more fully revealed to us by the Son of God.

But the question returns. Has not this truth been misunderstood or misrepresented, in some cases, by fallible men, since the completion of the sacred volume? And what particular class of men are now the authorized interpreters of the word of God? Who were the individuals in the Christian world, for the last age or century, that had a right to decide positively on speculative points, and to require our implicit belief? Had Calvin or Edwards, had Price or Priestley, any such authority or right? In
some respects, their creeds are different. And some or all of them have added to, or altered the doctrines of the Gospel; at least, on speculative subjects. Many serious and candid believers suppose, that attempts have sometimes been rashly made, in the vain hope to amend the Gospel, and to explain what finite minds cannot explain, instead of leaving the inspired writers to speak for themselves, and to permit every Christian to interpret for himself; wisely availing, indeed, of the reasoning and learning of others. And is there not as much danger at present, as in former ages, that weak or vain, or prejudiced individuals may add to the Gospel, or require us to believe more than Jesus or his Apostles required?

There is no one, perhaps, who has studied Christian theology, and reflected carefully on those doctrines which have generally been the subject of discussion and controversy, but is convinced of the difficulty of explaining these doctrines to the perfect satisfaction or comprehension of the human mind. Enough is revealed for our guidance, our virtue, our hope and trust. But our limited capacities cannot fully grasp the things relating to the nature or purposes of God. It is our duty to inquire, and to investigate, to learn what is revealed. It is equally our duty to be modest and humble, when we do not understand; and to exercise candor and charity towards those who do not believe precisely as we do.

Instead, then, of continuing to teach and require, in all cases, what was considered as important by those who wrote twelve or two centuries ago, and who lived in the dark ages of the world, or had just come out of Popish darkness and error, may we not be justified, is it not our duty to go directly to the instructions of our Lord and his Apostles for the truth? And is it not the solemn duty of such as go forth to preach the Gospel, if they find, that what has been taught as truth by others, is not fully supported by scripture, to renounce it; or, at least, to refrain
from teaching it as essential; and to insist only on what is clearly revealed, and is evidently promotive of godliness and virtue?

The consideration, that most of the different systems adopted by Christians teach what is essential to piety and moral goodness, it seems to me, is sufficient to make us candid, and to induce us not to impose articles of a speculative and mysterious nature upon our fellow Christians. That there are some doctrines highly important and even essential to the Christian character, to piety and religious trust, I think, cannot be denied. And on such, the faithful Christian teacher will feel it his duty to insist. But the great question is, whether these essential doctrines are not few? Do not most sects of professing Christians admit them? And should we not be cautious, lest we enjoin belief in doctrines not clearly revealed, and about which pious and good men differ? The very fact that any doctrine is not clearly revealed, is sufficient to shew that it is not essential; and it is the part of wisdom to speak of such in the language of scripture. Dogmatism is as unbecoming the Christian as the philosopher. On a doctrine clearly expressed and taught, the Christian teacher may well be decided and positive. But humility and candor become him, in the discussion of doctrines which are of doubtful interpretation.

There are doctrines contended for by some professing Christians, which never have been, and probably never will be received by all the disciples of Christ. But this disagreement need not produce any unfavorable effect upon the cause of piety and morality. For on important and practical doctrines they do agree. All professing Christians believe in the being, providence, and moral government of God. They all believe in the proneness of human nature to error and sin. Those who do not admit the doctrine of total depravity, allow that mankind are naturally wanting in positively holy desires; they believe, however,
that we have a capacity for religion, and that proper instructions and means will build up a moral and holy character; and there are none, probably, who would deny this.

They all profess faith in the divine unity; but all do not explain the nature of the Saviour, and the relation between the Father and Son, precisely in the same manner. But is not the difference principally verbal? I know of no sect of Christians but believe that Jesus Christ was, in a high and peculiar sense, the Son of God; having the spirit without measure, and so highly endowed and qualified as to be a suitable Saviour of sinful men. The precise nature of Christ, and his relation to God, the Father of all, is a difficult question; not solved by scripture, and therefore not necessary for the Christian minister to settle, further than revelation has declared it.

The doctrine of atonement also is difficult of explanation, if not of comprehension; yet all believe that Christ died for our sins: in a sense, however, according to scripture, consistently with the original, unpurchased grace of God; for it was of the love of the Father, that Christ was appointed, constituted, and sent, to be the Saviour of the world; in a sense, also, compatible with our responsibility to God, as moral beings, and requiring repentance and sincere obedience of all who expect to be saved through him.

We all believe in the sovereign power and overruling providence of God, and of our entire dependence on him; and yet we allow a degree of moral freedom in man, so that he is justly exhorted to work out his own salvation with diligence and fear. We all, (perhaps I should except Antinomians and a class of Universalists,) we all believe, that the Gospel is a system according to godliness, and that all men must be brought to judgment hereafter, and have their condition fixed, according to that they have done, and the character formed here, whether it be good or bad.

Without attempting to be more definite and precise than the first preachers of the Gospel were, is it not sufficient
that the Missionary who carries the Gospel to the heathen, or to the ignorant in Christian countries, should teach the plain and simple, the intelligible and express doctrines of revelation; and leave mysterious points where the Bible leaves them; permitting every one to examine and judge for himself?

Notwithstanding the remarks offered, which I fear have been unduly extended, I am aware that some good men consider all want of precision and positiveness as indicative of a degree of unbelief; or, at least, of such a state of mind as is scarcely compatible with that strong faith and hope which are full of immortality. It is considered a very unhappy, if not a fatally dangerous state of mind, to be in doubt on any doctrines which have been long received in the Christian church; and which, though not clearly and expressly revealed, have been supposed by theologians of former ages, to be necessary to the Christian character. But who can read the last thoughts of the learned Whitby, and notice his different views, on some doctrines, from those entertained by him in early life, and not be satisfied that practical piety and all essential faith may consist with doubts and uncertainty, in regard to some speculative subjects? Who can peruse the prayer of the pious and devout Dr. Watts, written in the close of life, on the subject of the Trinity, and not admit that the most spiritual and devoted Christian may be unsettled in his mind, as to some tenets of dogmatical theology?* And we should do well to recollect, that many who in early life were tenacious of a particular creed, have confessed, in more advanced years, that they had learned to be charitable towards those who differed from them on some doctrines generally received by the church.

* With all their doubts as to the doctrine of a Trinity, we know that Whitby and Watts were firm believers in the Christian revelation, which they received as a divine system, the foundation of their hopes, and the guide of their lives.
Time will not permit a particular notice of the opinions, characters, and success of the other Missionaries employed by this Society. They were men of established reputation for theological acquirements, wisdom and piety. After Mr. Little, other ordained clergymen were employed in different parts of Maine, generally for two or three months a year, where the people were destitute of the regular means of grace; and for the last twenty-five years, nine persons on an average have been employed by the Society in that part of the country.

The theological views of those formerly employed, will appear when I mention Drs. Puffer, Kendall, of Weston, Foster, of Brighton, Allyn, Messrs. Frisbie, Thaxter, Eaton, Coffin, and McLean. Besides these, several clergymen recently settled in Maine, have been employed by this Society, for a number of years past, for part of the year; and thus have been encouraged to labor in their own towns and parishes respectively; and who, without our assistance, would not have first settled, or would not have remained in the country. In ten instances, preachers of the Gospel have been induced to settle in new plantations, in consequence of assistance granted them by this Society. And in many places, the Missionaries employed by us, have led the people justly to appreciate the benefit of religious institutions, and thus prepared the way for the regular support of the Gospel ministry.

Our Missionaries are also instructed to visit the schools, wherever they travel, and to encourage the people to establish others in the new settlements. From the first formation of the Society, appropriations have been made, almost every year, towards the support of schools, by paying the salary of teachers in part, and by distributing school books among the children. We have reason to believe that much good has been done in this way to the youth; and that they have thus been prepared to embrace the Gospel, when preached to them in their more mature years. For we
cannot but believe that education is highly auspicious to an intelligent and effectual reception of the Christian religion. The unhappy condition of the people in most of the new plantations in Maine, as to the means of education, is such as to call loudly for our sympathy and aid. A Missionary, who last year visited some new settlements on the upper part of Kennebec river, states that the children are almost totally ignorant, and that their parents are unable to provide teachers for them. Some youth of fourteen years of age, he says, could scarcely read the New Testament. And what will probably greatly excite your surprise, these people emigrated from the old and populous county of Essex. They were fishermen, living in the neighborhood of Cape Ann. The statement given is truly affecting; and the bare recital of it would cause the heart of the benevolent and pious to bleed. An appropriation has been made by this Society, to support teachers, for a few months, in these places, and to furnish suitable books for the children, but not to the amount needed. A small donation from your abundance, my Christian friends, expended in books for these destitute and ignorant youth, will rejoice the hearts of their parents now, and be the means of unspeakable benefit to their children in future. The value of early impressions is beyond all calculation. Who does not

* "I make it an invariable practice to visit the schools twice a week, when there is a teacher, and when no teacher is employed, I collect the children once a week in their respective school-houses, for the purpose of reviewing their studies, and giving that kind of advice which is proper for parents to impart. Thus, once a week, I am brought into near connexion with the children; and through them, with their parents. The labor is great, but the seed is cast into good soil, which cannot fail, in due time, to produce an abundant harvest. I have seen enough of this practice to satisfy me that this may be made a means of hastening on a general diffusion of the most important knowledge, both in regard to temporal and eternal things. The books you sent, have aided me much in this work. They have enabled me to give an interest and life to those weekly exercises, which I could not have given in any other way." Extract of a letter from Mr. Niles, who is employed by the Society in Brewer, Maine.
recollect the good impressions made upon his mind in youth, when a kind and pious parent taught him, in that "soft season," of his being, his dependence on the great Father of all, and his obligations to render him reverence, devotion, and obedience, by a simple but touching hymn, from Watts or Doddridge, from Steele or Barbauld; which spoke both of the power and goodness of God, and of the condescension, the disinterestedness and self-sacrifice of Jesus, the Saviour? The divine truths then imparted by a parent's love, simple and plain as they were, were affecting, purifying, and elevating. Simple and plain as they were, they were of greater moral effect, than all the scholastic theories of theology ever taught. You have now an opportunity, my female friends, by contributing a small sum, of enabling some destitute parent to impart spiritual nutriment and comfort to many an ignorant child, and to furnish the means of saving or restoring those who are in danger of being lost to virtue and to God.

The Society has at present ten Missionaries in its service, all of whom are ordained clergymen; and all but one are employed in the state of Maine. One of these has superintended a school among the Indians living on the extreme eastern borders of that State. And a teacher and schoolmaster to the small Indian tribes, on Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and in the Narraganset Country, in Rhode Island, is employed during the whole year. He also employs persons to teach the Indian youth, when he does not attend in person; the last year, he devoted seventeen weeks personally, and employed others to the amount of sixty-three weeks. The whole number of children attending these schools were two hundred and twenty. One hundred and eighty of them were taught writing; ninety were able to read in the Testament; about seventy in the spelling book; and the others, about thirty, were learning the alphabet.
The Missionary, long supported in part by our Society, in preaching to the Indians in the State of New York, formerly called the Stockbridge Indians, has lately deceased; and the few Indians who survive have removed to a place called Green Bay on the Michigan lake; where it is hoped they will be more happy than even when surrounded by a white population. The care of this Society will probably follow them to that distant region. The amount annually expended for the benefit of the Indians is about five hundred dollars.

Some good, in a moral view, has no doubt resulted from these expenditures and efforts. And yet there is still reason to say, as Eliot did a hundred and seventy years ago, that it is a day of small things with the Indians in North America, in reference to Christianity. And I cannot but believe, that our chief reliance for success in attempts to Christianize them, must rest upon their previous education and civilization.

For other Missionaries, the Society is able to appropriate about $1000 annually, on an average. But the calls for assistance, in the new settlements of Maine, are so numerous, that we are unable to meet them all. The contributions of the opulent and pious will be received as acceptable offerings in the cause of our common Christianity. And I think I can assure them, of the fidelity, impartiality, prudence, and Catholicism, of the Society. It has no sectarian views, nor does it solicit your aid to enable it to send ministers where the Gospel is already preached, and thus make divisions in the church of Christ.

The Society is still composed, indeed, of persons of different sentiments on some theological subjects; but all holding fast, I trust, the doctrines of grace and of godliness, as taught by Christ and his inspired apostles. While we contend, with becoming zeal, for the faith once delivered to the saints, as we find it declared in the New Testa-
ment, we should be on our guard lest we substitute the opinions of fallible men, for the truths of revelation, or require our fellow Christians to receive our particular interpretations of difficult passages of scripture. Our highest obligations, undoubtedly, are due to revealed truth. But as to doctrines not clearly revealed, and respecting which learned and good men have entertained different views, we owe it to Christian charity and peace to refrain from imposing them upon others, who do not perceive their confirmation in the word of God. The most faithful and impartial writer of ecclesiastical history, (and there are few, I fear, who have not written for the purpose of supporting a particular theological system,) informs us, "that after the middle of the second century, there was a disposition manifested by individuals in the church, to add to the articles of faith, and to impose their own interpretations upon the disciples at large. Until the middle of the third century, Christian teachers and confessors held different opinions respecting the metaphysical nature of Christ, and of his relation to God the Father; and every one was suffered to enjoy his own opinions in peace."

When our Lord asked his disciples, "who do ye say that I am," Peter answered, "thou art the Christ, the Son of God." All the evangelists relate this question and reply; but their expressions are somewhat different. There can be no doubt, however, that they have all given the Apostle's answer materially correct. According to one, the reply was, "thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." According to another, "thou art the holy one of God." According to the third, "thou art the Christ of God." And according to the fourth, "thou art the Christ." Now these several expressions must mean the same, that is, that Jesus was the Christ, the expected Messiah, the anointed of God. The reply, you recollect, was satisfactory to our Lord, and received his entire approbation. According to
his declaration, this was a good confession. For he added, "on this rock, (this doctrine,) I will build my church, and the gates of death shall not prevail against it." On this truth, we may safely rest our faith and hope. Jesus is the Master and Lord of Christians. Whatever he has declared and enjoined, we are obligated to receive and do. And if we are faithful to him, we need not inquire, "to whom else must we go for instruction and guidance."

When some men arise in the church, and undertake to decide upon speculative subjects, which others equally learned and pious are willing should be left to the judgment and instruction of each individual, and when the opinions and phrases of such persons are imposed upon the public as essential to salvation, it is natural to expect others will arise to oppose or to dissent from them. And thus an unhappy spirit of controversy is engendered, and the church is divided into sects and parties. This is an evil which we are often called upon to lament. And it seems to me, that there is at present a peculiar claim upon us for Christian forbearance and charity. To this we are urged, not only by the desire of peace and harmony in the Christian church; but for the sake of the heathen world, to whom we all wish to send the light and grace of the Gospel. The opinion has often been expressed by intelligent Christians, that it is indispensable to all successful efforts for christianizing the heathens, that there should be union among those who have long known and professed this divine system. And never, perhaps, until the Christian world is agreed—agreed in what is essential—can they go forth in their strength to convert the heathen to the faith of the Gospel.* Must not

* "If the truths of our holy religion are to be propagated among the heathen, it becomes us to consider whether we had not better first agree among ourselves what these truths are. For while they see diversities of opinion among us, and that some zealous advocates of particular tenets are endeavoring to
every believer in Jesus, then, endeavor to bring his pro-

fessed disciples nearer together, rather than to build up a

instil the peculiarities of their respective sects among them, and to prejudice them against others, their native sagacity will lead them to avoid confounding themselves with our distinctions, or engaging in our disputes, and to retain the religion in which they were educated. It is much to be wished, that the spirit of bigotry and the shibboleth of party were abolished, that Christianity may appear in its native simplicity and purity, and that its professors would distinguish themselves by that charity and meekness which marked the character of its author and of his early followers."—Dr. Belknap.

In 1763, a Catholic, but zealous Christian, in England, in remarking upon a sermon of a Bishop before a Society for propagating the Gospel among the heathen, says, "as I am most desirous of the spread of the Gospel, I wish that this holy and divine religion may be propagated in its original simplicity and purity, as laid down in the New Testament. As it there appears, every discerning and honest mind will embrace it and be thankful for it. I mean Catholic christianity; plain, simple, rational and scriptural; devoid of scholastic niceties, systematical formalties, and all party prejudices and notions. If this be our course, in attempts to spread the Gospel among the Indians and heathens, we shall probably succeed; otherwise, we never shall. We should preach to the heathen nothing but what is plainly revealed in the word of God. We cannot mend that, nor should we attempt to alter it. And any addition we may make to it, either as to forms or doctrine, will do it hurt and obstruct its progress. The Gospel teaches a most excellent religion—useful to the world, agreeable to reason, and to the divine attributes, and well suited to the necessities of mankind. Teach this religion to the heathen and to the ignorant, in its genuine purity, and you work effectually, and God will prosper you; but if you teach the tenets of men instead of the doctrines of Christ, you will destroy his work, and will have it to answer for hereafter."

When Dr. Buchanan made a proposition in England, for a religious establishment in India, the Bishop of Landoff said, "he should be very ready to exert himself in forwarding any prudent measures for promoting the plan, if on a liberal system, as he heartily wished every Christian should be at liberty to worship God according to his conscience, and be assisted by a teacher of his own sentiments. The morality of our holy religion is so salutary to civil society, its promise of a future life so consolatory to individuals, its precepts so suited to the deductions of enlightened reason, that it must finally prevail through the world. Some have thought that Christianity was losing ground in Europe," (this was said thirty years ago,) "I am of a very different opinion. Some doctrines derived from Rome or Geneva, are indeed losing ground; some unchristian practices, springing from bigotry, tolerance, self-sufficiency of
partition wall between them? I cannot but believe, that it will be a consolation to every one, in the close of life, to reflect, that, in his zeal for truth, he has also been desirous of promoting Christian charity.

My brethren of this Society, I have spoken to you plainly; but I have spoken to you in all sincerity, and without intending to offend, or presuming to judge any one. If it should be thought, that the views expressed are not sufficiently definite and systematic, but are too liberal or latitudinarian, I might say, with an aged English divine, that, though I cannot subscribe to this or that popular system of theology, in all its articles, be it called orthodox, or heterodox, yet, after many years, devoted to the study of the Christian scriptures and Christian apologists, I am perfectly satisfied, I believe and am sure, that Jesus Christ was a teacher and messenger from heaven; that, strictly and philosophically speaking, God is one; that he is essentially benignant; that he raised up our Lord from the dead, and will confer immortality on man; that moral beings will not be accepted, and cannot be happy, except they become conformed to the image and will of God. I repeat therefore, in conclusion, that I consider it of little compara-

opinion, and uncharitableness of judgment, are losing ground. But a belief in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, is more and more confirmed in the minds of eminent men throughout Christendom." Again, "though I believe some degree of civilization necessary to the successful introduction of Christianity among Pagans, I would not wholly discourage the attempt to teach it to the most barbarous. Christianity, introduced in any degree, would soon become the most effectual way to humanize them. Civilization on the other hand, prepares men for the reception of the Gospel; and there is not a precept of this divine system, which does not tend to strengthen the obligations and to exalt the comforts of civilized life: so that it may be truly said, that Christianity and civilization are of reciprocal use to each other. The maxim, however, (he adds,) holds true in religion as in other things, that whatever is received, is received according to the nature or character of the recipient."
tive importance, that we do not entirely agree in any hu-
man formulary of faith; while we receive the bible as
the record of divine revelation. For then we can all and
severally adopt the sentiment of the celebrated Sir William
Jones, equally eminent as a scholar and a Christian, who, a
short time before his death, used the following language as
expressive of his religious faith:

"Before thy mystic altar, heavenly truth,
I bow in age, as erst I bowed in youth.
Still let me bow, till this weak form decay;
And my last hour be brightened by thy ray."
The Missionaries, who were appointed the last year, performed their respective services, we have reason to believe, with fidelity, and a good degree of success. They speak favorably of the attention with which the people heard the preaching of the Gospel, and of their disposition to avail of the privileges thus extended to them.

It appears from their statements, that, generally, our Missionaries preach to small assemblies of people. This arises from the scattered population in the new settlements which they visit. They may, however, be useful in their instructions to small companies of people and to private families; and this part of their duty, we believe, is not neglected. Yet it may be well, perhaps, for them to consider the great importance of this particular service, and the probable benefit to result from it. In new settlements, where the people are seldom favored with public religious instruction, it is highly important that family religion should be maintained, and that parents should be urged to discharge their duty to their children, in a moral and spiritual view. We all acknowledge the benefits arising from the religious education of
youth. But the obligation of parents to instruct their children in the things of religion, where there is no settled clergyman, seems to be peculiarly imposing. The judicious and pious Missionary may be highly useful in visiting separate families, if he will seize the occasion to press the importance of religion upon parents. If these could be persuaded to act the part of priests in their own families, there would be less cause to regret their distance from large Christian assemblies, and a regular ministry. In the discharge of this important duty, our Missionaries will derive assistance from a suitable supply of tracts on the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. This, indeed, has always been an object with the Select Committee. Those formerly distributed, are—Wilson's Christianity made Easy and Plain to Common Capacities, Doddridge's Address on Family Religion, and Hemmenway's Discourses for Children. Bibles and Testaments are also put into the hands of such Missionaries as desire them, to be distributed to the poor and destitute. During the year past, a considerable number have been entrusted to our Missionaries, with spelling-books, and Wilson, Doddridge, and Hemmenway.

Rev. Elijah Kellogg was employed the last year, for two months, on a Mission to Perry and vicinity, in the eastern part of Maine, where he labored for several previous years in the service of the Society. He speaks of the people with affection; and they, in turn, speak of his labors among them with gratitude. They appear to have profited of his faithful services. He made many family visits, which he thinks were blest to the religious benefit of the people. Through his exertions, the people of Perry have lately settled a minister; but they hope for pecuniary aid for his support, in part, from our Society. These people, Mr. Kellogg says, were without a shepherd, when he first visited them, and of various denominations. They are now all happily united in the minister recently ordained over them. Mr. Kellogg, also, visited and examined the Indian school at Perry, and he recommends it to the continued care of this Society. When there was no Catholic priest with the tribe, they generally attended on the preaching of Mr. Kellogg. It is believed, that he is respected by them, and has been useful to them in communicating both hu-
man and religious knowledge. Mr. Kellogg remained several weeks after the period he was employed by this Society, laboring among the people in that part of Maine.

Rev. Freeman Parker, of Wiscasset, had a Mission for two months in the County of Lincoln. He preached six Sabbaths in Pittston, three in Bremen, and one in Dresden, where he formerly was a settled minister. He also preached lectures on week days, and attended several private meetings for religious purposes, and made family visits. "I know not," he says, "that my labors were specially blest; but I have reason to believe, that many received my instructions and visits with cordiality." He says, "the church at Pittston is small, but they stand fast in the Lord; and when they have no regular teacher, they assemble and have prayers offered, and a sermon read from some approved author. They have also a Sabbath evening meeting for prayer and conversation, and a social religious meeting besides, once a week. They are hoping and praying for the settlement of the Christian ministry, but are at present not able to maintain it. In Bremen a church was organized about a year ago, and they appear resolved to maintain the order of the Gospel, agreeable to Congregational principles. The church in Dresden is lamentably low; several members have died within a few years, several have removed to other towns, and no additions have been lately made to it."

Rev. Marshfield Steele, of Machias, was appointed to perform Missionary service for one month, in the town of Cooper, in his neighborhood. He visited that place in January, and preached five Sabbaths. He also administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and made several family visits, during the time he remained in the town.

Rev. Nathan Douglass, who was formerly employed by the Society at Alfred, in the County of York, removed, the last year, to St. Albans, in Somerset County. He had a Mission for two months at St. Albans and vicinity. The settlements in that part of the country are quite new, and no Congregational settled clergyman within fifteen miles of that town. Mr. Douglass is
not very particular in his statement, but observes, "that though the Methodists are numerous, and are increasing in that region, yet he finds many people ready to attend on his preaching." In St. Albans and Palmyra, adjoining, he preached a great part of the year; but the people are poor, and able to contribute but little to his support. Mr. Douglass says he hopes to form a church in St. Albans; and it seems, therefore, that at present there is no Congregational church in the place.

Mr. Rogers, of Bernardston, had a Mission for two months in that place, and Vernon, in the State of Vermont. He says he preached in Vernon every fourth Sabbath, visited the schools, and spent half a day in each, and attended several funerals. All the people of the town call on Mr. Rogers, when in sickness or trouble. The church consists of seven members; and he says, that they take the bible for their rule of faith and practice. They have the Lord's Supper every two months, except in the winter season. Mr. Rogers has lately admitted one person into the church in Vernon, and several other persons propose to become members. He made seventy family visits, and usually prayed with those whom he visited.

"Recently visiting in Vernon," he says, "I entered a cottage, and found an aged woman in great distress, both of body and mind. Her husband was in jail for a debt of $16. The Society, I presume, would have me call at such poor, sorrow-stricken hovels, and point the desolate and afflicted tenants to him who had not where to lay his head. Under poverty, with an infirm and sick partner, in years gone by, I felt that it was blessed to receive—Let me now feel that it is more blessed to give than to receive. God has not placed me in these ends of the State, and called me to suffer and to travel from town to town, but that I might follow him who went about doing good."

Vernon is a small town, and the inhabitants are poor. There is no religious teacher in the place. Forty families attend on Mr. Rogers' instructions, and give him $72. He says, his services were acceptable to them, and, he hopes, promotive of peace and truth. He was desired to present their thanks to this Society, and to request our further assistance through him.
One month in the service of the Society, Mr. Rogers devoted to his own people in Bernardston. He says, the people of his parish labor under many disadvantages. The number of poles in this Society is 55. Mr. Rogers preaches to them half the year, and receives $150. He has established several Juvenile Libraries, and has felt it his duty to contribute to their funds also. In Bernardston there are six schools, and he usually visited each one every quarter.

Mr. Rogers received the last year for his ministerial services, including what this Society paid him, $425. He says he is willing to continue in the service of the Society; and that he has been requested to preach in the town of Leyden. He has been urged to visit them, as the young are inclined to follow the Universalists, and there is no settled minister in the place. Mr. R. attended 20 funerals in his vicinity, during the last year, and says he usually preached a sermon on the occasion. The Baptists, and those of other denominations, often called upon him to perform these solemn services.

Mr. Page, of Limington, Maine, was appointed to a Mission of two months in that town and vicinity, which he performed by spending one month in Denmark and Hiram, and devoting the other to his own people. He says he had attentive congregations in Denmark and Hiram, and preached three times on the Lord's day, besides two or three times in the week. He attended one funeral, administered the Lord's Supper, and made upwards of 50 family visits. In Hiram, he says, there was less preaching than in the year preceding. There is a church, consisting of 25 members, who are united in sentiment and brotherly love. In the town there is also a Sunday School, and a Society for promoting the cause of Temperance. In Denmark, he says, there was more preaching the last year, than formerly, and many souls, he thinks, have been benefited thereby. To several, he trusts, the Gospel has proved the power of God unto salvation. A church was formed in that town, July, 1829, consisting of eleven members, four men and seven women; and some have since been added. These two towns, he says, hope soon to unite and settle a minister.
On the whole, he says, he has much to encourage him in his labors; and he believes that the condition of the people has been improving for four or five years. For this, he says, they are indebted, under God, to our Society. His people are grateful for the aid heretofore granted; and in their name, he requests that it may be continued.

Mr. Nurse, of Ellsworth, was appointed to preach two months, or eight Sabbaths, at Mariaville and vicinity, with liberty to employ Mr. S. Clap a part of the time. Mr. Nurse says in a letter to the Secretary, dated 12th of May last, that he had spent five Sabbaths in Mariaville, and Mr. Clap one—and that he proposed to spend two more in the course of the month. Mr. Nurse passed one week in Mariaville, established a Sunday School, and made several family visits. He also preached three times on week days. There are several common schools in the place, which he also visited.

The meetings on the Sabbaths were well attended, and the services of Mr. Nurse were acceptable. He was requested to present the thanks of the people of that place to this Society, for its benevolent and seasonable aid.

Mr. Nurse states further, that the people of Mariaville have invited Mr. Sylvester Clap to settle with them, and that Mr. Clap had signified his willingness to become their pastor, on a salary of $350; but that the people cannot raise more than $150. In their behalf, therefore, and at their special desire, Mr. Nurse requests a grant of $175 from this Society, or as much as the Society may see fit to allow.

Mr. Fargo, of Solon, Maine, had a Mission for two months at Bingham, Moscow, and the other settlements on the Canada road, so called, in Maine. He passed two weeks at Carrotwick Falls, one at Bingham, two at Moscow, two at Pleasant Ridge or Andrus Settlement, one at the Forks of the Kennebeck, and one at Moose River. In all these places, Mr. Fargo was cordially received, and was desired by the people to express their warmest gratitude to this Society, for remembering them in their poor and destitute estate. In all this region, which is north of Solon,
where Mr. F. resides, and sixty miles in extent, there is not one settled minister. This Society is the only one which affords any assistance, so far as he is informed, to the people in all these settlements.

Mr. Fargo first visited Carrotwick Falls, which he says is a flourishing settlement, and the people desirous of religious worship and instruction. He preached four weekly lectures in the place, visited their schools twice, attended a funeral, and also visited every family in the place. From this settlement, Mr. F. went to Bingham. The people here, he says, are very poor. He visited the schools, all the members of the church, and some other families. Mr. Fargo next visited Moscow, where he found a few Baptists, and a few Methodists; but he says there is very little preaching of any kind in the place. Some of the people, however, belong to the church in Bingham. The inhabitants he found very ready to attend public worship; some of them travelled six miles, to hear Mr. Fargo preach. Here Mr. F. spent two Sabbaths, and visited most of the families of the place. He also preached five lectures. He says the people are poor, but frank and kind-hearted. North of Moscow is Pleasant Ridge, or Andrus Settlement. The people here, also, are poor and ignorant. They are chiefly fishermen, from the shores about Cape Ann. They have no schools; and many youth of fourteen or sixteen years of age are unable to read in the Testament. Mr. Fargo says they wish for a school, but are too poor to support one; and he urges that an allowance be made them for that purpose, and that books also be furnished them. Mr. Fargo passed two Sabbaths in this place, and preached five lectures, baptized two adults and one child; admitted three persons into the church, and administered the Lord's Supper. His visits were received with great cordiality, and his instructions listened to with profound attention.

Proceeding still farther north, Mr. Fargo visited the settlement at the Forks of the Kennebec, so called; and formed by the junction of the waters from the great Moose Head Lake with those of the Dead river. The people at this place are few and poor, and have but lately set down there. Mr. Fargo wishes that these people also may have some assistance towards the sup-
port of a school. He says they were very thankful for his min-
isterial labors; one of whom travelled 15 miles to see him, and to
urge him to plead with this Society for continued Missionary aid,
and for help in the school for their children. Mr. Fargo spent
one Sabbath, delivered two lectures on a week day, and visited
all the families of the settlement. Mr. F. has been appointed
two months for the present year, and also allowed $50 to be ex-
pended in schools.

Rev. Silas Warren had a Mission for one month in East Ando-
ver, to which he attended early in the summer. He remained in
the place the whole time; preached two sermons on the Sabbath,
in the usual place of worship, and in the evening delivered lec-
tures in the extreme parts of the town. He visited sixty fami-
lies, which he says were nearly all in the place. He intend-
ed to visit all, but was called out of the town to visit sick per-
sons, and attend a funeral. There is a church in East Andover,
consisting of between thirty and forty members. Mr. W. says,
"they are united, and appear to enjoy religion." When they
have no minister, the congregation meet together on the Sabbath,
and the deacons officiate. They are anxious to have a settled
minister, but cannot give one a full support. They hope for as-
sistance from some Missionary Society. Mr. Warren was desir-
ed to tender the thanks of the people of Andover to this Society,
and to express a hope that they might receive further aid.

Rev. Mr. Sawyer was appointed for two months to the new
settlements on Penobscot river. He devoted one month to the
duties of his Mission in the summer of last year, when he was
taken off from his labors, by acting as agent for the American
Tract Society, and the Penobscot Domestic Missionary Society.
In March and April of the present year, Mr. Sawyer spent seve-
ral weeks as our Missionary, in Orono, Oldtown, Hurd's Ridge,
Page's Mills, and Still-water. He states in his journal, that he
labored sixty-four days in the service of this Society, and preach-
ed fourteen Sabbaths. He also made several family visits, and
attended church meetings. Mr. Sawyer says the settlements are
increasing, and the people are desirous of the means of religion;
but that public teachers are few. The people he visited were grateful for his services, and request a renewal of his Missionary labors. Mr. Sawyer's Journal was not received until after the last annual meeting, and he was not therefore, re-appointed for the present year; but he is still engaged in preaching to the people among whom he formerly labored. Mr. Sawyer was appointed in November, for one month.

Mr. Frederick Baylies, who has been a long time in the service of the Society, as Missionary and teacher of the Indian Schools on Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and in Charlestown, Rhode Island, was employed again the last year; and according to a statement made by him to the Secretary, the Schools were kept seventy-six weeks in all—eighteen weeks were kept by Mr. Baylies himself, and the residue of the time by persons employed and paid by Mr. Baylies. In all the schools, the number of children was 288—107 of whom attended to writing, 96 read in the Testament, 60 in the Spelling-book, and 32 in the alphabet. The most of them attended also to Colburn's Arithmetic. Mr. Baylies has established a Sabbath School on the Vineyard, and had the assistance of some young men of the island.

He says the meetings on the Sabbath are generally well attended. "I have my trials," says Mr. Baylies, "but I am thankful to God for the measure of prosperity which has accompanied my labors; and that my prospects of usefulness are very encouraging." Several gentlemen of respectability at the Vineyard and Nantucket, have given testimony to the zeal and usefulness of Mr. Baylies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock Type</th>
<th>Nominal Amount</th>
<th>Probable Income</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston Bank Stock</td>
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<td>$330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union Bank</td>
<td>$3300</td>
<td>165</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge Bank</td>
<td>$2000</td>
<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Bank, $1700, reduced to</td>
<td>$1100</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Bank</td>
<td>$1000</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>N. E. Maine Insurance Company</td>
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<td><strong>Total amount of Stock</strong></td>
<td><strong>$31800</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1654</strong></td>
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Deduct amount the Alford Donation, for the exclusive benefit of the Indians, with its proportions of Income,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Probable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$9000</td>
<td>468</td>
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</table>

**Total** $22800 $1186

Cash on hand, mostly due to Missionaries, $450 27

Received Collection, after Annual Discourse by Alden Bradford, Esq., at Chauncey-Place, 80 06

The whole amount of the Funds belonging to the Society, at the nominal value, is about $32,000

A large part is appropriated to the Indians, viz. $23,000

The income varies in different years, in consequence of the difference of dividends made by the Banks, from time to time, being on an average, 4 1/2 or 5 per cent, thus giving annually about $1450.
The amount expended in 1830 was $1780

viz.—Rev. Mr. Kellogg, one month, $50
For Indians at Passamaquoddy, under care of Mr. Kellogg, $100 voted in Nov. 1829, and $100 voted in June, 1830, 200
Rev. Mr. Steele, 1 month at Cooper, 50
Mr. Niles, 2 months, at Bremen, 100
Mr. Parker, Pittston, &c. 2 months, 100
Mr. Douglass, St. Albans, 2 months, 100
Mr. Page at Limington, 2 months, 100
Mr. Fargo at Moscow, &c. 2 months, 100
for Schools, under care of Mr. Fargo, 50
for School-books, do. 25
Mr. Rogers, Bernardston, &c. 2 mo. 100
Mr. F. Baylies teacher of Indians, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, &c. 390
To Mr. Farmer, of Belgrade, 100
To Mr. Sawyer, of Penobscot, 50
To Mr. Stone, of East Andover, 50
To Mr. Calef, of Lyman, 50
Allowance to Treasurer, 100
Paid for advertisements, printing instructions, notices &c. 22
Paid for printing Dr. Wisner's Sermon, 43

$1780
LAWS AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

REVISED AND REPORTED

BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE,

PURSUANT TO A VOTE OF THE SOCIETY,

APRIL 25, 1833.

CAMBRIDGE:

C. FOLSOM, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1833.
LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Article 1. Each resident member shall pay eight dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall, at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer thirty dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

Article 2. If any person elected shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprized of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any resident member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of three years after it shall have become due, and have been demanded, he shall forfeit his right to its privileges, and shall no longer be considered as a member thereof. Each member, at his election, shall be furnished with an attested copy of this article. The Treasurer shall report from time to time those members, who neglect to pay their admission or annual assessments as above required.

Article 3. All elections shall be made by ballot. In balloting for members, and in taking any question by yeas and nays, the law and custom of our forefathers is adopted,—Indian corn and beans;—The corn to ex-
press yeas, the beans, nays. Nominations of corresponding members may be made by the members of the Society; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Article 4. There shall be a stated meeting of the Society on the last Thursday of every month, except in Commencement week at Harvard University, when it shall be on the Tuesday next preceding; and occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification by the President, or, in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

Article 5. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April, a President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet-Keeper, and a Standing Committee of five.

Article 6. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for further consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

Article 7. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and the election of members.

Article 8. No alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society shall be made, unless there are eight members present; and no member shall be chosen, unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

Article 9. Members who are chosen in other states and countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of this Commonwealth.
**Article 10.** The time and place of every meeting shall be published in one, at least, of the Boston newspapers; and the Recording Secretary shall also send notifications of the same to every member, whose usual residence is within ten miles of Boston.

**Article 11.** The Treasurer shall not pay any moneys, except in pursuance of a vote of the Society, or on the voucher of an officer or committee, under whose direction any expense may be incurred, conformably to the laws or orders of the Society.

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**CHAPTER II.**

*Laws regulating the Standing Committee.*

**Article 1.** All nominations of resident members shall be made by the President and Standing Committee, at one meeting, at least, previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

**Article 2.** The Standing Committee shall regulate the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

**Article 3.** They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the Cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

**Article 4.** They shall frequently inspect the records and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude. The names of members in the records shall be in alphabetical order.
Article 5. It shall be the duty of every member of the Society, and especially of the Standing Committee, to inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

Article 6. They shall meet previous to each stated meeting of the Society and arrange and prepare such business as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The President shall notify to the Standing Committee their stated meetings.

CHAPTER III.

Laws regulating the Library and Museum.

Article 1. All books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

Article 2. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves in the best part of the cabinet.

Article 3. At every stated meeting, a catalogue of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet-Keeper.

Article 4. Once in every year, previous to the April meeting, the Standing Committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

Article 5. There shall be two keys to the Society's Room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian, and the other by the Cabinet-Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

Article 6. No book shall be taken from the library, but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same. A member shall not have
more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. He shall not retain any volume longer than four weeks, but may renew the same once; after which the same person shall not have the same books for three months, unless by especial leave of the Standing Committee. Members living more than ten miles from Boston may renew their books without personal application. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian, and with permission from the Standing Committee.

**Article 7.** The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee, chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library, with the knowledge of the Librarian, as many books and papers as they may want.

**Article 8.** Newspapers and maps shall not be allowed to be taken out of the library, except by the Publishing Committee and in the presence of the Librarian.

**Article 9.** Fines for a breach of the sixth article shall be at the weekly rate of 10 cents for every book less than an octavo, 20 for an octavo, 30 for a quarto, and 40 for a folio.

**Article 10.** An application in writing, left with the Librarian, shall secure any volume or set for a fortnight after it may be returned to the library; and if more than one such application be made, they shall be answered in the order of their respective dates.

**Article 11.** If books or manuscripts be requested for public uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of some member who shall be responsible in a written obligation for the return of each article borrowed, within
such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months.

**Article 12.** All persons who take books from the library shall be answerable for any injury to the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

**Article 13.** The privilege of using the library shall be suspended, as respects the person who neglects to pay any fines, or assessments, for damages, longer than one month after he shall have received notice from the Librarian.

**Article 14.** It shall be the duty of the Librarian to attend at the library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at 3 o'clock, for the accommodation of members; and it is understood and expected, that the members will regulate themselves accordingly.

**Article 15.** All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates, which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

**Article 16.** All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

**Article 17.** Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next meeting of the Society.

**Article 18.** A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor, if it be a present.
SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF ATTLEBOROUGH,

FROM

ITS SETTLEMENT

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JOHN DAGGETT.

Dedham:
H. Mann....Printer.
1834.
INTRODUCTION.

This little work is designed principally for the citizens of this town. The subject is not presumed to be of sufficient interest to attract the particular attention of strangers. I have, therefore, entered into details and local descriptions which will not be interesting to readers in general, but only to those who are connected with the scene by association or locality.

The work originated in a Lecture delivered before the Lyceum in Attleborough in 1830, which was prepared without the most distant idea of publication. The subject, though an old one, being entirely new to the hearers, excited much interest. At the earnest request of many of the most respectable citizens of the town, I concluded to prepare it for publication, to be included in a mere pamphlet of about 60 pages. In compliance with what seemed the general wish, proposals were accordingly issued, to ascertain if sufficient encouragement would be given to justify the undertaking. But in the prosecution of my researches, new materials were found, and the work multiplied upon my hands, until it has extended to more than double its original size.

When the author attempted to prepare even a brief lecture on the subject and began to make inquiries accordingly, he was told that it was in vain—that no materials existed from which a sketch could be formed, particularly in relation to our early history. The attempt indeed was at first discouraging. The field was new and unexplored. There was no light to lead my blind way through the dark labyrinths of the past. Little or nothing was contained in other works to which I could refer for aid. The spot had almost escaped the prying curiosity of the antiquarian. I found, however, after diligent and laborious research, facts enough to make up the present volume.

The materials which are here embodied have been derived mostly from original sources. I have gathered 'here a little, and there a little.' Tradition has supplied a part—for some facts I am indebted to the recollections of the aged; others I have industriously gleaned from a mass of voluminous and almost illegible records and other manuscripts. I have left nothing unsearched which might throw light on the early history of the town.

The object of this work is not mere amusement, but the preservation of facts. I have, therefore, selected not merely what might be interesting at the present time, but what might be valuable for future reference. Hence, some may think that it is too minute in the relation of circumstances; but others, knowing the true objects of such a work, will be rather inclined to complain that it is not minute enough. Minuteness and detail are, in fact, the principal merit of local histories. Such works will furnish materials for more general history. This is the design;—or at least, one great benefit to be derived from them is the collection and preservation of facts for a more full and perfect history of the country. Many items which have been collected together in these pages, however unimportant
now, will be curiosities to future generations. They will become more interesting, as time throws its thickening shadows over the actors and events of the past.

I have seized the present moment and gathered what could be obtained from tradition, and thus arrested what was rapidly passing into the gulf of oblivion. I have been particularly minute in describing the transactions connected with the Revolution. Those, who lived in that age—who saw and acted in the great scenes which then transpired, and who alone can give us correct and circumstantial accounts of that period, will, in a very few years more, have passed from the stage of life; and thus interesting and important facts will be irrecoverably lost to us and to posterity, unless now rescued and embodied in a durable form. The present is the only time to obtain minute and circumstantial accounts of the Revolution. Even now, since the commencement of this work, several, from whom I have obtained facts in relation to that period, have descended to the silence of the grave. It is hoped, that every opportunity will be improved, to collect information from those who were personally engaged in the scenes of the Revolution, ere they shall all disappear from the stage of life. It is useless to disguise that the labor and expense of collecting the materials and preparing the work, brief and imperfect as it is, have far exceeded my expectations. Indeed, no one, until he has tried the experiment, can fully appreciate the labor and patience and perseverance which are requisite in connecting insulated facts and supplying broken links in the chain, and the perplexity which is caused in reconciling apparent contradictions and removing doubts. I have, however, no expectation of receiving an adequate compensation for the time and expense bestowed upon the work; but the consciousness of having redeemed from undeserved neglect the names of our worthy forefathers, and rescued from oblivion many facts in the history of my native town, which would otherwise have been irrecoverably lost, will be, if not a sufficient reward, at least a consolation.

Such a work, I am aware, is of no great consequence to any but those who are connected with the town. But it takes many little rills to make up the great current of history. All these things tend to throw light on the interesting subject of our early history; and, in this view, every historical fact, however minute or unimportant in itself, is valuable and worthy of preservation. And it may be truly said, that he has not labored in vain, who has added one new truth to what is already known, or elucidated one dark spot in his country's history.

In the extracts which have been made from ancient records, I have retained the original dates, and the titles which were bestowed in accordance with the custom of former times. Even the most inferior titles then conferred some distinction. In the earliest records it is not uncommon to find 'Corporal and Sergeant' such-a-one. Ensign, Lieut. and Capt. were invariably applied to those who could claim the honor. Even the title of Mr., which is now without distinction, on account of its indiscriminate application, was once esteemed an honor to which but few could aspire!

I have labored to be accurate, but some errors have doubtless escaped the closest attention. If any should be observed, it will be esteemed a favor, if those who have the means will communicate the correction.

Attleborough, Jan. 1834.
In 1643 a company was formed at Weymouth, Mass. consisting of Rev. Samuel Newman and a part of his congregation, for the purpose of establishing a new settlement in this vicinity. They purchased a large tract of land of the Sachem of Pokanoket, including what is now Rehoboth, Seekonk, Pawtucket, and a part of Swansea then known by the name of Wannamoisett; and in the spring of 1644, removed to a place then called by the Indians Seacunke, and commenced their settlement around the Great Plain. This was the Rehoboth purchase. Here the inhabitants continued, with many additions to their number, as a distinct settlement until June 4th, 1645, when they were adopted into the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony, and incorporated as a township by the scriptural name of Rehoboth.

In 1661, Captain Thomas Willet was employed by that town to make a purchase of a new tract of land in their behalf, having been first authorized and empowered by the Court for that purpose. He accordingly purchased of Wansittta a certain tract of land north of the town of Rehoboth, which was called the Rehoboth North Purchase. It was bounded

*Sachem of Pokanoket, originally called Moonam, afterwards Alexander, the elder brother of King Phillip and son of Massasoit. He died in the summer of 1662. His wife’s name was Namumum.—See Drake’s Indian Biography.
West by Pawtucket River, now the Blackstone; North by the Massachusetts Colony or the Bay line, (so called); East by territory which was afterwards the Taunton North Purchase, now Mansfield, Norton, and Easton; and South by the ancient Rehoboth, now Rehoboth, Seekonk, and Pawtucket. This purchase included Attleborough, Cumberland, R. I. and a tract of a mile and a half* in width, extending east and west, (which was annexed to Rehoboth as an enlargement,) and a part of Mansfield and Norton. This purchase was afterwards, viz. April 10th, 1666, granted and confirmed by the Plymouth Government to the inhabitants of Rehoboth.

The following copy of the Indian Deed is taken from the Old Colony Records.

A Deed appointed to be recorded.

Know all men, that I Wamsetta, alias Alexander, chief Sachem of Pokanokett,† for divers good causes and valuable considerations me thereunto moving, have bargained and sold unto Captain Thomas Willett of Wannamoisett all those tracts of land situate and being from the bounds of Rehoboth ranging upon Patuckett River unto a place called Waweypounshag, the place where one Blackston now sojourneth, and so ranging along to the said river unto a place called Messanegiacaneh and from this upon a straight line crossing through the woods unto the uttermost bounds of a place called Mamantapett or Wading River, and from the said River one mile and a half upon an east line, and from thence upon a south line unto the bounds of the town of Rehoboth: To have and to hold unto him the said Captain Willett and his associates, their heirs and assigns forever; reserving only a competent portion of land for some of the natives at Mishanegitaconet for to plant and sojourn upon, as the said Wamsetta alias Alexander and the said Thomas Willett jointly together shall see meet; and the rest of all the land aforementioned, with all the woods, waters,

* It was given, verbally, to Rehoboth by the agents of the Court who were appointed to convey the North Purchase to the Proprietors, and afterwards re-annexed to Attleborough.

† Or Pocanset, or Pawkunnawcut, a name applied to the whole dominion of King Phillip, whose personal tribe was the Wampanoags.
meadows, and all emoluments whatsoever to remain unto the said Thomas Willett and his associates, their heirs and assigns forever. Witness my hand and seal the eighth day of April in the year 1661.

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of
John Brown Jr.
Jonathan Bosworth,
John Sassaman the Interpreter.

April 10th, 1666. Witnesseth These Presents, that Captain Thomas Willett above said hath and doth hereby resign, deliver and make over all and singular the lands above mentioned, purchased of Wamsutta alias Alexander chief Sachem of Pocanokett, according unto the bounds above expressed, with all and singular the benefits, privileges, and immunities thereunto appertaining, unto Mr. Thomas Prence, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, and Mr. Constant Southworth, in the behalf of the Colony of New Plymouth. In witness whereof he doth hereunto set his hand and seal.

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of
Daniel Smith,
Nicholas Peck.

The following is the Grant or Deed* of the Government.

Know all men by these presents, that we Thomas Prence, Josias Winslow, Thomas Southworth and Constant Southworth by order of the General Court of New Plymouth, and in the name and behalf of the said Colony of Plymouth, have and by these presents do bargain, sell, alien, grant and confer and make over unto the proprietors of the town of Rehoboth (viz.) unto all that hold there, from a fifty pound estate and upwards, according to their first agreement, all and singular the lands lying and being on the north side of that town of Rehoboth bound-

* The original is among the Records of the Proprietors of the R. N. Purchase.
ed as followeth, (viz.) by a River commonly called Patucket river, on the west, and up the said River unto the Massachusetts Line, and on the northerly side by the said Line until it cross the old road towards the Bay, where the marked tree stands and heap of stones, and thence a mile and a half east, and from thence by a direct line to the north east corner of the present bounds of the town of Rehoboth, and so back again home unto the said Line between the governments; with all the meadows, woods, waters, and all benefits, emoluments, privileges, and immunities, thereunto appertaining and belonging, to have and to hold to them and to their heirs for ever; Excepting that we reserve within this tract a farm formerly granted unto Major Josias Winslow, and a farm granted unto Capt. Thomas Willett, and two hundred acres of land unto Mr. James Brown about Snake Hill, and ten acres of meadow thereabouts; and the meadow called Blackstone's Meadow, the west plain and the South neck the quantity of two hundred acres, and the fifty acres granted to Roger Amadown, with four acres of meadow adjoining, three acres of meadow to Nicholas Ide, and half an acre of meadow unto George Robinson: All the residue of the lands above mentioned we do hereby firmly make over unto the above said purchasers and their heirs for ever, and do hereby acknowledge ourselves to be fully paid and satisfied for the same, and do exonerate, acquit and discharge them and every of them for and concerning the premises.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this tenth of April 1666.

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of
Isaac Howland
The mark of
John Parris
The mark of
John Rocket.

Marginal Note.

It was also agreed before the signing and sealing of this Deed that, according unto a clause in the Indian Deed when
these lands were purchased by Capt. Willett, that some meet proportion of lands about Sinnichiconet, such as the said Capt. Willett and the Indian Sachem shall agree upon, should be set out for the use of the Indians.

**Note on the back of the same Deed.**

This Deed is recorded according to order by me Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court of New Plymouth.

The Dividend of Lands enrolled 
Folio 217.

The following order relating to this subject was passed by the Court of Plymouth.

*New Plymouth October 2d 1665.*

**Whereas** the Court, having formerly impowered Capt. Thomas Willet to purchase of the Indians certain Tracts of lands on the North of Rehoboth towards the Bay Line, the which he hath done, and is out of purse some considerable sum of money for the same, this Court have appointed the Honored Governor, the Major Winslow, Capt. Southworth, and Mr. Constant Southworth, to treat with Capt. Willet concerning the said purchase, and have impowered the above named Committee to take notice of what hath been purchased by him, and what Deeds he hath, and what his disbursments have been for the same; and have also impowered them to settle upon him such a proportion of the said lands as may appear to be equal, upon any grant to him; and to accommodate the town of Rehoboth respecting an enlargement of their town, as the Court have promised; and to take such course concerning the remainder as he may be reimbursed of his just due and those lands may be settled by the Court.'

Extracted from and compared with the Records of said Court. Per. SAMUEL SPRAGUE Clerk.

The following introduction is entered in the first Book of the Records of the R. N. Purchase:

**Whereas,** in the year one thousand six hundred sixty and six, a purchase of lands was made by the Inhabitants of Rehoboth and the neighborhood of Annimosett:—the said lands situate on the North side of the Towne of Rehoboth—of Mr.
Thomas Prince Esquire, Major Josiah Winslow, Captain Thomas Southworth Agents of the Government of New Plymouth, the bounds of the said lands fully appearing by a Deed of sale made by the aforesaid gentlemen, to the purchasers thereof, bearing date the tenth of April 1666, which deed hath been inrolled at the Court of New Plymouth according to order of Court. The bounds of the said lands are as followeth, (viz.) by a river called Patucket river, on the West, and up the said river unto the Massachusetts line; and on the Northerly side, by the same line, until it cross the ould Roade towards the Bay, where the marked tree stands, and a heape of stones; and thence a mile and halfe East, and from thence by a direct line to the North East corner of the ancient bounds of the town of Rehoboth, and see back againe home to the said line between the Governments—Excepting there was reserved out of the said tract of land, a farm granted before to Major Josiah Winslow, a farm granted to Captain Thomas Willett, and two hundred acres of land to Mr. James Browne about Snake-hill, and ten acres of Meadow thereabouts; and the Meadow called Blackstone's Meadow the West plaine; and the South neck the quantity of two hundred acres; and fifty acres granted to Roger Ammidown with four acres of meadow; and three acres of Meadow to Nicholas Ide; and half an acre to George Robinson; also some Meete proportion of lands for the Indians at Sinnichiteconett; for the use of the said Indians. All the rest of the said lands within the said tract as before bounded, to be equally divided to the purchasers thereof according to their said proportions, (there being Seventy Nine whole shares and a half) being joint purchasers; and the said purchasers have fully discharged and paid the purchase thereof according to their several proportions.

Mem. That the clause in the former page "to be equally divided to the purchasers thereof" hath reference to the before expressed date (viz.) one thousand Six hundred and Sixty and Six.

The Names of the Purchasers with their Rights to the said Lands before mentioned are those (no man contradicting) that are here expressed in the following List.
Capt. Thomas Willett, (one share, John Wilkinson's)
Mr. Stephen Paine Sen. 2 shs. (one that was his own and one that was appointed for John Martin.)
Mr. Noah Newman 1 sh.
Lieut. Peter Hunt 1 sh.
Mr. James Browne 1 sh.
Samuel Newman 1 sh.
John Allen Sen. 1 sh.
John Woodcock 1½ sh.
Thomas Estabrooke’s ½ sh. (bought of Roger Amidowne)
Thomas Willmot 2 shs. (one he bought of Jo. Carpenter and one of his own)
Sampson Mason 1 sh.
Anthoney Perry 1 sh.
John Butterworth 1 sh. (this sold to Daniel Jenkes excepting the meadow)
Philip Walker 1 sh.
John Ormsby 1 sh.
Richard Martin 1 sh.
Stephen Paine Jun. 1 sh.
Rober Joans 1 sh.
Obadiah Bowen 1 sh.
John Pecke 1 sh.
James Redeway 1 sh.
Samuel Carpenter 1 sh.
John Titus 2 sh. (one that he bought of his mother-in-law Abigail Carpenter, and one that was his own)
Mr. John Myles 1 sh.
William Carpenter 1 sh.
Joseph Pecke 1 sh.
Thomas Cooper Jun. 1 sh.
Ensign Henery Smith 1 sh.
Thomas Cooper Sen. 1 sh.
Samuel Pecke 1 sh.
William Buckland 1 sh.
Joseph Buckland 1 sh.
Benjamin Buckland, 1 sh.
John Reade Sen. 1 sh.
John Reade Jun. 1 sh.
Nicholas Pecke 1 sh.
Elizabeth, Hannah, and Lydia Winchester 1 sh. this sould to Dan'l. Sheppardson.
Daniel Smith 1 sh.
Jonathan Bliss 1 sh.
Rice Leonard 1 sh.
William Saben 1 sh.
John Perrin Sen. 1 sh.
George Kendricke 1 sh.
George Robenson 1 sh.
John Doggett 1 sh.
John Fitch 1 sh.
Richard Bowen Jun. 1 sh.
Elizabeth Bullucke 1 sh.
John Miller Jun. 1 sh.
Robert Fuller 1 sh.
Robert Wheaton 1 sh.
Ester Hall 1 sh.
John Miller Sen. 1 sh.
Jaret Ingraham 1 sh.
John Kingsley 1 sh.
Gilbert Brookes 1 sh.
Thomas Reade 1 sh.
Thomas Grant ½ sh.
Jonathan Fuller 1 sh.
James Gillson 1 sh. (bought of Samuel Saben)
Samuel Luther 1 sh. (this share sold to Mr. Phillip Squire)
Nicholas Tanner 1 sh.
John Allen Jun. 1 sh.
Preserved Abell 1 sh.
Francis Stephens 1 sh.
Nicholas Ide 1 sh.
Richard Whittaker 1 sh.
Nathaniel Pecke 1 sh.
Israel Pecke 1 sh.
Jonah Palmer 1 sh.
Robert Miller 1 sh.
Nathaniel Paine 1 sh. (½ of it he bought of Richard Bowen Sen. and the other, of
Jeremiah Wheaton.
Joanna Ide of New Norwich
half a share.
John Savage $\frac{1}{2}$ sh.
Thomas Ormsby $\frac{1}{2}$ sh. (bought
of Richard Bowen Sen.)
Jacob Ormsby $\frac{1}{2}$ sh. (that was
his mother's.)
John Polley 1 sh. (that he had
of his father Jon. Bosworth.
William Allen of Prudense* 1
sh. he bought of Nathaniel
Paine.

The aforesaid List and the
preface to it was universally
agreed upon at a Meeting of
the Purchasers, May 25th
1672 to be entered into the
Booke of Records for the
North Purchased Lands.

John Lovell 1 sh.
Eldad Kinsley 1 sh.

This attested to by me,
William Carpenter, Jr.

Clerke.

This List of Proprietors, as the reader perceives, was made
in 1672, by a committee chosen for that purpose.

The first division of lands in the North Purchase was made
June 22nd. 1658. This division was confined exclusively to
Meadow land. It appears by the following extracts from the
town Records of Rehoboth that the Court had made a grant of
the meadows in the N. Purchase before the rest of the land was
granted.

February 23d, 1657. At a town meeting lawfully warned,
it was voted that all the Meadows lying on the North side of
the Town, which were given and granted to the Town by the
Court, shall be laid out according to person and estate.

At the same time those men whose names are here subscribed
have promised to go to see what meadows they can find on the
North side of our Town, that they may notify our town, to
their best judgment, what quantity there may be of it, and this
they promise to do freely on their own charge.' Wm. Car­
penter Senior will go 3 days on his own charge, and if he go
any more he is to be paid for it. Wm. Sabin, 1 day; Lieut.
Hunt 2 days; Joseph Peck 1 day; John Peck 1 day; Henry
Smith 1 day; Wm. Bucklin 2 days; Robert Fuller 1 day;
John Read 1 day; Thomas Cooper Junior 1 day; Francis
Stephens 1 day.

At the same time, those men whose names are here sub­
scribed are accepted of the freemen of the town to take up
their freedom, viz:—Joseph Peck, John Peck, Henry Smith,

* Probably Providence.
Robert Fuller, John Fitch, Steven Paine, Jonathan Bliss, Wm. Bucklin, Rice Leonard. Several of these persons afterwards removed to Attleborough.

June 22d, 1658. It was voted, that all the meadow that lies upon the North side of the town, that hath been visited by certain men according to the town's order, shall be lotted out, according to person and estate.

14 of the 9th month 1661. Lieut. Hunt, and Wm. Sabin were chosen to confer with Mr. Willet to know what he hath done about the North side of the town in the behalf of the town.

The 28 of the 5 mo. 1662. It was voted that John Woodcock* should have two rods of land to build a small house on for himself and his family to be in on the Lord's day in some convenient place near the meeting house; and Goodman Paine and Lieut. Hunt were chosen to see where the most convenient place might be for it.

1658 June 22d. "At a town meeting lawfully warned Lots were drawn for the meadows that lie on the North side of the town, according to person and estate."

April 18, 1666. It was voted by the town that the late purchasers of land upon the north side of our town shall bear forty shillings in a rate of 5 £, and so proportionable in all other public charges.

It was also voted that there should be a three railed fence set up and maintained between the late purchased land on the north side of the town to be set up on all the end of the plain from Goodman Buckland's lands to the mill river, and every man that is interested in the said purchased lands to bear an equal proportion in the aforesaid fence according to their proportion of Lands.

It was also voted to make choice of a Committee for the settling and stating of the late purchased Lands on the north side of our town, viz: whether such, as at present seem questionable, are true proprietors of the aforesaid lands;—and the Committee chosen were Capt. Willet with the towns-
men and those that stand engaged for the payment of the aforesaid purchased Lands. The Committee reported April 23d, 1666.

It was also voted by the town that Mr. Goodman Martin shall enjoy a spot of fresh meadow that lies on the north side of the town lying at the end of the Great Plain, during his life and his wife's, and at their decease to return to the town.

At the same time it was agreed between the town and Capt. Willet, that for the forty acres of meadow that he is to have to his farm, on the north side of the town, he is by agreement made with the town to have high Squisset and Low Squisset, and the bounds of the said Squisset's meadows to be according to the sight of the Surveyors the day that they laid out his farm, that is, Henry Smith and William Carpenter; and he is also to have a piece of meadow at the Seven Mile River near unto the going out at the highway, and six acres of meadow at the Ten Mile River, and what there wants of the six acres in quality is to be made up in quantity—the said six acres of meadow on the Ten Mile River lies by the old highway as we go into the Bay.

'April 23d 1666. The Committee that was chosen by the town April 18th 1666, at a town meeting, for the stating and settling of the late purchased lands, upon the North side of our town, the aforesaid committee being met together this twenty third of April, we see cause that there shall be seventy six whole shares and equal purchasers in the aforesaid Lands, and six persons that have half shares, which we see cause to add to the seventy six whole shares, so that the whole number of shares amounts to seventy nine shares.'

May 19th 1666. At a town meeting lawfully warned, the town concluded to have a meeting upon the last Tuesday in June, to consider of the meadows on the north side of the town, how they may be disposed of for this present year; it is therefore agreed by this town, that no man shall mow a load or a part of a load of grass, before the town hath disposed of them, upon the penalty of twenty shillings the load or part of a load.
Oct. 16th 1666. At a town meeting it was concluded, that the purchased lands on the north side of the town shall be divided between this and the first of May next ensuing.

It was also voted by the town that no person shall fall any trees upon the aforesaid lands on the north side of our town before the said lands be divided, upon the penalty of ten shillings for every tree so fallen.

The same day John Doggett, John Woodcock, and John Titus were chosen by the town to see what timber trees are fallen on the late purchased lands on the north side of our town, and they shall have the forfeiture for their pains, and the trees to those that the land shall fall to.

June 22d 1667. At a town meeting it was voted by the town that the meadows lying on the north side of the town shall be for this present year, as they were the last year.

April 10th 1668. The town chose a Committee to go and view the meadows that are in the North Purchase and to acre them out, to deuide them into three score and eighteen parts and a half, and to mark and bound out each part and put in such swamps as in their prudence they think meet, to be laid out in the said division—provided they do it equally as they can. The said committee are Anthony Perry, Philip Walker, Thomas Willmot, * Nicholas Ide; to be paid by the whole company of purchasers.

May 13th 1668. The town made an agreement with Goodman Allen that he is to have the twenty acres of Meadow that is laid out by Ensign Smith at Sinecheticonet, and the Meadow called the Parson’s Meadow, and all that is within his farm, for his thirty acres of meadow that he purchased of Major Winslow—and also for his full share of meadow on the North Purchase.

It was also voted that the rates upon the North side of the town be lowered, and part taken off, that is to say, whereas the lands upon the N. Purchase paid 40 shillings of 5 pounds in all rates, that now the said lands shall pay 20 shillings in 5 pounds until the town see cause to alter it.

* Now Willmarth.
May 26th 1669. It was voted that John Woodcock shall have the meadow upon the ten mile river between Capt. Willet's meadow and his own Meadow, and another piece that the townsmen shall appoint him that were chosen by the town to acre the meadows in the North Purchase, for two shares of meadow on the N. Purchase.

The 26th of May 1663, lots were drawn for the meadows† in the North Purchase.

The first division of general lands was granted by the proprietors at a meeting held Feb. 9th 1668. Lots were drawn for this division March 18th, 1668-9. The previous divisions had been confined to meadow land.

'At a town meeting lawfully warned Feb. 9th 1668, it was voted that there should be Fifty acres of upland laid out on the north side of the town to every share, speedily; and the rest to be laid out with as much conveniency as may be.'

It was voted that there should be a committee chosen to view where there is good land for the laying out of a division of lands on the north purchase, and that the aforesaid fifty acres to a share should be forthwith laid out, and then lots to be drawn by the aforesaid purchasers according to the agreement.

At a town meeting lawfully warned the 18th of March 1668-9, 'It was voted that there should be fifty acres of land laid out to a share on the North purchased lands.'

It was also provided that the purchasers should draw lots for their choice; and that each one should choose his lands successively according to his turn, and give notice to the next in turn; and that if any neglect or refuse to make choice and lay out his land in his turn, for the space of three days, after notice given him, he should wait until all others had made choice in regular order.

At this meeting a Committee of eight were chosen, any two of whom might act, to see that these rights should not be laid out so as to interfere with highways, previous divisions of meadows, or other lotments. This Committee were William

† Granted by the Court previous to the purchase.

‘The Names of those that drew for a Division on the North Purchase 18th March 1668–9.’

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>John Ormsby</td>
<td>James Gillson</td>
<td>John Butterworth</td>
<td>George Kendrick</td>
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<td>Children’s Lands*</td>
<td>Israil Peck</td>
<td>John Lowell</td>
<td>Thomas Grant</td>
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<td>Goody Hide</td>
<td>Eldad Kingsley</td>
<td>George Robinson</td>
<td>Jonathan Fuller</td>
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<td>John Allin Jun.</td>
<td>Mr. Myles</td>
<td>Robert Fuller</td>
<td>Richard Whittaker</td>
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<td>Ichabod Miller Jun.</td>
<td>John Fitch</td>
<td>Edward Hall</td>
<td>Nicholas Tanner</td>
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<td>Robert Wheaton</td>
<td>Joseph Carpenter</td>
<td>John Savage</td>
<td>Will. Saben</td>
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<td>John Doggett</td>
<td>Preserved Abel</td>
<td>Will. Carpenter</td>
<td>Will. Carpenter</td>
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<td>Deacon Cooper</td>
<td>John Woodcock</td>
<td>Sampson Mason</td>
<td>John Peck</td>
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<td>Tho. Read</td>
<td>Nich. Ide</td>
<td>Sam. Luther</td>
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<td>Joseph Peck</td>
<td>Capt. Willet</td>
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<td>John Read Sen.</td>
<td>James Reddeway</td>
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<td>Thomas and Jacob Ormsby</td>
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<td>Richard Bullock</td>
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Complaints were often made that the lands in the N. Purchase were rated or assessed too high. There is the following record on this subject.

At a meeting of proprietors of the North Purchase the 26th Aug. 1670, it was voted that the townsmen should choose three men to discuss and also to end any difference with such per-

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* Children of Alexander Winchester, deceased.
sons as are chosen by the complainers of the provisions of the Rates. The time set to meet was this day s'en'nit at the meeting house; and if not ended to attend the next Court at Plymouth to defend and answer such complaints as are made against the rating of these lands.

A mile and a half on the south side of this town was granted to Rehoboth by order of Court, June 1668.

June 1668. This Court have ordered that a tract of land containing a mile and a half lying on the North side of the town of Rehoboth is allowed to be the proper right of the said township. And for such lands as are lying betwixt the Bay line and it is to be accounted within the Constablerick of Rehoboth, until the Court shall order it otherwise. And that such farms as lyeth within the said liberties shall be responsible in point of rating at the Colony’s disposal.—Old Col. Rec.

There is the following vote concerning this tract in Rehoboth Records.

Nov. 8th 1670. At a town meeting lawfully warned it was voted that the line should be forthwith run between the North Purchase and the Mile and a half given to the town for enlargement.

The Committee were Lieut. Hunt and Ensign Smith, Nicholas Peck and Will. Carpenter.

Committees were also chosen to see that no timber on the North side should be fallen or drawn away. Great difficulty was experienced in preventing the loss of timber on the undivided lands.

Dec. 26th 1670. It was voted that there should be a town meeting this day fortnight about 10 of the clock in the morning, and that there should be a committee chosen to draw up such propositions as they think will be most expedient for the settling of the differences on the north side of the town concerning those lands, considering that all the purchasers of the land have not yet given them, Mr. Brown engaging to give notice to all the proprietors of those lands that dwell at Swansea; and that these propositions be tendered at the said town meeting, that if it were the will of God, there might be a unanimous agreement. The committee chosen were Lieut.
Nov. 23d 1670. A committee was chosen to meet the Treasurer of Taunton to settle the bounds between the North Purchase and Taunton North Purchase. Committee were Ensign Smith, Wm. Sabin, Wm. Carpenter.

At a meeting of the Proprietors, May 28th 1672, it was voted, that for the comfortable and peaceable settlement of the lands and meadows on the North side of the town;—whereas there has been great dissatisfaction in respect of the unequal division of meadows;—and, forasmuch as there was a Committee chosen in the year 1663 for the bounding of the meadows betwixt the Tens;—there shall be a new committee added to them, to make diligent search and take a deliberate view of the meadows and swamps within all the several Tens, with power to add to those Tens which needed amendment, and bound them all; and also to redress any grievance which any particular person suffers. This order is not to take place till after six months. It was provided that the said committee should bound all the Tens before any more upland lots are laid out, if they do it within two months.

At a meeting of Purchasers Feb. 18th 1684, it was voted that there should be a division of fifty acres to a share in the North Purchase; Wm. Carpenter was chosen Surveyor to lay it out. Voted that there should be a meeting of the Purchasers to draw lots for said Division the last Tuesday of June next ensuing. Accordingly at a meeting held June 29th 1685 lots were drawn for said fifty acres of upland among 83 persons.

At a Proprietor's Meeting Oct. 31st 1699, it was voted that there should be two divisions of lands in the North Purchase forthwith laid out to the said proprietors according to their rights in said lands, i.e. fifty acres to a whole share in both divisions, viz: 25 acres to the first division, and 25 acres to the second division; and he that is first in the first division shall be last in the second division, and so on.

At their next meeting Nov. 7th 1699, the proprietors drew
lots for the new division. They had increased at this time to 133 in number.

In the year 1694 the inhabitants of the North Purchase were incorporated into a township by an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts.

The following is the Act of Incorporation.

AN ACT for granting a township within the County of Bristol to be called Attleborough.

Whereas there is a certain tract of land commonly known by the name of North Purchase, lying within the County of Bristol, containing in length about ten miles from Patucket River to the bounds of Taunton, and extending about eight miles in breadth from the line or boundary betwixt the two late Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, to the bounds of the town of Rehoboth; being a convenient tract for a township, and more than thirty families already settled thereupon;

For the better encouragement and settlement of said Plantation:

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That henceforth the said tract of land as above described, and bounded by the township of Taunton and Rehoboth, (no way to intrench upon either of their rights) be and shall be a township, and called by the name of Attleborough, and shall have and enjoy all such immunities, privileges, and powers, as generally other townships within this Province have and do enjoy.

* Previous to this the N. Purchase was within the jurisdiction, but not within the chartered limits of Rehoboth. The inhabitants were subjected to the municipal authority, and had all the rights of freemen of that town. It was, properly, a plantation of Rehoboth. It was ordered by Plymouth Court to be within the jurisdiction of that town until it should be incorporated July 5th 1671. ’The Court have ordered that the North Purchase (so called) shall lie unto the town of Rehoboth, until it comes to be a township; and in the mean time to bear the seventh part of all the rates that shall be levied for the public charges of that town; and when the said Purchase shall become a Township by itself, then the said township of Rehoboth to be eased in their rates.’—Old Col. Records.

† Taunton North Purchase.
Provided, That it be not in prejudice of any former grant. Provided also, That the Inhabitants of the said place do continue under the power and discretion of the Selectmen, Assessors, and Constables of Rehoboth (whereunto they were formerly annexed) as well referring to any assessments and arrears thereof, as all other things proper to the duty of Selectmen, Assessors and Constables, respectively; until they are supplied with such officers among themselves, according to the directions in the law in that case made and provided.

The boundaries described in the preceding Act included the present town of Attleborough and Cumberland, R. I. embracing a very extensive tract of land. The number of inhabitants at this time could not much exceed a hundred and eighty. They were mostly settled in the Southerly and Westerly parts of the town. These families were scattered over a considerable space; many had been here from an early period. Of the early settlements more will be said hereafter.

The country was then mostly covered with forests, interspersed however with a good supply of natural meadow, which was then considered the most valuable kind of land.

The inhabitants increased rapidly, and soon penetrated into various parts of the town.

A few extracts from the early records of the town, illustrating the character of the times, will be interesting to the present generation.

The first town meeting on record appears to have been held May 11th 1696, two years after the incorporation. At this meeting the town chose Mr. John Woodcock and Mr. John Rogers late of Bristol as agents "to manage our concerns in matters relating to that part of our township commonly called the Mile and Half, according to our petition and other copies which are in the hands of Mr. Henry Derens Clerk to the House of Representatives, and did further appoint and impower Mr. John Woodcock to agree with and impower said Mr. Rogers and take care to help him to such papers as may most

* There must, however, have been a previous meeting and a choice of officers—of which no record is preserved.
concern our business, for the promoting of matters relating to our township."

At the same meeting three Assessors were chosen for the ensuing year, viz. Israel Woodcock, Thomas Tingley and Samuel Titus.

The next town meeting was held Nov. 23d 1696, at which the town authorized the Selectmen to make a Rate for paying the town's debts, which amounted to £. 5. 15 s. 1 d. At the same time several individuals engaged to pay certain sums 'by way of free gift towards the building of a Meeting House,' and desired their names and sums might be entered accordingly.

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<td>David Freeman</td>
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March 23d 1696—7. The town 'taking into consideration who are by law allowed to vote in town meetings, and finding so few allowed to vote, ordered that 'all the inhabitants and town Dwellers' should have a right to vote in said meetings.—At this time town officers were chosen for the year ensuing, viz. 'Mr. John Woodcock, Anthony Sprague, Daniel Jenks, Jonathan Fuller, Thomas Tingley, Selectmen; Anthony Sprague, town Clerk; Israel Woodcock, Constable; Nicholas Ide and Joseph Cowel, Surveyors; Henry Sweet, Tithingman; Thomas Tingley and Samuel Titus, Fence viewers; John Woodcock, Anthony Sprague and Daniel Jenks, Assessors; John Lane, Grand juryman; Benjamin Force for the Jury of trials in April next at the Quarter Sessions at Bristol.'

May 10, 1697. At a town meeting for the choice of an 'Assembly man for the Great and General Court' the inhabitants voted not to send a man 'by reason the town was excused by law.'

July 12th 1697. The town voted to have a Pound made according to law upon a piece of undivided land between the lands of Daniel Shepperson and James Jillson near the Bay Road.

The inhabitants were often disturbed by Indians and others hunting and strolling about the town and insulting the inhabi-
itants. In relation to these disturbances the town passed the following orders:

Jan'y. 31st 1697 or 8. At a town meeting legally warned for the making of some town orders or by-laws touching persons disorderly coming into town who have no rights or lands in the same but are strangers and foreigners; the town passed the following orders: 'It is ordered by the inhabitants of Attleborough and voted in said meeting, that no person that is a stranger shall be received as an inhabitant without the consent or approbation of said town, or sufficient security given to the town by him or them that shall take in or harbor any person contrary to this order; moreover, the Selectmen are appointed to take due care and sufficient security, in the behalf of the town, of and for all such persons as shall receive in or harbor any stranger or foreigner; or to give order and warning to such stranger or foreigner to depart the town, according as the law directs, and that with all convenient speed after knowledge or notice given of the same; so observing from time to time that the town be not charged with unnecessary charges.'

2d. 'The second order or by-Law was touching Indian foreigners and strangers that have been complained of for uncivil carriages and behaviour towards some of the inhabitants of this town, for the prevention of which the inhabitants being desired to give their advice, by joint consent have voted and passed this Act, That no foreign Indian or stranger should be allowed to come into town being armed under hunting pretences nor suffered in the same to abide in drinkings and shootings at unseasonable times of night and threatenings to several persons, which is contrary to the law of this Province, and disturbing to several of this town; neither is any person or persons whatsoever within this town allowed to take in or harbor Indian or Indians armed other than such as hath been allowed or shall be allowed, without the unanimous consent of the inhabitants, at any time hereafter, but every person or persons, transgressing against this order or by-law, shall pay a fine of five shillings, each day, for the use of the poor of this town for every such offence.'
March 4th 1699 or 1700, in town meeting Daniel Shepperson gave a piece of ground to set a Pound on 'at a place commonly known and called Red Rock Hill by the road-side by a pine tree, which pound is to be built 30 feet square and finished by the last of June 1700.'

May 13th 1700. Voted not to send a Representative for the same reason that was assigned at the first meeting.

March 25th 1701. In town meeting voted and appointed a 'Training place to be on the South side of David Freeman's house, between the two ways, viz. the Bay road and the road that leadeth to Nicholas Ide's house.' At the same time the town 'did by major vote appoint the last Tuesday in March at 9 o'clock A. M. to be their Election Day annually for choosing town officers according to law, without any further warning, so to continue till further order.'

Feb. 9th 1702—3. It was voted that Ensign Nicholas Ide and Anthony Sprague with the Selectmen be a Committee to agree in behalf of our town concerning the lines and bounds between Attleborough, Dorchester, and Wrentham. It was also voted that the Selectmen should make a town Rate for the payment of town debts, and that a quarter part of said rate be levied upon the polls, and the rest upon the estates; and that said rate shall be paid in Indian corn at 2 s. 6 d. per bushel, or rye at 3 s. 6 d. per bushel, or oats at 1 s. 6d. per bushel, or in money.

May 14th 1703. Voted not to send a representative by reason they were so few in number and excused by law.

The first inhabitant within the original limits of Attleborough was the celebrated William Blackstone, who was also the first settler and sole proprietor of Shawmut, now the beautiful city of Boston. Every thing relating to the life of this singular man must be interesting, not only to the people of this town, but to all who feel an interest in the ancient history of the Colonies.

He came to this country from England about the year 1625, and settled first at Boston the Indian name of which was Shawmut. Here he remained alone, until the arrival of Governor Winthrop's company, in June 1630. They at first lo-
icated themselves at Charlestown; but finding the water bad, and liking that plain neck that was then called Blackstone's Neck,* they soon removed, by invitation, to the peninsula, where they found a good spring of water. Mr. Blackstone had been, in England, a clergyman of the established church. But he lived in an age of religious bigotry, intolerance, and persecution; and "not being able," as he said, "to endure the power of the Lords Bishops," he left his native land and sought an asylum in the wilds of America, where he might enjoy his own opinions unmolested. After residing a few years with the new settlers of Shawmut, he found the same intolerant and overbearing spirit among his new associates; and becoming "discontented with the power of the Lords Brethren," he was compelled to seek another retreat. In 1634, he sold his right and title in the peninsula to the inhabitants of Boston, each one paying him six shillings, and some of them, more. A reservation was made for him of about six acres where his house stood.

The Peninsula of Boston was then called Blackstone's Neck, the whole of which he claimed as his property; and this claim was recognized by the new settlers. With the purchase money he bought a 'stock of cows,' which he carried with him to his new settlement on the banks of the Pawtucket river.

The following document, quoted in Shaw's History of Boston, gives some of the particulars of this purchase.

'The deposition of John Odlyn, aged about 82 years; Robert Walker, aged about 78 years; Francis Hudson, aged about 66 years; and William Lytberland, aged 76 years.—These deponents being antient dwellers and inhabitants of the town of Boston, from the time of the first planting thereof, do jointly testify and depose, that in or about the year of our Lord sixteen hundred and thirty four, the then present inhabitants of said town, (of whom the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq. Governor of the Colony, was chiefe,) did treate and agree with Mr. William Blackstone for the purchase of his estate and right in any lands lying within the said neck of land, called Boston, and

* Capt. Clap, May 1630.
for said purchase agreed that every householder should pay six shillings, which was accordingly collected—none paying less, some considerably more; and the said sum was paid to Mr. Blackstone, to his full content. Reserving unto himself about six acres of land on the point, commonly called Blackstone's Point, on part whereof his then dwelling-house stood. After which purchase, the town laid out a place for a Training Field, which ever since, and now is used for that purpose, and for the feeding of cattle: Walker and Lytherland further testify, that Mr. Blackstone bought a stock of cows with the money he received, and removed near Providence, where he lived till the day of his death.' Sworn to the 10th of June, 1684, before S. Bradstreet, Governor, and Samuel Sewall, Assistant.

Mr. Blackstone received £30 for his right to the Peninsula, as appears by the following record. The '10th day of the 9 mo. 1634,' Voted that a rate be made, viz. 'a rate for £30 to Mr. Blackstone.'*

In 1635, he removed to another retreat, still farther in the wilderness,—beyond the tyranny of man. This place was on the banks of Pawtucket river which now bears his name, and was within the ancient limits of Attleborough, in that part called the Gore, now Cumberland, R. I. This was about ten years before the settlement of Rehoboth and a few years before that of Providence. In this solitary retreat he built his house, cultivated his garden and planted his orchard. His house and garden he surrounded with a park, which was his daily walk. His residence was on a hill near the Blackstone river; and his orchard, just east of the hill. Here he remained for many years in entire seclusion from the world,—here was none to disturb his lonely retreat. He was furnished with a library; and nature and study charmed his solitary hours. He thus seated himself, for life, in peaceful solitude on the banks of the Blackstone.

* Reckoning March the 1st month, this assessment was made in December—the purchase, of course, was made previous to this date; and Blackstone, in all probability, removed early in the subsequent spring.
His house he called 'Study Hall,' and the eminence, on which it was built, was named 'Study Hill,'—which name it still retains. This place* is about three miles above Pawtucket village, where the late Col. Simon Whipple resided. The Indian name of the place was Wavepoonseag. This name is mentioned in the Plymouth Records in describing the boundaries of the North Purchase in 1661—'From Rehoboth ranging upon Patucket River, to a place called by the natives Wavepoonseag,' where one Blackstone now sojourneth.'

During his residence here, in 1659, Mr. Blackstone married the widow Sarah Stevenson.§ She died about the middle of June, 1673.§ He survived his wife only about two years, and died May 26th, 1675,‡ a few weeks before the commencement of the great Indian War, thus having escaped witnessing the horrors of that awful period, and the complete destruction which awaited his 'fair domain.' He had lived in New England about fifty years, nearly ten years at Shemmut (now Boston) and forty at this place. He must have been quite advanced at the time of his death—probably not far from eighty.

* His title to the lands which he occupied was respected by the Plymouth Government, who ordered them recorded to him.

† March 5th, 1671. Mr. Stephen Paine, Sen. of Rehoboth, and Mr. Nicholas Tanner were appointed by the Court to see Mr. Blackstone's land laid forth according to the grant.—Old Col. Rec.

‡ This is supposed by a writer in the Mass. His. Coll. to be properly the name of a brook, now called Abbott's Run, which enters the river not far from Blackstone's residence.

§ Mr. William Blackstone was married to Sarah Stevenson, widow, the 4th of July, 1659, by John Endicott, Governor.—*Town Records of Boston. She was the widow of John Stevenson of Boston, who had, by her, at least three children—Onesimus, born 26th 10th mo. 1643; John, born — 7th mo. 1645; and James, born Oct. 1st, 1653. His second son, John Stevenson, lived with his mother after her marriage with Mr. Blackstone, and, after their decease, continued at the same place during the remainder of his life.

¶ Mrs. Sarah Blackstone the wife of Mr. William Blaxston, was buried about the middle of June, 1673.—Rehoboth Records.

Many of the ancient records mention the day of the burial, but not of the deaths of persons.

† † Mr. William Blackston buried the 28th of May, 1765.—ib.
Around him was still a wilderness when death snatched him from the sylvan retreat which he loved; but, (though the footsteps of men were fast approaching,) how would he be astonished to behold the region around it (the place which he once thought secure from the haunt of men) now swarming with an industrious and thriving population! How would he grieve to find the stream, whose placid waters as they flowed by his dwelling he delighted to contemplate, now interrupted by numerous water-works, and the silence which then reigned around him, now disturbed by the buzz of thousands of spindles! To what ignoble purposes is his classic stream now devoted!—What a contrast! It is a change which the peace-loving spirit of Blackstone could not endure. To enjoy that solitude which was congenial to his taste, he would now be compelled to seek a new abode beyond the banks of the Mississippi.

Blackstone was by no means a misanthrope, but a man of natural benevolence, who took this mode of indulging his love for solitude, and securing the unrestrained enjoyment of his own sentiments. He did not shun man because he hated him, but because he loved solitude more than society. He was fond of study and contemplation, and here he could enjoy both. Possessing an independent and original mind, he could not brook the dogmatical and persecuting spirit of the age; and to escape from its influence he fled to the wilds of America.

He was not idle, though in solitude. He cultivated his garden and reared his orchard with his own hands; and is said to have been devoted to his books.—Though meditative in his habits,—yet cheerful in disposition. He was acquainted with Roger Williams, the father of Rhode Island—a kindred spirit;—and frequently went to visit him, and occasionally preached at Providence and the neighboring towns.

He was a man of great eccentricity; and often exhibited in his conduct the most ludicrous oddities. Among other anecdotes, it is related of him that he had tamed a bull, (to supply the place of a horse,) on which he used to ride into Providence to visit his friends. 'He was also remarkable,' says Mr. Baylies, * 'for his love of children.'

* Memoirs of Plymouth Colony,—which is a work of great interest—embodying a large amount of historical information on the Old Colony.
At a late centennial celebration in Boston, under the direction of the Mass. His. Society, a present of apples was sent to their table from Cumberland, said to have grown on the trees which grew from the sprouts of those in Blackstone's orchard. Some of the trees planted by his own hands were living a hundred and forty years after they were set out.

He left one son John Blackstone, who, it is supposed, 'settled somewhere near New Haven.' Of him history says little or nothing. But by diligent research I have ascertained a few particulars.

He was a minor when his father died, and had guardians appointed by the Court. He lived on his inheritance till 1692 when he sold his lands to David Whipple, and soon after removed to Providence, and, for a while, contented himself with the humble occupation of a shoemaker. There, it is probable, he married his wife Katharine, and continued to reside till 1718, when he returned to Attleborough, and, with his wife, was legally warned out of town. He is presumed to be the person mentioned in the records, as no other of that name has been known in this part of the country. It is gen-

† June 1st 1675. Lieut. Hunt, Ensign Smith and Mr. Daniel Smith are appointed and authorized by the Court to take some present care of the estate of Mr. William Blackstone deceased, and of his son now left by him; and to see that the next Court he do propose a man to the Court to be his guardian; which in case he do neglect, the Court will then see cause to make choice of one for him.—Old Col. Rec.

‘Oct. 27th 1675. Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Mr. Daniel Smith are appointed and approved by the Court, to be guardians unto John Blackstone, the son of Mr. William Blackstone deceased.’—ib.

‡ The original Deeds, with John Blackstone's signature, are still in existence, and are in the possession of Mr. John Whipple of Cumberland. The first is dated Sept. 10th 1692. He spells his name Blaxton, which was undoubtedly, at the time, the true orthography.

§ There is no record of his marriage in this town.

¶ For what cause does not appear, but may be conjectured. He had probably squandered his property, for, tradition says, he inherited but a small share of his father's prudence.
eraly supposed by historians that the family is now extinct.—
But it is not certain, however, (though probable) that the blood
of Blackstone runs not in the veins of a single human being.
There is some reason to believe that his son emigrated to Con­
necticut, and settled on a neck of land, not far from New Ha­
ven, where, it is possible, some of his posterity may exist in
the female line. I have been informed that there was a family
of that name who lived there in seclusion for many years.

His son-in-law John Stevenson came with his mother when
she married Mr. Blackstone, being about 14 years old, and
lived with them till their death.* He came into possession of
a part of his father-in-law’s estate, as appears by the following
order of Plymouth Court, passed June 10th 1675, about two
weeks after Blackstone’s decease.

* Whereas the Court is informed that one whose name is
John Stevenson, son-in-law to Mr. William Blackstone, late
deceased, was very helpful to his father and mother in their
life-time, without whom they could not have subsisted as to a
good help and instrument thereof, and he is now left in a low
and mean condition, and never was in any measure recom­
pensed for his good service aforesaid, and if, (as it is said at
least) his father-in-law engaged to his mother at his marriage
with her, that he should be considered with a competency of
land out of the said Blackstone’s land then lived on, which
hath never yet been performed; and forasmuch as the person­
al estate of the said William Blackstone is so small and incon­
siderable, that he the said Stephenson cannot be relieved out
of it; this Court, therefore, in consideration of the premises,
do order and dispose fifty acres of land unto the said John
Stevenson, out of the lands of the said William Blackstone,
and five acres of meadow, to be laid out unto him by Ensign
Henry Smith, and Mr. Daniel Smith and Mr. Nathaniel Paine,
according as they shall think meet, so as it may be most commo­
dious to him or as little prejudicial to the seat of Mr. William

* There is an error in a short sketch of Mr. Blackstone in the Mass. His.
Coll. where it is said that he left two children, a son, and a daughter mar­
rried to John Stephenson. The latter, as already mentioned, was the son of
his wife by her first husband.
Blackstone as may be. By order of the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth.*—Old Col. Rec.

* The bounds of this grant are recorded in the Records of the North Purchase, Book 1st p. 47. Extracts are made for the gratification of those who may wish to know the situation of his lands.

‘Imp. Fifty acres of upland lying upon Patucket River, most of it upon the South Neck, being part of that land that was left for Mr. William Blackstone and granted by the Court to John Stevenson; bounded to the easterly, the land of John Fitch and the Common; westerly, Patucket River, and Southerly; to the northward, the land of John Blackstone; it being 106 rods long.’

The five acre lot of meadow mentioned in the grant is also recorded as laid out by the Commissioners.

1st. Two acres of meadow adjoining to the said lands lying in two pieces; one piece within the former tract of land, and the other by the river side upon the Southernmost end of it.

2d. ‘Three acres of fresh meadow lying at the northeast corner of the meadow commonly known by the name of Blackstone’s Great Meadow, from a white oak tree marked, and so through the breadth of the meadow to the Run, the Run bounding it to the northward; westward, the meadow of John Blackstone; eastward, the swamp; southward, the upland.’

There is another tract which he probably purchased. ‘Fifty acres of upland, more or less, bounded east the land of Ensign Nich. Peck and Rob. Miller; north, the land of Sam. Carpenter; west, a highway four rods wide (between John Blackstone’s land and this lot) and a little piece of common land; south, coming near John Fitch’s grave, to the Common.

There is to be taken out of this lot a highway 2 rods wide next to Sam. Carpenter’s land to meet with the highway at the east end of said Carpenter’s lot.’

Likewise 10 acres of land, allowed to John Stevenson by the king’s jury, for land for highways, taken out of his land, lying on the southerly side of Abbott’s Run, &c.

Another record of land commences thus: ‘Likewise two acres of land that I took up adjoining to my own land, at the southerly end of it, which I had in exchange with my brother John Blackstone, &c.

To gratify the curious, the boundaries of John Blackstone’s lands are added, by which the precise location of his father’s estate may be ascertained.

‘Imp. A hundred and fifty acres of upland, swamp, and meadow ground, more or less, containing the West Plain (commonly so called) and land adjacent; bounded, to the northward, the land of Isaac Allen; to the south-

‡ Often called in the Records The Parson’s Meadow,
Stevenson acquired a taste for solitary life by living with Blackstone, and resided here, (it is believed, alone) till his death. There is no evidence of his ever having been married. His time was devoted to the cultivation of his lands and the pleasures of hunting. He died Sept. 16th, 1695. His brother James Stevenson, of Springfield, was appointed his Administrator; who returned an Inventory, Oct. 11th, 1695, from which it appears that his whole estate was valued at £57.5.2.*

This is all the account which I can find of the first settler within the bounds of the North Purchase, and of those connected with him. But his name will be preserved in perpetual remembrance, for it is inseparably attached to that noble river which flows past the site of his ancient and solitary dwelling. His name is also transferred to a work of art—to that Canal which bears the wealth and produce of the interior of Massachusetts to the original abode of Roger Williams. The Valley of the Blackstone has become celebrated as a manufacturing district, and contributes, by the advantages of its water power, to the wealth and industry of New England. Hardly could

ward, the land of John Stevenson; to the westward, Pawtucket river; to the eastward, the land of John Stevenson, the highway, and the undivided land; there running through it a country highway to Pawtucket river, four rods wide.

Likewise a parcel of fresh meadow commonly known by the name of Blackstone's Meadow, being eight acres, bounded to the eastward, the meadow of John Stevenson, &c.

Likewise twenty acres (laid out to John Blackstone, granted to him by the king's jury for a way taken through his farm to Pawtucket River,) running 75 rods N. W. and by W. and 42 rods S. W. and by S. bounded round by the undivided land; this tract lying near the new road to Dedham.

Likewise two acres which he had upon exchange with his brother John Stevenson, adjoining to his own farm, on the westerly side of the country highway, next the house; bounded easterly by the highway, westerly his own farm, and southerly by a small run of water; and in consideration of it John Stevenson had two acres of what John Blackstone was to have allowed by the king's jury, for the highway through his land to Providence.

Records R. N. Purchase, Book 1, page 153.

* 'His house, lands, and meadows at 150. His gun, cutlass, and cartouch box 10. 18. 0.' &c. &c.
Blackstone—the lover of undisturbed solitude—have dreamed when he forsook the Peninsula of Boston, and pitched his lonely dwelling on the banks of this placid stream, that his peaceful retreat would be so soon the scene of industry and the abode of a numerous population, and its silence broken by the busy works of art! Were his spirit permitted to revisit the scene of his former enjoyments—he would be obliged to penetrate another wilderness—to form a new garden, and plant a new orchard—and to seek in a more distant region of the West a spot congenial to his taste.*

The place which he chose for his residence is a truly beautiful and romantic spot—such as a recluse and a lover of nature would select. The place where his house stood is a small hill, the surface of which would make an acre or more; on the east is a gradual ascent, but on the west it rises abruptly from the river to the height of 60 or 70 feet; there the Blackstone winds gracefully at its base; forming a slight curve at a short distance south of the hill. Its summit commands a fine view of the ‘valley of the Blackstone’ to the distance of more than a mile on the South. On the east is a delightful and fertile valley consisting of a few acres, which opens to the south on the borders of the meadow, and is bounded on the east and north east by a gentle eminence, on the top of which runs the ‘Mendon road’ so often mentioned in the ancient land records. This valley was cultivated by the hands of Blackstone; here was his orchard, where are seen the stumps of apple-trees, cut

* Every thing in relation to Blackstone is interesting to the public; I have, therefore, been minute in this description.

It could never have occurred to him, who, to avoid the notice of men, sought the shades of solitude, that future ages would take so deep an interest in his history—that he should be an object of minute research to the antiquarian—and that every circumstance, connected with his life, which could be rescued from the hand of oblivion, should be sought out with so much avidity!

†The river, within forty years past, has enlarged its channel at this place and now washes the very base of the hill, as if attracted to the spot by a grateful remembrance of him who first sought its banks and loved its stream, and whose honored name it now bears. The margin of the river was formerly three rods at least west from the hill.
down within a few years, which are said to have grown from the sprouts of the first trees planted by him. His well is still pointed out, at the southern border of this valley; though now filled up with moss and weeds, the pure water still bubbles up from its fountains. His grave is also designated, though with less certainty; it is in the orchard, about two rods east from the foot of the hill and north of the well. The 'flat stone which it is said, marked his grave,' is not now visible; it is either removed or buried under the surface.

One Alexander, who was drowned in the river, was buried, it is said, by the side of Mr. Blackstone. Is it not probable that his wife is also buried at the same place?

The spot on which he lived, has returned to its original state of nature. Six or seven years ago, a heavy growth of timber trees was cut from this hill; and its surface is now thickly covered with young and thrifty wood. Oaks of a hundred years have grown on the garden of Blackstone!

The first settlement within the bounds of the present town of Attleborough was in the neighborhood of the Baptist Meeting House, where Hatch's tavern now stands. It was commenced by Mr. John Woodcock and his sons, soon after the first division in 1669. Here he built a public house on the Bay Road; and laid out lands to the amount of about 300 acres, which afterwards made an excellent farm. At this time and subsequently he took up, in several parts of the town, about 600 acres,* part on his own shares and the rest on rights which he purchased of Roger Amidowne, James Redeway, Andrew Willett, &c.

His house was occupied for a Garrison. It was licensed in 1670, according to the following record.

*July 5th 1670. John Woodcock is allowed by the Court to keep an Ordinary at the ten mile river (so called) which is in the way from Rehoboth to the Bay; and likewise enjoined to keep good order, that no unruliness or ribaldry be permitted there.—Old Col. Rec.

His name first appears in the Rehoboth records the 28th 4th

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*A part of this was on Bungay River, (where Bishop's shop lately stood) which he conveyed to his son Jonathan, with the sawmill thereon standing.
mo. 1647, when he bought the lands of Ed. Patterson. He was admitted a freeman of that town, May 14th 1673.

Woodcock was a man of some consideration in those days—his name frequently appearing in town offices and on committees. June 2d 1691 he was chosen Deputy to the General Court from Rehoboth, and at several other times. He was shrewd, hardy, fearless and adventurous—a character just suited to the times in which he lived, and the circumstances in which he was placed.

He held Indian rights in very low estimation. On one occasion he took the liberty of *paying himself* a debt due to him from a neighboring Indian, without the consent of the debtor, or the intervention of judge, jury, or sheriff—for which achievement he received the following sentence from the Court,—an example of the rigid justice of the Puritans.

'1654. John Woodcock of Rehoboth, for going into an Indian house and taking away an Indian child and some goods in lieu of a debt the Indian owed him, was sentenced to set in the stocks at Rehoboth an hour on a Training day, and to pay a fine of forty shillings.'

*Old Col. Rec. Court Orders, Book 3d.*

Woodcock had two wives; Sarah, who died in May 1676, and a second one, Joanna, who survived him. He had a large family of children, some if not all of whose names I have ascertained: (though no record of them is preserved on the books) viz. John, Israil, Nathaniel (killed by the Indians) Jonathan, Thomas; and at least—three daughters; one, married to Thomas Esterbrook, one, to Samuel Guild, and another, Deborah, to Benj'n Onion May 24th 1683. There were two others of this name supposed to be children of John Woodcock, viz. Alice, married to Baruck Bucklin, and Mary, married to Jonathan Freeman. There was also a Sarah Woodcock who married Alexander Bolkcom.

John Woodcock sen. died Oct. 20, 1701—having arrived at a very advanced age, in spite of many attempts which had been made by the Indians to destroy him. It is said, that after his death the scars of seven bullet holes were counted on his body! He was an inreterate and implacable enemy to the Indians—
the cause of which will hereafter appear in the notice of some events in Phillip's War. In encounters with them, on several occasions, he ran imminent risks of his life. He was foremost in all enterprises, the object of which was the destruction of the Indians. He was a very useful man as a pioneer in the dangers of a new settlement—being cunning in contrivance, and bold and active in execution.

Woodcock's Garrison* was a well known place of rendezvous in the great Indian War. It was one in a chain of fortifications extending from Boston to Rhode Island. There was one in Boston; one in Dedham at Ames' corner; Woodcock's in this place; one, it is said, at Rehoboth,† now Seekonk; and another at Newport on the Island; and perhaps others in the intermediate spaces.

This stand, which is now owned and occupied by Col. Hatch, is the oldest in the county of Bristol—a public house having been kept on the spot, without intermission, from July 5th 1670, to this time June 1833—during a period of one hundred and sixty-three years! It is situated on the Boston and Providence turnpike. I have been at considerable pains to ascertain the names of the several owners, in succession, and the times at which they purchased—some brief notices of which may be interesting to the reader.

It was established by John Woodcock, as already related in 1670—the land having been laid out and cleared by him for the purpose. He occupied it about 23 years.

Feb. 17th, 1693—4. John Woodcock sen. of Rehoboth, (with Joanna his wife) for £390 money in hand received, conveys to John Devotion of 'Muddy River, formerly of Boston,' a tract of land containing 210 acres, being 'at a place commonly called ten mile river by a highway called Wrentham lane,' &c. 'with the mansion or dwelling house, barn, and all other out housing and buildings (the Smith's shop only except-

*This was probably the only house (excepting immediate neighbors') on the 'Bay road,' between Rehoboth and Dedham—though this was then the main road from R. Island, Bristol and Rehoboth to Boston.

†Situated in the centre of the Great Plains, on the borders of which the first settlements were principally located.
ed standing on the river;} also about 30 acres lying on N. W. side the country road formerly given to his son John Woodcock, bounded by ten mile R. & c. with his son's dwelling house and barn on the same. 'John Devotion took quiet possession of the same, April 9th 1694, in presence of Nathaniel Brentnall, William Chaplin.'†

Woodcock laid out the ancient Burying ground near his house. In the above mentioned conveyance is the following reservation. 'Except a small parcel of at least six rods square or the contents thereof, for a burying place in which my wife and several of my children and neighbors are interred, with liberty for my children and neighbors to come upon and make use thereof forever as occasion may be.'‡

John Devotion occupied the premises more than 17 years. He left no descendants here; and after selling his estate removed to Wethersfield, afterwards to Suffield.§ His wife's name was Hannah.

July 10th 1711. John Devotion for £400 money paid, conveys the said farm (containing 280 acres more or less) to John Daggett of Chilmark in Dukes County, Martha's Vineyard,

* A shop now stands on the same spot.
† In this conveyance to Devotion is the following curious item: 'Also, all the said John Woodcock his right to, and privilege in, a house and pasture at Wrentham for accommodation of his family and horses on Sabbath days and other public times, as occasion may be.'
‡ This is the oldest grave yard in the town.—where the first settlers are buried. It is situated on the easterly side of the road opposite the Hotel. The first interment in this place was that of Nathaniel Woodcock who was killed by the Indians in Phillip's War, May 1676, and was buried on the spot where he fell, which is still pointed out in the centre of the grave yard. This cemetery is now in a state of dilapidation—many of the stones have fallen down, and the whole is going rapidly to decay. It is the duty of that neighborhood or the town, (a duty which gratitude demands) to see the ground decently enclosed and the stones erected, that the few memorials which now exist of our early ancestry may be preserved.
§ He had a son John Devotion, a schoolmaster, living in Swansea in 1716.
(the first of that name who settled in this town) with 25 acres on Nine mile R. (except 2 acres, the barn and orchard on it, now in possession of Penticost Blackinton.) *Also, one whole share in the undivided lands in Attleborough.

April 16th 1722. John Daggett, for £550, sells the same to Alexander Maxcy, *being his homestead, containing 170 acres in 2 parts on the Ten Mile R. &c. at a place called Mount Hope Hill.* The said Maxcy died in about a year after this purchase. At the division of his estate (1730) the establishment passed into the hands of his oldest son Josiah Maxcy. After his death in 1772, (if not before) it came into the possession of his son Levi Maxcy, who occupied it till about 1780 when he sold it to Col. Israel Hatch the present occupant.

The old Garrison was torn down in 1806, and a large and elegant building erected on the spot, 58 by 60 feet, 3 stories high.† It thus appears that the first building erected on the place stood one hundred and thirty six years. A great part of the timber was said to be perfectly sound—pierced, however, by many a bullet received in Phillip’s War. A relic of this house, it is said, was preserved in the archives of the Mass. His. Soc.

Several families settled near Mr. Blackstone’s seat soon after, if not previous to the war.

Another early settlement was at the Falls (so called) now the Falls Factories. The natural advantages of a fine fall of water attracted the settlers to the spot. The banks of rivers were generally selected by the first occupants on account of the ‘natural meadows’ which they afforded, and which were highly valued at a time when the face of the country was covered with forests.

The first person who laid out lands at the latter place (as near as can be ascertained from the records) was John Daggett of Rehoboth, who, in Oct. 1677, sold 50 acres of it to his

* So called to this day.

† The original building only was taken down;—an addition, built at an early period, was moved a little back, where it now stands, ‘carved o’er with many a long forgotten name.’ A small remnant, one room, of the old Garrison may still be seen adjoining the wood house.
brother Thomas Daggett of Martha's Vineyard. Edward Hall also at an early period owned 50 acres here, which he gave by will to his son John, and he sold it to John Stevenson and Samuel Penfield; the latter sold it, in 1686, to Thomas Daggett of Edgartown, and Joseph and Nathaniel Daggett of Rehoboth. This was the land immediately around the Falls including the privilege. The first mill built there was a 'Corn Mill,' owned or occupied by the above named Joseph Daggett, at what time is not known. This was doubtless the first mill in town. March 30th 1703, the town voted that Jos. Daggett of Rehoboth have the privilege that the stream at the Ten Mile River Falls shall go free of all sorts of taxes until a Corn mill has the constant custom of three score families; and if a saw mill be built, that to bear his equal share in public charges in said town.'

Thomas Butler also laid out land near the Mill.

The southeast corner of the town was early inhabited by people from Rehoboth. The borders of the Bay Road which passed through the neighborhood of Newell's and the City were occupied by some of the first settlers. This was the main route from Bristol to Boston, and was the first road in town.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROPRIETORS.

The Proprietors of the Rehoboth North Purchase soon became a distinct body from the town, and kept separate books. Before proceeding to other parts of the history of the town, it may be proper to detail some of the transactions of the Proprietors, which will throw light on our early history, and give a view of the difficulties which they had to encounter in the settlement.

* Then of Rehoboth, previously of Taunton. Admitted a freeman of Massachusetts May 2, 1638. One John Hall was admitted May 14, 1634, and another May 6th, 1635. Edward had 7 children—John born before his father came to Rehoboth,—Samuel, Jeremiah, Thomas, Preserved, Andrew, Benjamin, from 1656 to 1668.

† The last two were the sons of John Daggett the first of Rehoboth.

‡ There were three of the name of Butler in town.
The Proprietors’ Books commence in 1672. Previous to this their proceedings were recorded in the Rehoboth town books. A certain company (consisting of inhabitants of Rehoboth) purchased, as already appears a certain tract of land of the Indians, through their agent, and the title was confirmed by the Government, * which tract was called The Rehoboth North Purchase. There were 82 purchasers or share-holders, 76 of whom had whole shares, and 6, half shares, making 79 whole shares.† They called meetings, (notified according to law) and from time to time granted divisions of so many acres to a share—which were laid out to the shareholders, by metes and bounds, by a committee and surveyor chosen for the purpose, under such regulations and instructions as were established by the company and were recorded by the Clerk in the Proprietors’ Books. This constituted a valid right to the lands so recorded. In this way all the original titles to land in this town were obtained. A transfer of a share might be made by deed, a record of the sale being entered in the Proprietors’ books. Or, a person might obtain a title to lands by purchasing of a proprietor a right to lay out a certain number of acres in a division already granted, which would be recorded to him in the same manner as to the original owner.

The Grant was first made to such inhabitants of Rehoboth as held a fifty pounds estate and upwards, they having made the purchase; but in 1670 all who were then inhabitants of that town were admitted as proprietors by entering their names, as appears by the following extract from a Court order passed Oct. 7th, 1670.

* Whereas the lands on the Northerly side of Rehoboth now sold by Deed and passed over to the Proprietors of that town (viz.) to all that hold lands there from a fifty pounds estate and upwards; yet by mutual agreement amongst themselves all the inhabitants were taken in to be joint purchasers, it is determined that the names of such as were not comprehended in the above mentioned Deed shall be entered in their town rec-

* No purchase of Indian lands was valid without the grant or confirmation of the Government.
† What consideration was paid for the purchase does not appear.
ords and in the public records of the Colony, to be, if they desire it, as full and equal purchasers and proprietors in those lands as the rest.'

These lands were at first exempted from full taxation, 'to accommodate the poorer sort with land and yet so as not to oppress them as much otherwise.' The Court ordered 'that all the North lands, both farms and else,' should be taxed in a rate separate from the town of Rehoboth, and should pay 30 shillings in a £40 rate to the Colony, and in the same proportion in the Ministerial and other charges, 'until the Court shall see cause otherwise to dispose concerning them, until which time they shall be and remain within the Constablerick of the township of Rehoboth.' Oct. 7, 1670.

The Proprietors sometimes exercised legislative powers, which were, however, to some extent, authorized by Statute.

June 10th 1707. Voted, that all who have lands laid out in the North Purchase and have not renewed their bounds since the 1st of March last, shall, between this date and the last of September next, renew the same, or forfeit the sum of ten shillings to be recovered as a debt due: the one half to the informer, and the other half to the Proprietors, any one of whom are authorized to prosecute this act.

At the same meeting it was ordered that all the timber cut on the undivided lands should be forthwith seized; and a committee was appointed to hear and determine by what right it was cut, and if found without good right, then to take the methods of the law in that case provided.

Sept. 16, 1707. Voted that the Committee with the surveyor, shall lay out all needful highways for the Proprietors in said Purchase, and make restitution to persons whose lands are taken for this purpose, in any of the undivided lands.*

Nov. 1708. The Proprietors chose a committee to look after the northerly bounds of their purchase. At this time commenced the long and tedious contest about the northern boundary of the purchase which was the Old Colony line. The subject was discussed at every meeting, and committees often

* A large proportion of the highways in this town were laid out by the Proprietors, accompanied by the Selectmen.
appointed to devise means of protecting the rights of the purchasers. Petitions were sent to the General Court, counsel were employed to defend their rights; and finally a petition and an agent were sent to England.

July 21st 1714. Voted that two acres of land on the hill before Mr. David Freeman's, where the Burying place now is, shall be laid out for a Burying place for Attleborough. This is the grave-yard near the village called the City.

June 13th 1717. Voted unanimously that Col. Nath'l. Paine Esq. Mr. Richard Waterman, Esq. Lieut. Anthony Sprague, Mr. Dan. Jenks and Mr. Dan. Smith be a committee to see to the Northerly bounds, hereby giving them full power to act in all respects in behalf of the whole Propriety concerning running the line between Attleboro' Wrentham and Dedham, where it ought lawfully to be stated according to our purchase deed.

July 14th 1717. The Committee were authorized to defend all suits of law that may be commenced by any person or persons against the Propriety, and to empower any attorney or attorneys that may be needful for advice; and further to commence any action or actions that they may think proper for the benefit of the said Propriety.

Nov. 2d 1720. Voted that the former Committee still proceed with their Petitions, even until they send to England about the right of our northern line (if they cannot be heard in our own government), and that the expense be paid by the proprietors according to their several interests.

Voted that one hundred acres of undivided land be sold to defray the expenses of defending the northern line. †

Feb. 21st 1726—7. Voted that any person or persons who will sue for our rights in the land challenged by Dorchester or Stoughton, Wrentham and Bellingham, and to the South of Nath. Woodward and Solomon Saffrey's line and on the north of the town and all that part that lieth within their challenge, shall have the fourth part of said tract of land if they recover

† At a subsequent meeting in 1752, the Clerk was authorized to sell to any of the proprietors 79½ acres of undivided land at 8 shillings lawful money per acre.
it to the use of the Propriety. Maj. Leonard Esq. Capt. John Foster and Ensign Daniel Peck appeared in said meeting and accepted the offer.

June 5, 1727. At this meeting a petition in rhyme was presented by one Joshua Barrows,* at that time a well known ex-tempore rhymster, of whose productions many specimens are still remembered; and of whose wit and eccentricity tradition has preserved numerous amusing anecdotes. He seems to have suffered the common fate of poets, poverty. His petition is recorded at length in the Proprietors' books,—which is transcribed merely for the amusement of the reader.

'Your Honors now I do implore
To read my poor petition;
I hope your hearts will open be
To pity my condition.
Ten acres of the Common Land
I pray that you would give;
Then thankful I will be to you
As long as I do live.
Such a kindness, I must confess,
From you I don't deserve;
But when in health, I freely work—
Why should you let me starve?
From day to day my daily bread
I get it by my sweat;
But to my sorrow, I beg and borrow
When sickness doth me let.
No more in rhyme here at this time,
No more I have at hand,
And so I'll end, your faithful friend
And servant to command.

Joshua Barrows.'

Attleborough, June 5th 1727.

The prayer of this petition our good-natured forefathers could not resist. 'Upon the hearing of the aforesaid petition of Joshua Barrows, there were sundry persons in said meeting

* He is said to have been entirely illiterate.
which were proprietors, which gave him land to take up upon
their rights—their names are as followeth, &c.—making in
the whole 13 acres, which were laid out and recorded to him.

It appears from the report of a committee that an agent was
actually employed in England to defend their boundaries. In
their account are the following items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paid for silver money to send to England</td>
<td>£21 17 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid to Nath. Brown for carrying the money to Boston to send to England</td>
<td>£20 2 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To expense at Providence when both committees met there to wait on Gov. Jencks, and writing to send to England after his return from England, &amp;c. &amp;c.</td>
<td>£1 7 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jan. 3d 1750—1. Chose Col. Thomas Bowen, Maj. John Foster and Capt. Sam. Tyler a committee, fully empowering them to prepare a petition praying the General Court that some effectual method may be taken for the perfecting of a straight line* from the middle of Accord Pond (so called) westward to that station which is three English miles south of the southernmost part of Charles River, agreeable to a settlement made by the Government of New Plymouth and the Massachusetts in the year 1640.

Sept. 26th 1751. Made choice of James Otis of Boston and John Foster of Attleborough, Esqrs. a committee in addition to Benj. Day and Nath. Smith (chosen at a former meeting) to present a petition about to be heard at the General Court at

* The cause of dispute was an angle in the Old Colony Line, which is said to have originated in this way: The Commissioners, who were appointed in 1640 by the two colonies to run the line between them, commenced near the shore at a rock called Bound Rock in the middle of Accord Pond, which is in the line between Scituate and Cohasset, (once part of Hingham) intending to reach by a straight line the most northerly point of Plymouth Colony, on the easterly line of R. Island; but when they had arrived within about three miles they discovered that their course would carry them far to the South of the intended point. Instead of rectifying the whole line they made an angle and took a new course so far north as to reach the true point! At this turn stood a large oak tree marked which was called Angle Tree. A large Stone Monument has been since erected on the spot by Attleborough and Wrentham.
their next session, and to pursue said petition until it is fully determined by said Court; and to petition anew if need be, to have the line settled on the northerly part of our Purchase.

May 19th 1752. Chose a committee and gave them full power to eject any person or persons out of the possession of those lands they have possessed themselves of, within the North Purchase Grant, without the consent of the Proprietors, as also full power to sue and pursue any action brought for the purpose, to final judgment and execution.

May 27th, 1754. The committees of Rehoboth N. Purchase and Taunton N. Purchase entered into an agreement to commence actions of ejectment against persons who had intruded upon their respective purchases, the costs to be borne equally by the two Proprietors.

Divisions of land in the N. Purchase have been made among the Proprietors at different times, as follows:

1. A Division of 50 acres to a share granted March 18, 1668-9
2. " of 50 acres to a share was granted Feb. 18th 1684
3. " 50 acres, in 2 parts, 25 acres each, Oct. 31, 1699
4. " 50 acres in 2 lotments, 1703
5. " 50 acres was granted June 10th, 1707
6. " 50 " " " " July 21st, 1714
7. " 20 " " " " Feb. 21st, 1726—7
8. " 10 " " " " April 14th, 1735
9. " 3 " " " " April 4th, 1760
10. " 2 " " " " 1793
11. " 2 " " " " 1801
12. " 1 " " " " 1820
13. " 1 " " " " May 10th, 1833

The most valuable parts of this Purchase were taken up by these divisions many years since. A small but broken and unproductive remnant of this land yet remains common and undivided on Cutting's Plain (so called) on the road from East Attleborough to Wrentham.

From their records and the extracts which have been made, it appears that the proprietors made their own regulations, gave their own titles to lands, and in fact, enacted all their
laws relative to the ownership and the original conveyance of lands included in their purchases.

**Names of the Clerks of the Propriety.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clerk</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Carpenter, Jr.</td>
<td>May 17th, 1682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Smith</td>
<td>May 31st, 1703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah Carpenter</td>
<td>April 23d, 1724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Robbins, Jr.</td>
<td>May 1st, 1752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Daggett</td>
<td>Dec. 9th, 1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebenezer Daggett</td>
<td>July 1st, 1793 and continued till his death March 4th, 1832. Lucas Daggett chosen May 10, 1833.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INDIAN WAR.**

The few events, connected with this war, which occurred here, should not be omitted in the history of the town. The peaceful regions, which we now inhabit, once resounded with the shrill and terrible war-whoop of the Indian.—These fields and woods, these hills and vales were once trod by the wild hunters of the forest. They were the domains of another race of men, who have long since passed away and are known only by the brief histories and scattered relics which their conquerors have preserved. But whatever relates to them is interesting. They were distinguished by many peculiarities. They had their savage vices, but possessed at the same time their savage virtues. They were hardy, bold and warlike.

The most important and critical period in the history of the Colony was the Indian War of 1675—6. This was a gloomy and fearful period to these infant settlements. The hour of their destruction seemed to be drawing nigh. They were a scattered people,—spreading over a wide extent of territory,—peculiarly exposed in their lives and property, to Indian depredations. The approaching contest required all the patience, fortitude and courage which men are ever called to exercise. They had to contend against fearful odds. Nearly all the New England tribes, embracing many thousand warriors, had combined for their destruction, guided by the matchless genius of a Chief versed in all the arts of savage warfare. It was a war
of extermination—a contest for victory in which there was no quarter—no mercy.

In April 1676, the Indians, having suffered several severe defeats in a body, adopted a new mode of warfare, and dispersed themselves in small parties over the country, burning, killing and destroying wherever opportunity offered. Among other outrages, they attacked Woodcock's Garrison, 'killed one man and one of Woodcock's sons, and wounded another, and burnt the son's house.' Some circumstances connected with this event appear to have been accurately preserved by tradition, from which and other sources are gathered the following particulars.

His sons were at work in a corn field near the house. The Indians, concealed in a wood * adjoining the field, approached to its borders and fired upon them. The workmen fled to the Garrison, leaving the dead body on the field. The Indians, to gratify their spite against the family, cut off the son's head, stuck it on a long pole, which they set up on a hill at some distance in front of the house and in full view of the family, to aggravate their feelings as much as possible. From this time Woodcock swore never to make peace with the Indians. He ever after hunted them like wild beasts. He was a man of resolute and determined character;—and tradition says, that not a few fell victims to his vengeance and a sacrifice to the manes of his murdered son.

This attack was in May. The body of his son (whose name was Nathaniel) was buried on the spot where he fell, nearly in the centre of the yard which has ever since been reserved for a burying ground.

Pierce's Fight.—This town was the scene of one of the most severe, bloody and fatal battles fought during the war.—It took place on Sunday March 26th 1676, in that part which is now Cumberland R. I. near the Blackstone River. The spot is still pointed out.

The Government of Plymouth, fearing that their settlements would be again attacked, after so many outrages had been
committed in Massachusetts, ordered out a company for their defence, consisting of 63 Englishmen and 20 Cape Indians,* under the command of Capt. Michael Pierce of Scituate.—He immediately marched in pursuit of the enemy who were supposed to be in the vicinity. He rendezvoused at the Garrison in Rehoboth on Saturday night. The next day, having intelligence in his Garrison at Seaconicke that a party of the enemy lay near Mr. Blackstone's, he went forth with 63 English and 20 Cape Indians; and soon discovered 4 or 5 Indians in a piece of woods who pretended to be lame and wounded, but proved to be decoys to lead the whites into ambuscade, for they soon discovered 500 more of the enemy. Pierce, though aware of their superiority of numbers, courageously pursued them, when they began to retreat slowly; but there soon appeared another company of 400 Indians, who were now able completely to surround him. A party of the enemy were stationed on the opposite side of the River to prevent the English crossing; they were thus attacked in front and rear by an overwhelming force. Thus all chance of retreat and all hope of escape was cut off. This was a most trying moment. But there was no flinching—no quailing. Each one knew that in all human probability he must die on that field, and that too under the most appalling circumstances—by the hand of a merciless enemy who sought their extermination.—But bravely and nobly did they submit to their fate. Each one resolved to do his duty and sell his life at the dearest rate. At such a time the awful war-whoop of the Indian would have sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of any but brave men. At

* This account differs in some respects from that given by Church who states that there were only 50 Whites and 20 Cape Indians. I have relied, for the most of the particulars in this description, on a ‘Continued Account of the Bloody Indian War from March till August 1676,’ now in the hands of Mr. S.G. Drake, Boston. It was published in London the same year; and contains a minute and apparently accurate detail of this battle and many of the other important events of the war. The work consists of a series of letters written by a gentleman in Boston to his friend in London, and published from time to time as they were received. One volume, (the above mentioned) containing 3 or 4 letters, has been lately discovered;—and was never reprinted in this country.
this critical juncture Capt. Pierce made an exceedingly judicious movement. He formed his men into a circle, back to back, with four spaces between each man—thus enlarging the circle to its greatest extent—presenting a front to the enemy in every direction, and necessarily scattering their fire over a greater surface; whilst the Indians stood in a deep circle, one behind another, forming a compact mass, and presenting a front where every shot must take effect.* He thus made a brave resistance for two hours, (all the while keeping the enemy at a distance and his own men in perfect order) and kept up a constant and destructive fire upon the Indians. But no courage or skill could prevail in such an unequal contest, or longer resist such a force.† At last overpowered by numbers, Capt. Pierce and 55 English and 10 Cape Indians were slain on the spot, 'which in such a cause and upon such disadvantage may certainly be styled the Bed of Honor.' But this victory was gained at a great sacrifice. The Indians lost as many (not counting women and children) as in the great swamp fight at Narragansett, which were computed at over 300!

This was the sorest defeat which the Colony of Plymouth suffered during the war, and caused great distress everywhere, for the numbers lost amounted to about one third of their regular force. According to Church, not a single white man returned from this bloody and fatal battle-field.

As soon as the Rehoboth people received information of the dangerous situation of Capt. Pierce and his men, they despatched a company to his assistance, who arrived in season only to perform the last offices to the dead bodies of their countrymen. The courage and resolution displayed on this occasion deserve commendation. These brave soldiers were entitled to the gratitude of the Colony, for whose defence they had thus sacrificed their lives. They were taken by surprise, and completely surrounded by a force ten times their superior. Pierce

* In the words of the account just referred to: 'Capt. Pierce cast his men into a Ring, and fought back to back, and were double-double distance all in one ring, whilst the Indians were as thick as they could stand thirty deep.'
† Canonchet, a Narragansett Chief, commanded in this battle. He was soon after taken prisoner and executed.
was a bold and adventurous man—fear formed no part of his character. His men partook of his courage. They pushed forward—perhaps imprudently—and thus fell into the snare which their enemy had prepared for them. Considering the numbers engaged, it was doubtless the most warmly and closely contested of all the engagements which took place, during that eventful period, between the white and the red men. Nearly 400 were killed on both sides. History has recorded, with applause, every feat of bravery, when performed on a more conspicuous station, whilst it has often overlooked the humble though equally meritorious exploit. It requires more true courage to die on such a field, with such a foe, than on the plains of Waterloo, amid the 'pomp and circumstance of glorious war.'

The following adventure in which 'Old Woodcock' was engaged, is abridged from a communication in the Mass. His. Coll. furnished by the research of the late Dr. Mann, formerly of Wrentham. It rests upon the authority of tradition, but appears to be well authenticated.

A man by the name of Rocket, in searching for a stray horse, discovered a train of 42 Indians, about sunset; from their appearance he suspected they intended to attack the settlement at Wrentham, the next morning, after the men had dispersed to their work; he therefore followed them, secretly, till they halted for the night, when he hastily returned to the settlement and gave notice to the inhabitants. A consultation was held, at which it was agreed to attack the Indians early the next morning. A company of 13 under the command of Capt. Ware, was hastily collected from Wrentham and the vicinity; who, having secured the women and children and the infirm in the Garrison, set out for the Indian encampment, where they arrived just before day light; and were posted within a short distance, with orders to reserve their fire till the enemy began to decamp.

Between day light and sun-rise the Indians suddenly rose from their resting places, when, upon a signal given, a general discharge was made, which threw them into the utmost consternation. Some, in their confusion, while attempting to es-
cape, leaped down a precipice of rocks from 10 to 20 feet in height; some of the fugitives were overtaken and slain. Two of them, who were closely pursued, attempted to conceal themselves in Mill Brook, where they were found and killed. It is related that one Woodcock discharged his long musket called, in those days, a buccaneer, at a fugitive Indian, at the distance of 80 rods, and broke his thigh bone, and then killed him.

The number of Indians killed was from 20 to 24; and not one of the whites. The place, where this bold adventure occurred, is in that part of the ancient Wrentham which is now Franklin. The large rock where the Indians were encamped, is to this day, called Indian Rock. The time is not certainly ascertained; but it was, without much doubt, in the Spring or Summer of 1676, when the Indian forces were dispersed in parties throughout the country.

Nine Men’s Misery. This is the name of a spot in Cumberland, R. I. where nine men were slain in Phillip’s war. This place is near the house of the late Elisha Waterman, Esq. just north of ‘Camp Swamp’ (so called.) The only circumstances of this event which I have gathered are these: A company of nine men were in advance of, or had strayed from their party for some purpose, when they discovered a number of Indians near this spot, whom they immediately pursued and attacked, but a large number of the enemy rushed out of the swamp and surrounded them. The whites, placing their backs to a large rock near by, fought with desperation till every one of them was killed on the spot. The rest of their party, who were within hearing of their guns, hastened to their succor, but arrived too late to render them any assistance. Their bodies were buried on the spot, which is now designated by a large pile of stones.

I have seen no notice of this occurrence in history; but as to the main fact there can be no doubt. The bones of these men were disinterred not many years ago, by some physicians (for anatomical purposes) and were found nearly perfect. But the people in the vicinity insisted upon their being restored, which was accordingly done. One of the slain was ascertained to
be a Bucklin of Rehoboth, from the remarkable circumstance of a set of double front teeth which he was known to possess.

The time when this happened none of my informants can tell; but there is some reason for believing that le was at or about the time of Pierce's fight.*

THE MINISTRY.

The town was not able to support a preacher for several years after the incorporation.

The first settled minister in this town was the Rev. Matthew Short. He was chosen Oct. 1st 1711, and ordained Nov. 12th 1712. Difficulties soon arose between him and his people, which (after many ineffectual attempts to reconcile them) finally resulted in his dismission May 31st, 1715. He continued in this town only about four years, having preached one year before his ordination. Of the previous or subsequent history of Mr. Short but little is known. He removed to Easton and became the first settled minister of that town.

According to the articles of agreement made with Mr. Short, Dec. 20th, 1711, he was to have £50 a year for the first six years; one third to be in money, and the other two thirds in grain, beef, pork, butter or cheese, any or either of them at current price.† At the 7th year his salary was to be raised to £60, payable as above, and there to continue until there should be 100 families in town capable of paying public taxes in the judgment of the selectmen for the time being, and then it was to be £70 per annum. He was also to have the use of the Ministerial house and lands so long as he should continue in his pastoral office.

Mr. Short was married to Miss Margaret Freeman of Attleborough, by Justice Leonard, Dec. 27th, 1711. He had two daughters while in this town, Anna and Judith.

* Several of the Rehoboth people were slain the 26th March, 1676, the time of Pierce's fight; viz. John Fitch, Jr. John Read, Jr. Benjamin Buckland, John Miller, Jr. Robert Beers (an Irishman and then an inhabitant of Rehoboth) was slain the 28th March; Nehemiah Sabin, in June following.

† These articles were then valued as follows: Indian corn, 2 shil. 6d. per bushel; rye, 3 shil. 6d. per bushel; pork, 3d. per lb.; beef, 2d. per lb.; butter, 6d. per lb; and good new milk cheese 4d. per lb.
The first meeting house was built in 1710. It was not, however, entirely completed until 1714. It was 30 feet square; and stood on the spot where the Hall of the Agricultural Society now stands.*

A few extracts from the records detailing more particularly the early proceedings relative to the settlement of the first minister will be acceptable to the present generation.

March 25th, 1707. 'The meeting then held was for the choosing of a learned orthodox minister of good conversation to dispense the word of God to us in Attleborough; voted to give Mr. Fiske a call to preach for us. Likewise a committee of nine was chosen to procure a minister to settle. It was likewise voted to empower the said committee to treat with the said Mr. Fiske as to his dispensing the word of God amongst us, and to settle him, if he may be obtained; and if he may not, then any other minister that the town shall call, being approved by the neighboring ministers.

May 20th, 1707. Voted to give Mr. More a call to preach amongst us and to settle if he may be obtained.

June, 1707. Voted that Hezekiah Peck and Jonathan Fuller be a committee to see and get a petition written to the General Court for some help towards the maintenance of a minister.†

The sum of £80 had been granted by the town, Nov. 22d, 1705, towards building a minister's house, £35 of which had been collected; and on the 2d July 1707, the town voted that the remaining £45 should be levied and collected.

June 15th, 1708. The meeting then held was for the choosing of an able and orthodox minister to serve us in the work

* At a town meeting Feb. 9th, 1709—10, Voted to build a meeting house 30 feet square and 16 feet between joints, and to set it upon a piece of land on the east side of the country road near to the house of Christopher Hall, and to get the timber for said house and to frame and raise it by the 1st of June next. This lot of land was given to the town for this purpose by Lieut. Moses Read.

† In 1710 the Mile and Half was re-annexed to this town, which restored fourteen families, and enabled the people to support a preacher without other assistance.
of the ministry in this place; it was voted that the committee should treat with Mr. Wiswell to dispense the word of God to us if he may be obtained; if not, then with Mr. Fisher, if he may be obtained; if not, then with Mr. Hunt, if he may be obtained; if not, then with Mr. Devotion, and if neither of them may be obtained, then they may treat with any other that shall be allowed of by the neighboring ministers, until they have settled one in Attleborough.

July 28th, 1710. Chose Mr. Ebenezer White for our minister, if he will stay with us, if not, then Mr. Myles. Mr. White, it appears, did not at this time accept the invitation to settle. He however preached for them nearly a year.

Oct. 9th, 1710. Chose a committee to see to the finishing of the meeting house, and the 1st January next ensuing was the time fixed for finishing it. Voted to raise a tax of £60 as a fund for said work, £5 to be in money, and the rest in corn, rye, beef and pork, or in materials for the building.

Nov. 20th, 1710. Voted that the house which is built on the ministerial lot should be given to the first minister that shall serve the town seven years in the office of a minister, and so living and dying amongst us, then to be his and his heirs forever.

Oct. 1st, 1711. At a meeting for the choice of an able orthodox minister to dispense the word of God to us in Attleborough, the town chose Mr. Matthew Short for their minister.

Nov. 5, 1711. Granted a tax of £25 towards paying Mr. Short; £10 in money and the other £15 in grain, pork, beef, butter, cheese, at current price.

* The inhabitants were so few (consisting of about 16 families exclusive of the 14 who had been annexed to Rehoboth) that they were not able to afford a competent salary, which was probably the cause of their embarrassment in the settlement of a minister.

† The next settled minister acquired the property of this house (and also the ministerial farm as will subsequently appear) by having fulfilled the condition of the grant.

‡ March 18, 1711—12. Voted to build a pew for the minister in the meeting house, and also agreed that Mrs. Short shall have the benefit and privilege of sitting in the same during her abode in Attleborough.
The second minister in town was Rev. Ebenezer White.* He was chosen by the people July 18th, 1715; ordained Oct. 17th, 1716. He was minister of the town 11 years; and re­mained here till his death, Sept. 4th, 1726. So far as appears, he gave general satisfaction. He married Abigail Paine, and had several children, Hannah, Martha, Edward, Experience, and Thankful; and two others who died infants.

Besides his regular salary Mr. White acquired a title to the Ministerial farm and house (so called) by having fulfilled the condition of the grant.

At a meeting of the Proprietors of the N. Purchase, Sept. 16, 1707, it was unanimously voted, 'that the surveyor with the major part of the committee should forthwith lay out a hundred acres of land within said Purchase, which shall be the first settled minister's in Attleborough, that continueth to be their minister for the space of seven years; said land to be said minister's, and his heirs' and assigns' forever.' N. P. Rec. 2 Book, p. 3. Laid out and Recorded 1 B. p. 197, 199.

Several other grants and gifts have been made to the town for the use of the ministry.

The Ministerial Lot (which has been a subject of so much controversy in modern days) was granted at an adjourned meeting of the Proprietors held at Rehoboth June 29, 1685, in the words following: 'It was likewise voted and agreed upon (nemine contradicente,) that a hundred acres of land be forthwith laid out at the Seven Mile River, where Rice Leonard's lot was, and as near adjacent as may be; which said hundred acres of land perpetually to be reserved for the Ministry.' Rehoboth Town Rec. 2 B. p. 48. Bounds recorded N. P. Rec. 1 B. p. 197.

The lot where the first meeting house stood was given by Lieut. Moses Read.

'Oct. 16, 1712. Laid out to Lieut. Moses Read two acres of land by the meeting house; bounded S. the stated road; E. the foot of the hill; N. the land of the heirs of Christopher Hall; W. the country road. The above said land the said Lieut.

* Son of James White of Dorchester, Ms. baptized July 12, 1685 graduated, Har. Col. 1703.
Read gave to the town of Attleborough for public use forever and ordered it so to be put on record, as is attest by me

DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.


Allowance for a highway through said lot, 2 B. p. 129.

Nov. 1st, 1734. Noah Carpenter, Sen. and Caleb Hall of Attleborough, 'in consideration of love, good will and affection which we have and do bear towards the church and congregation of the said Attleborough, called by the name of the Presbyterian,' have given, granted, conveyed, &c. unto them, their heirs and assigns forever, that is to be understood for the especial use, benefit and privilege of that society forever, a certain tract of land containing about 45 rods, where the new meeting house now stands, bounded by the said Carpenter's and the said Hall's lands and by the country road, &c. &c.—

R. N. P. Rec. 2 B. p. 126.

Rev. Habijah Weld, the third minister of Attleborough, was distinguished for his usefulness in the ministry, and highly respected as a man both at home and abroad. He united, to an uncommon degree, the affections of his people, for the long period of nearly 55 years during which he was their pastor. He was a man of talents and respectable acquirements; and was extensively known. His character deserves a more particular notice.

He was born in Dunstable, Mass. Sept. 2d. 1702; graduated at Cambridge University in 1723; and was ordained pastor of the first Church and Congregation in this town, Oct. 1st. 1727. He died May 14th, 1782, in the 80th year of his age, and the 55th of his ministry. The following notice of his character is extracted from a communication in Dr. Dwight's Travels, from the Hon. David Daggett, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

'Mr. Weld was below the middle stature; and in the latter part of his life, corpulent. His constitution was vigorous; and his mind almost singularly energetic. The stipend, which he received from his parishioners, consisted of an annual salary of two hundred and twenty dollars; and the use of a parsonage lot, which furnished him with wood, and a little pasture.—
With his patrimony he purchased a farm of about 70 acres, of moderately good land and a decent house. He had fifteen children; ten of whom were married during his life, and one after his death. The remaining four died while young. This numerous family he educated with the means which have been mentioned, in a manner, superior to what is usually found in similar circumstances; entertained much company in a style of genuine hospitality; and was always prepared to contribute to the necessities of others.

For the regulation of his domestic concerns, Mr. Weld prescribed to himself and his family a fixed system of rules, which were invariably observed, and contributed not a little to the pleasantness and prosperity of his life. His children, laborers, and servants submitted to them with cheerfulness; and his house became the seat of absolute industry, peace and good order. Breakfast was on the table precisely at six o'clock; dinner, at twelve; and supper, at six in the evening. After supper he neither made visits himself, nor permitted any of his family to make them.

His observation of the Sabbath was peculiarly exemplary. He permitted no act to be done in his house on that day, except such as were acts of necessity and mercy in the strict sense.

Mr. Weld was naturally of a very ardent disposition. Yet so entirely had he acquired an ascendency over his temper, that a censurable, or imprudent act is not known to have been done by him, nor an improper word uttered. To vice and licentiousness, in every form, he gave no indulgence, either in his conversation, or his public instructions. On the contrary, idleness, intemperance, profaneness, and all kinds of immoral conduct, were reproved by him with undeviating severity.—His example in the practice of every virtue was such, as to create in all classes of men entire veneration for his character.—It is doubted whether any person ever uttered a reproach against Mr. Weld.

Nor was his piety less remarkable. Since the days of the Apostles, it is questioned whether his zeal, fidelity, and intrepidity in the cause of his divine Master have been excelled.
During the long period of 65 years, he was never once detained from the pulpit by disease, nor from any other of his pastoral duties. His prayers were wholly formed by himself; and adapted with strict propriety to the various occasions on which they were made. They were pertinent, solemn, and impressive. His sermons were written, and were usually delivered without variation from his notes. Yet at times he addressed his congregation extemporaneously in a manner eminently forcible and affecting.

In his parochial visits he was accustomed to address the truths and duties of the gospel to the hearts and consciences of the family; and never lost sight of the eternal interests of his congregation. And, while he administered the balm of life to the wounded spirit, he addressed the most solemn alarms, as well as the most pungent reproofs to stubborness and impiety.

Mr. Weld continued his labors to the sabbath before his death, without any visible decline in his powers either of body or mind. On that Sabbath he preached two sermons from these words: "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned." On the Tuesday following he rode in his chaise to Providence, ten miles; returned about four o'clock in the afternoon; walked into the house; told his wife, that he was unwell; requested her to open a window, as he found a difficulty in breathing; sat down; and instantly expired, of an Apoplexy. So well were his secular concerns arranged for his departure, that the settlement of his estate cost less than five dollars. His excellent wife survived him many years; and died after she had passed the age of ninety, universally lamented.

At the death of Mr. Weld, only one of his congregation was living, of those who assisted in his settlement. His parishioners showed their sense of the loss, which they sustained in his death, by an universal mourning.

The house of this gentleman was the resort of many distinguished persons from Boston, Providence, and various other parts of New England; and in no house were they received and treated with more hospitality. His manners were at once dignified and polite; and every member of his family was courte-
ous and well bred. Nothing was seen among them but harmony and goodwill.

That with such an income Mr. Weld could support so large a family, and live in so hospitable a manner, will certainly excite not a little wonder. The explanation is found in his industry, regularity, and exactness, in all his concerns. Everything was managed in such a manner, that almost in the literal sense nothing was lost.

'In my opinion,' adds Mr. D. 'Mr. Weld was a more strict observer of the divine law, and more eminently holy, than any man whom I ever knew.'

Permit me to subjoin, says Dr. Dwight, that if all clergymen sustained the same character, and lived in the same manner, the world would speedily assume a new aspect, and its inhabitants, a new character.'

Mr. Weld married Mary Fox, by whom he had 15 children, 4 sons, and 11 daughters who were married as follows: Jonathan Philbrook of Boston to Dorothy Weld Aug. 7th, 1759; Rev. Oliver Noble of Newburyport to Lucy Weld, May 15th, 1760; Doct. Cardee Parker of Coventry, Ct. to Mary Weld, April 15th, 1762; Caleb Fuller of Windsor, county of Ware, Me. to Hannah Weld, Oct. 23, 1762; Rev. Ezra Weld to Anna Weld, Feb. 9, 1764; Rev. Oakes Shaw of Barnstable to Elizabeth Weld, July 19, 1764; Rev. Timothy Alden of Yarmouth to Sarah Weld, Nov. 22d, 1770; Eliphaz Day of Attleboro' to Eunice Weld.

In 1728 a new meeting house was built by the town.

May 13, 1728. The town voted to enlarge the meeting house by making an addition of 20 feet to the north end. But in September following, a number of individuals engaged by subscription to advance the sum of £234 10s. (in addition to their proportion of the taxes) towards defraying the expenses of a new meeting house, if the town would agree to build anew, instead of enlarging the old. The town accordingly voted, Nov. 18, 1728, to build a new house, and ordered it to be 50 feet in length, 40 feet in breadth, and of a suitable height for one tier of galleries; and that it 'shall stand on a
little hill on the north side of the Pound, about 15 or 16 rods from the old meeting house."

The town constituted one Parish until April 7th, 1743, when it was divided into 'two distinct and separate' Parishes or Precincts by an act of the Legislature. The West constituted the first, and the East, the second Precinct.

**Extracts from the Records of the First Parish.**

Sept. 18th 1744. The sum of £12, 14s. was granted to the second precinct. This was probably a part of their share in the meeting house.

March 27, 1777.† The salary of their minister, Mr. Weld, was £66, 13s. 4d.

Sept. 21st, 1779. Voted to raise Rev. Mr. Weld's salary to $600. Paper currency was much depreciated. Sept. 29th, 1779, Voted to double his salary for the year.

March 28, 1780. A meeting was called 'to see if the Precinct will apply to some one to assist Mr. Weld, in the work of the ministry, under his present indisposition of body,' &c. Voted that the two Deacons see that the pulpit is supplied in case Mr. Weld is unable to preach.

June 3d, 1782. A meeting was held 'to see if the Precinct will agree to pay the funeral charges of the Rev. Mr. Weld, late of Attleborough, deceased.' 2d. 'To see if the Precinct will choose a committee to seek a supply occasioned by the death of our late Pastor.'

From this time till the settlement of Mr. Wilder, in 1790, nearly 8 years, the parish was destitute of a settled minister. The people were very much divided on this subject. Many un-

* It was voted that those parts of the town which may be hereafter set off as a precinct or town shall have the money repaid to them, which they now pay towards the new meeting house.

† The last meeting, under the Provincial Government (March 1776) was warned, as usual, 'in the name of his Majesty the King of England,' &c. but the next one, 17th Sept. following, soon after the declaration of Independence, was warned 'in the name of these States and in behalf of the good people of this Province,' &c.
successful attempts were made to settle a minister; numerous candidates were called; but the people could make no choice. They had been long united and harmonious under the ministry of Mr. Weld; some diversity of opinion and alienation of feeling were to be expected after so long a calm.

Aug. 27, '82. Voted to hire Rev. Mr. Morey six weeks longer. Oct. 30, '82. A meeting was called 'to see if the Precinct will give Mr. Morey a call to settle in the ministry.' 1st. 'Voted to give him a call. 2d. Voted to re-consider it.'

Feb. 26, '83. Voted to treat with a committee in second Precinct relative to Ministerial Lands. There was a dispute between the two parishes for a long time in regard to their relative rights to these lands, which was finally terminated, I believe, by payment of a certain sum to the 2d parish.

At the same meeting, voted to hire Rev. Mr. Bradford 3 months. Voted to buy 100 sermons delivered by Rev. Mr. Thacher,* on the death of Rev. Mr. Weld. Voted to apply to Rev. Mr. Spalding of Killingly, Ct. to come and preach a few weeks.'

Aug. 18, '83. Voted 'to send to the President† of Yale College to send us a candidate.' He accordingly sent them a young man, who it appears, was not acceptable.

Oct. 29, '83. Voted to choose a committee to consult lawyer Bradford‡ concerning the Ministerial Lands.

Dec. 15, '83. Rev. Mr. Britt was preaching as a candidate. Subsequently Rev. Mr. Avery,—then a Mr. March—Mr. Hart of Preston, Ct.—Mr. Damon,—Mr. Plum. 'Voted to send for Mr. Huntington to preach for us.' Before the arrival of Mr. Wilder, many other names of candidates appear. So irreconcilable were the feelings, or opinions, or both, of the parish, that it seemed next to impossible to make a selection. So great was the distress of the people, amidst their divisions, that they

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* The first settled minister of the second precinct. It was delivered before Mr. Weld's parishioners the Sabbath after his death.
† Rev. Naphthali Daggett, who was a native of this town, which is the reason of their application to him.
‡ This Bradford was afterwards Lieut. Governor of R Island—a man very popular at that time, in his profession.
at last appointed a ‘Fast on account of their present difficulties.’ In this they hit upon the right expedient, for it seemed to have a very happy effect, as they soon after agreed on a candidate, the Rev. John Wilder, who, at a meeting, Jan. 4, 1790, gave an answer accepting the proposals of the parish—which terminated their long and troublesome contest. He was ordained, Jan. 27th, 1790.

Rev. John Wilder was dismissed Nov. 28th, 1822. He had been the settled minister of that parish upwards of 32 years.

To him succeeded Rev. Thomas Williams, formerly of Connecticut, who was installed Sept. 29th, 1824. His connection with the parish was dissolved Dec. 11th, 1827.

The next settled minister was Rev. Charles J. Warren, who was ordained Feb. 28th, 1828, and dismissed July 8th, 1830.

There is at present no settled minister connected with that church.

The new meeting House, being the third in that society, was built in the summer of 1828, and dedicated Jan. 1st, 1829.

EAST PARISH.

This parish was divided from the other April 7th, 1743, about 90 years ago.

The first meeting of the Parish was the 6th of June succeeding. On the 20th of the same month, a meeting was called ‘to consider and see what the Parish will do in order to placing a meeting house for the public worship of God.’ This is the first record of an attempt to build a meeting house in this part of the town. At the same time a committee was chosen ‘to agree with Mr. Willis, or some other man for the present.’ It was also ‘voted to choose a committee of two who should apply, in the first place, to Rev. Mr. Willis, and if he cannot be obtained, then to Mr. Read, and if he cannot be obtained, then to Mr. Peter Thacher.’

At said meeting it was voted to set their Meeting House on the Plain ‘where the roads meet or cross each other.’

It appears by the records of the next meeting that they had hired Mr. Thacher for a time. He was the first minister who
preached here. He commenced August 20th, 1743, but was not ordained and settled till Nov. 30th, 1748, about 5 years.

Sept. 6, 1743. 'Voted to proceed forthwith to build a meeting House for the public worship of God.' The house was to be 35 feet square and high enough for one tier of galleries. A committee was chosen 'to carry on the building of said house.' At a subsequent meeting Oct. 18, 1743, 'voted to re-consider the vote relating to the dimensions of the meeting house, and to build one 45 feet long, and 35 feet wide, and high enough for one tier of galleries.' This was the size of the house as it was afterwards built. The M. House was commenced in the Autumn of this year, but the interior was not finished till several years subsequently.

On the 1st Nov. following, the Parish made choice of Rev. Peter Thacher for their minister, 'by a free vote;' and agreed to give him, for a salary £40, yearly, for 4 years, and at the end of 4 years, to give him £50 per annum, 'current money;' and also for a settlement £300, 'old tenor,' to be paid in 4 years, i.e. one quarter part each year.

The present Burying Ground in East Attleborough was laid out Oct. 16, 1744, as appears by a vote of that date. 'Voted to have a Burying Place in the Meeting House lot, and that it should be at the Northwesterly corner of said lot.' This piece of land was purchased previously by the Parish, and consisted of two Acres, called the 'Meeting House Lot.'

Dec. 21st, 1747. Voted to give Mr. Thacher £600 old tenor, for his settlement; and also 25 cords of wood, yearly.

Oct. 28th, 1748. Settled Mr. Thacher's salary at £400 per annum, old tenor, 'reckoning silver money at 55 shills. per ounce, and to rise and fall as silver shall rise and fall, so long as he shall continue our minister.' At the same time the Parish chose a committee to provide for the ordination of Mr. Thacher, which took place 30th of the next month. He continued the pastor until Oct. 26th, 1784, when he was dismissed by vote of Parish. He had a few months previous to his dismissal, suffered an attack of the palsy, (which rendered him unable to perform the duties of his station) of which he died Sept. 13th, 1785, in the 70th year of his age. He preach
ed in this town about 41 years — was a highly respectable and useful man. He was born in Middleboro', and was the son of Rev. Peter Thacher of that place.* Nov. 31st, 1749, he married Bethiah, the oldest daughter of Obediah Carpenter, of Attleborough; by whom he had 10 children, 7 sons and 3 daughters. Several of his descendants are living in this town.

He published a Discourse on the death of Rev. Mr. Weld, which has been reprinted. A small volume of his sermons was also republished in 1798, by his son, entitled, 'Select Discourses on Practical Subjects.

After Mr. Thacher, and before the settlement of another minister, there were several preachers here, Rev. Asahel Huntington, Mr. Laughton, Mr. Farrington, of Wrentham, Mr. Mead, &c.

The next settled minister was the Rev. Ebenezer Lazell of Bridgewater, (a graduate of Brown University, 1788) who was ordained Nov. 21st, 1792, and dismissed Jan. 3d 1797. He continued here about 4 years.

His successor was the Rev. Nathan Holman, who was ordained Oct. 14th, 1800, and was dismissed May 22d, 1821, having been settled here about 21 years. He graduated at Brown University in 1797.

The present minister is the Rev. John Ferguson, formerly of Providence, R. I. who was ordained Feb. 27th 1822.

A Parsonage House was built by the Parish in 1822.

The second Meeting House in the East Precinct, was built in 1825. It was begun in the Spring of that year, and dedicated in December following. It cost about $6000.

* Rev. P. Thacher, of Middleborough, was born Oct. 6, 1688, graduated at Cambridge University, A. D 1706, ordained at that place, Nov. 2, 1709, and died April 22d, 1744, aged 56. He was the son of Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of Milton, (by his wife Theodora, daughter of Rev. John Oxenbridge) who was the son of Rev. Thomas Thacher, of Boston, and was born at Salem, July 18th, 1651, graduated at Harvard College, 1671, ordained June 1st, 1671, and died Dec. 27th 1727, aged 76.
NORTH BAPTIST CHURCH.

This church was constituted in 1769. Its existence however, may be traced back as early as 1747. It was at first and for many years afterwards of the Congregational order though differing from that denomination in some respects. 'There being, say the Church records, a considerable number of Christians in this place that are dissatisfied with the Constitution of the standing order of Churches in the land: they with some others formed themselves into a society to worship God according to His word and spirit.' Jan. 20th, 1747, the Church proceeded 'to set apart their esteemed Brother Nathaniel Shepard by solemn ordination as their Pastor,' who was removed by death April 14th, 1752.

It was from the commencement a small and feeble church, and continued 'through many trials and discouragements,' till the year 1769, when by vote the church changed their constitution 'from a Congregational to a Baptist Church in what is called open communion.' At this time there were 6 male and 4 female members who agreed in doctrine, and formed fellowship with Bellingham Church. Two years previous, in 1767, the church moved Mr. Abraham Bloss from Sturbridge to Attleborough, who preached here till his death Sept. 16th, 1769.

To him succeeded Elder Job Seamans, of 'Sackville, Cumberland county, and Province of Nova Scotia,' now in the Province of New Brunswick. Mr. Seamans was born in Swansea, Mass. in 1748. He removed to Sackville, New Brunswick, with Elder Mason's company who emigrated to that place from Swansea, Mass. in 1763. He there became a preacher. He was invited to become the pastor of the church in this town, and removed here. In 1779 he, in conjunction with Elder Biel Ledoyt, of Woodstock, Ct. was appointed by the Warren Association, a Missionary to visit various parts of New Hampshire. In the course of the same year he returned to Attleborough, where he remained, till 1788. In 1787, May 10th, he request-

* The place was then called Tantarramar by the French, and was in the Province of Nova Scotia.—See Benedict's History.
ed a dismission from the church in this place, which was reluctantly granted in June, 1788, when he removed to New London N. H. where he had preached during his mission, and was settled over the new Baptist Church in that place, which he established at the same time. Here he continued till his death in 1830, at the advanced age of 82.

Mr. Seamans married Sarah Easterbrooks, by whom he had, while here, 8 children, 4 sons and 4 daughters.

Rev. William Williams,* who was a member of this church, and the respected pastor of the Baptist Society in Wrentham, occasionally supplied the pulpit during the vacancies which occurred after the removal of Mr. Seamans.

Nov. 1789, Elder Abner Lewis came from New Bedford to Attleborough, and continued the pastor of the church until Sept. 1795, when he returned to New Bedford. After this Mr. Laben Thurber preached here till April, 1797, when he relinquished the office of a religious teacher, and removed to the East part of the town.

Elder James Read, who was then resident in Assonet village, Freetown, commenced preaching here in April, 1800, and was so well approved, that in December of the same year the church gave him an invitation to settle, which was accepted. In February following he removed to Attleborough; and was installed Aug. 18th, 1801.—Sermon, by Rev. Dr. Gano, Providence: charge, by Elder Pitman; Right hand of fellowship, by Elder Baker. At the same time, Edward Clark was ordained as an

* He was a celebrated instructor of youth. He commenced a school for fitting young men for college, near his Meeting house in Wrentham, which he continued for many years with distinguished success. He educated upwards of 100 students,* the most of whom graduated at Brown University. Many of them became distinguished men.—In the number of his pupils were Dr. Maxey, Hon. David R. Williams, formerly Governor of South Carolina, Hon. Tristam Burges, the present eloquent member of Congress from R. Island, &c.

Mr. Williams himself was educated at Eaton's Academy, N. Jersey, and graduated at Brown University, in 1769, which was the first class in that institution. He married for his second wife, Miss Titus, the daughter of Dea. J. Titus, of Attleborough.

* Benedict's Hist. Bap.
Evangelist. Mr. Clark died April 22d, 1811, in the 72d year of his age.

Elder Read continued in the ministry here till his death.—He died Oct. 21st, 1814, in the 46th year of his age. He was a worthy and useful minister, and universally respected as a man. The records of the church bear ample testimony of the estimation in which he was held by his people. 'In the prime of his life and in the midst of his usefulness, the Lord, who doeth all things according to his good pleasure, hath seen fit to remove him from the church militant to the church triumphant. Leaving the wife of his youth to mourn the loss of a kind husband, and three children to mourn the loss of a kind parent, and this church and society to mourn the loss of a faithful minister of the Gospel, and one whose faithful warnings will long be had in remembrance by many of them.' His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Gano.

April 28th, 1815. Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, who was then preaching in Bellingham, was invited 'to take the Pastoral care of this church.' He was dismissed in May 1820.

Rev. Silas Hall, of Raynham, came here in 1823, and remained four years. He was subsequently pastor of the Baptist church, in Taunton.

Rev. William Phillips was ordained over this church Feb. 1827, and continued its pastor two years, when he was invited to Providence, R. I. and was settled over the 2d Baptist church in that place.

Rev. Jonathan E. Forbush, the present minister, was received into the church and chosen pastor, April 1st, 1832.

The first Meeting House was not finished till 1784, though it was erected many years previous. The present Meeting house was built in the spring of 1817.

SOUTH BAPTIST CHURCH.

This church, which is now extinct, was established as early as 1760. Its records cannot be found. April 20th, 1789, the first and second Baptist churches in Attleborough met and agreed upon fellowship as sister churches. Elder Elihu Dag-
gett* was the first preacher. It is believed that he was never regularly settled here. He occasionally preached at the North Baptist church.

The next preacher was Elder Elisha Carpenter. He was settled as early as 1780, if not before, and remained pastor of the Church till about 1798, when he removed to Providence, N. Y. where he died. He was a native of this town—a son of Elisha Carpenter—and was born Aug. 17th, 1745. His wife was Anna Freeman of Attleborough.

Soon after Elder Carpenter’s removal, the church was dissolved, and the members connected themselves with other churches in the vicinity. The meeting house was taken down about 1810. It stood on the south side of the road leading from the late Thomas Cooper’s to Capt. Joseph Tiffany’s.

**FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.**

The first meeting was held Aug. 17th, 1816, when the society was organized. It was incorporated Feb. 20th 1818, by the name of the ‘First Universalist Society in Attleborough.’

The first minister was the Rev. Richard Carrique. He commenced preaching here in 1816; and was ordained Dec. 29th, 1818. A meeting house was built in the summer of 1818, and dedicated Dec. 29th of the same year. It stands on the old Post Road, a few rods south of the first Congregational meeting house. Mr. Carrique was dismissed in March 1822.

The next minister was the Rev. Robert Kilham, who commenced preaching March 18th, 1822, and was soon after installed. He was dismissed in April 1828.

To him succeeded the present minister the Rev. Nathaniel Wright, who was installed in 1828.

*He was the son of Dea. Mayhew Daggett; his wife was Rebeccah Stanley, daughter of Jacob Stanley, one of the first of that name who came here from Topsfield. He was interred in the N. Burying Ground. On his grave stone is the following inscription: ‘Sacred to the memory of Elder Elihu Daggett, who died August 29th, 1769, in the 60th year of his age.’—

‘Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Rebeccah Daggett, (his widow) who died September 20th, 1799, in the 80th year of her age.

*What we left behind, others possess;*

*What we gave to the poor, we carried with us.?*
HEBRONVILLE CHURCH.

This church was gathered by Rev. Thomas Williams immediately after his dismission from the West Parish, in December, 1827. A small but neat meeting house was built at the same time on the line between Attleborough and Seekonk, half in one town and half in the other—to which (and the neighborhood) the name of Hebronville was given by the founder. Rev. Mr. Williams became its first pastor. His connection with this society was dissolved in April 1832. The present pastor is Rev. Charles Simmons.

It appears from our records that the citizens of the town took an early and active part in those proceedings which finally led to independence. The spirit of the Revolution began to move the people as early as 1773. They began to discuss the origin and foundation of their rights, and to proclaim, in bold language, their determination to maintain them. They strenuously denied the claims of the mother country. This prepared the way for that great contest which was approaching and which soon after commenced.

Pages might be filled with the spirited addresses and resolutions adopted in town meeting; but the limits of the work will permit only a brief outline of the transactions of that day.

At a town meeting January 18th, 1773, a resolute and patriotic address was adopted and sent to the Committee in Boston. It is too long to quote entire. A few extracts will afford a specimen.

"We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects and freeholders of the town of Attleborough, To the Committee of Correspondence in Boston."

"After due professions of 'honor and praise to George the 3d, King of Great Britain,' &c., and praying that the 'golden chance of succession by which the Protestant kings are held on the throne of Great Britain may never be broken,' &c. the address proceeds to say, 'Our present trials are very great. A wise king once said that oppression maketh a wise man mad. We hope not to turn maniacs, but to keep the advantage of"
our spirits. We will pray that all they that are Gods on earth will remember that they must die like men, and the lofty, towering heads of Kings and Princes must be brought as low as the meanest subject. And here we will make a pause and enquire what we have done, what disloyalty there hath been in us that hath incurred the displeasure of our Gracious Majesty, that could be the cause of threatening the ruining of us his American subjects. And to set things in a clearer light, we may be justly entitled to a few notes of exultation.—In the year 1745, when the British trumpet sounded war from beyond the seas to the Americans,—no sooner did our American Parliament understand the certain sound of the martial trumpet but instantaneously a political convention is called, faithfulness and loyalty in every countenance. Like Babylon of old, one messenger runs to meet another, and one post to meet another to tell the whole Province that the Kingdom was invaded at one end. Forthwith orders are issued out to the Colonels, and from the Colonels to the Captains, and at the beat of the Drum volunteers paraded the ground like well harnessed soldiers with courage bold, and like the war-horse mocking at fear, marched with their commanders to the high places of Louisbourg—stormed their intrenchments; made a discovery of their subterraneous mines and galleries; beat down the strong holds; brake the jaws of the Gallic Lion, and made a conquest of the city to the crown of Great Britain. And in the last war that hath been upon us, we have joined our British brethren, warring and fighting through seas of blood until we subdued the Canadian Province to the crown of our Sovereign Lord George the 3d. And after all this, shall we be conjugated, enslaved and ruined? Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath lest they be discouraged on the one hand, and encouraged on the other. We esteem our privileges tantamount to our lives, and the loss of them death in consequence; and since there is no new discovered America for us to flee to, we are almost ready to think that we will let go our ploughshares and pruning hooks to be malleated on the anvil, and not give up our dear-bought privileges to any Power on earth.
And now in a few words to say what our privileges are and wherein they are violated: We think that our privileges take their rise merely from nature. As we emigrated from our mother country at our own expense and without any charge to the Crown of Great Britain, our subjection to the Crown of Great Britain must be considered as an act of our own election. How far that subjection was made and in what manner the British government can possibly reach over the Atlantic to have any influence at all upon us, is known only by the stipulation between us and the king of G. Britain expressed in our Charter. Although it be allowed that any Plantation settled by the order and expense of any State remains naturally subjected to that State, yet that not having been the case in our departure from G. Britain we utterly disallow any right of government over us but what is expressed in the Charter. We have no natural and necessary connection with the Crown in point of government but what springs from our own choice, and that choice can be known but by the stipulation aforesaid which both expresseth and limiteth the subjection which was our choice.—This, we apprehend, is the true and just state of our privileges, as they are interested in the present controversy. So that, whatever act of government is exercised contrary to, or not expressly provided for in the Charter, is an open infringement of our privileges.

The appointment of a Governor altogether independent on us, and who, according to the present state of things, can be under no influence from our interest but whose personal interest may naturally put him to the utter overthrow of our whole interest,—we apprehend this to be an infraction of our Charter rights and privileges.—The appointment of Judges from home, if true, or the maintenance of them independent upon us and dependent entirely upon the Crown, we think an infringement upon our Charter rights, and which tends to corrupt and destroy the very essence of our privileges.—The parting our money among a set of men of no use to us or the community, without our consent, is a bold and unjust infringement upon our privileges.—The subjecting civil cases to trial by Court of Admiralty instead of Juries, and especially the
taking from us the right of trying capital cases in any articles, and carrying our brethren, on suspicion of guilt, from all who are acquainted with their character, or who can possibly do them justice, and ordering them to be transported, at almost infinite expense three thousand miles for trial, is a most barbarous, unjust, and unconstitutional affair.'

1774.

Sept. 12th. The town chose a committee to join with the committees of the other towns in this county 'to consult the safety and peace and prosperity thereof, as well as the whole government and continent, upon any emergency.' The committee consisted of five, viz. Mr. Edward Richards, Dea. Eben. Lane, Capt. John Daggett, Lieut. Moses Wilmarth, and Mr. Elisha May. This was the first committee of safety chosen in this town. The practice of choosing such a committee was continued till the close of the Revolution.

Sept. 29th. Capt. John Daggett was chosen Representative to the General Court at Salem; and Dea. Eben. Lane, as a 'committee man' to join the Provincial Congress to be held at Concord on the second Tuesday of October next.

Dec. 6th. The town established a 'Superior and an Inferior Court to hear and determine controversies that have arisen or may arise in this town.' Five men were chosen to serve as Superior Judges, viz. Dea. Eben. Lane 1st. Justice, Col. John Daggett 2d, Capt. John Stearns 3d, Capt. Moses Wilmarth 4th and Doct. Bezriel Mann 5th. Seven were appointed Inferior Judges, viz. Mr. Edward Richards, Lieut. Elkonah Wilmarth, Capt. Jacob Ide, Capt. Stephen Richardson, Mr. Elisha May, Capt. John Tyler, Mr. Wm. Stanley.—At the same time it was voted, 'that we will comply with, stand to, and abide by the Resolves, Instructions and Directions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses;' and that 'all persons who refuse to comply with them shall be treated as Infamous Persons.'

It was also voted to choose a 'committee of Inspection to inquire and give notice of all persons who shall presume to make use of any India Tea after the first of March next.' The 'af-
fair of the chest of tea at Capt. Richardson’s was left discretionary with the Selectmen.'

These were no half-way measures, and were supported throughout with the same resolution.

1775.

Jany. 2d. Chose Col. John Daggett ‘to represent us at the Congress to be holden at Cambridge on the 1st of Feby. next, and to serve in that capacity until the month of May next or until the time fixed for the dissolution of said Congress.’ At the same time a committee of 13 was chosen to procure ‘subscriptions for the relief of the suffering poor in the town of Boston.’

May 24th. Capt. John Stearns was chosen to represent the town at the Provincial Congress to be held in the meeting-house at Watertown the 31st inst. The Committee of Correspondence, this year, were Dea. Eben. Lane, Doct. Mann, and Capt. Moses Wilmarth.

July 10th. Capt. John Stearns was elected representative to the General Court to be held at Watertown 19th inst.

1776.


May 22d. Capt. John Stearns, Representative. At his request, a committee, consisting of Capt. Elisha May, Capt. Stephen Richardson, Rev. Peter Thatcher, Levi Maxy, and Lieut. Alexander Foster, was chosen to draw up instructions for the Representative, who made a report, from which extracts are given.

Capt. John Stearns,

Sir,—The town, reposing special confidence in your ability and integrity, have chosen you their representative at

* This was on the occasion of shutting the Port of Boston by the British Parliament.
the Great and General Court for this year. At your request we take the liberty to suggest the following things to your attention as matters of great importance:

If the Continental Congress should think it best to declare for Independency of Great Britain, we unanimously desire you for us to engage to defend them therein with our lives and fortunes. *

The fortifying and sufficiently providing for the defence of all our sea-port towns, especially the Metropolis of this Colony, is of such consequence as that parsimony or delay therein will be the worst of policy. We apprehend that the raising of soldiers for the defence of the Colony is retarded and so rendered both more chargeable and less useful, for want of sufficient Bounty to encourage enlistments; that the raising fewer forces at a time than is necessary, which scatters the officers with whom whoever enlists will desire to be acquainted, is a like hindrance to a speedy raising of forces.

After giving some further specific instructions, the report concludes: 'Other things in general we refer to your wisdom and fidelity, unless some special difficulty should occur, in which case you will please take our minds as occasion shall serve.'

At the same time it was voted, that the selectmen should order the money out of the Treasury to pay the Minute Men who marched on the alarm occasioned by the battle at Bunker Hill.

July 6th. Voted to raise the Bounty from £3, to £12 for the soldiers this town are to furnish to go to N. York.

1777.

Jan. 27th. Voted to raise the Bounty for the soldiers who

* This seems to have been conceived in something of that holy ardor—that sublime spirit of patriotism and self-devotion, which (in a few months after) dictated those ever memorable words in the closing sentence of the Declaration of Independence;—'we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'—immortal words, which sent such a thrill to the hearts of our countrymen and inspired them with such an unconquerable enthusiasm in the cause of freedom!
went to N. York in July last, to $40 for each man, ‘to such
as will take it.’

March 18th. The Committee of Correspondence, Inspec-
tion and Safety, this year, were Ed. Richards, Cyrel Carpen-
ter, Samuel Tiffany, Jr. Elisha May, and Nathan Tyler.

April 2d. A meeting was held to see if the town will give
some encouragement to the soldiery to enlist our proportion of
the 15 Battalions granted by this State to join the Continental
Army.

A committee was chosen to report upon the subject, and al-
so to state what is an average on the whole since the war com-
menced, who reported, that the bounty and wages given by
Congress and our Court, afforded a sufficient encouragement
for the first years’ service; that for the second year the town
allow £2 per month in addition to the wages, and the same for
the last year. £24 in addition to the bounty instead of the ad-
tion to their wages was offered to those who might prefer it.

The committee also reported, that the 8 months men, or
those who went into service in consequence of Lexington bat-
tle, have no allowance; that the 6 weeks and 2 months men
have no allowance; that the year’s men be allowed £10 per
man; that the Dorchester men have no allowance; that the
men raised for 2 months in Sept. 1776, be allowed £7 per man;
that the men raised for the Northern or Canada expedition be
allowed £10 per man; that the Quarter men, or those raised
for Howland’s Ferry, be allowed £6 per man.

May 22d. Chose Capt. John Stearns and Mr. William
Stanley Representatives. Appointed a committee to prepare
instructions to said Representatives, viz. Rev. Peter Thacher,
Capt. Elisha May, Col. John Daggett, Capt. Moses Wilmarth,
Mr. Levi Maxcy. Their report, it appears, is not recorded.

Excused Capt. May from serving on Committee of Corres-
pondence, &c.—and elected Stephen Fuller in his room. Vo-
ted to enlarge said committee, and added Zephaniah Bishop,
Jacob Cushman, and John Sweetland.

1778.

Jan. 12th. A committee, consisting of Rev. Mr. Thacher,
Capt. Elisha May, Col. Stephen Richardson, Dea. Stanley,
Capt. Caleb Richardson, Lieut. Elkanah Wilmarth, and Mr. John Wilkinson, was chosen to prepare instructions to the representatives of the town, relative to the Articles of Confederation. They presented a report which was accepted. It shows how perfectly convinced at that time our forefathers were of the value and importance of a firm union of the States to the well-being of the whole people.

To show the sentiments of the people a few extracts are given.

'The subscribers, being chosen a committee to consider what instructions it may be proper for them to give their representatives relative to the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union which are proposed to the consideration of the Legislatures of all the united States as the basis thereof forever, and also relative to the resolves of the most Honorable Congress, of the 7th and 22d of November last,' having maturely considered the said Articles and resolves, do humbly offer the following to the consideration of the town on this very important subject:

To Messrs. John Stearns, and William Stanley, Representatives of the town of Attleborough, Gentlemen, We shall rejoice at the arrival of the happy hour when the Independent States of North America have a Union established upon equitable terms to continue as long as the sun and moon endure. We are sensible of the utility and necessity of such a union to our present exertions and the success of them, as well as for the strength and flourishing condition of these States hereafter. We would, therefore, be as distant as possible from offering anything to obstruct the speedy accomplishment of a thing so desirable; yet we are constrained to desire explanation of the 4th paragraph in the 5th Article which determines, that, in deciding questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote, which, if it exclude a voice in Congress proportioned to the number or estate of the different States, we apprehend, would be very unequal and not to be by any means consented unto, &c. &c. After stating specific objections to some other articles, the report concludes: 'With the foregoing emendations and explanations, we desire you to
use your endeavors that the Delegates in Congress be impo- 
ered to ratify the aforesaid Articles of confederation and Per- 
petual union. As to the Resolves of the most Hon’ble Con- 
gress, we only observe upon the 5th and 6th Resolves, that 
the Regulating Bill formerly enacted and since repealed, though 
framed with an honest and good design, yet was, as we appre- 
hend, very injurious to the good and honest people of this 
State, and was of no use to restrain oppressors and monopoli-
zers, but rather put an advantage of oppression into their hands, 
and was a great means of sinking the value of our money, and, 
therefore, we expect and desire you to oppose the carrying of 
the said resolutions into execution.'

At the same meeting a committee was appointed to draft a 
Petition, which was sent to the General Court, earnestly pray- 
ing for the repeal of an Act calling in the Bills of Credit or 
State Money. In this petition the people expressed their fears 
of the consequences which would result from that Act to the 
interests of the poor, &c. ‘We have waited a long time,’ say 
they, ‘in hopes that you would repeal that Act without our 
troubling you with petitions; but as we have hitherto been dis-
appointed, we are obliged, in justice to ourselves and to our 
posterity, earnestly to pray for the speedy repeal of that Act.' 
They express their opinion that the money ought to be called 
in by degrees, as it was issued, that is, one emission at a time, 
by taxing the inhabitants of the State until the whole is with-
drawn.

March 17th. The Committee of Correspondence, &c. 
were Elkanah Wilmarth, Ebenezer Tiffany, and Ephraim Al-
len Jr.

May 12th. Voted to pay £30 to each soldier who shall en- 
list in the Continental Army to complete the number (13) re-
quired of this town by a late Resolve of the General Court. 
Also voted to give £30 more as a bounty.

May 21st. The Committee, chosen at a former meeting to 
consider the Constitution * lately submitted to the people, not

* This was the first frame of Government submitted to the people of this 
State. It was framed by a Convention 1778-9, and is commonly called the 
Rejected Constitution.

1779.

March 16. The Committee of Safety were Capt. Caleb Richardson, John Damon, Elijah Wellman.

May 18. Elisha May, Esq. was chosen representative.—Voted to empower our representative to vote for the calling of a Convention for the sole purpose of framing a new Constitution.

June 21st. Voted to raise 13 soldiers (to serve 9 months) as this town’s proportion of the 15 Battalions furnished by this State to fill up the Continental Army. On the question of having a new Constitution there were 121 votes in favor; and none in the negative recorded.

Aug. 2d. This town sent three members to the Convention which formed the present Constitution of Massachusetts.

‘Chose Col. John Daggett, Capt. John Stearns and Major Elisha May to attend the Convention* at Cambridge on the first of September next for the sole purpose of framing a new Constitution.

The town then took into consideration the proceedings of the Convention held at Concord for regulating articles of merchandize and country produce, and voted unanimously to accept of the doings of said Convention and to conform ourselves to the proposed regulations.

Chose Col. Stephen Richardson, Mr. Levi Maxcy, and Mr. Edward Richards members of the Convention to be held at Concord on the first Wednesday of October next.

* This Convention met at the Meeting House in Cambridge Sept. 1779, continued till the 7th and then adjourned to Oct. 28th; then met and continued till Nov. 11th and adjourned to Jan’y 5th 1780 at the Representative’s Chamber, Boston; then met and continued till March 21st and adjourned to June 7th; then met and continued till June 16th when it was dissolved.
March 21st. The Committee of Safety were David Richardson, Capt. Moses Wilmarth, and William Morse.

May 2d. The new Constitution was referred to a committee.

June 14th. Voted to raise 29 soldiers, for 6 months, as this town's quota, to re-inforce the Continental Army, according to a Resolve of the General Court of June 5th 1780. They were to be paid by a tax on the town.

Sept. 4th. Voted to raise £12,000 to defray the expenses of the town the current year. Also voted to raise £1400 hard money to pay the soldiers who may engage to serve in the Continental Army for three and for six months, according to Resolves of the General Court of June 5th, 22d and 23d.—Elisha May Esq. was chosen representative the two following years—which brings us to the close of the Revolution. There were no transactions of particular interest relating to the war during these two years.

Military Services.

To furnish a full statement of the military services which the citizens of this town rendered during the Revolutionary war,—to ascertain the number of soldiers who enlisted and the time for which they served—is not perhaps possible at this day. But some general accounts may be collected which will afford a tolerable view of their services.

It appears from the following anecdotes, that they were not slow in acting up to the resolutions which they had adopted.

In December 1774, the Committee of Safety gave notice that one Aldrich—a tory—who lived in Franklin, Mass. was selling British goods contrary to the resolutions of the General Court. Col. John Daggett of this town, a determined and resolute patriot, immediately issued orders to the several companies of this town to furnish a certain number of men, who being collected, marched, in a bitter cold night, for the place of Aldrich's residence, to put a stop to his business. They were joined on the way by volunteers from the neighboring towns. They arrived late at night, and surrounding his house, ordered
him out. He (and his associates who had assembled to defend him) at first attempted to resist with arms, threatening to fire upon them from the windows; and, assuming a tone of confidence, ordered them to depart. Upon this the besiegers were directed to point their guns towards the house. But finding that his opponents were in earnest, and that threats could not intimidate them, Aldrich at last came out. He was ordered to pull off his hat, while in the presence of the people's soldiers! Here, before the whole company, he was compelled to enter into an engagement not to 'vend any more British goods during the present unhappy controversy between the King and his colonies.' The prisoner was then released. The next morning he fled to Boston, and was never after known in these parts.

The captains from this town, who were engaged in this adventure, were Capt. S. Richardson, of the North East Company, Capt. Moses Wilmarth, S. E. Company, Capt. Jacob Ide, S. W. Company, Capt. Jon. Stanley, N. W. Company.

**Assonet Expedition.**

Information having been received from the vigilant Committees of Safety, that the British had made a deposit of arms and ammunition at Assonet village, (Freetown) for the use of the loyalists, Col. Daggett of this town on the 9th of April, 1775, undertook an expedition for the purpose of seizing these arms and breaking up the combination which had been formed to favor the royal cause. He was accompanied by the several companies from this town with their captains (as before named, except Elisha May in the room of Jon. Stanley) and by some of the militia from Rehoboth and other towns. How many others were concerned in the adventure is not known.

They discovered 40 stands of arms and equipments in the possession of the tories, together with a large quantity of ammunition—the whole of which was taken by the patriots. All, who were suspected of favoring the British interest, were required to swear not to bear arms against their country. Nine staunch tories, who refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Colonies, were made prisoners, and put under
the charge of the company from East Attleborough—and forthwith marched to Taunton. Here their captors threatened to convey them to Sullivan's mines in Connecticut, if they would not comply. To avoid this alternative, they at last submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to their country. They were then dismissed.

This expedition deserves commemoration from the circumstance of its having been accomplished previous to the commencement of open hostilities in any other part of the country. It preceded, a few days, the first scene in the great drama which opened on the plains of Lexington. It was appearing in arms (though on a comparatively small scale) against the royal government. The patriots expected resistance, and were prepared with sufficient force to meet it.

The company of Minute Men—60 in number—under the command of Capt. Jabez Ellis, Enoch Robinson, Lieutenant, on the day of the battle at Lexington received orders to march instantly to Roxbury. We sat out at night*—stopped a short time at Maxcy's, now Hatch's tavern—then went directly to Dedham—where we found two tables by the road side generously provided with food for the soldiers who might pass that way,—thus arranged to prevent any unnecessary delay—we snatched a hasty breakfast and marched on—reached Roxbury about day-light—and were then marched round and round Roxbury Meeting House, to make as much show of numbers as possible in view of the British. Our company remained there seven or eight days, and then were permitted to return home.†

* The circumstances are given as related to the author by one of the survivors.
† Of one of these soldiers an anecdote is current among the survivors of that day. One Henry Richardson of this town, a bold and honest but heedless fellow, on his way to Roxbury swore he would have one of the Red coats before he went back. On his arrival at head-quarters,—the moment he had opportunity—he charged his long musket, and not thinking with Falstaff, that 'discretion is the better part of valor,' coolly marched down in front of our lower guard, and taking deliberate aim at the opposite British sentinel, discharged his musket, and badly wounded him, as his companions were seen to lead him off the ground, and his place was supplied by another.
The same company went down to Roxbury the day of Bunker Hill battle—stayed about a fortnight. While there a small party of us went round to the Cambridge side to look at the British, but soon the captain of a Fort called out to us, that we had better not go in company, for the enemy would see us and fire at us; and sure enough, in a minute or two, a cannon ball came whizzing along close by us—and soon after, they sent us a bomb.

May 1st 1775. A company of 64 men enlisted for 8 months, under Capt. Caleb Richardson, in the Massachusetts Line (so called) and were stationed at Roxbury.

July 1776. Another company, principally from this town, enlisted 5 months in the recruits called the New Levies, under Capt. Caleb Richardson, and Stephen Richardson, Lieutenant, both of Attleborough, in the regiment of Col. Cary of Middleborough—Brigadier Gen. Fellowes, and did duty in and about New York, and were at the disastrous retreat from Long Island, &c.* Some of the other members of this company were from the neighboring towns.

Sept. 1776. Another company was raised (part from Attleborough and part from Norton) under Capt. Elisha May of this town, in the regiment of Col. Thomas Carpenter of Rehoboth, and arrived at White plains before the battle.

In Oct. 1777, A whole company from this town marched to Rhode Island, under Capt. Stephen Richardson, and served one month in Spencer's 'Secret Expedition,' so called.

Much to his astonishment, our hero was immediately arrested (for doing, as he thought, so good a service) and put under guard; but, on the representations of his friends, was soon after discharged without further punishment, in consideration of his good intentions!

On meeting, afterwards, one of his townsmen, he exclaimed, with exultation,—'There, I told you I'd have one of them are British rascals.'

* Capt. Moses Wilmarth, though he bad served as a captain at home, yet from a spirit of patriotism entered the service as a private soldier, in the expedition to N. York. He was afterwards promoted, and continued, much attached to the service, during the war.

Joel Read of this town (who is now living) was wounded at N. York.
Several men from this town were drafted in the expedition against Ticonderoga in 1776. Served also at Saratoga.

Some of our soldiers enlisted for 3 years, and others during the war.

The above accounts do not include the many individual enlistments into the Continental army from this town, during the war.

**Militia—Rhode Island.**

The Militia in this town and the vicinity were subject to frequent drafts of men (more or less) from December 1776 until after the evacuation of Rhode Island. Drafts were made in January, February, March, May, June, July, and August 1777, and at many other times. The men were stationed, the most of the time, at Howland's Ferry (Tiverton) and at Warwick.

The British took possession of Rhode Island in December 1776, and kept the surrounding country in a continual state of alarm. They occupied it above two years.

General Sullivan, during his expedition to Rhode Island, requested the Government of Massachusetts to send him a reinforcement, in consequence of the French forces having abandoned him. In compliance with this request, the following orders were issued by the Council of this State, directing Col. Daggett of the 4th Regiment (including, as now, Attleborough, Mansfield, Norton, and Easton) to take charge of the detachment.

*State of Massachusetts Bay, Council Chamber, Aug. 18th 1778.*

Whereas Major General Sullivan has represented to this Board that by reason of the absence of the French Troops, which he expected would co-operate with him, he is in pressing need of a re-inforcement, therefore,

Ordered that the following Colonels be and hereby are directed to detach from their respective Regiments the several numbers of men hereafter mentioned, and form them into companies of sixty eight men each including one captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and one fifer, and see that they be equipped, armed, and accoutred,
as the law directs, and order them to march immediately to the Island of Rhode Island, and there to do duty during the campaign on said Island:—viz. From Col. Hawes’ regiment, one hundred and fifty men including officers and one Major; from Col. Carpenter’s regiment one hundred and fifty men including officers; from Col. Daggett’s regiment one hundred and fifty men including officers and one Colonel; from Col. Hathaway’s regiment one hundred and fifty men including officers and one Lieut. Colonel; from Col. Sproat’s regiment one hundred and fifty men including officers; from Col. Williams’ regiment one hundred and fifty men including officers:

And make return to the Council without loss of time.

A true Copy.

Attest, JOHN AVERY Dy. Sec’y.

In obedience to these orders a regiment (consisting of 900 men) was formed out of the several regiments above named, which repaired to R. Island, and served under the command of Col. Daggett of this town, during the remainder of the campaign. The company furnished by this town, as its quota under this levy, was commanded by Capt. Caleb Richardson. It was on the island at the time of the battle, and was partially engaged in it.*

Col. Daggett also commanded the regiment (of which this town furnished a portion) from Bristol County in Spencer’s Expedition. This regiment was supplied by alternate drafts from the companies in the northerly and middle parts of the county.

During the occupation of the Island by the British, as before observed, the militia from all the towns in the vicinity were frequently called upon to defend the shore, as constant apprehensions were entertained that the enemy would attempt to land. Attempts were indeed often made, but as often failed. Orders would sometimes come for all the militia to appear at some place near the Island. All hands would accordingly muster

* Two men from this town, who had belonged to the Continental army, were killed in that action, viz. Lamed Hall and one Dyer formerly of Rebo-both.
(whether by night or day) and make all haste for the scene of parade. They were sometimes thus detained a week—3 weeks—and even 6 weeks at a time. On the appearance of a sufficient force the enemy would for the time relinquish their design, and the greater part of the militia obtain leave to go home. But sometimes before they arrived home, orders would come for their immediate return. The yeomanry were thus often obliged to leave the plough in the furrow, the mown hay untouched, and the harvest rotting in the field.

**Anecdote of Fayette.**—While Sullivan was retreating from the Island, Fayette, who brought up the rear, just as he was leaving the field, espied a pick-axe, belonging to the American army, which had been accidentally left on the ground;—he instantly went back, dismounted and picked it up, exclaiming, in broken English, as he rode off with it on his shoulder, 'They sha’nt have de pick-axe!'

The cannonade, (which was heavy) between the two armies, was distinctly heard and felt in this town, and produced extreme anxiety in every family.

The time of Bunker Hill battle was likewise a day of solemn feeling, and fearful expectation. The cannonade was distinctly heard at this distance (35 miles) and the occasion of it was fully recognized. It was so heavy as to shake the windows in the houses, and the plate upon the shelves. The earth trembled as in the heaviest thunder. The town was almost deserted by all able to bear arms. Women were in tears for the fate of fathers, husbands, and brothers who had gone to the scene of action.

From the preceding account of the civil transactions and the military services of this town, it appears satisfactorily that our citizens furnished their full proportion to the ranks of the patriot army, and did their duty faithfully in the day of trial.

In reviewing the proceedings in that contest which agitated the country previous to the commencement of the Revolution, one thing struck me as worthy of remark, (though not particularly noticed by historians) that the citizens of this State generally—the people as a body, felt a deeper interest—took a more active part—and exerted a more direct influence in the transactions of the day than the **people** of any other State.—The whole mass of our citizens seemed to be acting in con-
cert, animated with one spirit—and in pursuit of one object. Other States were indeed as zealously engaged in the great work, but it was rather through the Legislature or the Government, than by the direct influence of the people. But the citizens of this State entrusted it not to a few leaders or to any body of men to vindicate their violated rights; they were willing to do their part and to bear the burden themselves. Every town and almost every individual felt it a duty to put forth an effort in the cause.

It may be here remarked, that previous to this period, viz. 1745, Cumberland was separated from Attleborough, by Royal Charter, and annexed to Rhode Island.*

* The new boundaries established by this charter took from Massachusetts and annexed to Rhode Island a fine tract of land including all Bristol county, R. I. Tiverton, Newport county, and Cumberland, Providence county.

Cumberland comprised nearly half of the original town. Its area is about 28 square miles; and, taken together is an excellent tract of land. It is good for grain, and orcharding, and especially for grass which is cut in great abundance. Some parts of the town, however, are light and sandy.

It was incorporated in 1746. It was previously called Attleborough Gore. It is well adapted to manufacturing purposes, having three streams, Abbott's Run, Mill and Peter's Rivers, besides the Blackstone which is its western boundary. A few years ago it had eight cotton manufacturing establishments, running 5524 spindles; one woollen factory; two clothier's works; six grain mills; nineteen shops for building boats, in which are made annually about 700 boats, which are worth from 20 to 70 dollars each. It had besides, 1 nail factory, 1 marble mill, 306 dwelling houses, 230 electors, 3 companies of militia, 1 rifle corps, and part of a company of cavalry. Its population, in 1810, was 2,110. But the town has since materially increased in population and amount of business.

It had four religious societies, two Baptists', one Methodist, and one Quaker. Taxable property in 1815 was 528,220 dollars.
GENEALOGY.

A brief genealogy of some of the earliest settlers in the town is annexed, which is intended to include, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the names of those who came into town previous to 1730, with the names of their children of the first generation, (space not permitting me to extend it any farther) and also the previous place of their settlement when known. This will not contain the names of many who have all either removed from town or whose families have become extinct.—These sketches must necessarily be imperfect, from the defects in the records and the general neglect of most families to preserve any knowledge of their remote ancestry. The discovery of many of these facts connected with the history of our ancestors, has been the result of fortunate accident.

Many of the first proprietors (who belonged to Rehoboth) or their descendants became the occupants of the lands which they had purchased. But in process of time the cheapness of the land invited many emigrants from various parts of the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth who either became share holders or purchased Rights.*

Allen, Nehemiah, son of Isaac Allen 1st of Rehoboth, married Anne Wilmarth, daughter of Thomas Wilmarth 2d, of that town, came to Attleborough about 1710. He had 5 children, viz. Isaac, John, Nehemiah, Daniel, Anne, who were born between the years 1711 and 1726.

Atwell, Richard, married Sarah Bolkcom (daughter of Alexander Bolkcom) had 5 children by her, Sarah, Amos, Anne, Richard, Ichabod, 1728—1739. His second wife was Mary Lawrence, by whom he had one son, William, born 1741.

Burrows, Benajah, ancestor of all of that name in this town. He came here about 1708 from Rehoboth where he had resided for a short time. His wife was Lydia Bucklin daughter of Joseph Bucklin one of the early settlers of that town—had 9 children, John born in Rehoboth 1707; Deborah b. 1711; Joseph, 1713; Nehemiah 1715; Benjamin March 1717-18;

* Usually new comers, if they could not purchase a share in the Undivided lands, bought a right to lay out a definite number of acres in a division already granted.
Elijah March 1719-20; Lydia 1722; Ichabod 1724. He died Jan. 5, 1754.

Blackinton, Penticost, the ancestor of all the Blackingtons in town, came to Attleborough previous to 1702—from what place is not known. His wife's name was Mary. He had at least 4 children, Penticost, Mary, Benjamin, who came with him, and Hepzibeth who was born here Dec. 1702; and John and Penelope twins b. 1705 and both died 1706. Penticost the 1st died Sept. 24, 1715. His son Penticost married Rebecca Figgett—had 8 children, Penticost, b. 1716; Rebecca b. 1717; George b. 1720; Anne b. 1722; Mary b. 1724; John b. 1727; Othniel b. 1729; Peter b. 1731.

Blanding, Obediah, came from Rehoboth, son of William Blanding 1st of that name in Rehoboth,—married Elizabeth Weeks,—had 5 children, Ephraim, Samuel, Obediah, Elizabeth, Mehitabel, 1919—1727. Several others afterwards came here from that town, descendants of William 1st. viz. Daniel, Noah, Lamack, &c.

Bishop William, appears to be the first, came from Beverly or Salem about 1703. His wife's name was Dorothy. He had 8 children, Edward, Elizabeth, William, Martha, Rebecca, Baily, Dorothy, John, 1701—1715. His second wife was Tabitha Hadley, married 1719.

There were several others of this name, some of them, perhaps, brothers of the above, viz. Daniel, (who married Elizabeth Brown 1734) Samuel (married Mary——.) Joseph (married Miriam Hodges) Thomas who married 'Sarah Hobel of Pequonick' and had one daughter born in New Brookfield N. Y. 1744.

Bolkcom, Alexander, the 1st, who came to Attleborough, previous to 1692; from whom all in town are descended. He married Sarah Woodcock, daughter of John Woodcock sen. and had 7 children, William b. Sept. 3, 1692; Katharine b. Feb. 7, 1694; Alexander b. April 4, 1696; John b. April 29, 1699; Baruck b. June 12, 1702; Sarah b. Feb. 8, 1703—4 : Joseph b. Feb. 23, 1705—6.

He died Jan. 31, 1727—8. His son William married Mary Tyler, Oct. 3, 1713; Alexander m'd. Martha Obinton, May 14, 1725; Baruck m. Patience Blake; John m'd. Mary Grover, by whom he had 5 children, and afterward, Sarah Grover, by
whom he had 8 children; Joseph m'd. Mary Parminter, March 21, 1733-4.

Capron, Banfield, was the first of that name who came to this country. From him all the Caprons in this vicinity are descended. The name of his first wife was Elizabeth. His children were Banfield, Joseph, Elizabeth Banfield, b. Oct. 22, 1684, Edward, John, Jonathan, b. March 10, 1705-6, Sarah b. March 11, 1708-9.

His wife Elizabeth died March 10, 1735. He married Dec. 16, 1735, Mrs. Sarah Daggett (relict of Dea. John Daggett) and died Aug. 25, 1752, at a very advanced age. He settled where the late Joab Daggett lived, and laid out the lands there. Tradition says, he came to this country alone when he was quite a lad, as a cabin-boy, to seek his own fortune.

Carpenter, Josiah, Noah, William, Obediah, &c. came to Attleborough from Rehoboth, and were all descendants of Samuel and William Carpenter, two of the earliest of that name in Rehoboth. William Carpenter was admitted an inhabitant of that town March 28, 1645. He was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts, May 13, 1640.

Noah was the son of William of Rehoboth, b. March 28, 1672 married Sarah Johnson, Dec. 3, 1700—by whom he had 13 children, Noah, Miriam, Sarah, Stephen, Asa, Mary (born in Rehoboth) Margaret, Simon (died infant) Isaiah, Simon, Martha, Elisha, Amy. He married Ruth Follet, May 1727, by whom he had one daughter, b. May 1728.

Claflin, (formerly Mc'Claflin*) Antipas, came here from Sudbury, Mass. had 3 children after his arrival in this town, viz. Hepzebeth, b. Nov. 17, 1717; Antipas and Ebenezer, twins, b. Feb. 8, 1720-21. His wife's name was Sarah. Other sons probably came with him, Noah, Phinehas, &c.

Cutting, the first and only one of this name, who came here, was Aaron. His son Aaron, Jr. married Ruth Pratt, 1749, (who died July 26, 1753) and for his second wife, Sarah Tucker, by both of whom he had 9 children.

Daggett, John, ancestor of all the Daggetts here and in Con came to Attleboro' from Chilmark, Marthas’ Vineyard, about

* Sometimes spelt Meclotblin, and in one place, (R. N. P. Rec. p. 356) Mack Cleaulan—a proof of the variation which names undergo in the course of a few generations. Tradition says the family originated in Scotland.

Ebenezer married Mary Blackinton, (daughter of Penticost the 1st) Nov. 9, 1721; Mayhew married Joanna Biven, (of Deerfield, Mass.) Oct. 11, 1709; Thomas married Sarah Stanley, (daughter of Stanley) March 21, 1722-3.*

__Day, Samuel__, appears to be the first—came from Rehoboth. His wife was Priscilla.—He had several children, Samuel, Edward, b. June 9, 1705; John, b. Sept. 29, 1708; Priscilla, b. Nov. 22, 1711; Benjamin, b. (in Attleborough) April 28, 1720; and perhaps others.

One Robert Day was admitted freeman of Massachusetts, May 6, 1635; and Ralph Day, May 1645.

__Foster, John__, came from Dorchester about 1712,—married Margaret Ware—had 13 children, John, b. 1706; Robert, b. 1707; Ebenezer, b. 1709, (these three b. in Dorchester) Margaret, b. (in Wrentham) 1712; Benjamin, b. 1714; Jonathan, b. 1715; Sarah, b. 1718; Timothy, b. 1720; Nathan, b. 1722; Esther, b. 1724; Michael, b. 1725; (and died 1726) Michael, b. 1727; Mary, b. 1729.

__Foster, Alexander__, (another who came to town) whose wife’s name was Suanna,—had 6 children, Elizabeth, Sarah, Alexander, Edward, Suanna, Jane—from 1734 to 1746.

__Freeman, David and Jonathan__, inhabitants of Rehoboth, came to Attleborough—probably the ancestors of all the Freemans in this town. The name of David’s wife was Mary. Some of

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*By recent research I am able to trace this family still farther back: and give the result for the information of numerous descendants here & elsewhere.

John the 1st of Attleborough, was the son of Thomas Daggett, Esq. of Edgartown, who married Hannah, the oldest daughter of Gov. Mayhew, and was brother to Thomas, Samuel, Joshua, Israil, Mercy.

Thomas the father (who was brother of John the first of Rehoboth) is supposed to be the son of John Daggett, the first, who came to this country in 1630, and was settled in Watertown 1642, and probably removed to Martha’s Vineyard with Gov. Mayhew, when he settled the Island, in 1644. There is reason to believe that John the first of Watertown had a brother Thomas who came to New England.
his children were Ebenezer, b. April 13, 1684; Hannah, b.
April 24, 1686; Margaret, b. Feb. 9, 1688–9.
Jonathan's children were William, Mary, Jonathan, Mercy,
Samuel, Anne, David, 1690—1704.

French, John, son of John French 1st of Rehoboth,—came
from that town about 1710—married Martha Williams—had
five children, John (b. in Rehoboth) Ephraim and Martha
twins (died infants) Hannah, Samuel, 1709—1714. His 2d
wife was Abigail White, married May 23, 1728, by whom he
had 2 children, John b. 1729, Thomas b. 1730.

Thomas brother of the preceding, also came from Reho-
both—married Mary Brown, Jan. 5, 1720–1,—had 6 children,
Thomas, Christopher, Mary, Joseph, Elizabeth, Bridget, Sa-
rah, Hannah, 1722—1738.

Fuller. This name is numerous. The first are not all
known. One was John—whose children were Ithaman, Abi-
gail, John, Jeduthan, Abial, Joanna, 1702—1719. His 2d
wife was Mary Follet—had 1 daughter Sarah b. 1721.

Jonathan Fuller was an early settler of Rehoboth. Robert
and William Fuller admitted freemen Mass. 2d June 1641.

Guild, Ebenezer, came from Dedham—married Abigail Dag-
gett (daughter of Dea. John Daggett 1st) 12th Oct. 1714; had
several children, Joseph, Naphtali, Ebenezer, 1716—1722.—

John and Benjamin also came with him.

Hall. Edward and John came from England—soon to
Taunton—thence to Rehoboth. Ephraim, son of John, came
to Attleborough. John was admitted fr. Mass. 14th May 1634;
Edward, 2d May, 1638. John married Mary Newell of Rox-
bury, 18th Nov. 1684. Edward died 27th Nov. 1670.

Christopher Hall also came to Attleborough—had two sons,
Caleb and Joshua.

Ide, Nicholas, Lieut. (son of Nicholas 1st of Rehoboth, who
was there as as early as Apr. 9, 1645) was born Nov. 1654;
marrried Mary Ormsby, Dec. 27, 1623; had 7 children, Na-
thaniel, Jacob, Martha, Patience, John, Benjamin, 1678—
1693—all born in Rehoboth. Nicholas (by his 2d wife Eliza)
b. in Attleborough July 25, 1697. Nicholas sen. died 5th

Jacob (2d son) married Sarah Perry. His children were
Sarah, b. Dec. 13, 1712; Jacob, Sept. 26, 1723.
John (3d son) married Mehitable Robinson May 14, 1719—had 4 children, Sarah, John, Benjamin, Amos, 1720—1729.

Ingraham, Joseph, Benjamin, Jeremiah, Elijah, descendants of Benjamin, and of Jarrett whose name is on the list of Purchasers, came from Rehoboth. Joseph married Mary Shepardson.

Elijah married Sarah Ide—had 8 children, Elijah, Jabez, Sarah, and William twins, Betty, Remember, Comfort, Jeremiah, 1734—1746.

Maxcy, Alexander, came from Gloucester, Mass. with his family, about 1721,—settled on John Woodcock's farm and continued the public house. His wife's name was Abigail.—He died Sept. 20, 1723. His children were Alexander (who died April 2, 1724) Joseph, Josiah, Abigail, (who married Jacob Hascall of Gloucester) Mary (who married Wm. Ware May 4, 1726) Esther (who married Nahum Ward Dec. 3d 1728) and Benjamin.

Josiah married Mary Everett daughter of Joshua Everett, had 11 children. His 2d son Levi (whose wife was Ruth daughter of Jacob Newell) was the father of Jonathan, Milton, and Virgil, graduates of Brown University—eminent in literary and professional life. Levi, another son, who possessed superior talents though not liberally educated—died at the South.

Martin, John, Robert, and Timothy, came from Rehoboth.—Timothy married Mary, daughter of John Fuller, then of Rehoboth, afterwards of Attleborough,—had three children, Timothy, Sarah, Abel.

Three of this name were admitted freemen Massachusetts, Thomas, Martin, 22d May, 1639; John and Robert 13th May, 1640. John settled in Rehoboth.

Moore, Alexander, married Alice Chaffee—had 8 children, Samuel, Comfort, Jane, Betsey, Esther, Alice, Kate, Hannah.

Newell, Jacob, came here from Roxbury or Dorchester, about 1715, bringing with him his family of several sons, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim, &c. Jason b. here, Dec. 12, 1717. His wife's name was Joyce. He settled near the first M.-House, and bought a part of Willett's farm, and, according to tradition, distributed it among his 7 sons, which still remains in 7 divisions.

* It is said that a brother came with him to this country, and settled in one of the Southern States.
Peck, Hezekiah, (son of Nicholas Peck, of Rehoboth) came to Attleborough about 1700, with his family—married Deborah Cooper, of the former place—had 7 children, Deborah, Judith, Hannah, Hezekiah, Rachel, b. in Rehoboth; Petronella, Perthenah, 1687—1711.

Several other Pecks came here from Rehoboth, viz. John and Elisha, brothers of Hezekiah; Daniel and Ichabod, sons of Jathniel who was the son of Joseph 1st.*

Read, Daniel, came to Rehoboth about 1716, with five children, Beriah, Ichabod, Hannah, Abigail, Esther, Daniel (died infant) 1707—1713. His first wife was Elizabeth Bosworth; his second was Eliz. Ide by whom he had eight children, Daniel, Noah, Eliz. Sam. Abigail, Rachel, Benj. Thankful, 1716—1734.†

At least two other Reads came here from Rehoboth, Moses, and Ezra. Those of this name have been very numerous in this town.

* He came to Rehoboth from Hingham, Mass. and probably to that place from Hingham, England.

Mr. Joseph Peck and Mr. Robert Peck were admitted freemen, Mass. 15th March 1638—9. Robert was ordained teacher at Hingham 8th Nov. 1638; and 27th Oct. 1641, returned to England with his family. Joseph’s name appears on the Rehoboth records April 9, 1645. On his way from Hingham the following accident befel him.

1645. I. 25. ‘Another strange accident happened by fire about this time. One Mr. Peck and three others of Hingham, being about with others to remove to Seaconk (which was concluded by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to belong to Plymouth,) riding thither, they sheltered themselves and their horses in an Indian wigwam, which by some occasion took fire and (although they were all four in it, and labored to their utmost, &c.) burnt three of their horses to death, and all their goods to the value of 50 pounds.’

One John Peck was in Rehoboth as early as 29th March, 1645. (Win. Jour. II. 216.)

Nicholas, John, Joseph, Jr. are supposed to be sons of Mr. Joseph, who came with him to Rehoboth; if this supposition be true, then all of the name are descended from him.

† Thomas Read, admitted freeman, Mass. April 1, 1634; John, 13th May 1640; William, 14th Dec. 1638; Esdras, 2d June, 1641. John and Thomas (perhaps sons of John) settled in Rehoboth, and were the ancestors of the numerous progeny of Reads in that town and Attleborough.
Richards, Edward and Nathan came from Dedham. From them are descended those of that name in this town. The first in Dedham was Edward who was admitted freeman 1641. (Worthington’s His. Ded.)

Richardson, Stephen, John, William, Seth, brothers, came to Attleborough. Seth married Mary Brown. His children were Stephen, Seth, (died) Mary, Abigail, Sarah, Seth, Phebe, 1714—1725.

Several others also came to this town, Timothy, Francis &c. Ezekuel Richardson, freeman, Mass. 18th May, 1631; Samuel, 2d May, 1638.

Robinson.—Six of this name came to Attleborough from Rehoboth, viz. Nathl. Noah, John, Timothy, Samuel, Ebenezer.*


John married Thankful Newell and had several descendants. Timothy married Eliz. Grant. Samuel married Mary Cooper first wife, Mary Ide second wife.

Ebenezer married Eliz. Read, and had 8 children, Mehetable, Sarah, Ebenezer, Samuel, Eliz. Ezekiel, Dan, Martha, 1721—1738.

Stanley, Thomas, Nathaniel, Joseph, Samuel, Jacob, John, came from Topsfield, Mass. and settled near the Falls. The last three were brothers. Thomas and Samuel were here in 1707; Jacob came about 1717. Thomas married Mary Gould —had 12 children, Thomas, Mary, Phebe, Nathaniel, Samuel, Daniel, David (died infant) Martha, William, Abigail, Priscilla, David.

Jacob married Eliz. Guild. His children were Jacob, Benjamin, Eliz. (died infant) Deborah, Jon. Eliz. Solomon, Abigail.

* They were descendants of George Robinson 1st of Rehoboth, whose name is on our List of Purchasers. He married Joanna Ingraham.

William Robinson, freeman Mass. at Salem, 27th December, 1642; John, 2d June, 1641.
Nathaniel married Sarah Blackinton. His children were Serviah, Sarah, Hepzibeth, Abner, Amy, Sibula, Israel, Penticost, Anne, Nathaniel, 1721—1744.

Starkey, Andrew, came here about 1708. His first wife was Mehitable Waite, by whom he had two children, Mehitable b. May 1709; John b. July 1712. His second wife was Catharine (daughter of Alexander Bolkcom) by whom he had three children, Jemima, Andrew, Thomas, 1722—1733. Andrew sen. died 16th August 1740.

Sweet, Henry, was here about 1690,—had 5 children, John, Phillip (died infant) Thomas, Michael (died infant) Dorothy. He was one of the earliest, if not the first of that name.—Died 8th December 1704.—Probably a descendant of John, admitted freeman 1641.

Sweetland, John, came from Marblehead, with several others of that name; three of his children were Benjamin, Deborah, Samuel, 1703—1711. He died 9th June 1711.

Tyler, Ebenezer, had 9 children, Ebenezer, Elizabeth, Phebe, Catharine, Hannah, d. John, Hannah, William, 1714—1731.*

Samuel married Mary Capron—had 11 children, Mary, d. Samuel, d. Moses, Samuel, Mary, Nathan, Huldah, Habijah and Elizabeth twins, Ebenezer, Benjamin d.

Wilkinson, John, came here about 1700—married Rachel Fales. His children were 8, John, Joseph, Rachel, Mary, Hepzibeth, Abigail, Sarah, Hannah, 1702—1723. He purchased Capt. Willett's share in the undivided lands, probably of his son Andrew. Died 24th Jan. 1724—5.


Wilmarth, Thomas,† came to Attleborough about 1708,—married Deborah Peek—had 7 children, Mary, Thomas, Deborah, Elizabeth, Anne, Ebenezer, Eliphalet, 1709—1728.

Several other Wilmarths came from that town, Samuel, (son


† Grandson of Thomas Wilmarth Sen. who came into Rehoboth as early as March 28, 1645, with his wife and children. This name was anciently spelt Wilmot.

The Deanes came from Taunton; Ellises, Drapers, &c. from Dedham, subsequent to 1730.

It is not expected that the foregoing list includes all who came previous to that period. The names of the original ancestors of some could not be ascertained.

One name was omitted in its proper place. Bourne, Andrew, came (it is supposed from G. Britain) to Attleborough, about 1720, and settled in the East part of the town. All of that name in this vicinity are descended from him.

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LIST OF THE NAMES OF PERSONS NOW IN TOWN, WITH THE NUMBER OF EACH NAME AFFIXED, TAKEN FROM THE TAX LIST OF 1832.


B. Babcock 3—Bacon 2—Barrows 8—Bates 6—Bailey 1—Baldwin 1—Bishop 3—Blake 1—Blackington 9—Blackwell 1—Blanchard 1—Blanding 4—Bliss 5—Bolcom 8—Bosworth 1—Bourne 1—Bowen 5—Bragg 2—Briggs 7—Brown 4—Bruce 1—Bullock 2.

C. Capron 11—Cargill 1—Carpenter 14—Chace 2—Chandler 1—Cheever 1—Chuckering 1—Claffin 14—Clark 2—Clayes 1—Clinlock Me 1—Cobb 2—Codding 3—Cole 2—Colvin 1—Cook 1—Cooper 3—Cornell 2—Crocker 1—Crowningshield 1—Cutting 1—Cummins 5—Cushman 3.


E. Earl 1—Eddy 1—Eldridge 3—Ellis 3—Everett 4.

F. Fales 1—Fairbrother 2—Field 3—Fisher 6—Follet 2—Forbush 1—Foster 6—Franklin 1—Freeman 7—French 7—Frost 1—Fuller 21—Furguson 1—Furthington 1.

G. Gardner 2—Gay 1—George 2—Gilbert 1—Giles 1—Goff 1—Grant 3—Green 3—Guild 2.

H. Hall 4—Hamar 1—Harkness 1—Harris 2—Hatch 4—Haven 2—Hayward 1—Hicks 1—Hitchcock 1—Holman 3—Holmes 7—Horr 2—Horton 1—Hunt 2—Huntress 1.
There are about 200 different names (sirnames) on the List, and 618 different persons. There are, of course, some other names in town which are not in the assessor's Rates; but the above catalogue includes the most of them. These items, indifferent to some, may be curiosities to others.
LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES

From this town from its Incorporation, in 1694, to 1833. Elections were in May unless otherwise designated.

1709* David Freeman
1710 David Freeman
1711 David Freeman
1712 Capt Joseph Brown†
1713 Mr. David Freeman
   Lieut. Nicholas Ide§
1714 Lieut. Nicholas Ide
1715 David Freeman
1716 David Freeman
1717 David Freeman
1718 David Freeman
1719 Jeremiah Whipple
1720 Dea. John Daggett
   David Freeman‖
1721 David Freeman
1722 No one would accept.
1723 Capt. John Foster
1724 Mr. Nathl. Carpenter
1725 Capt. John Foster
1726 Capt. Joseph Brown
1727 Capt. Joseph Brown
1728 Capt. Joseph Brown
1729 Mr. Nathl. Carpenter
1730 Capt. John Foster
1731 Capt. John Foster
1732 Capt. John Foster
1733 Nathaniel Carpenter
1734 Sent an excuse.
1735 Nathaniel Carpenter
1736 Capt. Mayhew Daggett
1737 John Robinson
   Capt. Mayhew Daggett
   John Foster, Esq.

Timothy Tingley
Samuel Tyler
Abasel Read
John Foster, Esq.
John Robbins
John Robbins
Capt. Mayhew Daggett
Capt. Mayhew Daggett
Maj. John Foster
Capt. Mayhew Daggett
Capt. Samuel Tyler
Perez Bradford, Esq.‡
Capt. Samuel Tyler
Capt. Samuel Tyler
Benjamin Day
Benjamin Day
Benjamin Day
Name not on record.
Name not on record.
Lieut. Josiah Maxcy
Josiah Maxcy
Josiah Maxcy
Dea. Benjamin Day
Japhesh Bicknell
Stephen Fuller
Stephen Fuller, Esq.
Stephen Fuller, Esq.
Dea. Ebenezer Lane
Dea. Ebenezer Lane
Dea. Ebenezer Lane

* The reader will perceive that no representative was chosen during the first fourteen years after the incorporation. The reason is given in the extracts from the town records, page 22, 24.

† Son of Mr. John Brown of Rehoboth (well known in the history of the Old Colony) came here about 1769 from Kingston, R. I. to which he had removed about 1702. In this list the titles, generally given according to the custom of the times, are retained as they appear on record.

‖ Nov. 1718.
‡ June 1720.
§ July 22d, 1746, Capt. Mayhew Daggett was chosen.
1768 John Daggett 1805 Ebenezer Bacon
1769 John Daggett 1806 Joel Read, Esq.
1770 John Daggett 1807 Ebenezer Bacon
1771 John Daggett 1808 Joel Read
1772 John Daggett 1809 Joel Read
1773 Capt. John Daggett 1810 Joel Read
1774 Capt. John Daggett 1811 John Richardson
1775 Capt. John Daggett 1812 Benjamin Bolkcom
1776 Capt. John Stearns 1813 John Richardson
William Stanley
1777 Capt. John Stearns 1814 Joel Read
1778 Capt. Elisha May 1815 Benjamin Bolkcom
1779 Capt. Elisha May 1816 John Richardson
John Daggett
1780 Capt. Elisha May 1817 Capt. Thomas French
1818 " " "
1819 " " "
1820 A. Richardson Jr.
1821 A. Richardson Jr.
1822 Ebenezer Daggett Esq.
1823 Ebenezer Daggett Esq.
Sent no one.
1824 " " "
1825 William Blackinton
1826 William Blackinton
1827 George Ellis
1828 Elkanah Briggs
1829 A. Richardson Jr.
1830 George Ellis
1831 Elkanah Briggs Esq.
1832 Elkanah Briggs Esq.
1833 Elkanah Briggs Esq.
1834 Abijah M. Ide Esq.
1835 Abijah M. Ide Esq.
1836 Abijah M. Ide Esq.
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Rev. Naphtali Daggett, D. D. President of Yale College, was the son of Ebenezer Daggett and Mary his wife, and was born in Attleborough (at the residence of the late Ebenezer Daggett Esq.) Sept. 8th 1727. He was the second son among 8 children. His father dying while he was yet young, he was left under the direction of a mother, who was, however, in every respect, peculiarly qualified to discharge the duties which devolved upon her. He soon after commenced studies preparatory to college. He entered Yale College in 1744, and graduated in 1748, at the age of 21. He was distinguished during his college life for industry and close application.

He was settled as minister of Smithtown on Long Island in 1751. In Sept. 1755 he was elected the first Professor of Divinity in Yale College, which appointment he accepted, and removed to New Haven, and was inducted into office on the 4th of March following.* This office he held during his life. After the resignaion of Mr. Clap Sept. 10th 1766, he officiated as President till April 1st 1777, when he resigned the office, but still continued to hold that of Professor of Divinity. The learned Dr. Stiles was his successor in the Presidency.

During the barbarous attack on New Haven by the British army, in July 1779, he took an active part in the defence of the country, and was distinguished for his resolution and intrepidity.† He was taken prisoner and came near losing his life.

* The foundation of this Professorship was laid in 1746 by a donation from the Hon. Phillip Livingston, of New York; and having received a considerable addition by another donation from Mr. Gershom Clark, of Lebanon, with some appropriations by the college, it afforded a sufficient salary for the support of such an office, which was accordingly established in 1755. A house for the use of the incumbent was erected by subscription; and finished in 1758.

† He had made himself obnoxious by his open, and active opposition to the British cause. He had often inculcated upon the students under his charge,—in the pulpit and in the lecture-room,—the duty of resistance to British oppression. He had therefore incurred the special displeasure of the invaders. He had openly preached and prayed against the success of their cause. He knew no difference between preaching and practicing; and when the crisis came, he carried his own principles into action. He shouldered his musket and went into the field with the rest to repel the in-
Dr. Daggett died, (in consequence of the wounds he had received on that occasion) Nov. 25th 1780 at the age of 53. He presided over the University about eleven years, and held the office of Professor of Divinity twenty-five years. Possessed of a strong, clear, and comprehensive mind, he applied himself with assiduity and success to the various branches of knowledge, particularly to the learned languages and divinity. Dr. Holmes in his life of President Stiles, says, 'he was a good classical scholar; well versed in moral philosophy; and a learned divine.' Clearness of understanding and accuracy of thought were characteristics of his mind. He received the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity from Yale College, and also from Nassau, New Jersey. He published a sermon on the death of President Clap 1767; another delivered at the ordination of Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin 1770; and a third delivered at the ordination of Rev. J. Howe, 1773.

Col. John Daggett, an elder brother of the preceding—born Sept 2d 1724 or 5—was one of the principal public characters and leading men of the town, especially during the trying period of the Revolution. He and Col. May were the two vaders. He was taken prisoner by the enemy. They beat, and bruised him, and offered him every indignity in their power. His clerical character, in their eyes, was no exemption from the most outrageous abuses. They demanded of him, who he was—he hesitatingly replied, "My name is Napthali Daggett—I am one of the officers of Yale College—I require you to release me?" "But we understand you have been in the habit of praying against our cause?" "Yes—and I never made more sincere prayers in my life."

He was at first left for dead on the ground. He was saved by the intrepidity of the lady into whose house he had been conveyed. After the British had retired, an officer and a file of soldiers were sent back to convey him a prisoner on board their transports. They came to the house and inquired for him, and were answered by the lady (who appeared at the door, and resolutely refused to admit them) that he was so badly wounded, it would be impossible to convey him on board alive. "My orders," said the officer, "are positive, to take him with me." But you would not surely carry away a dying man—he is now in the agonies of death. After repeated demands and refusals, the officer finally determined to return and report the case to his superior and ask for further orders. But he never came back after his prisoner.
on whom the town placed the utmost reliance. He was pos:
sessed of a strong and sound mind, and was marked by a reso-
lute and decided character. He was a puritan in the plainness
and simplicity of his manners, and was a firm friend to the civ-
il institutions and republican customs of New England.

He was commissioned one of his Majesty's Justices of the
Peace under the Provincial Government before the Revolu-
tion. He took an early and decided stand (with many other
patriotic citizens of this town) in the commencement of those
proceedings which produced the Revolution. He was a mem-
ber of the Provincial Congress which assembled at Cambridge.
For a long succession of years he was elected a member of the
Legislature; and was also a member of the Convention which
formed the Constitution. He was generally called to serve on
the most important committees which were raised in town
meeting to consider the many difficult subjects which were
then brought before the people during and subsequent to the
Revolution. Col. Daggett commanded the regiment from the
county of Bristol both in Spencer's and Sullivan's Expedi-
tions on Rhode Island,—in '77 and '79.

At home he was extensively employed as a surveyor, and
was engaged in various other kinds of public business such as
the ordinary transactions of life require between citizens. He
died universally respected, January 20th 1803, at the age of 79.

A third brother, Doct. Ebenezer Daggett, was a respecta-
ble physician, who settled in Wrentham village where he ac-
quired an extensive practice. He married Miss — Metcalf,
daughter of Timothy Metcalf Esq. of Wrentham, by whom
he had several children.

His son, Rev. Herman Daggett, graduated at Brown Univer-
sity in 1788, and pursued his professional studies with Dr.
Emmons of Franklin. He was settled, a few years, in the min-
istry on Long Island; and afterwards removed to Ridge-
field, Connecticut, and finally to Cornwall, where he died in
1832. He was principal of the Foreign Mission School es-
tablished at the latter place.
Doct. Bezaleel Mann—a well known and worthy physician of this town,—deserves a notice in these sketches. He was a descendant of Rev. Samuel Mann the first minister of Wrentham. He studied his profession with Dr. Hewes of Foxborough, and commenced business in this town sometime previous to 1750. Dr. Mann had the reputation of being a skillful physician, and had acquired an extensive circle of practice. His character is justly portrayed in his epitaph.

"Bezaleel Mann mort. die Octo. tert. 1796, an. aetat. 74. Early imbued with the principles of moral rectitude, he sustained through the diversified concerns of a long and active life, the character of an honest man. As a physician, he commanded, during the period of near 50 years, that unlimited confidence and respect, which talents alone can inspire. The features of his mind were sketched by the glowing pencil of nature, filled up with qualities that adorn humanity, and shaded with few infirmities the frequent attendants on mental excellence."

"Bebe Mann,* his wife, mort. die Octo. tert. 1793, aetat. 61. She was a person of bright genius, of few words, and much reserved in mind. From early youth she marked all her paths with virtue, and timely took the advice Christ gave to his disciples, and made to herself a friend of the mammon of righteousness, and when she failed, could, with Christian confidence, say, that her witness was in heaven and her reward on high.

This stone is erected by the grateful hand of filial piety to protect the awful dust of revered parents."

These inscriptions may be found in Alden’s valuable Collection of Epitaphs.

Dr. Mann had several sons who entered the professions.—His son Preston, who is a physician, was graduated at Brown University, and settled in Newport, R. I. where he is now living. Another son, John Milton, was also a graduate at Brown University, became a physician, and removed to the State of N. York, where he was drowned in attempting to cross the River Hudson. His second daughter married one of his students, Dr. Seth Capron of this town, who, with another son, Newton,

* She was a daughter of Mr. Ezekiel Carpenter of this town.
removed to the State of New York, where they are now living. His second son, Herbert, was educated a physician, and entered, as surgeon, on board the privateer General Arnold, Capt. Magee, and was lost in that terrible storm which ensued, in Plymouth Harbor, 26th Dec. 1778. The stone which is here erected to his memory contains the following epitaph:

"In memory of doctor Herbert Mann, who, with 119 sailors with Capt. James Magee, master, went on board the brig General Arnold, in Boston Harbor, 25th Dec. 1778, hoisted sail, made for sea, and were immediately overtaken by the most tremendous snow storm with cold, that was ever known in the memory of man, and, unhappily, parted their cable in Plymouth harbor, in a place called the Cow-yards, and he, with about 100 others, was frozen to death; sixty-six of whom were buried in one grave.* He was in the 21st year of his age.—And now Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, but who can stand before thy cold?"

Hon. Elisha May was a distinguished citizen of this town, who was often employed in public office, and whose name is still held in reverence by those who remember him. Courteous and gentlemanly in his manners, and honorable and upright in his principles, he was universally esteemed. Intelligent and active in business, he was well qualified to fulfil the various offices to which he was elected. He discharged the various duties which devolved upon him, with ability, and entire satisfaction to his constituents. He was, in fine, one of the most valuable citizens of this town. He died Nov. 15th, 1811, in the 73d year of his age. His character is justly though briefly described by one who was personally acquainted with him. The following extract is from a Discourse delivered at his interment, by the Rev. John Wilder, then the pastor of the 1st Congregational Church in this town.

"His memory will long be precious, not only to his near relatives and friends, but likewise to his intimate acquaintance, to his neighbors, to the religious society in this place, and to the inhabitants of the town. For he is the man whom his fel-

* In the town of Plymouth.
low-citizens have delighted to honor; nor was he unworthy their respect and confidence. For blessed with a sound mind, a retentive memory, a quick discernment of men and things, a polite address, an honest heart, and an education considerably above mediocrity, he was singularly qualified for public employments of various kinds. And his worth was early discovered; for at the time of the Revolutionary war he was an active and useful member both in the military and civil departments.—Since that period he was employed, without opposition, as a legislator, or a counsellor, until he chose to retire. For about 27 years in succession, one excepted, he was called to a seat in the Legislature, and chiefly in the upper house. For almost forty years together he has been moderator of the town meetings in this place; in which office he was equalled by few, and exceeded by none. He had the honor of being an elector of the President of the United States. As a magistrate throughout the Commonwealth, he did much business, and to very general satisfaction. He was justly celebrated both at home and abroad, for his wisdom in adjusting and settling differences between contending parties. As a politician he was a friend and disciple of Washington. As a man he was prepossessing and engaging. As a friend he was faithful and constant. As a neighbor he was kind and obliging. As a husband he was attentive and tender. As a parent he was pleasant and affectionate. As to his religion, he was a firm believer in the christian system, and a very constant, attentive, and apparently devout attender on public worship, all his life.'

John Foster, Esq. appears from the records to have been a useful public man in his day, though but few facts of his life are known to the author. He was chosen moderator of town meetings for a long succession of years—was a surveyor of lands—an active justice of the peace—and for several years a representative of the town, &c.

Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, S. T. D. President of Rhode Island, Union and Columbia colleges, was one of the most eminent pulpit orators of this country. He was born in this town, Sept.
2d, 1768. He prepared for college, in the school of the Rev. William Williams, of Wrentham, which was then the most celebrated institution in the vicinity, and the resort of a great many young men for the pursuit of classical studies. He graduated at Brown University in 1787, and was immediately appointed a Tutor. He was ordained pastor of the 1st Baptist Church in Providence, Sept. 8, 1791, and at the same time was appointed the first Professor of Divinity in that college.* After the death of President Manning, he was unanimously elected President, A. D. 1792, at the early age of twenty-four!—He presided over this University for eleven years, with distinguished success and with a splendid reputation for eloquence and learning. His administration was marked by mildness, urbanity and dignity. Under his guardianship the University acquired a distinguished name for oratory. Guided by his fostering genius, it sent forth a constellation of eloquent and accomplished speakers, who have shone in various departments of public life, and whose eloquence has been felt in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the halls of legislation—many of whom have acquired a national renown. He was peculiarly fitted to stamp impressions of his own character on the minds of those around him, and to infuse his own spirit into theirs. He acquired a salutary influence over the youth committed to his charge. He imbued their hearts with a taste for literature and with a love of truth and moral beauty,—and excited in their bosoms, the most ardent aspirations after excellence. He knew well how to kindle and fan the flame of Genius. His memory is cherished by all his pupils with peculiar affection and gratitude.—In speaking of the University, it has been truly said, that he was one 'whose name and fame are identified with its reputation, and whose mingled mildness, dignity, and goodness, equalled only by his genius, learning and eloquence, subdued all envy, made all admirers friends, and gave him an irresistible sway over the minds of those placed under his care.'

Though accomplished in every department of learning, he was distinguished more particularly as a Belles Lettres scholar.

*He was the first and only professor of divinity ever appointed in Brown University.

† Hon. Virgil Maxcy's Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa of Brown University, Sept. 4th, 1833.
His oratory was in some respects peculiar. There was nothing in it like rant or affectation—no appearance of that popular declamation which is so often employed to captivate the multitude. There was apparently no attempt in it to produce effect—no labored display—but every thing appeared easy, natural and unstudied. It was deep—impassioned—but not declamatory. His voice was not naturally powerful, but he had it perfectly under his control through all its intonations. He usually commenced in a calm and moderate tone, but grew warmer and more animated as he advanced in his discourse, and gradually and imperceptibly gained upon the attention and feelings of his hearers, until every one present was wholly engrossed upon the subject of the speaker. Indeed, he himself seemed completely absorbed in his own subject, and by the influence of sympathy carried his audience with him.

His delivery was remarkably expressive. Every sentiment he uttered came from the heart and vibrated through his whole frame.—Every cord and muscle was an echo to his soul. His elocution was full of grace—yet his power was not in this—it was in the life,—the soul,—which he infused into his voice,—his gestures,—and his countenance,—all expressive and harmonious. His eloquence was at once graceful and forcible.—In a word, he had in perfection, what Demosthenes called Action.

He did not neglect to cultivate the minor graces of elocution. He never made a prayer or delivered any thing in public, extempore, even on the most ordinary occasions, in which every sentence and every word were not accurately arranged and in their right place. Though his voice was naturally feeble, it was able to occupy a large compass, and every word and every syllable he uttered, in the largest audience, fell distinctly on the ear of the most distant auditor.

The following extract will show the estimation in which he was held at the South. It was written but a short time previous to his death, and contains a brief but lively description of the impressive effects of his eloquence, even when his powers were impaired by advancing age and feeble health.
From the Charleston City Gazette.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman residing in Columbia, to his friend in Charleston.

"Columbia, 6th July, 1819.

"Last Sunday we went to hear Dr. Maxcy. It being the 4th of July, it was a discourse appropriate to that eventful period. I had always been led to believe the Doctor an eloquent and impressive preacher; but had no idea, till now, that he possessed such transcendant powers. I never heard such a stream of eloquence.—It flowed from his lips, even like the oil from Aaron's head. Every ear was delighted, every heart was elated, every bosom throbbed with gratitude. Such appropriate metaphor! such grand, such sublime descriptions! such exalted ideas of Deity! and delivered with all the grace, the force, the elegance of a youthful orator! I was sometimes in pain, lest this good old man should outdo himself and become exhausted; but as he advanced in his discourse, he rose in animation, till at length he reached heights the most sublime, and again descended with the same facility with which he soared. So far as I can judge, (and your partiality, I know, will allow me to be no mean critic) there was not heard the slightest deviation from the most correct enunciation and grammatical arrangement; all the powers of art seemed subservient to his absolute control. In short, I never heard any thing to compare to Dr. Maxcy's sermon, in all the course of my life; and, old as I am, I would now walk even twenty miles through the hottest sands to listen to such another discourse. I am persuaded, I shall never hear such another in this life."

His most celebrated performance, while he presided over Brown University, regarded as a specimen of pulpit oratory, was his sermon on the existence and attributes of God, delivered at Providence in 1795, which is frequently spoken of, even at this day, and produced at the time the most lively and striking effect on the audience. Those who heard it will never forget it. The impression it produced was the result, in a great degree, of the manner of its delivery. Such a brilliant effort of eloquence has seldom been witnessed in any house of public worship. This discourse, though enlivened by a bold, luxuriant, and brilliant imagination, and a loftiness of conception, is yet characterized by his usual neatness and simplicity
Indeed, in his highest flights, his style of writing was always remarkable for a pure English idiom and a classical simplicity of language. In fine, he was an eloquent orator and a learned scholar.

In 1802, Dr. Maxcy resigned the Presidency of Brown University, and accepted that of Schenectady, N. Y. where he remained till the establishment of the new College in Columbia, S. Carolina, in 1804, of which he was appointed the first President, and immediately removed to that place, where he continued till the day of his death, June 4th 1820, at the age of 52. He was appointed to the office of President the youngest, and presided the longest in proportion to his years, of any person in this country. He was connected with some college, either as student or officer, nearly 38 out of the 52 years of his life.

In 1801 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard University.

His wife was Susan Hopkins, a daughter of Commodore Eseck Hopkins of Providence, by whom he had several daughters,—and four sons, all of whom have been liberally educated. Several of the sons still survive and are in the profession of the law. His widow is still living in Columbia, S. C.

He published a Discourse on the death of President Manning, 1792; a Sermon on the Existence of God demonstrated from the works of creation, 1795; a Discourse on the Atonement, in two parts, 1796; an Address to a Class, 1797; an Address to the graduating class, 1801; an Address to the graduating class, 1802; an Oration on the 4th of July; and a Funeral Sermon before the Legislature of South Carolina, 1818.

This is necessarily, a brief, and, I fear, an imperfect sketch. It requires an abler pen than mine to portray the amiable and brilliant character of Maxcy, and to do justice to his splendid talents as an orator. Those only who knew him in the meridian of life, and who have seen and felt the power of his eloquence, can give an adequate description. His memory demands a tribute of filial affection from some one of his many distinguished pupils, who are so deeply indebted to his example and instructions for the eminence which they now enjoy in public life.
Hon. Ebenezer Daggett, who died recently, while a member of the Senate from Bristol District, affords the example of a life worthy of imitation by his fellow citizens. He was the youngest son of Col. Daggett whose life has been previously noticed, and was born April 16, 1763. Few men in this town have devoted so large a portion of their time to the public service. He held a commission of the Peace for nearly 30 years, and honorably discharged its most important duties. He served the town at various times in the capacity of Selectman and Town Clerk upwards of twenty years. He represented the town several years in the General Court. A large part of the last thirty years of his life was occupied in some public employments. In various ways he rendered himself serviceable to his fellow citizens. In the spring of 1831 he was elected a member of the Senate for this District. At the succeeding November election he was re-chosen to the same office;—and while in the discharge of the honorable and responsible duties of this station, he was called by the order of Providence to close his life, at Boston, on the 4th of March, 1832, in the 69th year of his age.

Possessed of natural abilities above mediocrity, which he had improved by self-education, he always directed them to useful purposes. Plain and unassuming in his manners, mild and uniform in his disposition—he had won the confidence of his fellow-citizens, but never sought after the honors which were bestowed upon him. Guided by fixed and pure principles, he was upright and honorable in all his dealings with his fellow-men; and preserved a character of unsullied integrity, through a long and active life. He was regarded by his neighbors as their father and adviser. If they were in difficulty or doubt, they came to him for counsel and assistance, and both were freely offered. So great was their confidence in his integrity and judgment, that he was generally the chosen umpire in cases of controversies between his fellow-citizens. He was, in fine, in the true and enlarged sense of the word, a useful man. His life, indeed, as has been justly remarked of him, affords an encouraging example of the truth, that respectable talents united with integrity and industry will raise a man to honor and usefulness.

The following remarks on the character of the deceased, are
extracted from a Funeral Discourse, delivered at Attleborough 22d April, 1832, by Rev. Mr. Ferguson.

'Where is that venerated husband and father, that highly esteemed and useful citizen, who scarce four months ago, stood bending under the bereavement of Providence, an unexpected, yet quiet and submissive mourner* in the house of the Lord? Alas! he has gone down to the grave unto his son, mourning. The last opportunity which I enjoyed of conversing with our departed friend, was on the eve of his leaving home to attend to his official duties, in the Legislature, as a member of the Senate. I mention this circumstance, because it was then abundantly evident, that those official honors, which are generally sought as the rewards of successful competition, may come to be regarded as a burden rather than an honorable distinction. During our conversation he lamented, that official duties obliged him at such a time to leave home, and to mingle in scenes so foreign to the state of his mind. He regretted that the choice of the people had not fallen upon some other candidate, and remarked, that such scenes were better adapted to gratify those who were young and aspiring, than the aged and afflicted. It is known to you all, that from that tour of duty, he never returned. To an observer it must have been evident, that to commune with his own heart—to mingle his sympathies with those of his family, and to prepare himself for his own great change, would have been more congenial to his mind, than the halls of Legislation, and the investigation of our political relations. In his case, moreover, political employments had long ceased to be a novelty. He was emphatically a public man. Twenty years of his life had been occupied in superintending the interests of the town. Twice he was elected to the Senate;—and perhaps no man among us has been more called upon to administer upon the estates of the deceased and to act as the guardian of the orphan. The general character which he sustained through life was that of uniformity, uprightness, and moderation. In the hottest strife of parties, although a public and a decided man, he never could be regarded as a partisan. He had been an actor and in some respects a public character from the time of the Revo-

* For the sudden and violent death of a beloved son.
lution; but through all the changes of the eventful times in which he lived, he continued to the last to stand forth before his fellow-citizens, in the character of an honest, upright, and consistant man.

His last sickness commenced on the 23d of February. He had, the day before, in apparent health, attended the Centennial Celebration of the birth of Washington, and walked in procession with the other members of the Senate; but all beyond was his dying sickness. Early on the succeeding morning, he was violently attacked with a fever, which terminated in death on the 4th of March.

I have felt it my duty, in view of his public character, to enter into details which, in other circumstances, might have been inexpedient. In the relations of life; in his intercourse between man and man; in the maintenance of a character for uniformity, uprightness, and self-possession, his works praise him, and he is with us, for an example. In all that is beyond, it is ours to consign him to his grave and to his God. Happy would it be for our community, were our party divisions always controlled by men of equal mildness and moderation—happy would it be for our community, did all our public men manifest an equal regard for the maintenance of order, morals, and religion.

There were many other worthy and useful citizens, who deserve commemoration in this place,—who, though dead, yet live in their works. But at this distance of time it is difficult to ascertain the peculiar traits of their character, and the events of their lives. The retired but useful employments in which they were engaged, and the 'even tenor of their lives,' supply but few prominent incidents for the pen of the biographer. The sketches already given afford a respectable list of public men for a humble country town like ours.
A LIST OF THE GRADUATES AT BROWN UNIVERSITY FROM THIS TOWN.

Graduated.

1776. Preston Mann, A. M. son of Doct. Bezeliel Mann, Physician—settled in Newport, R. I.


1787. John Milton Mann, son of Dr. Bezeliel Mann, Physician, settled in Hudson, N. Y. and was drowned in crossing the river of that name.


1788. Jesse Blackington, son of Peter Blackington, resides in Ashtabula, county of Ashtabula, Ohio.

1788. William May, son of Elisha May, born Jan. 26th 1764, student of law, died July 12th 1790, in the 27th year of his age.

1789. Paul Draper, A. M. son of Stephen Draper, born Sept. 19th 1767, entered on board an American man of war, and was never after heard of.

1790. Aaron Draper, son of Josiah Draper, born Nov. 29th 1764, never studied a learned profession—settled in Providence R. I. where he died.


1803. Jason Sprague, A. M. son of John Sprague, was, for some time, Preceptor of the High School in Newport, R. I. He died in the United States army.


1807. Lorenzo Bishop, son of Zephaniah Bishop, born Aug. 20th 1785, student of law, died in Attleborough, May 26th 1809, æt. 23.
1809. Jacob Ide, A. M. Rev. son of Jacob Ide, minister in Medway, Mass.
1809. William Tyler, Rev. A. M. son of Ebenezer Tyler, minister at Weymouth, and now at South Hadley, Mass.
1811. Benjamin Cozzens, A. M. son of Benjamin Cozzens, formerly lawyer at Pawtucket—now resides at Providence, R. I.
1811. Hartford Sweet, A. M. son of Gideon Sweet, born Oct. 30th, 1790, had not finished studying his profession—died at the South in 18——.
1817. Everett Bolkcom, son of Jacob Bolkcom, born Sept. 1796, lawyer, Attleborough, died Dec. 19th, 1823, æt. 27.
1821. James O. Barney, Rev. son of — Barney, of Providence, R. I. minister at Seekonk Centre, Mass.
1822. Preston Cummings, Rev. son of David Cummings, minister in Dighton, Mass.
1823. Benoni Allen, Rev. son of — Allen, preacher in—— Ohio.
1824. Ira Barrows, M. D. son of — Barrows, physician, Pawtucket, Mass.
1825. Hermon Bourne, M. D. son of Andrew Bourne, physician, Boston, Mass.
1825. William S. Stanley, M. D. son of Thomas Stanley, physician in Mamaroneck, N. Y.
1825. Samuel T. Wilder, son of John Wilder, lawyer, Rochester, N. Y.
1831. Salmon C. Perry, son of Josiah Perry.
There have been graduates from this town at several of the other New England Colleges. A full list of their names has not been obtained. Among them was,

John Barrows who graduated 1776 at Harvard College, was son of John Barrows. He married his wife in Cambridge, and settled, as a schoolmaster, in Dighton, Mass. where he died.

At Yale College, in 1748, Naphtali Daggett, of whom a sketch has been already given. In 1762, Philip Daggett, brother of the last named, was born 11th September, 1739; he settled and died in New Haven. Henry Daggett, who graduated at Yale College, in 1771, son of Elder Elihu Daggett (mentioned in page 68) was born 9th April, 1741—settled at New Haven, where he was at first a merchant, subsequently, Police magistrate, Alderman of the city, &c. He died 11th Aug. 1830. In 1783 graduated the Hon. David Daggett, L. L. D. the present distinguished and learned Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. He was formerly a Senator of the United States, and has been for several years Professor of Law in Yale College, &c. In 1761 graduated Rev. Pelatiah Tingley, A. M. son of Timothy Tingley.

He was a Baptist preacher, and was settled in Sanford, Maine. About 1780, he became a seceder from the prevailing sect of Baptists, and was the first minister who united with Elder Benjamin Randall, the founder of the new sect, usually denominated Arminian or Free-Will Baptists, who rejected the leading doctrines of Calvinism.*

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**NAMES OF SEVERAL FORMER PHYSICIANS IN ATTLEBOROUGH.**

Doct. Joseph Daggett (of Rehoboth)—Doct. — Hewes,—Dr. Abijah Everett—Dr. Bezeliel Mann—Dr. Richard Bowen, (of Rehoboth)—Dr. Joseph Bacon—Dr. Comfort Fuller (son of Noah Fuller)—Dr. Comfort Capron, (surgeon in the Revolutionary war)—Dr. Thomas Stanley.

* See Benedict's His. Bap. vol. II. 410, where he is erroneously said to be a graduate of R. Island College.
MISCELLANEOUS—TOPOGRAPHY, STATISTICS, &c.

This town was incorporated in 1694. It derived its name, without doubt, from the town of Attleborough in Norfolk county, England, whence probably some of our early inhabitants emigrated to America, and settled, first at Hingham, or Weymouth, thence removed to Rehoboth, and afterwards became purchasers and settlers of this town; and, in remembrance of their native place, selected this name. This origin of the name is confirmed by the circumstance, that, in the English town, there is a river called Bungay, of about the same size as the one of the same name in this town.

At the time of the incorporation it contained upwards of 30 families, which, if we assumed only five as the number in each family (which is probably too low for that period) would make 150 inhabitants. In 1790 the town contained 2166 inhabitants; in 1800, 2480; in 1810, 2716; in 1820, 3055; and at the last census in 1830, 3215, exclusive of 12 families, containing about 50 persons, which, since 1820, have been set off to Wrentham by the establishment of a new boundary between the towns, or rather, by restoring it to the original line, that of the old colony.

A Table of the Population of this town in 1830, with the different ages, &c.

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Colored Males 9
Colored Females 2

Whole number of females 1758; males 1457. Excess of females over males 301.

Number of inhabitants in Bristol County 49,592. In Massachusetts 610,408. White males 294,685; do. females 308,674. Colored males 3,360; do. females 3,685. Total males 298,045; do. females 312,359. Excess of females 14,314.

In the United States, Males white and colored, 6,521,409; Females white and colored, 6,333,481. Excess of males 187,928. Total 12,854,890. Add 11,130 seamen, &c. making the whole population of the United States, 12,866,020.
The whole area of the town, according to the survey ordered by the legislature, is 29,000 acres—by valuation 26,000.

Number acres of woodland 2,158; fresh meadow 1,767; tillage lands, including orchards, 1,205; pasture lands, 4,703; unimproved and unimprovable* land, 12,740; covered with water 360 acres.

Number Dwelling Houses 409; Barns 345; 1 Tan-house; 28 Shops; 12 Stores; 3 Grist Mills; 7 Saw Mills; 8 Cotton Factories, containing about 13,000 spindles, and 350 Power Looms.

Amount of stock in trade, $22,000; money at interest, $16,400; stock in Bank, 6,700. Of the latter there is now much more.

Whole length of roads in town is 100 miles. Number of Polls 591; Voters, on an average, 550. In 1790, according to Dr. Dwight, number of dwelling houses was 314. There are 23 School Districts, numbering on an average about 45 scholars each.

Rivers. They are worthy of notice not so much for their size, as for the valuable water privileges which they afford, and which are now occupied for manufacturing purposes.—There are several streams of water in this town, the principal of which is the Ten Mile River. It rises in the southerly part of Wrentham, on the farm of Mr. John Fuller, and running in a southerly course through this town and through Seekonk, empties into Seekonk Cove, an arm of the Narragansett. Its length in this town is 3 miles; its whole length is about 25 miles. Its average width is two rods and a half. This stream is exceedingly important to the interests of the town, for on this are our principal manufacturing establishments.

There is another stream of considerable size, called the Seven Mile River, which crosses the road near Newell’s Tavern, and bearing a southerly direction unites with the Ten Mile River, a little above Kent’s Factory, near the line of Pawtucket. Its length is about ten miles.

*This is a large estimate—doubtless more than truth will warrant. There is strictly but little land in this town which is absolutely unimprovable for purposes of agriculture—for tillage or grazing. There is, however, a large quantity which is not actually under constant cultivation; but there is only a small proportion of this which is not occasionally cultivated.
Another small stream, called Abbott’s Run,* rises in the northeasterly part of Cumberland, and crossing the line, several times, between that town and this, falls into the Blackstone River just below the Valley Falls.

The third or fourth in size is Bungay (or sometimes Bungee) River, which has its source in the northerly part of the town near Mansfield line, a little below the Witch Pond, and after a journey of about five miles, over an unusually level bed, falls into the Ten Mile River nearly in the centre of the town, between the Farmer’s and Mechanick’s Factories. Originating in a number of Springs it is an unfailing stream at all seasons of the year. A channel has been cut this year (1833) from the Witch Pond into the head of this stream. This Pond (as it is called) is an extensive quagmire, including about 15 acres; only a small part of which is covered with water. It is rather singular in its appearance; and may be justly considered a curiosity. A hard bottom has never been discovered in any part of it. In some places it will bear the weight of a man, but if he stands for a time, he will gradually sink till he is unable to extricate himself.

The topography of the town contains nothing peculiar; and it is therefore needless to enlarge upon it, as is often done in the sketches of our towns. Suffice it to say that, in this respect, it is similar to most towns in this vicinity—that its surface presents the usual diversity of hills and vales—that its soil embraces much land that is poor, and considerable that is good; and that its natural and agricultural products are the same as those of neighboring towns.

There are two societies for the purpose of social improvement;—‘The Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, and Social Intercourse,’ incorporated in 1816. It has a library of about 300 volumes. It holds its anniversary on the 22d Feb. in memory of the Father of his Country. The second is the ‘Social Library and Farmers’ Historical and Geographical Society,’ established in 1805. The library contains about 200 volumes.

* Said to have derived its name from one Abbott, a boy, who was drowned there in the early settlement of the place. It is supposed by some that the Indian name of this stream was Waucoponsag; but this is doubtful conjecture.
A Lyceum was established in 1830.

The town has 4 organized companies of Militia, 1 company of Cavalry, (mostly from this town) and one Independent foot company by the name of the 'Washington Rifle Corps,' which was chartered June 9th, 1815. Its uniform is a green frock, with pantaloons of the same color, or else white, and military caps with black plumes. It has enjoyed the reputation of being one of the finest and best disciplined companies in the Brigade.

In October, 1821, a splendid and appropriate standard, inscribed with the motto, 'Protect what your father's obtained,' was presented to this company by the Ladies of Attleborough, accompanied with a patriotic address—which was received with that gallantry which becomes the soldier. In their address, the fair donors expressed the strongest assurance that if the dreadful din of war should ever again disturb our beloved country, this band would be found in the advanced guard of its brave defenders, asserting its rights and maintaining its honor; charging them to imitate the virtues of the illustrious patriot whose name they bore;—'to protect what our Fathers won,' that they might continue to enjoy the rich blessings which we inherit from them.

In reply, they declare that the name of Washington is alone sufficient to inspire the hearts of American soldiers with the liveliest feelings of patriotism—but when that name is heard from the lips of Columbia's Fair, and the Banner of our country is received from their hands, a noble ambition fires their bosoms with a firm determination to shield, from every attack, the freedom bequeathed to us from our fathers; and in conclusion assure them, that this standard shall never be wrested from their hands by a foreign enemy, or rent by an internal foe. The whole ceremony on both sides was impressive and interesting, and was conducted on both sides with propriety and dignity.


In the winter and spring of 1816, this town was visited by the most fatal sickness which was ever known in these parts.
It extended to several other towns adjoining; but did not prove so fatal as here. It swept off in the short space of 90 days, about 100 inhabitants, a large proportion of them heads of families, and many of them the most useful and respectable citizens of the town. It was commonly called the cold plague. It generally terminated in a few days. Very few who were attacked with it, recovered. No disease of the same kind has ever been known here either before or since that period.

No Bills of Mortality have been regularly kept; and the average age of the inhabitants in any given period cannot be ascertained. There have been several instances of very long lives. Dea. Elkanah Wilmarth died at the age of 99 years and 7 months. Mary Freeman, relict of Jon. Freeman, died March 4th, 1762, aged about 100 years.

Wid. Sarah Claflin, relict of Antipas Claflin, died in Sept. 1777, supposed to be 100 years and 6 months old. Capt. Samuel Robinson lived to approach very near the age of 100.—Zephaniah Robinson also reached a very advanced age.

John Shepard (who was a native of Foxborough where he lived till a few years before his death) died in this town in 1809, at the extreme age of 105 years. He retained all his faculties of mind and body, except his eye sight, to the last, and was just able to walk, with a little assistance, till a few days before his death.* He lived over a hundred years on his native spot. He was a man of pious character;—cheerful in disposition—jocose, witty, and of a quick understanding. He was deprived of his eye sight on a sudden, during the night—and was not himself aware of it, until the next morning, when he sought in vain for the light of day. He could distinctly recollect events which had occurred a century before.

He had one son and several daughters. Two of his daughters lived to upwards of 80 years; and another, Mrs Mary Mann, of Wrentham, who died in 1828, lived to the age of 97 years. She retained all her faculties, and usual cheerfulness and vivacity till the last fifteen years of her life. She abstained almost wholly from animal food, and never was in the habit of drinking tea or coffee, and wondered how people could

* It is of him that the well known anecdote is told, that he lived in two Counties and four different towns, and yet never moved [during that time] from the spot where he was born.
love either. Her most common food was milk. She adhered to the same fashion in dress for 80 years.

A more particular description of the different Manufacturing establishments in this town is here subjoined.

The first factory in course was the Beaver Dam Factory, (recently owned by Bugbee & Haven) which was burnt in the summer of 1832.

The Falls Factory (so called) was built by the ‘Falls Manufacturing Company’, which was incorporated in 1813. It was commenced in the fall of 1809—in February, 1811, it was burnt and immediately rebuilt. The privilege has about 30 feet fall, and was the first occupied as a Mill Seat in this town. The establishment employs 40 hands—25 of them females.—It consumes about 150 bales New Orleans Cotton per year—manufactures 250,000 yards cloth, light calico printing, No. 20. The building is wood, 70 feet by 34,—3 stories high. A New Reservoir was raised here in 1831, which covers 125 acres. Connected with this establishment are 1 Machine Shop, 1 Saw Mill, 1 Blacksmith’s Shop, and a Grist Mill. In addition to this factory, a new, handsome and durable building, made of stone procured in the neighborhood, was erected in 1831, 68 feet by 38—4 stories high, with a projection of 15 feet, and is filled with new and improved machinery. It is run by Jon. & Geo. Bliss, and employs about 40 hands.

‘The Farmers’ Factory,’ was established in 1813, by the Farmers’ Manufacturing Company. It is now owned by Jonathan and George Bliss. Number of hands employed is 23, of which 17 are females. No. bales cotton (New Orleans) consumed per year, about 75—yards cloth (calico printing, No. 30) manufactured per year, 135,000. It has about 13 feet fall.

Mechanics’ Factory, commenced in 1811. The first firm was Ingraham, Richardson & Co. The second was Whitaker, Richardson & Co.—The next took the name of The Mechanics’ Manufacturing Co. The establishment is now owned by Samuel and Jesse Carpenter. It has about 40 looms, 1036 spindles, Patterson Machinery,—manufactures per annum about 291,000 yards, calico prints, No. 27,—employs 38 hands—27 females. The building is 3 stories high—84 feet by 32. Connected with it is 1 Trip hammer shop—and Grist Mill.
This village now constitutes a school district, No. 22. Twenty-three years ago it numbered 1 child. It has now 35 scholars in families belonging to the establishment. A school is kept from 6 to 8 months per annum,—at which 24 scholars usually attend.

**Dodge’s Factory**, is the next in course. It was established in 1809, by Eben. Tyler, Esq. of Pawtucket, Nehemiah Dodge, Peter Grinnell & Son, and Abner Daggett of Providence, Elias Ingraham and Edward Richardson, of Attleborough, under the firm of The Attleborough Manufacturing Company, Eben. Tyler, Agent. The building at first was 88 feet by 31—3 stories high including the basement story. In 1820 it contained 1320 spindles, when Josiah Whitaker and John C. Dodge, of Providence, purchased one half of the factory. In the spring of 1821, the name was changed to that of the Tyler Manufacturing Company, under the agency of J. C. Dodge. In 1822, Nehemiah and John C. Dodge, purchased the remainder, and continued the business under the style of N. and J. C. Dodge. In 1829, they built an addition to the factory, of 96 feet, making it 184 feet by 31. It now contains about 4000 spindles and 92 power looms, and gives employment to 130 hands. It is the largest establishment of the kind in town. The village, which is known by the name of Dodgeville, has been recently very much improved under the superintendence of the present agent. It contains a population of 260 persons (all connected with the manufacturing establishment) 1 Machine Shop, 1 Picker House, 1 store, 1 Blacksmith shop, 4 Barns, 15 Dwelling Houses, many of them new. It forms district No. 23, and has a new, commodious and uncommonly well-finished school house, where a school is kept the greater part of the year.

The **Atherton Factory**, now owned by Thomas Harkness and Thomas J. Stead, of Providence, was established about 1812. The spot was anciently known as Chaffee’s Mills, where a saw mill and Grist-mill were early built. An addition was made to the factory in 1828—making the building now 98 feet by 32.—It employs about 60 hands—40 females—consumes about 250 bales New Orleans cotton per year—manufactures cloth No. 26-28. It has 1600 spindles and 42 looms. In connection with it is a Grist mill. The establishment has been owned and improved by several different companies. It was incorpora-
ted in 1816, by the name of 'The Atherton Manufacturing Company.'

All the above mentioned manufactories are on the Ten Mile River.

The City Factory, owned by Daniel Read & Co. situated on the Seven Mile River, (which is the only cotton factory on that stream) was built in 1813. It was burnt in 1826, and rebuilt immediately after. The building is now 40 feet by 34—3 stories high. Number of hands employed is 17, of whom 12 are females. It runs 700 spindles and 20 looms—consumes 50 bales New Orleans cotton, and produces about 1800 yards per week. In connection with it is 1 Machine shop, which employs 12 workmen—and 1 Grocery Store.

Lanesville Factory, situated on Abbott's Run, was built in 1826, 70 feet by 36—60 feet high (including 4 stories and the garret) generally employs about 70 hands, of whom 30 are females—consumes 4 bales New Orleans cotton per week, and manufactures 400,000 yards calico printing cloths, No. 25. It has about 12 feet fall; and runs 2000 spindles and 50 looms. Connected with it are a Grist mill, Saw mill, Machine shop for repairs, and a variety store. It is owned by Milton Barrows and others. This establishment has created around it a neat and handsome little village—like many of the New England factory villages.*

Button Factory—Robinson, Jones, & Co. This was the first button manufactory in the United States. The original Company (of which the present are the successors) began the business on a small scale, and it has been gradually increased until it has reached its present extent. They met with many embarrassments and discouragements in the early stages of the business.

The manufacture of Metal Buttons was commenced in 1812 by Col. Obed and Otis Robinson; and that of Glass Buttons in

* This little stream, which rises and terminates in Cumberland, its whole course not being more than 8 or 9 miles, is yet able to furnish water power for several factories and other mills. The first factory is Walcott's, in Cumberland—the next is Lanesville, in Attleborough—the third is French's Factory, in Robin Hollow (so called)—4th, Abbott's Run Mills, which include two factories. On this stream above Lanesville, are also several Grist mills, Saw mills, Machine shops, &c. On a branch of this stream, near its junction with the Blackstone, is Carpenter's Factory.
1823, by Richard Robinson & Co. consisting of Richard Robinson, Virgil Blackington, and Willard Robinson—which firm was continued till about 1817, from which time it was carried on by Richard Robinson alone till 1826, when a new company was formed, under the same style of Richard Robinson & Co. for the term of 5 years, which expired in May 1831. At this time the present firm was established, consisting of Richard and Willard Robinson, William H. Jones and H. M. Draper, under the name of Robinsons, Jones, & Co. They commenced business in a small shop about 35 feet by 22, an addition to which was made in the summer of 1826—in which the machinery was carried by horse power. It was in the latter part of the year 1826 that they began to work on the Gilt Button.

In 1827 the Company erected a Brick factory 2 stories high, 60 feet by 25—and in 1828 the business required an addition of 25 feet long. The machinery is carried by water power (on the Ten Mile River): the Rolling Mill connected with the establishment was built in 1822, 60 feet by 25. In 1832 the company built another shop, of wood, 1 story high, 60 feet by 25.

The number of hands employed is 75, of whom 30 are females. They manufacture about 100 gross per day. At different times they have produced various kinds—from 1826 to 1832, they manufactured the common gilt, which competed in a good degree with the English. Since 1832 they have manufactured all the varieties which the market demands, the common Button, the Navy, the Military, Fancy, and Sporting Buttons—which have been acknowledged superior to any other in the market, in the beauty, finish, and durability of the work. This company has brought the manufacture of this article to such perfection, by various improvements and the skill of the workmen, as to compete fully with all others in the market whether domestic or foreign—indeed, if proper encouragement should be given by adequate protection to this branch of industry, it would soon be sufficient to supply all our home demands and exclude the foreign entirely from our markets.—This company have received all the contested premiums which have been offered by the Institutes of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston—sometimes jointly with others. They have in their possession 3 Medals (silver) and 3 Diplomas.
Several important improvements in the mode of manufacture have been made by one of the firm, Mr. Willard Robinson, for some of which patents have been secured.

A common gilt button which appears when finished so simple, undergoes in the course of being manufactured over 30 different processes—some of which require great skill and experience. Each button is separately handled twenty one times.

Some of the females mentioned as connected with this establishment are employed principally in drying, sorting, papering, and packing—and others in edging, cramping, placing the eye and preparing it for soldering. It furnishes for females a neat, agreeable and profitable occupation.

The capital employed by this establishment is about $50,000. They use in gilding about $15,000 worth of pure gold, generally obtained in its natural state; and consume 40 tons of Lehigh Coal, annually.

The number of tenements occupied by those employed in the factory is 13. Several new dwelling houses have been lately erected for their use.

Agencies for the sale of this article have been established in all the principal cities in the Union. Some of the articles have been exported to foreign countries—to S. America, Hayti, and several of the West India Islands. The button now manufactured is equal in every respect to the English, and perhaps superior in durability.

Another manufactory of Buttons was established in Oct. 1832, by a different firm, under the name of Robinson, Hall & Co. The shop is situated near Newell’s Tavern, on the Seven Mile River—it is 30 feet by 20. An additional shop is now building, 35 feet by 25, 3 stories high. This establishment employs 19 hands, of whom 10 are females; and when the new building is completed, it is estimated, it will employ from 25 to 30 hands in all. This company manufactures the Plain Metal Buttons—both Coat and Vest button of 3 different prices; and produces about 75 gross per day.

MANUFACTORY OF JEWELRY—Draper, Tiff & Co.—commenced in 1821. They now manufacture, annually, to the amount of $15-$20,000 worth. They employ from 12 to 15 hands—part of them females. The building occupied for this business is two stories high, 40 feet by 22. Sales of the manufacture are made principally at New York and Philadelphia.
They formerly carried on to a large amount the manufacture of Patent Brass Door Ketches or Fasteners. The establishment is located on the Turnpike near Hatch's Hotel.

Manufactory of Power loom shuttles—by Col. Willard Blackington, at East Attleborough—commenced in the fall of 1827—employs 12 journeymen. About 25 doz. shuttles are produced per week in the establishment, at the rate of $6 per doz. He also supplies a large amount of shuttle mountings for the use of other shuttle makers. The whole amount of the manufacture of this establishment is about $10,000 per annum. The work has an extensive sale throughout the U. States—in Maryland, Georgia, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and in all the New England States. Agents for the sale of this article are established at Pawtucket, George Mumford; N. Adams, Ms. S. Burlingame; Providence, R. I. Peter Grinnell & Son; Norwich, Ct. Smith, Goddard & Coats; N. York, C. N. Mills; Troy, N. Y. J. Merritt & Co.; Philadelphia, W. Almond; Baltimore, Wells & Chace, &c.

Hervey M. Richards has established a Jewelry Shop near the Union House on the Turnpike,—manufactures a variety of articles, watch keys, finger rings, guard chains, breast pins, &c.—commenced in 1831—employs 12 hands—3 females.—Amount of manufacture about $8,000 per year. The building is 2 stories, 32 feet by 16. He rents another shop on the same road, which employs 5 workmen.

Samuel Phillip's Jewelry Shop, near the city—employs about 6 hands—manufactures the usual variety. Alfred Barrows has also established a workshop of the same kind.

Richards & Price have a Jewelry Shop—commenced in 1830—employs 6 hands—situated between the Turnpike and the Falls Factory.

Dennis Everett's Jewelry Shop—commenced business in 1831—employs now 4 hands.

The manufacture of Glass Buttons and steps was commenced 6 years ago by Richard Everett, who employs in this work 4 hands.

Jesse F. Richards & Edwin Ellis have lately commenced the business of making Brass Butts and Castings, and the other kinds of brass work.

Virgil Blackington also manufactures Glass Steps, and employs two hands.
APPENDIX.

[The preceding pages having been sent to the press as fast as they were written, many subjects were omitted in their proper places, which would have been included in the body of the work, if the author had suspected, at the time, that it would have been extended to its present size. Some of them are here added.]

CAPT. THOMAS WILLETT.

Some notice of Capt. Thomas Willett who stands at the head of our list of Proprietors, and whose life is but little known, will not be deemed inappropriate. His history does not exclusively belong to this town, but, as he took so active and important a part in the original purchase and settlement of this and the neighboring towns, a brief sketch of his life seems to be demanded by the interest which our citizens must feel in his character.

Capt. Willett was one of the last of the Leyden company, and came here about 1630. He was a very young man when he arrived in this country. He was a merchant by profession, and in his travels had become acquainted with the Pilgrims in Leyden, and had probably spent much of his time with them in Holland previous to their emigration to this country. He at first resided in Plymouth, and soon became a useful and distinguished man in the colony.

Soon after his arrival in 1630, though, as already observed, a young man, he was sent by the company of Plymouth, who had established a trading house at Kennebeck, to superintend their business as agent. While he was residing there, Gov. Winthrop relates of him the following curious anecdote:

'At Kennebeck, the Indians wanting food, and there being store in the Plymouth trading house, they conspired to kill the
English there for their provision; and some Indians coming into the house, Mr. Willett, the master of the house, being reading the Bible, his countenance was more solemn than at other times, so as he did not look cheerfully upon them, as he was wont to do; whereupon they went out and told their fellows, that their purpose was discovered. They asked them how it could be. The others told them that they knew it by Mr. Willett's countenance, and that he had discovered it by a book that he was reading. Whereupon they gave over their design.—Win. Jour. I. 322.

In 1647 he became the successor of Miles Standish in the command of the famous military company, at Plymouth.*

He was, in 1651, elected an Assistant of the Governor, and was annually continued in that office till 1665, when other duties obliged him to decline, and James Brown, of Swansea, was chosen his successor. At this time he was selected by the Plymouth Court, agreeably to the request of his Majesty's Commissioners, to attend them at New York, (which had just been surrendered by the Dutch) for the purpose of assisting them in organizing the new government.

It is mentioned by Davis in a note to his edition of Morton's Memorial, that 'Col. Nichols (one of the Commissioners) in a letter to Gov. Prince, written from New York, the spring after the reduction of the Dutch settlements, requests that Capt. Willett may have such a dispensation from his official engagements in Plymouth Colony, as to be at liberty to assist in modelling and reducing the affairs in this settlement, into good English. He remarks that Mr. Willett was more acquainted with the manners and customs of the Dutch than any gentleman in the country, and that his conversation was very acceptable to them.'

He executed his duties here to the entire satisfaction of all concerned; his services were so highly appreciated, and he

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* 'March 7th, 1647. The Military Company of New Plymouth, having according to order proposed unto the Court two men for every especial office of their band, the Court do allow and approve of

Capt. Thomas Willett, for Captain.
Mr. Thomas Southworth, for Lieutenant.
Mr. William Bradford, for Ensign.'
rendered himself so popular with the people, that after the organization of the government, he was chosen the first English Mayor of the city of New York. He was elected the second time to the same office. "But," (as Mr. Baylies the historian of Plymouth Colony has justly remarked) "even this first of city distinctions conferred by that proud metropolis, did not impart more real honor to his character than the address and good feeling manifested by him in effecting the peaceable settlement of the humble town of Swansea."

The Dutch had so much confidence in his integrity, that he was chosen by them the umpire to determine the disputed boundary between New York and New Haven.

He was also for a number of years one of the commissioners or delegates of the United Colonies.

Soon after the settlement of Rehoboth, Capt. Willett removed to Wannamoisett, now a part of Swansea, where he resided during most of the remainder of his life. A grant of the greater part of that township (Swansea) was made to him and others. With him was associated Mr. Myles, (the first Baptist minister in New England) and they two are justly esteemed the founders of Swansea. The manner in which they conducted the settlement of that plantation was just and honorable, and reflects much credit on the character of both.

Capt. Willett always cultivated a friendly intercourse with the Indians, and gained their confidence and good will. Hence he was generally employed by the colony in the purchase of lands from the native chiefs.*

The following order relating to him was passed by the Plymouth Court.

March 1665-6. In reference to an order of Court bearing date the third day of October 1665, wherein our Honored Governor Major Winslow, Capt. Southworth, and Mr. Constant Southworth were appointed to be a committee in reference to a certain tract of land purchased by Capt. Willett on the north side of Rehoboth, which said order empowereth the said Committee to dispose and settle a proportion of the said lands on the said Capt. Willett as they shall think meet; and the Court

* He was the original purchaser of the Rehoboth North Purchase (Attleborough and Cumberland)—Taunton North Purchase (Norton, Mansfield, and Easton) and many other tracts of land in the vicinity.
do therefore settle and confirm unto him four or five hundred acres of the said lands, to be laid out for him on the Easterly side or end of the said lands, to him and his heirs forever.*

Rehoboth also voted him a grant for his services to that town. 21st 12th mo. 1660. In town meeting it was voted that Mr. Willett should have liberty to take up five hundred or six hundred acres of land northward or eastward beyond the bounds of our town, where he shall think it most convenient to himself.—Rehoboth Records.

Capt. Willett married Mary Brown (supposed to be the daughter of Mr. John Brown the 1st) at Plymouth, 6th July, 1636, by whom he had several children; Thomas; Hester b. 6th July, 1647; Rebecca, d. 2d April 1652; James, b. Nov. 24, 1649; Andrew; Samuel; Hezekiah, who died 26th July, 1651; Hezekiah (2d) b. 16th Nov. 1652,—&c.

His son James married Eliz. daughter of Lieut. Peter Hunt of Rehoboth, 17th April, 1673; Hezekiah 2d, married Anna, daughter of Mr. John Brown 2d, of Rehoboth, 7th Jan. 1675, and was killed soon after by the Indians in Philip's War.—John Saffin (who had resided in Situate and Swansea) married a daughter of Capt. Willett, and settled in Bristol, R. I. and Samuel Hooker of Farmington, Ct. married another daughter.†

Several of his descendants have become distinguished in the history of the country. His grandson Francis was a prominent man in Rhode Island colony. Another descendant,‡ his

* This grant was laid out to him and recorded in the Rehoboth North Purchase Books. It lies on the Seven Mile River, and has always borne the name of Willett's Farm. In 1720 it was divided into two parts between Capt. Samuel Tyler and Joyce Newell, widow of Jacob Newell.—This farm was originally laid out with great regularity—in parallel lines—and its subsequent divisions have been preserved in good shape.

† I find the following on the Boston Records (copied from Dorchester) by which it appears that there was a Thomas Willett in the latter town—probably the same. His wife, perhaps, resided there during his absence in Kennebeck.—'John, son of Thomas Willett and Mary his wife, born 8th 5th mo. 1635—; Jonathan b. 27th 5th mo. 1636, d. 15th 6th mo. ib; Mary b. 26th 6 mo. 1639; Mabityble b. 14th 1st mu. 1641.

‡ A descendant of Samuel.
great grand-son, Col. Marinus Willett, (lately deceased) served with distinguished honor in the Revolutionary war; and had also been Mayor of New York city. Memoirs of his life have been recently published by his son William M. Willett.

After a residence of a few years in New York, he returned to his seat in Swansea, where, after a life of distinguished usefulness, he died 4th of August, 1674, at the age of 63. He was buried at the head of Bullock's Cove (in what is now Seekonk) where a rough stone is erected to his memory, containing a brief and rudely-carved inscription (which is now legible) as follows:

1674

Here lyeth the Body of the worthy Thomas Willett, Esq. who died August ye 4th in the 64th year of his age Anno—

WHO WAS THE FIRST MAYOR OF NEW YORK,

AND TWICE DID SUSTAIN THE PLACE.

His wife Mary is buried by his side. She died about 1669.

Thus the first English Mayor of the first Commercial metropolis in America, lies buried on a lonely and barren heath, in the humble town of Seekonk, at a place seldom visited by the footsteps of man,—with nought but the rudest monument to mark the spot.

The farm which he laid out in this town, at High Squissit, and agreeable to the reservation in the Deed, (see p. 8) consisted of about 500 acres, (besides his meadow and several other lots) and was situated on both sides of the Seven Mile River, beginning near Newell's tavern.

His share in the R. N. Purchase was sold by his son Capt. Andrew Willett to John Wilkinson the 1st.

The Stone Monument erected at the angle in the Old Colony Line (which is referred to, in a note, page 44) contains the following inscription. On the south side is written 'Plymouth Colony'—on the north, 'Massachusetts Colony.'

"This Monument by order of Government to perpetuate the place on which the late Station or Angle Tree formerly stood.

* In the Old Colony Records it is said to have been the 31st Aug. but I have chosen to rely on the inscription upon his grave stone.
The Commissioners appointed by the old Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts to run and establish this line in 1654, were Robert Stetson, Constant Southworth, Josias Winslow, Jos. Fisher, Roger Clap, and Eleazer Lusher. They began this work the 10th of May the same year, and marked a tree then standing on this spot, it being three miles south of the southernmost part of Charles River.

Lemuel Kollock, Esq. was appointed Agent to cause this monument to be erected.—By order of the General Court.

The Selectmen of the towns of Wrentham and Attleborough were present, viz. Elisha May, Ebenr. Tyler, and Caleb Richardson, Esqrs. of Attleborough; and Samuel Fisher, John Whiting, Nathan Hawes, Nathan Comstock, and Nathaniel Ware of Wrentham.

From this Stone* the line is East 20 Degrees and a half North to Accord Pond.

Done at Wrentham, Nov. 29th, 1790, by Samuel Fisher & Son."

The line on which this stands—the boundary between Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies—was a frequent subject of dispute during the existence of the colonies. The line was run five or six times by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. This now constitutes the boundary between Wrentham and Attleborough.

The original title to the North Purchase was derived from Alexander, the son of Massasoit, and the elder brother of the celebrated Philip, Sachem of Pockanoket. The deed is transcribed in pages 6–7. His original name was Mooanam, afterwards Wamsutta, or Wamsitta, and finally Alexander Pockanoket, which last name was bestowed upon him, and that of Philip upon his brother, by the Plymouth Court, on occasion of the death of their father Massasoit. It appears to have been a custom with the aborigines in this part of the country, at least with their Chiefs, to assume new names on the decease of any one of the family to which they belonged. This custom

* The stone is about 14 feet in height, and two feet in width, and of immense weight.
may perhaps be traced to some Eastern origin, as many of the Indian ceremonies have already been, by historians.

A record of this transaction is preserved on the Old Colony Books, which, as I have never yet seen it in print, is here copied.

June 6th 1660. At the earnest request of Wamsitta desiring that, in regard his father is lately deceased, and he being desirous, according to the custom of the natives, to change his name, that the court would confer an English name upon him, which accordingly they did, and therefore ordered that for the future he shall be called by the name of Alexander Pokanoket; and desiring the same in behalf of his brother, they have named him Phillip.

The colonists during this friendly intercourse could not have imagined that, in the course of a few years, the younger brother upon whom they were bestowing the name of an ancient conqueror, and who was possessed of all the natural talent and ambition, but not the power or the good fortune of his great namesake, would become their most dangerous enemy, and the terror of all New England.

This document record clearly proves that Massasoit (concerning the time of whose death there has been much controversy among his historians) died a short time previous to June 6th 1660.

The circumstance of the bestowment of these names upon these brothers is mentioned by the ancient historians (but not the occasion of it) and without fixing any precise date. They have usually assigned a date several years earlier as the period of Massasoit’s death; but modern biographers and historians have generally supposed it several years later than the true period.

From some circumstances within my knowledge it would

* B. B. Thatcher in his Indian Biography lately published, maintains that Massasoit’s death must have occurred several years subsequent to 1661. His words are, *Their father not being mentioned as having attended them at the observance of the ceremony (the confirmation of a treaty &c.) has probably occasioned the suggestion of his death. It would be a sufficient explanation of his absence, however, that he was now an old man, and that the distance of Sowams from Plymouth was more than 40 m.l.s.* Vol. I. Chapt. VII. p. 141.
appear that among some tribes of the natives the custom prevailed of changing their habitations on the decease of any member of the family. I have heard the following circumstances related: On the farm of the late Ebenezer Daggett, Esq. formerly resided, previous to its occupation by the whites, several persons by the name of Read, who were said to be of a mixed race, part Indian and part Negro, and who were always observed to change the location of their huts on the death of any one of their number. This occurred several times within the observation of the early settlers. This custom they probably derived from their Indian descent. The survivors, who lived till after the 'East Bay Road' was established which passed near their dwellings, desired that they too might be buried near that road with their heads towards it, that they might hear the news when the great Post stage passed! Their request was complied with; and they were buried about ten rods from the route where the road formerly passed, with their heads in that direction. The place where they were buried is still pointed out on a rising ground or valley between two hills. The hillocks (3 or 4 in number) were distinctly visible within my remembrance. Thus they seemed to have no ideas of a physical extinction by death,—which was agreeable to the Egyptian notion. They seemed to consider death as some sort of natural change merely, and not a destruction of the material system.—Singular conceptions of a future existence.

Among the early settlers of this town was one Joseph Chaplin, who became a Proprietor, and a great landholder. He came here from Rowley, Mass. and was the son of Rev. Hugh Chaplin.—[Far. Reg.

He was a man of singular tastes and habits. He lived alone, completely a hermit's life—abjuring all society, especially that of the female sex. The cause of this seclusion is not certainly known—though tradition says, it was the faithlessness of a young lady to whom he was engaged in early life. He built him a house—cooked his own food—and made his own clothes. He laid out a large quantity of land (in the whole over 700 acres) and kept a large stock of cattle. He
planted several orchards and raised a variety of fruits. He laid out the most of that large tract of land called the 'Halfway-Swamp.' He died about the year 1750, at a very advanced age, and his property was inherited by his nephews, Jonathan Chaplin, Elizabeth (who married Samuel Searl) and John Chaplin, all of Rowley, Mass. Chaplin was not morose, but naturally benevolent; and would permit the neighboring women to come and partake the abundant fruits of his orchard, but was always careful to retire out of sight on the occasion. His only companions were a number of large cats. He was several times chosen on some town committee.

In the first burying ground is the following inscription, which is worthy of preservation. It is the celebrated epitaph on the Negro Slave, named Cæsar, who was given to Lieut. Josiah Maxcy by his mother when he was a child. He was admitted to communion with the Baptist church in that place. Though simple hearted, he proved through a long life remarkably honest and faithful to his masters. He survived his first master, and after his own death, was buried in the same graveyard: a decent stone was erected to his memory by his younger master, Levi Maxcy, with this inscription—which may yet be seen in the northeast corner of the burying ground, near Hatch's tavern.

'Here lies the best of slaves,
Now turning into dust;
Cæsar, the Ethiopian, craves
A place among the Just.

His faithful soul has fled
To realms of heavenly light,
And by the blood that Jesus shed,
Is changed from Black to White.

January 15, he quitted the stage,
In the 77th year of his age.'

1790.
The Commissioners who were appointed by his Majesty in 1664, passed the following order respecting the boundary between Rhode Island and Plymouth Colonies, a part of which was the West line of the Rehoboth North Purchase.

'To the Great and General Assembly of Plymouth, and also of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

By the power given us by his Majesty's Commission under his great seal of England, and directed by his Majesty's instructions to make a temporary settlement of the bounds claimed by any Colony, of which we can make no final judgment by consent of parties, that the peace of the country may be preserved, till his Majesty's judgment and determination of their bounds be known,

**We order and Declare**, the salt water to divide the main land and Rhode Island from Seconet Rocks northward to the point of the main land which next over against Mount Hope point to the said Mount Hope point, not touching upon Rhode Island, and so another right line from Mt. Hope point to the next point upon the main land, and so from point to point and from the last point a right line to the River's mouth called Seaconke, and up said river called Seaconke below and Pauucket above till it meets with the Massachusetts's line, to be the present bounds between his Majesty's colony of Plymouth and Rhode Island, till his Majesty's pleasure be further known concerning them. And we desire each colony to give the reasons of their pretences and a draught of their country according to their charters that we may give his Majesty true information of them, which we promise to do.

Given under our hands and seals at Newport on Rhode Island March the 7th 1664.  

**Robert Carr** (seal)  
**George Cartwright** (seal)  
**Samuel Maverick** (seal)

A true copy examined with the original.  

Per J. Willard, Sec'y.
REPORT

ADDRESS BY THE

ROYAL SOCIETY

OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES

TO ITS

BRITISH AND AMERICAN MEMBERS.

COPENHAGEN.

PRINTED BY J. D. QVIST.

1836.
INTRODUCTION.

Dan and Angul, says our venerable historian, Saxo Grammaticus, were brothers, an expression borrowed doubtless from a current popular tradition (which again may have been founded on some still more ancient legendary lay), and being, in reality but a figurative statement of the fact, that the Danish and English people are originally descended from the same ancestry. This fact, which, as is well known, is laid down by the old historians of England, receives familiar confirmation from the circumstance, that Angeln, whence the Angles, who gave their name to England, Anglia, emigrated, lies, and from time immemorial has lain, within the limits of Denmark proper, and that the Jutes, or Jotes, Jutæ, whose collateral descendants, under the name of Jutlanders, still inhabit a portion of continental Denmark, were, with the Angles and Saxons, one of the confederate tribes that, on the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, migrated thither, and contributed to found the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. The accounts thus transmitted by the old writers are confirmed by the testimony of other literary remains and monuments of ancient times. The Anglo-Saxon if, in its original form, it be not, strictly speaking, a dead language, has undergone very considerable changes, but the many writings in it that have reached us, plainly show that it constituted an important link between the old Teutonic and the old Northern, which anciently was spoken in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, but is now confined, as a living tongue, to the remote, and thinly populated island of Iceland, which was at one time the metropolis of its literature, and where has been preserved, up to the present day,
a large portion of its treasure of ancient Lays, Sagas, Laws, and other important philological monuments — a treasure of immense value to all the nations of the common stock. The heathen ancestors of the Angles, of the Saxons, and of the Scandinavians had the same religion; their common deities, Tyr, Wodan, Thor, Frea, etc. still survive, and are daily suggested to memory, in the ordinary appellations of the days of the week common to both the leading races. The same mythic beings, God, Gud, God; Alfar, Ælfs, Ylfe, Elves; Wætter, Wibte, Wights; Dvergar, Dveorh, Dveorgs, Dwarfs; Jötun, Jætter, Jotnas, Eotnas; Tröll, Trolde, Trolles; Æursar, Thurer, Thysser, Æyrse; Hel, Hell, etc. were worshipped or feared, in their times of paganism, by both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, and occur not only in their ancient poetical remains and other writings, but also in the language, the popular superstitions, traditions, and ballads of their still flourishing posterity. As both these leading races called their oldest progenitor (and also the first man) Ask or Æsc, so they likewise traced the family of their kings and princes to a common progenitor of divine lineage, Voda, Vodan, Voden, Odin, Odin, and likewise panegyrised in their poems the very same heroes, for example Volund (Veland); Volse, (Valse) Volsung; Ginke (Givica); Sigmund; Skiiold (Sylld); Halfdan, Healftene; Ubbe, Uffo, Offa; Vermund (Veremund); Jormunrek, Eormenric; Hrodluf (Hroff, Rolf); Helge (Halga) etc., and likewise the very same races of princes or people, for instance Skiioldungs (Sylldings), Skylfings, Ylfings (Wylfings) etc.

The Lays of the Anglo-Saxons and of the inhabitants of the North are constructed according to the very same metrical rules, with alliterative verse, and employ the same poetical language, all which evidently shews that not only the Lays, but also the people of whom they are the remains, sprang from one and the same root. We have, however, scarcely any Anglo-Saxon poem of the heathen time that is purely pagan. The influence of Christianity is to be discerned in most of them; and therefore we cannot sufficiently regret that some very ancient Anglo-Saxon writings, containing chiefly prayers, invocations, and religious rites in honor of the heathen deities, and particularly of the Sun and Woden, which were discovered
A.D. 980 in the ruins of a palace or temple, in the centre of the city of Verlamacester or Varlingacester (formerly Verolantium) were at the same time burned by command of a fanatic abbot. Fortunately something of the same kind has been saved in the remote North, in the two Eddas preserved in Iceland: these, as well as some other Old-Northern poems, and their poetical diction, elucidate in the clearest manner most of the obscure passages and phrases that occur in the ancient lays of the Anglo-Saxons, as these lays, on the other hand, afford important means for the explanation of similar Old-Northern relics. The same remark may be made with respect to the eldest laws of both the Anglo-Saxons and the inhabitants of the North, which mutually elucidate and explain each other. Along with the ancient language, the ancient law maintained itself longest in Iceland, where it is still, to a certain degree, the law of the land; and therefore it is easy to explain the striking phenomenon, that certain Icelandic legal terms and phrases give the best explanation of several obscure terms that are still in use in the English laws. This remark holds good, in a still higher degree, with regard to the dialect of the common people of England, particularly in the northern and eastern districts; for to the greater part of the peculiar words and expressions, there occurring, complete counterparts can be shewn either in the Old-Northern and Icelandic, or even in the modern Danish, Low German, Southjutlandish, or Swedish. Some of the English Idiotisms are to be recognised in the old Ballads, but these Ballads again correspond, in very many respects, with the ancient Danish, Swedish, Low-Saxon and Icelandic popular songs of the same kind, which can be proved to be of a very remote antiquity both in Denmark and Iceland. In like manner the very same proverbs — partly preserving the old alliteration — still live, as palpable relics of paganism, in the colloquial dialect of the common people of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Britain and Iceland, and the same remark may be applied to the popular manners, customs, diversions, superstitions etc. of these nations.

Angles, Jutes, and other Inhabitants of the North took possession of, and settled in, not only parts of England, but also the Scotland of our days — at all events that portion of an
cient Northumberland, which is now considered as part of the kingdom of Scotland. The connexion of Scandinavia with Caledonia, however, is undoubtedly much older than the conquest of England by the Anglo-Saxons. Before that event took place, the Scandinavians had possessed themselves of a considerable part of the lowlands of Scotland, where they probably were most generally known by the name of Picts. Agreeably to the most ancient heroic poems of the Scottish Highlanders (in elucidating which much light is to be obtained from Northern sources) the attacks of the Northmen on Scotland, before they got a firm footing there, were chiefly made from the Orkneys, which from time immemorial seem to have been inhabited by people of Scandinavian origin. A great portion of the Picts were for a length of time held in subjection by the monarchs of Northumberland, of Anglo-Saxon or Northern origin. Dr. John Jamieson’s masterly philological investigations have proved, that the ancient Lowland Scotch — and generally speaking the colloquial dialect of Scotland — is more frequently to be traced to Northern, than to Anglo-Saxon sources. Mr. Robert Jamieson has proved a similar result, in respect to the remarkable affinity both of language and poetry, which prevails between the Scottish and Danish Ballads. Additional particulars concerning the historical and other grounds, which lead to the inference that people of Gotho-Germanic or northern Teutonic origin were already settled in certain portions of Britain, which now form part of the kingdom of England, long before the Anglo-Saxon conquest — nay even in the time of Caesar and ever since — have already been stated by other authors, and the subject will be found, in some respects, further developed in the largest article of the present Report to which we therefore refer.

It would also appear that people of Northern or Germanic origin had, at a very early period, settled in certain parts of the maritime districts of Ireland, but concerning this we can only form loose conjectures. It is however well known, that in the same way as the Danes (together with the Norwegians and other Scandinavians) especially after the 8th century, made frequent attacks on Britain, and at last subdued, and for a
considerable time held under subjection, all England together with a considerable part of Scotland, so they also made similar attacks on Ireland, where, under the name of Ostmanns, they in the 9th century founded flourishing kingdoms, over which chieftains of their blood royal long held dominion, and where their posterity, moreover, retained the old national name down to the latter part of the middle ages, and even later. At, or after, the conquest they no doubt in a great measure became amalgamated with the English portion of the inhabitants; still however it will not appear surprising if among that population, in its present state — with special reference to the lower classes — we should frequently meet with peculiar words, sayings, popular customs and superstitions, which clearly point to a Northern origin.

In addition to this important influence, which Northern conquest and colonisation exerted on the people of Britain and Ireland, and on their posterity living at this day, we must also take into consideration the effects of the frequent visits subsequently made, during the middle ages, by Northern navigators, whether in the character of warriours, vikings, or merchants. These expeditions gave rise to many connexions between the respective countries and their inhabitants, some of which, relating to Ireland, are noticed in the first article of the present Report, (in which it is also shewn that, during the 10th and 11th centuries, some distinguished Icelanders were driven by storms from the west of Ireland to America, of which a large district got the name of Irland híð mikla, where some of them settled, and there ended their days). A consequence of these connexions was, that natives of Britain and Ireland frequently visited, and sometimes settled in the countries of the North, whither they also came occasionally as prisoners of war, some of whom were afterwards set at liberty. Among other things we know, with regard to Iceland in particular, that many natives of Scotland and Ireland were among its earliest inhabitants. This information we have from an old history of the whole settlement of that island, called the Landnamabók, compiled about the year 1100, and continued in the 13th century. It is in this way that many Icelanders,
and among others the celebrated sculptor Thorwaldsen, are still able to deduce their descent, in uninterrupted succession, from natives of Britain or Ireland, some of them of princely lineage, who had settled in Iceland as far back as the times of paganism.

The greatest and most important reaction, which the inhabitants of Britain exerted on the North, was that which manifested itself at the introduction or diffusion of Christianity, in the countries inhabited by natives of Scandinavian origin. Anglo-Saxon missionaries converted a great portion of the continental Saxons and of the Frisians, and, to the best of our knowledge, it was they who first scattered abroad the seeds of Christianity among the Danes. It is true, the Germans have the merit of Denmark's first formal transition to Christianity, but its general diffusion among the people, must, without doubt, be ascribed to that intimate acquaintance with its nature and institutions, which the Danes, chiefly during the reign of Canute the Great, acquired by means of their dominion and sojourn in England. On this occasion many British Missionaries — Monks, Priests, and Prelates — came to Denmark, and laboured faithfully in their vocation, not confining their exertions to that country alone, but occasionally extending them over the whole Scandinavian North. Next to Canute the Englishman William (who was first his chancellor and chaplain, but afterwards — in the reign of his nephew Swein — Bishop of Roskilde) may be said to have taken the lead in conducting the great work. Swein governed the kingdom, and William the church, during the entire period of 30 years, and both died, nearly on the same day, in the year 1071. The Cathedral of Roskilde — to this day one of Denmark's noblest architectural ornaments — was first built by them, though not entirely completed until a succeeding age. It was from England that Norway received the first germ of Christianity. It was there that Haron, the first Christian King of Norway, commenced and finished his education, during the period from 937 to 963, though he failed in his effort to establish his own faith among his subjects. His brother Eric also, whom he had driven from the throne, embraced the Christian faith, and
died as ruler of Northumberland about 952. It was reserved for the insignificant islets of Scilly to kindle for Norway that light, which was thence to be diffused over the remotest North. The expatriated Norwegian prince and sea-king, Olaf Tryggvason, known in the history of England by the name of Anlaf, received baptism in these isles in 993; three years after that he overran all Norway, and in four more, or precisely at the completion of the first millennium after the birth of Christ, he introduced Christianity not only there, but also in Iceland, where, however, some British and Irish Christians had previously lived and labored; he also introduced it into the Färö isles and into the remote Greenland. From England Olaf took along with him, in addition to other clergymen, his chief court priest and Bishop Sigvard, or Sigurd (also called Sigfred, and John, or Johannes), who not only contributed much to the conversion of Norway, but also of Sweden. For, as early as the year 1000, he converted and baptized his sovereign brother-in-law, Rognvald Ulfson, the Ruler of West-Gothland, and subsequently, after the death of Olaf Tryggvason, he converted Olaf Ericson, King of Sweden, about the year 1008, and at that period and afterwards many other Swedes. The Bishop Grimkel (or Grimketel) who, along with King Olaf Haraldson (+ 1030) completed the conversion of Norway, and promulgated the first ecclesiastical law for it and for Iceland, was Sigurd’s nephew and also an Englishman.

After all that has now been adduced, it will not be difficult to conceive, what we moreover find is in reality the fact, that the Scandinavian Antiquities, both those belonging to the ancient heathen period, and those of the earliest Christian times, have a great resemblance to the British and Irish, so that, when accurately examined and described, they mutually explain and elucidate each other. This for example is the case with the pagan stone circles, stone altars, barrows, etc. The most ancient of such British erections are generally ascribed to the Druids, but it is very possible that these sages of the olden time had more in common with the Druts, or Drotts, of the North, than a mere similarity of name, or than
the rearing of such monuments. The stone erections in the Scottish Orkney and Shetland isles shew themselves to be purely Northern, or reared by people of decidedly Northern extraction. Those still remaining in these islands are particularly well described and explained by Dr. HIBBERT.

Weapons and implements of stone, when in general use, are justly considered as belonging to the uneducated infancy of a people, and as testifying the remote antiquity of the burial places where they are most frequently found. A great number of these remarkable antiquities have been found both in Great-Britain and Ireland and in Scandinavia. We hope that an account, as complete as possible, of the Northern sorts, accompanied by corresponding drawings, which we insert in the present Report, will not prove unwelcome to the attentive reader.

What next solicits our attention is the most ancient of the Runes, and particularly that class of them, which we are now certain was employed, in a very remote antiquity, both in Scandinavia and in Great Britain, viz., the Anglo-Saxon, as they have been called. With us in the North they were generally considered as belonging to the latest kind of Runes, but in more recent times, since our attention has been especially directed to them, they have been found, in Denmark, on the celebrated ancient goldhorns, also on stones and ornaments in pagan barrows; in Norway on stone monuments and on flat stones placed over urns containing the ashes of burned bodies; and in Sweden on the most ancient stone weapons, on combs of bone, and on large Runic stones. Besides, there have been frequently discovered throughout Scandinavia golden annular money pieces or Bracteates of gold, on which Runic characters, particularly of that sort, frequently occur. Such kinds of Runic Inscriptions are occasionally found regularly legible in Great Britain, particularly in modern England. One of the oldest and most remarkable of these, viz. the inscription on the stone Obelisk or Cross of Ruthwell, recently published by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries — dating probably about A.D. 650 — we have attempted to explain in the present Report, endeavouring at the same time to develope its Alphabet, and in general that of the most important Anglo-Saxon Runes.
Another kind of Runes, to be met with on ancient monuments in the North, has hitherto been almost unknown out of Iceland, viz. the artificially combined, and partly inverted complex runes (Binderunen). To this class belongs the long known, much disputed, and, in many respects, very remarkable Runamo Inscription, at Bleking (a place now belonging to Sweden) an Inscription which probably dates from about 730, and which has not, until very lately, been read and explained, and wherein we even find some simple Runic characters of the kind called Anglo-Saxon: a circumstance that in fact need not appear surprising, inasmuch as the Danish King who caused the inscription to be cut, Harald Hildetand, is said to have subdued and ruled over a considerable part of ancient Northumberland. We here give a representation of the commencement of this Inscription from the original, as also its contents in the usual characters, with a translation of the same, and a general view of the history of the inscription.

We moreover communicate to our readers accounts, accompanied with occasional drawings, of some other remarkable antiquities, of a different sort, and of a date considerably later, than that of the stone antiquities in general which are found in the North, viz., the oldest specimens of chessmen known in these countries. A much richer and more curious collection than what we here are able to shew, was long ago by chance wafted to the coasts of the Hebrides, and there recently again brought to light, where it must be confessed they have fallen into good hands, and have given occasion to one of the most masterly archaeological disquisitions, on subjects of Northern origin, with which British Literati have enriched Literature; to this disquisition our above mentioned sketch can only be looked upon as a sort of supplementary elucidation, by means of which we hope that the existence of the game of chess in Scandinavia during the times of Paganism receives additional proof, and that thus the hypothesis of our learned precursor, respecting the earliest European history of this ingenious pastime, obtains, in its main points, complete corroboration.
The above is one of the many archeological facts, which indicate a very ancient connexion between the inhabitants of Scandinavia and those of the most distant parts of Asia, in a very remote period, a connexion, besides, which is also clearly demonstrated by the remarkable and acknowledged resemblance between the Gothis-Germanic, Gothic, and the most ancient Persian-Indian nations, in respect to Language, Religion, Laws, political Institutions, Chronology, Fasti, Antiquities etc. etc. into a particular examination of which we cannot here enter.  

With the introduction of Christianity into the North the later Latino-Gothic characters of the Anglo-Saxons came also into general use here, and to this we owe the transcripts, made chiefly in Iceland, of the Sagas and Poetry of the Pagan times of the North, and also of the Northern history in general during the middle ages. The manner in which the Saga literature was developed in that remote polar land, has been most distinctly and circumstantially explained by our Society’s late and much regretted Member P. E. Müller, in a treatise, which only a short time before his death, was first issued by him in a Danish dress as a contribution to the Danish periodical published by the Society, having for its title “Nordisk Tidskrift for Oldkyndighed". We are convinced that the Icelandic Sagas contain important and interesting contributions to the early history of Britain and Ireland, a fact, which is fully admitted by the more ancient and in part also by the later learned men of these countries. Among the latter we may here mention Donald Gregory, who rightly considers the Northern Sagas and the Irish Annals as the only authentic sources of information in matters concerning the ancient history (previous to the 13th century) of the Highlands or the North of Scotland. He justly remarks that “the most important events of the North and West of Scotland were connected with the Norwegians, and

1. This has in part been done at considerable length by Finn Magnusen, in his notes to his Danish Translation of the elder Edda 4. vol. Cap. 1822-1823; the Doctrine of the Edda and its origin in 4 vol. 1824-1826 Scio: Priscae veterum Borealium Mythologiae Lexicon, accedit septemtrionalium Gothorum etc. gentile Calendarium ex Asia oriundum, 1828, 4to, together with his Glossary and other supplementary matter to the great Quarto Edition of Edda antiquior, 2, 1818; 3, 1826.
therefore, as might have been expected, the best and most accur­ate account of these events is to be found in the Norwegian Sagas, whose antiquity would sufficiently warrant their accuracy, were it not further confirmed by the remarkable fact that, wherever the same events are alluded to in the Irish Annals, the account contained in the Sagas, although at variance with the generally received history, is invariably born out, in the fullest manner, by these invaluable annals." To which we may also add the testimony of John Dillon, who frankly confesses, that the Icelandic account in the Saga of King Hakon Hakonson (and which receives corroboration from Brewster's astronomical calculation of an Eclipse recorded in the Saga) more correctly assigns the date of his expedition to Scotland, and of the battle of Largs in 1263, than do the native historians themselves. In the very same way it has been ascertained that the date 1030, assigned by the best Sagas for the battle of Stiklestad in Norway, in which King Olaf Haraldson fell, is the true one, inasmuch as the celebrated Norwegian astronomer Hansteen has lately demonstrated by astronomical calculations, that the description given in the Saga of the solar eclipse, which happened then, is correct. How correctly the Sagas, in their oldest and best Recensions, describe regions that are remote from us, and that were for a long period in more recent time almost unknown, together with the discoveries there made, subsequently to the year 982, throughout the middle ages, — for example, Greenland and North-America — will soon be proved in the clearest and most complete manner by our Society.

To publish (with Latin and Danish Translations) the Old-Northern Sagas, which in a philological point of view are also highly curious, is one of the Society's main objects. Another is to represent, describe, and elucidate the antiquities of the Scandinavian North, which at present may almost be said to be in a daily process of discovery, owing to the solicitude shewn, and the active exertions made, both by government and individuals, for this department of knowledge, now clearly seen to be the foundation of written history. We besides extend our attention to such antiquities of other countries, as elucidate our own, or are elucidated by them.
We greatly acknowledge the important discoveries and illustrations, which the antiquarians and historians of Great-Britain have brought to light, respecting the most ancient historical antiquities and monuments of Scandinavia, and of the people who emigrated from thence. It will give us sincere pleasure if our endeavours in publishing the present Report (in which the article on the Inscription of the Obelisk at Ruthwell — the oldest existing original specimen of the modern British language — is now for the first time printed) should meet with the sanction or approbation of those lovers and cultivators of science for whose use it is chiefly intended. At all events, we hope that this little pamphlet, which the Society now sends to its English and American Members for their kind acceptance, will be found to contain matter sufficient to shew in the most convincing manner, that the British and Scandinavian countries, in respect to their remote history, religion, opinions, laws, manners, language, written characters, and antiquities are so intimately connected, that the antiquarians of the one cannot dispense with a competent knowledge of the olden time of the other — a knowledge which in general must be looked upon as the foundation of history, and therefore cannot certainly be a matter of indifference to any well educated and reflecting friend of his country.

1. It will be observed that the copies printed are merely for distribution among the Members, and that it is by no means published for sale.
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From page 1 to page 138 translated from the Danish by the late George Gordon Macdongall Esq., Member of the Society, and the remainder by John M'Caul, Esq., M.A. Oxford, Member of the Society.
NOTICE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

As the engraving of the 6 larger copperplates belonging to the Report and the casting of the Anglo-Saxon Rune-types, may possibly still take up a couple of months, a few Copies of this Introduction have, therefore, been printed for previous distribution among the Members. The Report itself shall be transmitted as soon as it is ready.
The intelligence which our ancient literary monuments embody respecting the discovery of America by the Scandinavians, and their voyages thither at a period long antecedent to the era of Columbus, has not hitherto received that serious consideration which it merits, it occurring but to few to look to the North of Europe for information on that head. It is, however, unquestionable that these remains comprise testimony, the most authentic and irrefragable, to the fact, that North America was actually discovered by the Northmen towards the close of the 10th century, visited by them repeatedly during the 11th and 12th (some of them even settling there as colonists), rediscovered towards the close of the 13th, and again repeatedly resorted to in the course of the 14th; and that the Christian religion was established there not only among the Scandinavian emigrants, but, in all probability, likewise among other tribes previously, or, at all events, then seated in those regions.

Influenced by these considerations, and by the circumstance, that the greater majority of the ancient writings adverted to, important as they thus are to the history of the world, of geography, of commerce, and of navigation, have never yet been printed, even in the original, The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries has determined on publishing a complete edition of them, the rather as
The very style in which the intelligence they embody is conveyed, serves materially to corroborate their authenticity.

The Work, which will comprise, besides some entire Sagas, and extracts of others, selections from ancient geographical works, and annals, will be published in the original Icelandic with accompanying Latin and Danish versions, and will be furnished with a critical apparatus of variorum readings, explanatory notes (in Latin), with one chronological and several genealogical tables (the latter exhibiting the descent of many celebrated characters in Icelandic, Danish, and Norwegian history, from the first discoverers of North America), and geographical and archaeological disquisitions (likewise in Latin) respecting the first landing places and earliest settlements of the Northmen in America, and the vestiges (some hypothetical, some authentic) of their migration to, and sojourn in that country — disquisitions, towards which material assistance has been furnished by several men of science and erudition in the United states.

In its compilation we have availed ourselves of an abundant store of the most valuable materials preserved in the public libraries, and MSS. collections, of Copenhagen, among which not a few parchment codices, never before employed, or even known to exist.

The Work will be embellished with several maps, as also with facsimiles of the principal Codices employed, and copper-plate engravings of some of the most remarkable remains.

What serves in no small degree to enhance the value of the ancient writings, is the great apparent probability, amounting indeed almost to certainty, that it was a knowledge of these facts that prompted the memorable expedition of Columbus himself which terminated in his discovery of the New World — for it is a well authenticated fact, that the great navigator visited Iceland in the year 1477, on which occasion he could scarcely fail to obtain some information from its inhabitants, particularly its clerical functionaries, with whom, according to the custom of the times, he probably conversed in Latin, respecting the voyages of their ancestors to those regions.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.
Copenhagen, Novbr. 19, 1835.

William Schlegel. President.
Finn Magnuson. Vice-President.
Charles C. Rafn. Secretary.
ANTQUITATES AMERICANÆ.

Mode of Publication and Conditions of Subscription.

The Work, which has been in progress for several years past, and will leave the press before the close of the ensuing summer, will consist of one volume, royal 4th.

A summary of the work, in English, or French, will be delivered gratis to the subscribers, its size to be regulated by the number of subscribers.

The price for subscribers is, in America, 12 dollars, or piasres effectives, the freight from Denmark to New-York, Boston, or St. Thomas included.

Forty copies have been struck off on thick Imperial vellum, at proportionally higher price.

Subscribers are requested to transmit their full names, and address, written in a legible hand, to the undersigned, Copenhagen, 40 Kronprindensgade, either through the medium of the Secretaries of one or other of the undermentioned Societies with whom we stand in correspondence, and who have been requested to lend us their aid to that effect; namely

1. The Rhode Island Historical Society, in Providence;
2. The Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston;
3. The American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia;
or, care of William Lamb, Esq., St. Thomas.

The copies subscribed for shall be forwarded to their respective destinations through the medium of an agent in New-York, Boston, or St. Thomas.

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, NOV. 19, 1835.

CHARLES C. RAFN,
Secretary.
The most ancient written sources of British and Irish history — in so far as they have been preserved to modern times — had for a long period and to a great extent either lain by unpublished, or were only made known by means of faulty and incomplete editions; until in our days by order of Parliament a critical edition of them, and one worthy of the nation has been intrusted to men of competent learning and abilities. In aid of a common object we take this opportunity to announce the publication of the accounts which are contained in the ancient language of Scandinavia — a language which formerly over the whole North — even in Norway and Iceland — received the name of Danish, but which now is generally called the Old-northern, or from the name of the country in which it may still be considered vernacular — the Icelandic. Of such accounts relating to the history of Britain and Ireland there are many, and those doubtless not unimportant, preserved in the Sagas which have been chiefly written in Iceland. The word Saga, which has affinity with the English word saying, means strictly speaking a narrative whether true or fictitious, just as Story was in its origin synonymous with History, and therefore the Sagas are of very different kinds. They may however be classed as follows: a. My-
hic, or the legends of the olden time respecting heathen Deities and Heroes etc., written in the middle ages. b. Genuine Historical, written during the same period. c. Purely Fictitious, which last are chiefly of more modern date.

During the greater part of the three preceding centuries modern authors were wont to look on all the Sagas as historical and as entitled to almost implicit belief; other authors again — our immediate predecessors or contemporaries — perceived the absurdity of such a supposition, and, as is usual in such cases, rushed into the opposite extreme, and looked on the whole mass of Sagas as fictitious and unworthy of reliance. The truth here, as well as on most other occasions, will be found in the middle way. It is besides a circumstance of some importance that up to the year 1773 there was scarcely a single Saga that in any respect had been correctly edited. At that period a new and brighter era may be said to have commenced in the mode of publishing these literary monuments. Still, however, very few of those that have since seen the light have been edited with the requisite critical accuracy and attention, and this remark is peculiarly applicable to such as relate to the ancient English, Scottish, or Irish history.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen founded for promoting the publication of ancient Northern, and more especially Icelandic, literary monuments, and for the elucidation of Northern Antiquities, is therefore of opinion, that the present is the right epoch for collecting, transcribing, elucidating and publishing the ancient Icelandic and other Old-northern writings and accounts of this sort which are still extant, but which must be searched for in almost innumerable manuscripts and printed books — an undertaking which it would be impossible for a single individual to accomplish. Many of these accounts are contained partly in separate Sagas, but are also in part scattered either throughout prolix historical works, or in detached historical or biographical pieces; some of which are, it is true, already published, but, as we have already observed, in incomplete or unauthentic editions.

To supply this deficiency, which must be felt by every lover of the ancient history of the British Kingdoms, the Society has embraced the resolution of publishing a collection of those ancient accounts, which it is evident, can be collected, arranged, and published with copiousness and exactness in this place only where
all the most important manuscripts are to be found. The work will be entitled:

ANTIQVITATES BRITANNICÆ ET HIBERNICÆ,
sive
SCRIPTORES SEPTEMTRIONALES
RERUM BRITANNICARUM
MEDIÆ ÆVI.

We cannot as yet give a detailed specification of all that it will contain, but we may state the following as part of its contents.

A. Of separate Sagas, we may mention
a. JATVARDAR SAGA ENS HELGA, or a History of the canonized King Edward surnamed the Confessor.

b. The Sagas of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Dunstan, Thomas, and Anselm.

None of these have hitherto been published: They will therefore be now for the first time brought to light, and be printed partly from ancient parchments.

c. ORKNEYINGA SAGA, or the history of the Orkney and Shetland isles, and partly of Scotland, from A.D. 865 to 1231.

Of this remarkable work there is only one Edition (Copenhagen 1780) chiefly printed from a modern paper manuscript, and by no means from the celebrated Codex Flateyensis (written on parchment in the 14th century) which has not at all been used or consulted in its publication, but will now form the basis of our new Edition, which will also be augmented by many additions, and various readings from other Codices, which have been neglected in the older edition — an edition that moreover does not correspond with its own Text, and this partly from want of suitable types, and partly from errors of the transcriber or printer. We hope therefore that our edition will be the first authentic and complete one.

d. Saga Magnus Eviajarls hins helga, containing a minute account of the life of the Jarl Magnus Erlendson who died in 1110 and was afterwards canonized and generally worshipped in Northern Britain and Scandinavia.

This Saga also has only been once published from recent paper manuscripts, but will now be published for the first time from the oldest MS which is written on Skin, and will at the same time be furnished with the additions and various readings which other remarkable transcripts afford. These two last mentioned
Iagos give a very luminous description of the state of political society
and manners in the 10th, 11th, 12th and beginning of the 13th cen-
turies of the Scottish isles, and of Scotland itself; particularly in
so far as regards the districts which had been inhabited or sub-
dued by people of Scandinavian origin, from whom the present
habitants of the Orkneys, Shetland and Caithness, etc., chiefly
descend. The life of Magnus was written in 1130, and the above
mentioned general history of the Orkneys was compiled, doubtless
part from much more ancient writings, about 1240. These two
works are therefore considerably older than that of any native
Scottish historian.

c. An Account of Helge and Ulf inhabitants of the Orkneys
from an ancient manuscript written on Skin.

B. Extracts from Icelandic historical works of the middle age
dating to the history of England, Scotland and Ireland, viz, from
the following important works,

f. Snorre Sturlesons celebrated Heimskringla.

Of this work we have four editions in the original language,
of which that published at Copenhagen (1777 a 1783 in 3 vol. folio)
is the most copious and the best, but it by no means satisfies the
critical demands of our age, the text being very gratuitously put
together from different Codices, occasionally even from modern unau-
thentic transcriptions; and, besides, the sources from which the
altered readings are taken are frequently not mentioned, so that the
gage and value of the accounts often cannot be critically determined.

The portions of this important work which we shall insert in
the publication now announced, shall be accurately transcribed from
the oldest and best skin manuscripts that are extant and shall be
urnished with the requisite additions from other good transcripts.

g. The Landnáma as it is called, or Landnámabók of Ice-
land, called also Libor Originum Islandie. It contains the
history of the earliest colony and colonists in Iceland.

 Those portions of it which relate to natives of Britain or Ire-
land, who during the 8th, 9th or 10th centuries had established
themselves in Iceland shall here be inserted.

Of this important work we have, it is true, three different
editions; but in none of them has due attention been paid to this
circumstance, that the work consists of three different principal Re-
sensions compiled by different authors, the eldest of which ought
to form the basis, and the text of the next in age ought to be separated from the others; whereas only the most recent has hitherto been published. In the present publication we intend to follow for the first time an entirely opposite method, whereby the character and age of the accounts may be critically determined.

H. Extracts from many other Sagas and Annals of the Kings of Norway and Denmark, also of Icelandic Warriors, Scalds, etc., and other distinguished men, who during the middle ages have had any connexion with England, Scotland or Ireland.*

Of these writings, which we cannot here enumerate, the extracts which we communicate shall like the before mentioned be transcribed from the best Codices now extant, and shall also be collated with the best transcripts in as accurate and complete a manner as possible.

Such a work as the present cannot well be much longer postponed, inasmuch as the manuscripts, besides being liable to perish from unfortunate accidents, are daily becoming more and more faint, or mouldering away from age; so that they incur the risk of soon becoming illegible and unavailable for the purpose of a correct publication.

C. Extracts from the ancient Historians and Chroniclers of Denmark and Sweden; also chronological annotations.

D. Remarkable Diplomas of the middle age issued in the Orkney or Shetland isles, or in Denmark, Sweden, Norway or Iceland, having reference to Britain or Ireland; of which a great part have not hitherto been published.

E. Northern Runes, Inscriptions relating to the expeditions of the Northmen to the British islands, or which in any way concern those countries or their inhabitants.

F. Sundry other supplementary matter connected with this work.

* Agreeably to the wish expressed by several British learned men, it is our intention (apart from the Historical works, and in an entirely separate Volume) to publish simultaneously those Romances connected with the remote middle age of England and Wales which have been translated into Icelandic or Old-northern in the 12th & 13th Centuries from Originals which in many instances have been long since lost, and now live in Translations which themselves — as specimens of language &c. — are well deserving of interest.
A correct Latin Translation will accompany the Text throughout, and the whole will be elucidated both by philological and historical marks and explanations in Latin.

One or more Maps of Britain and Ireland and the smaller les appertaining to them, furnished with the ancient Scandinavian names of Places, Districts, Rivers etc. will accompany the work, which will likewise be provided with the requisite geographical Dis- visions, — also with Facsimiles to serve as specimens of the best Manuscripts on Skin of the most important historical Do- ments.

The work will consist of 3 or 4 Volumes Royal quarto.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

Copenhagen, November 19, 1835.

William Schlegel, President.
Finn Magnuson, Vice-President.
Charles C. Rafn, Secretary.
THE Work will consist of 3 or 4 Volumes in Royal Quarto.

To give the Edition a higher value to Subscribers, it has been determined on that the Impression shall be restricted to 360 Copies.

In order that each Subscriber may have it in his power to convince himself that this determination is adhered to, a List of Subscribers shall be inserted in the Work, numbered according to the order in which the subscriptions are announced; and, at a convenient part of the work, each of the 360 Copies shall be furnished with its No., corresponding to the number in the Subscription-List, and certified by the signature of the Secretary.

As soon as 360 Subscribers have announced themselves, the Subscription-List, agreeably to what is above said, shall be closed.

One half of the Subscription price, or £ 6, is to be paid in advance, and the remaining half on receiving the work. The other extensive literary undertakings which the Society has commenced, the prosecution of which employs the greater part of its income, renders this stipulation a matter of necessity to prevent the publication of the work from being protracted through a long course of years.

Should any Subscriber wish a Copy on imperial vellum paper — on condition of paying a proportionally higher price in advance — he is requested to notify his wish to that effect.

Several Subscribers have already announced themselves, not only from Great Britain and Ireland, but also on the Continent. We may here mention

His Majesty FREDERICK VI, King of Denmark. 8 Copies.

Her Majesty MARIA, Queen of Denmark . . 4 Copies;
a few have also announced themselves from the United States and the West-Indies, being those who have in general subscribed to all the works edited by the Society, so that we have a tolerably
taint hope of being enabled to accomplish the publication of this work.

As soon as the subscriptions amount to 360, notice of the same shall be given in the London Literary Gazette, to prevent, after that time, from making fruitless application.

The final preparation of the Work for the press shall then without delay commence, and thereafter be prosecuted without interdiction; the printing also shall be expedited with as much haste as is compatible with a careful correction of the proof sheets.

Each Subscriber is requested to mention the name of a person one of the larger sea ports to whom his Copy may in due time be addressed, unless he should prefer its being sent direct to himself.

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Notices of subscription from America and the West-Indies may be addressed in the same way as was stipulated for subscriptions to the work Antiquitates Americanae; or they may be sent direct to Copenhagen (via Hamburg).

Subscribers are requested to give an accurate statement of their address, and to write their names at full length, and legibly, to prevent errors from taking place in the printed List of Subscribers.

Copenhagen, Novbr. 19, 1835.

Charles C. Raffn,
Secretary.
Le président, M. Schlegel, Conseiller Privé d'État, ouvrit la séance par un aperçu général sur l'état de la Société et sur ses opérations pendant l'année de 1835.

Des anciens manuscrits de la littérature du Nord, la Société a fait paraître pendant l'année révolue conformément au principal but qu'elle s'est proposé:

Fornmanna Sögur, Vol. X,
Oldnordiske Sagaer, Vol. X,
Scripta Historica Islandorum, Vol. VI.

Les deux premiers de ces volumes contiennent en texte original d'Islande et en traduction danoise, publiée séparément, la dernière partie du Saga de Hakon Hakonson, roi de Norvège, et un fragment du Saga du roi Magnus Lagabæter, espace de temps de 1240 à 1274, qui termine la série des Sagas des rois de Norvège commencée dans cet ouvrage. On y trouve encore en appendice des critiques différentes des narrations de Halfdan Svarte, du roi Harald Haarfager, de Hauk Habrok et d'Olaf Geirstadaalf; le Saga du roi Olaf Tryggvason, raconté par le moine Odd Snorreson; un résumé succinct des Sagas des rois de Norvège, et un aperçu de la suite de ces rois, composé en vers par Sæmund le Savant. — Le troisième volume contient en traduction latine les Sagas des rois de Norvège, Magnus le Bon, Harald Haardraade et ses fils, espace de temps de 1035 à 1093.

Voici les volumes de ces trois séries de la rédaction desquels on s'occupe maintenant:
Le 11e volume des deux premiers ouvrages, c'est-à-dire, des Sagas des événements du Nord pendant le temps historique en texte original d'Islande et en traduction danoise, lequel volume contient les Sagas du Danemark, a déjà été publié, et le 12e volume de la rédaction duquel on s'occupe actuellement, terminera l'ouvrage. On trouvera dans ce volume l'explication des anciens vers historiques dont les Sagas sont entremêlés, et des tables de matière analytiques pour tout ce qui dans cette série de Sagas a rapport à la géographie et à l'étude de l'antiquité. La version latine sera continuée par un ou deux volumes par an jusqu'à ce que tous les douze volumes que comprend le texte, soient traduits.

En 1831 la Société résolut d'employer les moyens dont elle pourrait disposer à répandre plus de jour sur l'ancienne histoire du Groenland, afin de tâcher de parvenir à déterminer, avec toute la certitude possible, où étaient situés l'ancienne colonie européenne nommée Oestbygden (Eystribyggð) et l'évêché de Gardar, qui a compté plusieurs siècles d'existence, sur la vraie position géographique desquels il y a eu jusqu'à présent grande incertitude, malgré les notices contenues dans les anciens manuscrits d'Islande. Pour atteindre le but que la Société s'est ainsi proposé, on résolut d'abord de faire entreprendre des fouilles et des recherches dans les nombreuses ruines des premiers établissements des colons dans le district de Julianehaab et sur les côtes du détroit de Davis. Les instruments nécessaires à l'exploration des lieux y furent envoyés par le premier navire qui y fit voile en 1832, et les recherches ont depuis été continuées tous les ans. Les résultats en ont été assez importants. La géographie et l'étude des antiquités y ont trouvé plusieurs éclaircissements qui ont été mentionnés dans les rapports annuels de la Société, et les mémoires archéologiques
qu'elle publie, en a rendu un compte détaillé. M. W.-A. Graah, Capitaine de la Marine, a beaucoup contribué à faciliter ces recherches en construisant sur les plans qu'il a levés lui-même et sur d'autres matériaux se trouvant ici, une carte spéciale du district de Julianchaab, dans laquelle il indique toutes les anciennes ruines scandinaves dont on a des renseignements certains. La gravure de cette carte a été achevée. On l'a destinée aux ouvrages sur les voyages de découverte des anciens Scandinaves dans le Nord de l'Amérique, et sur les monuments historiques du Groenland, ouvrages qui sont sous presse et vont paraître sous peu. — M. J. Mathiesen, ancien Inspecteur de la colonie de Julianchaab, avait fait la proposition à la Société de faire entreprendre une recherche complète de la ruine d'une église et d'autres ruines qu'on trouve sur la branche septentrionale du golfe d'Igalikko, d'où l'on a reçu, il y a quelques années, une pierre chargée de runes. Pour examiner cette proposition, il fut établi un Comité composé de MM. W.-A. Graah, C. Pingel et C. Thomsen, dont les deux premiers ont eux-mêmes visité les lieux. Ce Comité ayant approuvé la proposition, la Société résolut de se charger des frais de l'exploration de ces ruines qui, selon la description, doivent être en si grand nombre qu'on pourrait les croire provenant de toute une ville. Une quantité de nouveaux instruments et d'autres objets nécessaires au voyage de la colonie aux ruines, et au séjour à Igalikko, qui prendra plusieurs mois, ont été achetés pour y être envoyés par les navires qui s'y rendront au commencement du printemps. — M. O. Rielsen, Inspecteur actuel de l'établissement de Nenortalik, a fait parvenir à la Société le rapport sur quelques ruines islandaises trouvées dans l'île de Sermesok. Il y a joint plusieurs antiquités des Esquimaux. — M. Wahl, botaniste qui se trouve présentement à Godhavn, a trouvé sur une tombe païenne de l'île de Disko une écumeoire en os de baleine.

Le Ministre de la marine française, M. l'Amiral Duperré,
avait écrit à la Société que, vu l’empressément avec lequel plusieurs de ses Membres ont secondé l’expédition entreprise l’été passé par la corvette la Recherche sur les côtes de l’Islande et dans les parages du Groenland, il avait chargé le Directeur général du Dépôt de la marine française de nous faire parvenir un exemplaire de deux voyages maritimes et la collection des principales cartes de l’hydrographie française, lesquels il destine à la bibliothèque de la Société.

Le Comité pour les recherches antiquaires rapporta que Le Musée des Antiquités du Nord qui rend des services si essentiels aux investigations de la Société, s’est augmenté pendant l’année dernière de 339 numéros, dont nous nommerons ici les plus curieux.

En creusant une colline de gravier à Himlingœoeie, village situé en Selande, non loin de la ville de Kiege, on a successivement trouvé une quantité d’objets très curieux, tels qu’une corne à boire, faite en verre, plusieurs bocaux en vermeil et en bronze ornés de figures et d’ornemens y gravés. Nouvellement on y a trouvé une bague tournante en or, un peigne en os, un tamis de bronze, des perles bleues en mosaique et d’autres faites d’un noyau en verre entouré de lames d’or sous une enveloppe transparente de verre, mais ce qu’il y a de plus remarquable c’est la trouvaille d’une fibule d’un travail parfait. Elle est faite de cuivre revêtu de plaques d’argent, dorées sur le devant avec des ornemens pressés, et enveloppées de lames de verre bleu, mais ce qui y ajoute le plus d’intérêt, c’est qu’il y a sur le revers une plaque mince d’argent chargée d’une inscription en runes faite avec cette espèce d’anciennes runes qu’on appelle anglosaxones. Voici l’inscription : ᚄᚢᚦᚢᚦ, ce qui signifie en islandais DÓRIS Ó, et en français “Thoris est possesseur.” Cette inscription fait de ce bijou, trouvé dans un ancien tombeau payen, une antique curieuse autant qu’elle est rare.

Dans la paroisse de Nimtofte près de Randers en Jutland
on a trouvé parmi des bijoux de femme une paire de boucles d'oreille de l'antiquité. Ce sont les premières de ce genre qu'on ait jamais trouvées dans les pays du Nord. Le dessin ci-joint en fera connaître la forme. L'anneau qu'on y voit est fait en argent et d'une forme ovale. Les chaines et les perles qui les décorent et dont tous les coins ont été polis, sont d'une composition métallique qui à son temps a dû ressembler à de l'or.

Dans l'île de Falster, près d'un village nommé Vaalse, on a fait une trouvaille importante. Un paysan qui labourait son champ, y trouva un vase de cuivre rempli d'une quantité d'objets d'argent. Ce sont des barres d'argent, les unes encore brutes et non travaillées, les autres plus ou moins martelées et souvent tranchées, portant des raies et des marques de coups de marteau; puis ce sont des anneaux d'argent tranchés, dont on s'est servi dans l'antiquité pour les paymens qui se faisaient au poids; en suite ce sont des morceaux de boucles rondes, des bracelets, des bracelets complètes et des pendeloques ou ornements pendans. Ces objets étaient en telle quantité qu'on en a pu céder 63 pièces au cabinet d'antiquités de Kiel. On trouve encore parmi ces antiques un nombre considérable de monnaies, importantes non seulement à cause de leur rareté, mais encore plus par le jour qu'elles répandent sur l'âge des objets trouvés. Elles se composent principalement de monnaies eufiques frappées pour des califes de Bagdad et plusieurs princes de l'Orient; la plus jeune en est à peu près de l'an mil après Jésus Christ; puis il y a des monnaies allemandes, bohémiques, hollandaises et anglaises, les dernières en petit nombre. Des monnaies françaises il n'y a qu'une seule, qui a été frappée à Rotomacus (Rouen) par un des premiers Richards, ducs de Normandie. On rapporte la plus jeune de ces monnaies à l'an mil. Cette trouvaille est sur-
tout intéressante par les éclaircissements qu'elle présente pour connaître le mode de payement en usage dans le Nord vers l'au
mil. Elle aide encore à déterminer l'âge d'autres antiques du même genre, qui ont été trouvées isolément. C'est une chose connue qu'en Russie, aux temps plus nouveaux, on s'est servi dans les payements de barres d'argent, lesquelles on trancha après les avoir un peu martelées. Le nom même de la monnaie Pyt-Ab dérive de cet usage. Le verbe rublu signifie ainsi tran-
cher, et le Rubel ne fut d'abord qu'un certain poids d'argent tranché. Il paraît par cette trouvaille qu'aussi dans les pays 
scandinaves on s'est servi d'un pareil moyen de payement.
Dans l'île de Laaland, au village de Stokkemarke, on a trouvé dans l'autel de l'église une petite boîte oblongue en forme carrée, faite d'une plaque de plomb pliée. Cette antique, dont la forme et la grandeur sont représentées par la figure suivante,

[Image of an antique relic]

est un ancien réservoir de reliques, tel qu'on trouve souvent dans les églises du Nord, mais surtout remarquable comme étant le premier qu'on ait trouvé avec une inscription en ru-
nes. On y lit le nom d'EPISCOPUS GISICO, inscription qui semble prouver que l'autel a été consacré par Gisico, évêque à Odense vers la fin du 13e siècle.

M. Ackermann, Professeur et Bibliothécaire à Lubeck, fit présenter à la Société quelques rares monnaies orientales, qui ont été trouvées sur la côte de la Baltique près de Rœnigs-
berg. M. de Rennenkampff de Riga, Conseiller supérieur, nous fit connaître une trouvaille remarquable d'antiquités faite en Li-

[Image of a medallion]

vonie. M. le Docteur Napiersky de la même ville nous envoya un modèle en fonte d'un médaillon antique chargé d'une inscrip-
tion grecque.
La Société a encore pendant l'année dernière contribué à répandre du jour sur l'ancienne histoire du Nord, et à en éclaircir les antiquités à l'aide de traités séparés, dont plusieurs ont été offerts au public dans les mémoires de la Société, où l'on va admettre les autres qui n'y ont pas encore trouvé place. Nous rappellerons ici les plus remarquables des traités autrefois annoncés, savoir : Observation sur l'Obélisque de Ruthwell où l'on trouve l'inscription en runes qui est, à ce qu'on sait, la plus ancienne de la Grande-Bretagne, par M. Finn Magnusen ; Aperçu des rapports donnés sur l'Irlande par les anciens Scandinaves, par M. N.-M. Petersen ; Observation sur la première carte connue du Groenland, par M. J.-H. Bredsdorff.

Voici ensuite les traités publiés pendant l'année passée ou destinés à être publiés pendant celle-ci : Examen chimique de la substance métallique de quelques antiques scandinaves appartenant au temps payen, par M. le Baron Berzelius ; Sur les monuments de l'antiquité que possède le diocèse de Bergen en Norvège, par M. C. Neumann ; Suite du rapport des recherches antiquaires entreprises au Groenland, rédigée par M. C. Pingle ; Sur un vieux couvent près d'Elvedgaard en Fionie, par M. Vedel-Simonsen ; Du dépôt des saints indigènes dans leurs cercueils et de leur culte dans l'âge moyen parmi les Scandinaves, par M. Finn Magnusen ; Du culte de Saint-Ranvæ à Rome par M. P.-W. Becker ; Sur une trouvaille remarquable d'antiquités d'argent à Vaalse en Falster par M. C.-J. Thomsen ; Muspilli, fragment d'un ancien poème germanique avec allitération sur la fin du monde, publié d'abord par M. J.-A. Schmeller d'après un manuscrit appartenant à la bibliothèque royale de Munich, et maintenant enrichi d'une traduction danoise et de notes servant à éclaircir le texte, par M. N.-M. Petersen ; Traité historique sur les expéditions des Danois dans le pays des Vendes, par le même ; Traité sur les liaisons des anciens Scandinaves avec la presqu'île ibérique, par M. E.-C. Wurlauff ; Recherche comparative sur quelques antiques du temps payen,
d'une ressemblance presque parfaite, trouvées près de Gristhørpe en Yorkshire et près de Bolderup aux environs de Haderslev; Explication de quelques objets en bronze trouvés en Angleterre, en Suède et en Danemark; Observations sur les pièces et les pions du jeu d'échec chez les anciens Scandinaves, à l'occasion d'une trouvaille importante faite dans l'île de Lewis, ile qui appartient au groupe des Hébrides; Sur une trouvaille remarquable d'antiques du temps payen, près de Catharinenhof en Livonie.

M. E.-C. Werlauff, Conseiller d'État, donna lecture d'une explication des rapports faits sur le Nord par plusieurs auteurs grecs et romains.


Les Réviseurs élus pour l'an 1835, MM. W. Cathala et A. Nielsen, on revu et signé le compte des recettes et dépenses de l'année écoulée, rendu par le Trésorier M. J.-F. Magnus.
DONS ET COTISATIONS PENDANT L'ANNÉE DE 1834.

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DONS ET COTISATIONS PENDANT L'ANNÉE DE 1835.

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COMPTE DES RECETTES ET DEPENSES DE L'ANNEE DE 1835.

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Rds.  s.  Rs.  Rs.  Rs.  Rs.  Rs.
APÉRÇU DU FONDS PERMANENT DE LA
SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE
DESANTIQUAIRES DU NORD.

Nota. Selon les statuts tout don de 100 Rs. (25 ducats d'Hollande) et au-dessus,
y compris la cotisation, est versé dans le fonds permanent sous le nom du
Membre qui en est donateur.

Fonds originaire ................................................ Rds. en argent 1500

AAL (Jacques), Propriétaire des Usines à Norvège .......................... 100
ACKERMANN (W.-A.), Professeur et Bibliothécaire à Lubeck ............. 100
ALBINUS (J.-H.-J.), Conseiller de Chancellerie .............................. 300
ANDERSEN (J.), Conseiller de Chancellerie ................................. 450
BEXLEY (Nicolas Lord), F. R. L., F. S. A., V. P. R. S. L. à Londres .... 200
BILLE-BRAHE (Comte Preben) de Brahesminde en Fionie .................. 100
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Werkmester (M.), Homme de lettres ....................................................... 100
Un Homme d'État de Russie à St. Pétersbourg ....................................... 100
Fonds sous la dénomination de "Groenland" .......................................... 600
Fonds sous la dénomination de "Stavanger" ........................................... 200
Autre augmentation du fonds permanent .................................................. 8010
Total du fonds permanent, le 31 décembre 1835, Rds. en argent 19000

Les Revisieurs donnèrent leur déclaration par écrit d'avoir examiné les Bons Royaux qui constituent les fonds constans de la Société de la somme totale de 19,000 risdales, et de les avoir trouvés, pour la plus grande sûreté, munis des signatures des Membres de l'Administration et inscrits sur les livres de la Caisse Royale comme étant capital-constant de la Société.

Tout ce que l'on envoie à la Société doit être adressé au Secrétaire M. C.-C. Rafn, Professeur, à Copenhague, rue Kronprindsensgade n° 40.
La Société se propose pour principal but la publication et l'interprétation des ouvrages islandais et de l'ancienne littérature du Nord. Le plan qu'elle s'est tracé, embrasse tout ce qui pourra servir à donner des lumières sur l'histoire ancienne du Nord, sur son langage et ses antiquités en général.

Les Sagas islandais et les autres ouvrages de l'antiquité du Nord se publient, en volumes séparés, dans la langue originale avec traductions en langue danoise et en langue latine. Un Comité, nommé à cet effet par la Société, est chargé des soins de cette publication. Le but en est d'entretenir en Islande le goût de la littérature nationale, qui y règne depuis des siècles; de mettre les habitants du Nord à même de connaître les principales sources de leur ancienne histoire; enfin, de fournir aux savants de l'étranger les moyens de tirer parti de ces ouvrages dans leurs travaux sur l'histoire, les langues et l'antiquité.

La Société fait paraître un recueil de mémoires et de dissertations sur les antiquités, dont le but est de transmettre à la partie éclairée du public des recherches qui serviront à faire mieux connaître la littérature et les antiquités du Nord.

La Société contribuera aussi à la publication d'autres ouvrages conformes à son but; et aussitôt que par les cotisations de ses Membres et par les dons de ses bienfaiteurs elle se verra en état d'étendre ses opérations, elle s'empressera de saisir encore d'autres moyens propres à répandre du jour sur tout ce qui appartient à l'antiquité scandinave.

1) La Société a résolu de publier un Recueil complet des rapports sur les voyages de découverte en Amérique entrepris par les anciens Scandinaves au dixième siècle et depuis ce temps.

2) La Société fait exécuter de temps en temps des fouilles et des recherches dans les ruines principales des anciennes colonies européennes du Groenland.
La Société choisit **Membres**, soit du Nord, soit de l'étranger, les hommes de lettres et les protecteurs des sciences d'une réputation reconnue, qui montrent de l'intérêt pour l'ancienne littérature et les antiquités du Nord. Elle tâchera surtout de se lier avec les savants, qui se livrent à l'étude des sciences en rapport avec l'objet de ses travaux. La cotisation des Membres est de cinquante risdales en argent (douze ducats et demi d'Hollande), à payer une fois pour toutes lors de la réception.

Elle en donnera des rapports tant dans le journal de la Société que dans un ouvrage publié séparément sur les monuments historiques du Groenland. Trois inscriptions, dont deux en runes, nous sont déjà parvenues de cette terre polaire remarquable, et il faut espérer que l'étude de la géographie et des antiquités trouvera une récolte abondante à faire dans les recherches entreprises sous la direction des officiers du gouvernement.

*) Le cercle des opérations de la Société ne se borne pas aux royaumes scandinaves. Les anciennes lois du Nord, les Eddas qui renferment une riche mythologie d'origine asiatique, les antiquités du Nord depuis qu'on en a fait des collections, et, avant tout, l'ancienne littérature historique dont plus de 2000 manuscrits se sont conservés jusqu'à nos jours, ont excité un vif intérêt dans tout le monde civilisé; l'utilité en a été universellement reconnue pour les recherches de l'Antiquaire, de l'Historien, du Juriste et de Philologue. C'est par conséquent à juste titre que l'homme de lettres étranger est reçu dans la Société avec tous les droits et les devoirs des indigènes de la Scandinavie.

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SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DU NORD.

ACTE

DE LA CRÉATION DU FONDS PERMANENT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DU NORD.

Sa Majesté le Roi FRÉDÉRIC VI a, sous la date du 31 décembre 1834, donné sa sanction à cet acte, tel qu'il a été lu dans la Société et adopté par elle dans sa séance du 30 octobre de la même année.

Art. I. La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord a, selon ses statuts, créé un fonds permanent dont les rentes annuelles sont destinées à être exclusivement employées à la publication et à l'interprétation des anciens manuscrits de l'Islande, et à tout ce qui pourra répandre du jour sur l'ancienne histoire du Nord, sur son langage et sur ses antiquités en général. Ce fonds a été basé sur les douze mille cinq cents risdales en argent, placés en bons royaux de quatre pour cent, qui, selon le compte rendu pour l'année 1833, faisaient alors la somme totale des biens de la Société.

Art. II. Pour l'augmentation successive de ce fonds seront employés: a. les cotisations des Membres de cinquante risdales en argent, payables une fois pour toutes; b. tous les dons au-dessus de ce montant; c. autant du revenu annuel qu'il faut pour suppléer ce que le moutant des cotisations et des donations pourrait être au-dessous du cinquième du revenu.

Art. III. Les Officiers de la Société sont chargés de surveiller que ces règles soient exactement suivies pour chaque année; le Trésorier en fera calcul dans son compte rendu à la fin de l'année, et les Réviseurs en donneront leur déclaration par écrit, laquelle sera publiée dans le rapport annuel de la Société.

Art. IV. Ce capital toujours croissant qui fait le fonds permanent de la Société ne pourra jamais être diminué par aucune décision de la Société. Le bon royal qui fait la base du fonds, ainsi que tous les bons dont il sera augmenté, doit à cet effet être muni de la clause additionnelle, que la vente et le transport à autrui en sont défendus.

Dans la Séance que la Société a tenue aujourd'hui conformément à ses Statuts, les dispositions de cet Acte ont toutes été adoptées unanimement. Tous les Membres présents et futurs de la Société sont par conséquent tenus de s'y conformer dans tous ses termes et clauses.

Fait et signé dans la séance de la Société, le 30 octobre 1834.

SCHLEGEL, FINN MAGNUSSEN, C.-C. RAFA, J.-F. MAGNUS,
APPAREÇU DU FONDS PERMANENT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ.

Note. Selon les statuts tout don de 100 lrs. (25 ducats d'Hollande) et au-dessus, fait par un Membre, est versé dans le fonds permanent sous le nom du donateur.

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Fonds sous la dénomination de "Groenland" ............................................................. 600
Fonds sous la dénomination de "Stavanger" ................................................................. 200
Autre augmentation du fonds permanent ........................................................................ 5390

Total du fonds permanent le 31 décembre 1831 lrs. en argent 15700

Les cotisations des Membres ou les donations destinées à l'augmentation du fonds permanent de la Société pourront lui être envoyées en lettres de change sur une des grandes villes de l'Europe.

Tout ce que l'on envoie à la Société doit être adressé au Secrétaire M. C.-C. RAFF, Professeur, à Copenhague, rue Kronprindsens-gade no. 40.
HISTORY

OF THE

FIRST CHURCH AND PARISH IN DEDHAM,

IN THREE DISCOURSES,

DELIVERED ON OCCASION OF THE COMPLETION,

NOVEMBER 18, 1838,

OF THE SECOND CENTURY

SINCE THE GATHERING OF SAID CHURCH.

BY ALVAN LAMSON, D. D.

PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN DEDHAM.

Dedham:
Printed by Herman Mann...High Street.
1839.
ADVERTISEMENT.

The first of these Discourses was delivered on the day of the Annual Thanksgiving, Nov. 29, 1838, and the other two on the Sunday following. The Church was gathered the 8th of Nov. 1638. This, allowing for difference of style (the rule requiring ten days to be added to a date occurring in the seventeenth century, and eleven days to one occurring in the eighteenth, in order to convert Old Style into New,) gives the 18th of Nov. as the two hundredth anniversary of that event. The state of the writer's health did not admit of its commemoration by this Church at that time. The difference, however, is only of a few days. Mr. Dexter's Centennial was not delivered till fifteen days after the time. In my own case I should have selected the exact day, it falling this year on Sunday, but that being out of the question for the reason just stated, the best I could do was to make my Discourses the first offering to my people, on resuming my labors among them after some months absence.

In regard to my facts I have spared no labor to secure the greatest accuracy. My authorities, when I have not named them, have been, for the most part, the Proprietor's and Town Records, and those of the Church and Parish. I have not thought it necessary to encumber my pages with minute references to these Records, more especially as the date of the transaction will, in general, be a sufficient guide to any who may be disposed to consult the originals.
At a meeting, at which a large portion of the male members of the first Congregational Church and Society in Dedham were present, immediately after Divine Service, December 2d, 1838, the subscribers were chosen a committee to wait on the Rev. Dr. Lamson, and thank him for his able and eloquent Sermons this day completed, and request a copy for the press.

Jeremy Stimson,
Ebenzer Fisher, Jr.
Enos Foord,
Samuel C. Mann,
Joseph Guild.

Errata — On p. 80, line 18, for same, read next.
" " 88, " 8, for south, read east.
" " 95, " 2, for 1662, read 1762,
I WILL UTTER DARK SAYINGS OF OLD.

On the day of the Annual Thanksgiving, one hundred years ago, on the spot I now occupy, and from the text, a part of which I have just read, a Discourse commemorative of the Fathers was delivered by the Rev. Samuel Dexter, to an audience which has since vanished. I address their descendants, some of them of the third and fourth generation. My own children are descendants in the fourth generation of him who then stood where I now stand. Since that time many vicissitudes have been witnessed. Not only are the same individuals not found, but the works of their hands are many of them gone. The appearance of surrounding objects bears testimony that they are recent. Old things have passed away, all things have become new. Modes of thought, feelings, habits are not the same. All the arrangements of social life have undergone an essential modification. Time and events have moved on, uttering their grave admonitions, teaching the mutability of earthly things, and the nothingness of this fleeting life.

This Church now numbers two hundred years. The close of the second century of its existence claims some notice. It is a season, I trust, by which we may profit. From the mouldering relics and obscure traditions of other times, something may be learned, which will not merely gratify a liberal curiosity, but may be made subservient to a moral and religious use.
In performing the duty the occasion imposes on me, it is not my intention to pronounce a panegyric on the founders of the church or town. The task I have prescribed to myself is a more sober one. I am not about to eulogize the dead, but simply to recount a few of their acts, and those only of a religious character. The second centennial anniversary of the incorporation of the town has been commemorated in a discourse by another hand, and in a manner worthy the occasion and the theme,* and I shall not attempt to cull fruit from the same field. A different province is assigned to me. I am to give a sketch, as full as the materials within my reach admit, of the ecclesiastical history of the town and parish. The affairs of the church, and not matters of civil polity are to be my subject.

In the minds of the New England Fathers these were intimately united. They emigrated chiefly from religious motives, and that they might, to use their own phrase, 'carry forward the reformation.' Religion was ever uppermost in their thoughts. But they saw clearly that religious freedom could not subsist without civil liberty. Accordingly, and in conformity with the natural order of things, the little communities which started up in this Western wilderness began by laying the foundation of an orderly civil government, partaking largely of the principles of liberty. This was with them a religious act; but this done, some more positive provision was to be made for the support of public worship and the enjoyment of Christian institutions and ordinances. And this was made their next care.

So it was here. The original settlers in this place shared the spirit which animated the first adventurers to these New England shores. They were men of worth, distinguished alike for enterprise, intelligence, and love of liberty; above all, they were religious men, as the original instrument called the Town Covenant, clearly proves. This is a document of great interest in other respects. It shows that the original proprietors possessed a forecast and wisdom which fitted them for their work. It embodies those principles, obedience to which constituted the governing policy of the infant settlement, which stamped on

* Centennial Address, by Samuel F. Haven, Esq. delivered Sept. 21, 1836.
it the character it subsequently exhibited, and which it has not yet wholly lost.

But especially it shows a deep sense of accountableness to God, and a profound reverence for religion. Nor, in this latter respect, did it remain a dead letter. No sooner had the little band provided themselves shelter against the inclemencies of the weather, by such hasty structures as they were able to rear, and by the first rude fabric of a government taken security for the maintenance of social order, than true to their principles, they set about erecting a house for God’s worship, not anticipating success to their enterprise till this was accomplished. This was in 1637, when the tide of persecution for religious liberty ran highest in their native land, and multitudes in consequence, were transporting themselves hither, notwithstanding the strict orders in Council prohibiting their embarkation.

Several of these, either pleased with the company, or attracted by the beauty and fertility of the spot, came to Dedham. Among them was Mr. John Allin, who afterwards became pastor of the church. On the 18th July, 1637, having applied for admission here, he was accepted, and along with him, the requisite certificates from the magistrates being presented, Ferdinando Adams, Michael Metcalf, Anthony Fisher, Thomas Wight, Eleazer Lusher, Robert Hinsdale, John Luson, John Fisher, Thomas Fisher, Mr. Timothy Dalton, and John Morse.

The company now consisted of about thirty families. They had hitherto met for religious worship under one of the large trees which then shaded the plain. Tradition differs somewhat as to the precise place where it stood. Probably they assembled on different spots, and thus the varying accounts, one of which asserts the tree to have stood a little west of the site afterwards occupied by the meeting house, and the other, on the east side of Dwight’s brook, near the angle formed by the old Boston road, and that now leading to Mill Village, may be reconciled.

As early as the first of February 1638, a committee was chosen, as it is expressed in the Records, “to contrive the frame of a meeting house, to be in length thirty-six feet, and twenty feet in breadth, and between the upper and the nether sill in the
sides to be twelve feet," to be erected partly by joint labor of
the inhabitants, and partly by rate.

This vote, the company, notwithstanding the impediments of
the season, immediately proceed to execute. The materials
were to be brought from Wigwam Plain, or the way leading to
it, but these proving inaccessible on account of the snow, those
living near the centre were encouraged to make a loan of tim-
ber, the town pledging itself to replace it when wanted. Thus
the work went on, and the frame was ready to be set up. For
this purpose a spot had been reserved, somewhat west, as I infer,
of that afterwards selected, since the reason assigned for the
change was the "loving satisfaction unto some neighbors on the
East side of Little River," afterwards called Dwight's Brook.
To this end a part of the lot of Joseph Kingsbury is purchased,
bounded as described in the old books, north by High Street, as
that which now sometimes goes under the name of Common
Street, was originally called, (a name which I think should be
restored from respect to the memory of the founders of the town,
and convenience of reference to the ancient Records) and east
by the way leading from the "Key," or landing, to Wigwam
Pond, being the place which has been ever since retained, and
on which we are now assembled. The spot being fixed upon,
those who lived at a distance, were to be accommodated with
building lots near the meeting house. Among these Mr. John
Allin is expressly named, and immediately provided for. Thus
all went on harmoniously, the frame was erected, and a covering
of thatch was procured by persons delegated by the town to
"mowe, gather up, and bring it home," with such assistance
"at the town charge" as might be needed.

Though the building was now soon in a state to be occupied,
it was not completed till some years after. Under date, 11th
March, 1646, I find a vote of the town ordering that it shall be
"forthwith completely finished," the reason assigned being, that
"it being yet unfinished was not a supply to the congregation." Some years after this, (4th eleventh month, 1657) the town "de-
clare that they will have the meeting house lathed upon the
studs, and so daubed and whitened over workman like." The
next year notice occurs of a "new gallery lately set up," to
meet the wants of the growing community. This was twenty years after the house was erected. Still, when we reflect that it covered less ground than our present Vestry, and that the town now, 1658, numbered 166 families, nearly all of which, as we have a right to infer from the religious habits of the day, were fully represented at public worship, we are somewhat at a loss to imagine how the whole congregation could have been accommodated.

Hitherto I have been describing the proceedings in the town, the building of the meeting house being a joint concern of the Proprietors. While its humble walls were rising however, steps were taken for the organization of a church. This was a matter not to be lightly accomplished by our Fathers; and as their mode of proceeding is minutely detailed in our ancient records, and the subject possesses not merely a local, but a general historical interest, I shall be pardoned, I trust, if in the account I am about to give, I go a little more into detail than might, under other circumstances, be admissible.

When the Massachusetts colonists emigrated, they had adopted no settled form of church government. Though driven from the church of England by their inability conscientiously to conform to certain prescribed ceremonies and oaths,* they scarcely yet acknowledged themselves as Separatists. But having crossed the ocean and planted themselves in the wilderness, where the arm of the bishops could not reach them, they were determined, in the uncontrolled exercise of the right of private judgment, to go back to first principles, and devise for themselves such a form of ecclesiastical discipline and government, as appeared most agreeable to reason and scripture, and most nearly approached the simplicity of the primitive standard.

So it was with the founders of this church. They were completely masters of themselves: they had left behind them all human authority, when they fled to these wilds, and they were now entirely at liberty to carry out their notions of reform to any extent they chose. Of this advantage they were fully sensible, and they were determined to use it. Hence, with the Bible in

* See Note A, at the end.
their hands, they proceeded coolly to consult their own reason. As they prized liberty themselves, however, they did not wish to deprive others of it by insisting that they should adopt implicitly their conclusions, or conform to their standard. This they are very careful to say in the Preface to their Records, and it is an honorable trait in their character, and too important to be omitted. These Records purport to contain a “brief history of the church of Christ gathered in his name at Dedham, in New England, the 8th of the 9th month, relating only such passages of Providence and carriages of affairs thereof, as were thought most material and useful, both for the present state of the church to review upon any occasion, and also for future ages to make use of in any case which may occur wherein light may be fetched from any examples of things passed, no way intending,” it is added, “hereby to bind the conscience of any to walk by this pattern, or to approve of the practice of this church further than it may appear to be according to the rule of the gospel.” This is in the true spirit of liberality.

The Record then proceeds to state, that the Inhabitants of the Town, being at this time, 1637, about thirty families, few of them known to each other, having come together from different parts of England, it was “thought meet,” that “such as affected church communion,” and others who might choose to come, should assemble at each others’ houses, every fifth day, in order to become better acquainted with the “spiritual temper and gifts” of each other, and “lovingly to discourse and consult together” upon questions of civil order, and the right constitution of a church.

It is a subject of regret that the transactions of these meetings relating to temporal matters, or as it is rather quaintly, but forcibly expressed, to the “just, peaceable, and comfortable proceeding in civil society in the town” are not entered on the record. Those which pertain to religion are related with a good degree of minuteness. The questions discussed, with the results, are given, and furnish a curious illustration of the habits of thinking and tastes of the day. I will give one or two of them as a specimen.

“1st Question. Whether such as in the judgment of charity,
look upon one another as Christians, may gather together, speak, and hear the word, pray, and fast, or confer together, being out of church order, as we are, and many unknown to each other."

Qu. 2. Concerning the duties of Christian love, how far we stand bound thereto in our condition."

Other questions follow, relating to the "matter of a church;" the mode of gathering it; its rights and powers; the ordinances committed to it; its officers; "the discerning and receiving members into it," and kindred topics. These questions were discussed with becoming gravity, in a kind and liberal spirit, and with much practical good sense united with a due degree of theological astuteness.

In this way the winter passed. When the spring opened, several of the settlers being members of the Watertown church, the Pastor of that church was desired to dismiss a portion of them, together with Mr. Thomas Carter, who had "exercised some good time there, and knew the people," says Mr. Allin, "better than I," that so the foundation might be laid of a "Christian society among us." This request was not complied with,—the Pastor of Watertown objecting to "dismiss any but into a settled church." It was not, as I infer, till more than three years after, that the members in question received their dismissal, for under date of July 1641, I find a record stating that divers brethren and sisters of the Watertown church residing among us "were received, Mr. Phillips, their Pastor, and Mr. Carter, and Mr. How, elders, testifying in their favor." Mr. Carter afterwards became minister of Woburn. What office was designed for him here, at that time, had he chosen to come, does not appear.

Denied assistance from this source, the people requested Mr. Allin, whom, says the Record, the Town had invited here with a view to "future employment in public work," to undertake, with such others as he might see fit to associate with him, the business of organizing a church. He first applies to Mr. Ralph Wheelock, and they jointly add eight more, in all ten. These, after some preliminary steps, agree to go out each in turn, while his character and qualifications for church membership should be scanned by the rest, they severally promising peacea-
bly to submit to the judgment of the company, to be "taken or left" as might seem fit. The result was, that Mr. John Allin, R. Wheelock, John Luson, John Frary, Eleazar Lusher, and Robert Hinsdale, six of the ten, are accepted. The remaining four, Mr. Edward Alleyn, Anthony Fisher, Joseph Kingsbury, and Thomas Morse are not then received. Edward Alleyn, who was at first objected to* was afterwards admitted, as also Anthony Fisher, though the latter was subsequently rejected. Of the remaining two, one besides being thought to be "too much addicted to the world," exhibited other marks of human infirmity. Particularly, "the Lord left him," so says the record, "without any provocation thereto, to such a distempered passionate flying out upon one of the company" who had been deputed to "follow home some things close upon him," that remaining "stiff," he was "given over." The other being thought "dark and unsatisfactory in respect to the work of grace," was also for the time, rejected, though both were some years afterwards received, as was also Anthony Fisher.

John Hunting, recently from England, was admitted towards the end of Summer, making in all eight now ready to enter into church communion. Still the work was delayed, partly from the diffidence of those engaged in it, and partly from their earnest desire to secure the services of Mr. John Phillips, a minister then recently from England, not Henry Phillips, as has been generally supposed † In this, after some negociation, they were unsuccessful. Mr. Phillips did not come at the time, and when he did come, he staid but a single year; when he left and returned with his wife to England. Their inability to obtain him was a disappointment more deeply felt, if we may judge from the strong expressions used in the records, than the former in regard to Mr. Carter.

The company now left to its own resources, resolve to delay no longer. They had previously made known their intention to the Town and invited scrutiny. It now only remained for them,

* Among others, Mr. Daulton in his own name and the name of the church of Watertown, objected some grievances and offences relating to some neglect of that church and its ordinances.
† See Note B.
according to the usage of the day, to give notice to the several churches, and to the civil magistrates. Having so far complied, however, with what was enjoined on them by the common practice of the times, they were exceedingly careful that their liberties should not thereby be enthralled. An incident is recorded in this connexion, which is worth relating, as it shows the dominant policy in occasional collision, or threatened collision with sentiments of popular liberty. Indeed the mine was repeatedly on the point of being sprung; and there was constant danger of an explosion, so long as the old strictness in regard to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, and the connexion between church membership and the right of political suffrage, prevailed.

In making their communication to the magistrates, they had been "told by some," that the General Court had ordained that no church should be gathered without the advice of other churches. Conceiving that this might be "prejudicial to the liberty of God's people," and contained the "seeds of usurpation," says the Record, "we desired the Governor to inform us of that law, and the true intent thereof; which he professed was only this, that the Court, or law enacted, did no way intend to abridge such a liberty of gathering into church fellowship privately, as it were unlawful, or as if such a church were not a true church rightly gathered; but that the scope was this, that if any people of unsound judgments, or erroneous way, &c, should privately set up churches amongst them, the Commonwealth would not so approve them as to communicate that freedom and other privileges unto them, which they did unto others, or protect them in their government if they saw their way dangerous to the public peace; which answer," it is added, "gave us satisfaction in that scruple," though in the "freedom and other privileges" referred to, and which would be forfeited in the circumstances described, was included the elective franchise, now generally esteemed one of the dearest rights of the citizen, and without which popular liberty would be thought to exist but in name.

Letters, a copy of which is still preserved, were then issued to the Elders and Brethren of the churches in Boston, Roxbury,
and other places, requesting their presence and counsel, the 8th
day of the 9th month, corresponding to the 18th Nov. of our
present style, being the time fixed upon for the solemn transac-
tion, and expressing the hope that neither the "season of the
year" nor "the rawness of the new plantation" might prevent
them from coming. They arrived at the time appointed, and
the ceremony proceeded. It had been previously agreed, that
Mr. Wheelock should begin with prayer, and Mr. Allin should
follow, first praying, then "by the way of the exercise of his
gifts," should speak to the assembly, and conclude with prayer.
Next came the profession of faith or doctrine, and history of
personal experiences. The Elders and messengers present, and
the whole people were then called upon to state any impediments
to the further proceeding, if any were known to them. Mr.
Mather, Teacher of the church in Dorchester, replied in the
name of the rest, that they had "nothing to declare from the
Lord which should move them to desist;" but added a word of
"loving exhortation in respect of some passages proposed by
some of the brethren." The covenant was then publicly read,
to which all assented; the right hand of fellowship was then ex-
tended to each of them by the Elders, and so the transaction
was finished.*

The church was thus gathered, but it being still without offi-
cers, Mr. Allin was requested for the time, to supply the place
of a Teacher, and with the assistance of Mr. Wheelock, to see
that its affairs were orderly conducted. During the winter fol-
lowing, ten additional members were admitted. The company
now consisting of eighteen, it was resolved, the next spring, to
proceed to fill the more important offices. All eyes were im-
mediately turned on Mr. Allin, either for Pastor or Teacher;
for there was some doubt to which office he should be appointed.
After much reasoning and consultation on the subject, however,
he professing that he was indifferent which office was selected,
but thinking that he was better qualified for that of pastor, the
rest acquiesced. At this time there appears to have been no oth-
er candidate thought of for the office. At least the church rec-
ords mention no other.

* See Note C.
The next step was to select some one for ruling Elder, and for this office four persons are named, R. Wheelock, John Hunting, Mr. Thomas Carter, of Watertown, before mentioned, and John Kingsbury of the same place. It being stated, however, that the church in Watertown was about to elect Mr. Carter to the same office there, and John Kingsbury objecting to being considered a candidate, these two were dropped. The choice now lay between Hunting and Wheelock. After a good deal of deliberation, the advice of the Elders of the churches in Roxbury and Dorchester being taken, Hunting is finally selected. Wheelock quietly submits, marvelling that he was ever thought of for the office. He was the ancestor of the Founder and first President of Dartmouth College.*

Having made choice of a Pastor and ruling Elder, it was thought by the company, that the remaining offices might with safety, and perhaps with advantage to the church, be left to be filled at a future time, when better materials were at command.

The 24th of April, 1639, was selected for the ordination of those already chosen. Before this day arrived, the questions then so much agitated, relating to the nature of ordination, the right to ordain, and to whom this right belonged, were amply discussed by the members of the church. The conclusion, to which they arrived, was that ordination was but the consummation, or completion of the election, “being but a declaration of the same, and installing into office,” that the same body which could elect, could also, of right ordain. This doctrine, which

* He is called by the biographers of the President, the Rev. Ralph Wheelock, and is said to have been born in Shropshire, in England, in 1600, and to have been educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. It is added, that he was an eminent nonconformist Preacher in his native country, and that after he went to Medfield, then a part of Dedham, he was in the habit of preaching occasionally there, and in the neighboring new settlements, but declined taking charge of any particular church; that he was representative of the town several years; and that he died at the age of 83. This statement is derived from modern sources apparently entitled to respect, though, I confess, I should have been better pleased, if in regard to some particulars embraced in it, the authorities had been given. See Memoirs of President Wheelock, by Doctors M'Cure and Parish, and a Biographical Notice of him by Pres. Allen, Amer. Quart. Reg. vol. 9.
sanctioned lay ordination, or ordination by the brethren, was the prevailing doctrine of the New England churches at that time, and it was literally adhered to in practice. So it was here. The brethren ordained; the Elders of the neighboring churches, being present and looking on, but taking no part in the ceremony, excepting at the conclusion, giving the right hand in token of approbation and fellowship. Elder Hunting was first ordained, John Allin, R. Wheelock, and Edward Alleyn being deputed by the brethren to perform the office. This they did by laying their hands on his head, Mr. Allin, at the same time offering a prayer, after which he added, “In the name of the Lord Jesus, and by his power committed to his church, we do ordain thee, John Hunting, unto the office of a ruling Elder in this church of Christ.” The Elder, with the brethren before named, then proceeded to lay his hands on the head of Mr. Allin, accompanied with prayer, and “in the name of Christ and his church,” so the Record proceeds “did ordain him to the office of Pastor in the church,” the whole proceeding on the part of the Elder, being marked with “that gravity, comely order, without hesitation, and with such effectual and apt prayer and exhortations to the church, and to the Pastor, as gave sweet testimony to all of the presence of the Lord with him in these first fruits of his office.” Mr. Whiting of Lynn, in the name of the Elders and other Christians present, then gave the right hand of fellowship, and the assembly was dismissed. The next Lord’s day, notice was given by the Pastor, to the church members to bring their children to receive baptism on the coming Sunday, and prepare themselves to partake of the supper on the next following. A minute account of the administration of the latter rite follows, after which the Record down to the close of Mr. Allin’s ministry, about 33 years, contains little besides an account of admissions into the church and baptisms.

We may infer that the times were tranquil. The peace of the church appears not to have been disturbed by discontented or factious spirits. Indeed the turbulent passions found no aliment here. The leading men in the place took delight in sober and pacific counsels; the Plantation went on regularly advancing in population and wealth; its affairs proceeded pros-
prously, and the fruits of religion exhibited in the life, but without ostentation and uncharitableness, left few materials for the ecclesiastical chronicler.

A small number of miscellaneous facts is all I can glean during this period either from the records of the church or town. The church received no other officers than the two above named, till after the death of Mr. Allin, except the two Deacons, Henry Chickering and Nathan Aldis, who having for some time officiated, without a formal election, were on the 23d of June, 1650, regularly chosen to office, and were ordained the following Sunday, the ordination of Deacons being then customary. This was a little more than eleven years after the foundation of the church.

The same year, the celebrated Cambridge Platform, accompanied with the Westminster confession of faith, having been previously submitted to the General Court, and approved by them, arrived for confirmation. The church passed a vote of assent apparently without debate.

A few years after, in 1659, as we learn from the Proprietors Record, six copies of Mr. Norton's Book respecting the Quakers, and eight copies of the Declaration of the General Court in defence of its proceedings against them, were received for the use of the town, and distributed in the several sections of it by vote, but no further notice is taken of them, or of the subject. The settlers had other concerns to attend to, and do not appear to have mingled in any of the exciting religious controversies of the day. They were pursuing their even, quiet way, in the little retired nook they had chosen for themselves, and when not employed about their farms and gardens, the latter of which particularly attracted notice, and drew forth many encomiums for the abundance and fineness of their fruits, they were at no loss for occupation. Many affairs of economical arrangement, or of public use or accommodation, were to be looked after. The burial ground, and the way leading to it, were to be cleared, smoothed, and fenced;* and many regulations, some of

* The following record of 1658, would seem to relate to the origin of the burial place. * Nicholas Phillips and Joseph Kingsbury upon other satisfaction in land laid out from the Town unto each of them, do lay down
them of a minute character, were to be made and enforced, relating to public worship and its appendages. Looking back from our present position, we may be tempted to smile at some of these regulations, and wonder how they could have been necessary, but circumstances no doubt demanded them. If the General Court sent an order requiring the Selectmen to see that the catechising of the children was not neglected; or some persons were inconsiderate enough to tie their horses to the ladder of the meeting house, thus causing it to be displaced, or "plucked to pieces," and obstructing the passage to and from the door, these, though not matters of precisely the same importance, yet certainly presented fit subjects of attention.

The manners of the times might be illustrated by many incidents otherwise unimportant, which might be extracted from our old records. The seating of persons in the meeting house, at this period, and down to the time, when pews were erected, occasioned no little perplexity. Votes of the town are constantly occurring on the subject, sometimes referring the matter to the Selectmen, and sometimes to a committee chosen for the purpose, and sometimes to the Elders and Deacons. But the arrangement never proved satisfactory; some were constantly murmuring; and the boys being seated together, it could not but happen, that while the preacher was handling some nice point of doctrine, or dilating on some weighty text after the fashion of the day, the buoyant spirits of early life would sometimes display themselves in a manner, if not to disconcert the gravity of the more serious minded hearer, at least, not altogether consistent with the decorum belonging to the place.

I find nothing more of an ecclesiastical nature in the Records, each of them to the Town, one parcel of the south end of their house lots, and betwixt the same and the swamp, for the use of a public burial place, for the Town forever, 6 of the 2 mo. 1638. Yet the lot of 12 acres, originally granted to Nicholas Phillips is described as bounded on the South, in part, by the ‘burying place,’ though on the West, extending through to the Swamp, as it was called. Fol. 1, also Book of Grants. Ezekiel Holliman’s lot, being one of the two above mentioned, conveyed by Holliman to Kingsbury, is described in the Book of Grants, (see also fol. 3) as bounded on the South by the way leading to the ‘burying place.’ These grants were made in 1636.
worth relating, except what refers to the origin and disposition of the church property, which will be given its proper place. Little is to be gathered from other sources, though incidental notices of the Settlement are occasionally met with in cotemporary writings. Johnson, in his Wonder-Working Providence, published in 1654, after alluding to the prosperity of the town, then consisting of about one hundred families, its "pleasant streams," and abundant "garden fruits," fit to supply the markets of the neighboring metropolis, "whose coin and commodities," says he, "allure the inhabitants to make many a long walk," speaks of them in their character as a religious community, as having "continued in much love and unity from their first foundation." The "close clouded woods," they had already converted into smiling fields, a pleasant object, he says, to the lonesome travellers in their solitary journey to Canectico, (Connecticut) who, it is added, in the quaint language of the time, derived much comfort from "eyeing the habitation of God's people in their way, ready to administer refreshment to the weary."

Materials are wanting for an extended personal history of Mr. Allin. Few incidents of his life are recorded, and those only serve to excite the wish that more were known. He was born, according to Cotton Mather, in England, in 1596, in what part of it we are not informed, nor do we find any account of his early life, or of the place of his education. Mather speaks of his progress in the "tongues and arts," and calls him a "sufficient scholar," and diligent student, and makes use of other terms of general panegyric, but does not descend to particulars. Perhaps he had not the means, or he might have been willing to gratify his taste for odd quotations, and quaint conceits at the expense of facts.

From the scanty information he chooses to impart, we learn

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* I confess my inability to reconcile this statement with that of a committee of the General Court, who three years after, say that the settlement consisted of 166 families. Of the two authorities, if I select between them, I prefer the latter.

† 2 Hist. Coll. VII. 9, 10. See also Jesselyn's account of Two Voyages to New England. 3 Hist. Coll. III. 920.
that Mr. Allin was a preacher before he quitted England. His name appears in Mather's first class, embracing those who were in the "actual exercise of their ministry when they left," and Neal, speaks of him as one of those who were "already in orders in the Church of England, but being disturbed by the ecclesiastical courts for the cause of nonconformity, "transplanted themselves to New England."* He went on board the ship which was to convey him hither in disguise, to elude pursuit, but having "passed Land's-End," as is related, he with a fellow passenger, John Fisk, afterwards settled at Chelmsford, who had fled under similar circumstances, "entertained the company with two Sermons every day, besides other agreeable devotions," thus giving occasion for the remark of one of the passengers, who on being called to account for diverting himself with hook and line on the Lord's day, very innocently, or very archly, remarked that he "did not know when the Lord's day was; he thought every day was a Sabbath day, for they did nothing but pray and preach all the week long."† He arrived in 1637, and the same summer, became an inhabitant of Dedham, though not admitted a freeman of the Colony till December of the next year. His influence in the civil affairs of the town must have been decidedly felt, and he was as we have seen, the principal agent in the religious organization. For this employment no man could have been better fitted by education, temper, and habits. He became Pastor of the church, April 29, 1639, and in discharge of the duties of his office was faithful and assiduous.

He was from disposition averse to controversy, but his singular candor and amenity of temper, no less than his ingenuity and learning, caused him to be solicited to take part in discussions of an exciting nature, and deeply affecting the public mind. When it became necessary in 1646, to defend the rights of the Colonists against the attempt to bring them into subjection to the British Parliament, the Magistrates having first delivered their opinion, the Elders were requested to declare their sentiments,

* Hist. New England, vol. I, p. 195. For a conjecture in regard to the place of Mr. Allin's residence in England, see Note D.
† Mather's Magnalia, vol. 1, p. 431.
and Mr. Allin of Dedham was selected as their organ for this purpose. The next day he presented the opinions of the Elders in writing. The paper was worthy the time and the occasion. It was firm and decided, explaining the nature and limitations of Colonial allegiance in opposition to the claims and usurpations of the Commissioners for the Plantations, and giving full support to the magistrates, who were determined on resistance.*

About this time, too, questions of an ecclesiastical character were perpetually starting up, some of which were new, and occasioned no little agitation of the public mind, in this and the mother country. In the exercise of their newly acquired liberty, the emigrants had departed widely from usages, a reverence for which though greatly impaired at home, was yet far from having been extinguished. Some of their brethren in England became alarmed at the extent, to which they pushed their principles, and letters of inquiry, and occasionally of entreaty and remonstrance, were received, and controversies ensued, and many books and pamphlets were written. The Synod of Cambridge, to which the churches owed their Platform, had not yet been called, nor had there been any authoritative exposition of the discipline of the New England churches, as indeed there was not entire uniformity in practice.

It was while the religious affairs of the Colony were in this condition, that Mr. Allin was first called to take the field as a controversial writer. In 1637,† a number of Divines in England transmitted a Letter to their brethren on this side the water, requesting their views in relation to certain points of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Order, on which they had been represented as having embraced opinions at variance with those professed by them before their embarkation, and still held by the most eminent nonconformist Divines of England. The points enumerated are nine, called the "Nine Positions." To this communication the New England Divines return an answer in 1638, and this not reaching its destination they send another the

* Winthrop II. 280, 282.
† The date is so given in the title page, though in the defence by Allin and Shepard, the Nine Questions, or Positions are said to have been sent over in 1636.
next year. The Answer contains a statement of their views concerning the Nine Positions, accompanied by a Letter in which they acknowledge, that though not guilty of all the extravagancies imputed to them, their sentiments had, in some respects, undergone a change since they had left their native shore, to breathe the free air of the wilderness. For this change they think that they saw good reason; they were seekers after truth, and churches, they said, "had still need to grow from defects to purity, and from reformation to reformation age after age." This answer called forth a Reply by John Ball in behalf of the Divines of Old England, a manuscript copy of which was sent to the Elders of the New England Churches, but was never received. It was, however, printed in 1643, together with the above mentioned correspondence and Answer to the Nine Positions, which it was intended to rebut, and the next year, 1644, a copy arrived in this country.* This Reply was thought to deserve notice, and John Allin of Dedham with the assistance of the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, was employed to prepare a rejoinder. This bears date, Nov. 28, 1645, and was printed in London in 1648, under the title of a "Defence of the Nine Questions or Positions." The manner in which the work was executed, was considered as creditable to the ability of the authors. Their names long carried weight with them. In a Tract published with the approbation of several eminent ministers, in 1693, the book is referred to as an authority.

*A copy of this Book, now rare and valuable, belongs to the Library of Harvard University. The following is its title: 'A letter of many Ministers in Old England, requesting the Judgment of their Reverend Brethren in New England concerning Nine Positions. Written Anno Dom. 1637. Together with their Answer thereto returned, Anno 1639. And the Reply made unto said Answer, and sent over unto them, Anno Dom. 1640. Now Published (by occasion mentioned in the Epistle to the Reader, following the next page) upon the desire of many godly and faithful Ministers in and about the city of London, who love and seek the truth. By Simeon Ash and William Rathband. London, Printed for Thomas Underhill, at the sign of the Bible in great Wood street, 1643.

The Answer is also found in a collection of Tracts on "Church Government and Church Covenant," &c. published in London the same year, with a Preface by Hugh Peter, also in Harvard Coll. Library.
containing the judgment of two old Divines, both of them, it is added, "famous in New England." It was many years in esteem on questions of Order and Discipline, though now valuable only to the historian and antiquary.*

The Synod of Cambridge, originating in causes similar to those which had called forth the controversy just referred to, and which gave birth to the well known Platform, met soon after, and at an adjourned term, 1648, Mr. Allin preached, from the 15th chapter of Acts, containing a history of the Council of Jerusalem. Governor Winthrop bestows a warm eulogium on the discourse, and says that the author handled his subject both as regards its "doctrines and applications," in a "godly and learned" manner, with a "clear discovery and refutation of such errors, objections, and scruples, as had been raised by some young heads in the country." While he was preaching an incident, as related by Winthrop, occurred, which, though for a moment it caused a slight tremor, on the part of a portion of his auditors, was soon converted into matter of joy and triumph. "It fell out," says the narrator, "about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seats, where many of the elders sat behind the preacher." Several of them shifted their position, to avoid the intruder; but one, an Elder from Brain-tree, "a man," adds the journalist, "of much faith," trod upon its head, and so held it fast with his foot and staff, until it was killed. As the fancies of men were then fruitful in detecting occult meanings and emblematic significations in the events of every day life, and especially in whatever savored of the marvellous and strange, it is not surprising that so singular an occurrence should not have been allowed to pass without comment and inference. "It is out of doubt," says Mr. Winthrop, "the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it." "The serpent is the devil; the synod the representative of the churches of Christ in New England, the destruction and dissolution of which he has in time past, and now recently been plotting, but he is now foiled; their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him, and crushed his head." The synod then "went on comfortably," as we are told, and soon finished its business.†

* See Note E.
† Winthrop's Journal II. p. 330.
The public mind, however, was not long after agitated by other questions. One of these related to the proper subjects of baptism, and the relation in which the children of members in full communion stood to the church. This was in some respects a political question, as the circumstance of church membership then involved the most important civil rights. It appears, however, to have been discussed chiefly as a question of ecclesiastical order. Both the parties, the stricter, and the more liberal, enlisted men of name and influence in the colony. The one, the more strict, contended that only members of churches in full communion, were entitled to have their children baptised. The other was in favor of allowing greater latitude on the subject. The Synod of 1662 took the more liberal ground. Its decisions were attacked by President Chauncy, of Harvard University, and by Mr. John Davenport of New Haven. To the work of the former, called the Antisynodalia, Mr. Allin replied; to that of the latter, Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester. Mr. Allin, as champion for the council, of course, advocated the less rigorous views. He urged various arguments from reason and scripture, in support of the decision of the Synod. He maintained that the doctrine of the Synod was the old doctrine, and not any notion recently broached; that it was holden by the great lights of the church, by Calvin, Cartwright, Perkins, Ames, and "hundreds more;" that it was the doctrine generally of the framers of the Cambridge Platform, but from respect to some few, who disliked it, it was not inserted.* One expression he uses, which is too characteristic of his enlarged and philanthropic spirit, to be omitted. When his antagonist, Chauncy, objected, that according to the views of the Synod, "God's covenant would be entailed to a thousand generations," Allin replies, "what hurt in that? Blessed be his name for it."

*Cotton Mather says, that the propositions asserted by the Synod of 1662, would have been inserted in the Cambridge Platform but for the "fierce opposition of one eminent person," which caused John Norton, who was desirous of their introduction, but was of a "peaceable temper," to forbear urging them any further, by which means, when adopted by another Synod, "more than twice seven years after, many people did generally count them novelties." They were certainly, he affirms, "the first principles of New England." Magnalia I. 265.
The controversy in which the Synod originated, however, did not soon subside. When, five years after, John Davenport of New Haven, at the age of seventy, removed to Boston, and was invited to accept the office of Pastor of the First Church, he was opposed on account of his too great strictness, and his opposition to the decisions of the Council; and the whole community was, for a time, thrown into a ferment. The result was, a secession from the first church, and the formation of a new. Ministers and people were divided in opinion. A large portion of them, however, espoused the cause of the seceders, and the whole proceeding, on the part of Mr. Davenport and his adherents, was severely censured. Seventeen ministers, in the list of whom we find several names of greatest note in the colony, and at the head of which stands that of John Allin, bore public testimony against it. The deputies finally decided in favor of the old church. At a subsequent session, a Petition, or Address, was presented by the ministers, defending themselves from the aspersions which, as they assert, had been thrown upon them, and repelling the charge of innovation and apostacy of which they, with the generality of the ministry, were accused, and solemnly professing, that they still "adhered to the safe and sober principles of the congregational way, in opposition to separation, morellian or anarchichal confusion, and licentious toleration." Among the names of these petitioners, too, that of John Allin of Dedham stands first.* The petition in fact, but re-asserted the doctrine he had maintained in his defence of the Synod, a copy of which presented by himself to the Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, I have had before me in preparing these notices. The Preface to the Book is dated with a little more particularity than usual, as follows: "From my study in Dedham, in N. E. 6 day, 11 month, 1663."
The doctrine of the Synod, with few exceptions, prevailed in the Massachusetts Colony until a comparatively recent period. This church long adhered to the liberal views of its first Pastor, though at the time I became connected with it, how long before I am not informed, they had been made to yield in practice, to the opposite and narrower principle.

The above mentioned controversial writings, which he undertook, the latter especially, with great reluctance, and only at the earnest entreaty of his friends, are, I believe, the only productions of Mr. Allin given to the public during his life, the publication of the two last Sermons he preached being posthumous. There is among the Hutchinson Papers belonging to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, an unpublished Letter of his, addressed to the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, on the subject of the beginning of the Sabbath, in which he contends against the propriety on the part of Christians, of observing the Jewish division of the day. The date is wanting. I have also in my possession, an original Letter of his, bearing date the 11th April, 1671, four months only before his death, and addressed to "the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, Teacher, and Mr. Samuel Danforth, Pastor of the church of Christ in Roxbury," on the subject of the divisions in the church of Braintree. It is interesting chiefly as showing that the author retained his vigor, and habits of active benevolence to the end of his days. Of the last few years of his life we know little. His labors appear to have suffered an interruption in 1668, for we hear much of a claim of Peter Woodward, in behalf of his brother William, for forty pounds, due to him, as it was contended, from the town, for preaching at that time.

Mr. Allin died on the 26th August, 1671, at the age of seventy-five, after, as Cotton Mather informs us, an "easy sickness of ten days." His "beloved wife Katherine," as he calls her in his records, died three days after, and they were both buried

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the Opinions of the Dissenters. And a Reply to such Answers as are given to the Arguments of the Synod. By John Allin, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Dedham in N. England. Cambridge; Printed by S. G. & M. J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston, 1664."
in the same grave.* She was the widow of Governor Thomas Dudley, and was married to Mr. Allin Nov. 8th, 1653, a little more than three months after the Governor's death,† Mr. Allin's first wife, Margaret, having been dead a little more than six months. The birth and baptism of three sons, by his last wife, Benjamin, Daniel, and Eliezer, are recorded in the church books.

After his death, his people in testimony of their affection, published the two last Sermons he preached, "writing their Preface," as Mather expresses it, "with tears." They defrayed the expenses of his funeral, and voted also, that a "convenient tomb, or monument, of stone and lime-mortar, and covered with meet timber, be erected over his grave, and an inscription cut thereon, with the date of his death." This vote, it would seem, was carried into effect; but it is not known that any vestige of the tomb now remains, nor does tradition mark the spot where it stood. Mr Allin left a monument better than brass or marble, in the memory of his many excellences, and the fruit of his labors yet abiding. He possessed a vigorous, acute, and discriminating understanding, and for the age, and the circumstances in which he was placed, he wrote well. His style is marked by simplicity, directness, and force, though not by elegance. All his measures appear to have been characterised by good sense, moderation, and a plain straightforward honesty. He was prudent, firm, and energetic, entering on his work with calmness, and pursuing it with a decision and perseverance, sufficient to overcome all obstacles. He lived at a period when the affairs of the Colony required men of active habits, as well

* For the last mentioned fact I am indebted to the records of the Roxbury church, kept by Mr. Dantorth, then Pastor, where it stands alone and without comment.

† Mrs. Allin must have possessed some attractions either of mind or person, or both, for she had been once married (to Samuel Hackburne) before her marriage with the first Gov. Dudley. She was the mother of Gov. Joseph Dudley. Joseph, who was the son of his father's old age, (being born when he was 70,) passed his childhood here, "under the care," says the Boston News Letter of April 11th, 1720, in a notice of his death, "of his excellent mother, and the Rev. Mr. Allin who married her."
as patient thought, and he shrank from no duty which the exi­
gencies of the times imposed. He occasionally shared the la­
bors of Eliot in his benevolent visits among the Indians; he
took a lively interest in all the great questions of the day, and
in numerous ways rendered no small service to the public. To
his other qualities he added uncommon amenity of disposition,
modesty, and gentleness. In all the notices of him I have met
with, in cotemporary or other writings entitled to respect, these
traits of his character are spoken of with peculiar emphasis.
There must have been something remarkable in the degree, or
manner in which they manifested themselves, to account for the
warm encomiums uniformly bestowed on them by those who had
the best opportunity of knowing him.

Theological discussions, which too often have the effect of
inflaming the passions, and infusing acrimony into the mildest
natures, appear not for one moment to have disturbed the seren­
ity of his mind. His spirits remained sunny still, and his bland­
ness of temper never forsook him. No acerbity of feeling dis­
closes itself in any portion of his controversial writings, but
good humor, fairness, christian courtesy, and a honied sweet­
ness* are every where visible, even when he deals the hardest

* It was one of the exercises of wit, in former days, to anagrammatize
names, as it was called, by so transposing their letters as to form words or
sentences expressive of some trait or quality of the individual. Thus, from
William Noy, a laborious lawyer in the time of Charles I. was elicited, "I
moyl in law." The conceit was often sufficiently far fetched. The name of
John Allin was converted unto "In Honi All," as indicating his disposi­
tion. Johnson, in his Wonder Working Providence, speaks of him as the
'humble, and heavenly minded, Mr. John Allin, a man of a very courteous
behaviour, full of sweet Christian love towards all, and with much meek­
ness of spirit contending earnestly for the faith and peace of Christ's
Churches.' He then apostrophizes him in several lines of poetry, written in
the style of the day, the last four verses of which I quote for the sake of
the concluding sentiment.

Seven years combat, twice told, thy work, hath bin,
To feed Christ's flock, in desert land them keep,
Both thou and they each day are kept by him:
Safe maist thou watch, being watcht by him ne'er sleeps.'

blows against the arguments of his adversary. A rare example of moderation in that, or in any age.

Mr. Allin was, for several years, one of the largest landholders in Dedham. His estates were acquired, partly by purchase, and partly by liberal grants made to him. Of these, several were from the Town.* On the 10th May, 1643, the General Court granted him two hundred acres, at a place, called Bogestow, on Charles River, now part of Medway.

His salary, as appears from a Report of a committee appointed by the General Court, to “inquire concerning the maintenance of ministers,” in 1657, was sixty pounds. His family then consisted of seven persons, and the town had in it one hundred and sixty-six families. It is added, “Mr. Allin hath a good stock of cattle, and a good accommodation in corn land and meadow.”

Of his cotemporaries and fellow laborers, some had left the stage before him, and others were soon to follow.‡ Several of them were far above the ordinary level, well endowed by nature, men of intelligence and sterling merit. A Lusher, a Fisher, and a Dwight, the second, an ancestor of Fisher Ames, and the third of the late President Dwight, are deserving, among others, of grateful remembrance, not less for the influence they exerted in the affairs of the church, than for the services they rendered the town and colony, in other respects. They cherished the interests of religion, and labored diligently to promote them.

Indeed the place was fortunate in its first inhabitants. They had a difficult task to execute, but they proved themselves fully equal to its accomplishment. They labored faithfully, and with success under all the discouragements incident to the nature of their enterprise, and their exposed situation in the midst of a hostile wilderness. They had not, as we have seen, the advan-

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* See Note F.

‡ Dea. Henry Chickering died about one month before Mr. Allin, at the age of 82, and Lieut. Joshua Fisher and Major Eliazer Lusher, the next year. Dea. Nathan Aldis survived them four years. Timothy Dwight lived till Jan. 1717-18, when he died at the age of 87, erroneously printed 83 in a note to Mr. Dexter’s Sermon. Elder John Hunting died April 12, 1689, and the office was never again filled.
tage enjoyed by the founders of several of our towns, of previous acquaintance and intimacy. They came here mostly strangers to each other. They found themselves not as we, sheltered by convenient habitations, and surrounded by all the comforts, and many of the luxuries of civilized life. Their lowly dwellings were to be reared by their own hands, and with such rude art as they possessed. The forests were to be felled, and care was to be taken for the orderly management of their civil and religious affairs, such as became the lovers of liberty, and the friends of piety and a sound morality. Their toils and cares were important, but many of them humble ones, and they could hardly have been cheered by a foresight of one half their beautiful results. Yet they were met and endured in a spirit of calm patience and hope. The very name chosen to designate the infant settlement, to whatever objections it might be liable in point of taste, at least well illustrates the temper of the little band. They who were willing to inscribe on their banner the characteristic word, Contentment, must have possessed dispositions and feelings which might justly excite the envy of older and more wealthy communities. They toiled at the foundation, toiled often obscurely, yet contentedly, that they might lay a firm and broad basis, on which they who should come after might securely build.

It is fit that we should hold such men in remembrance; that we should report their praises; that we should not suffer oblivion to creep over their names. It is fit that we should pause to brush away the dust which in the lapse of time is silently gathering over the record of their merits.

Their remains are insensible to our homage; their ashes slumber in yonder cemetery, and their spirits, as we trust, live with God. No tribute we can offer can affect them. But we owe it to ourselves, to a feeling of propriety and decorum, to testify our sensibility to their excellence. The sentiment which teaches us to cherish a tender respect for the memory of the dead is intimately associated with some of the most beautiful sympathies, and ingenuous feelings and affections of our nature.

We would cultivate this sentiment. To this end let us nurture in our breasts a lively regard for worth which has passed
away. Let us honor the names of those who fixed their abode beside this placid stream, to whose toils the wilderness bowed, who labored that we might enter into their labors, who smoothed the path that we might walk in it. While we thus turn aside from the business, the cares, the cold formalities of the world, to render to their virtues the tribute which is their due, we are laying our hearts open to a healthful influence. While we scatter flowers over their graves, we shall go and profit by the memory of their noble acts.
PSALM lxxx. 14, 15.

RETURN, WE DESSEECH THEE, O GOD OF HOSTS: LOOK DOWN FROM HEAVEN, AND BEHOLD, AND VISIT THIS VINE, AND THE VINEYARD WHICH THY RIGHT HAND HATH PLANTED.

No doubt, during a portion of the time which is now to fall under review, this prayer was often uttered. In this language many an oppressed heart unburdened itself before the throne of the Most High, for the vine which he had transplanted here, and before which he had made room in the wilderness, so that it struck deep root, and grew and flourished, was now beginning to languish, and the vineyard was neglected, and the laborers who were called, came not, and the rebukes of the Lord God of Hosts were upon it.

We are now entering on a barren period of our history. The original settlers had disappeared, or were fast vanishing, and the next generation were, in many respects, far their inferiors. It could hardly be otherwise. They had enjoyed few opportunities of intellectual culture. Such virtues as the wilderness could teach, they possessed. They had grown up amid circumstances fitted to confer a sort of rough independence. They were specimens of what men born to their stern and rugged lot, subjected from infancy to all the adverse influences of a life in the wilds, must be. They were true of heart, doubtful, and faithful according to their means; the work Providence assigned them, they accomplished; but their annals are humble and obscure.
If, however, the history of the Plantation loses something of its interest from the absence of those under whose guiding influence, its affairs had been hitherto so faithfully conducted, this is not the only circumstance to be deplored by one who attempts to construct a narrative of the ecclesiastical concerns of the Town. The destruction, or disappearance of records is an aggravating consideration. The mild light thus far shed over our path by the manuscripts of the first Pastor no longer cheers our passage, and we are only rendered the more sensible of the surrounding darkness from having before enjoyed it. There is now a chasm in the ministerial records for a little more than half a century.* That such Records once existed is known, from the fact that they are quoted in the Sermon delivered from this place a century ago. But a fragment of a single leaf is all of them, which at this time, remains; nor is any thing known of their history.

From this fragment we learn, that as early as the latter part of March, 1672, a little more than six months after Mr. Allin's death, Mr. William Adams had received a call to the Pastoral office. He at first declined. Mr. Charles Nicholet, a stranger recently from Maryland, and who had come over after the re-establishment of Episcopacy under Charles II, and whom one of the committee of the Dedham church had chanced to hear at the Thursday Lecture in Boston, was then invited to preach, and soon after, to settle. He consented, but said that he must first go with his wife to Salem for "a child and some things" which they had left there. Of course no objection could be urged against so reasonable a request. But Mr. Nicholet, it seems, had before won the hearts of the people of Salem, and was as much a favorite there as here, and they were resolved to

* The Deacon's Book, which covers nearly the whole period, is still in existence, having been recently discovered and dragged from its lurking place where it had lain safely ensconced for years. It is chiefly a book of accounts, though not altogether so. During the time the Town was without a Minister, it records some votes and proceedings of the church, from which I have derived material aid. Portions of it are written in a blind, and all but unintelligible hand, equalled only by the wretchedness of the orthography,
take effectual means for retaining him. They managed the affair with some adroitness, and succeeded at last, as it appears, by female influence. "Both people and minister, men and women," so says the fragmentary document, "so set upon him and his wife with great and incessant importunity, that they first overcame Mrs. Nicholet to be willing to live at Salem, rather than at Dedham." The rest may be foreseen. Mr. Nicholet, after some show of resistance, yields. "He was so far staggered in his resolution," continues my authority, "that he would put the case to a counsel of Elders." The Elders assemble. The committee of Dedham, appear before them, argue the question, urge Mr. Nicholet's promise to return to them, and make the best of their case. But in vain. The Elders decide that, as matters stood, it were better for them to release Mr. Nicholet, than to "force" him to fulfil his promise, and they were wise enough to acquiesce. Mr. Nicholet went to Salem, and after a stormy ministry of three or four years, left, and returned to England.

The call to Mr. Adams was afterwards renewed and accepted, and his ordination took place the third of December, 1673.* From his receipts preserved in the Proprietor's books, and written in a small, fair, round hand, it appears that he received a salary of sixty pounds annually, eight pounds of which he relinquished one year, on account of the expenses of the town incurred during Philip's war. He also received a hundred pounds "towards procuring a place of habitation," as it is expressed. Some time after, the question of building him a house at the expense of the town was agitated, though the project seems never to have been carried into execution.†

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* The Town, the whole of which was embraced in the Parochial See, or Charge, had now shrunk somewhat in its dimensions, Medfield and Wrentham, originally within its limits, having been incorporated as separate Towns, the former in 1650-1, and the latter in 1673. The ministerial Charge, now included, besides what constitutes the present Town of Dedham, Needham, Bellingham, Walpole, Dover, Natick, and part of Sherburne, and continued the same till after the settlement of Mr. Belcher, the successor of Mr. Adams.

† See Note G.
The Plantation had other expenses to meet. The war just alluded to could not be carried on without cost to the towns. A little before this time, too, the old thatched meeting house, no doubt somewhat frail at first, besides being too small, was found to be in a ruinous condition, and needed to be replaced by a better. This call was promptly met by the inhabitants, who voting in their primitive way, by red and white corn, decided to erect a new fabric. This was in 1672, before Mr. Adams’ settlement. It was left to the select men, with a committee of three to be associated with them, to determine the dimensions and interior arrangements of the new house, and to make contracts relative to it. They decide to have “but three pair of stairs,” one at the North, another at the East, and another at the South corners, the fore seat in the front gallery to be parted in the midst, and the rest to be open at both ends: the South gallery to be for men; the North to be appropriated to women and boys: the seats in the lower part of the house to be parted in the middle, by an aisle, the men to be ranged on one side, the women on the other.

Thus the ancient house disappeared with the generation which had erected it. It was a lowly edifice, but it differed not more from what we now see, than did the habits of its worshippers. They could patiently listen to a Sermon of an hour and a half, or two hours, and a prayer of one hour, and they could be edified by music extracted from the old New England Version of David’s Psalms, which a modern ear would pronounce barbarous, and all this, not in a commodious fabric, well warmed by artificial heat, and cushioned, but seated on rough boards, and in a building through the gaping crevices of which all the winds of a New England winter found a ready admittance. How far our piety would bear this test, I leave to others to determine.

The new meetinghouse was finished in 1673. It was furnished with a bell, which, however, was not a luxury now enjoyed for the first time. Formerly indeed, the people assembled at beat of drum; but this custom had been long discontinued. I find no mention of it after the year 1646, when Ralph Day was allowed twenty shillings for “beating the drum at the meeting house for the time past, to be paid in cedar boards.” As early as 1656, we hear of a bell, and when work was done on the high
way, it was rung, morning and noon, to summon the people to their task. Besides the person now appointed to "cause the bell to be sufficiently ringed on the Lord's day, and in season," the select men agree with Nathaniel Heaton to "whip dogs out of the meeting house, and to go upon errands for the reverend Elders, referring to the church, and to take care of cushion and glass, till further order be taken, and for his pains herein, he is to retain of the Town ten shillings for one whole year."

The old subject of seating persons in the meeting house now continually came up for discussion, and gave no small trouble, for some were not disposed to submit to the powers that were, and reason and argument were exhausted upon them in vain. The boys too occasioned further annoyance, and the law requiring that the select men should "take care for their orderly and suitable behavior in the house of God," and "for that end" that "meet seats" should be provided that they "may be watched over," four new seats were made, in the lower part of the house, one on the North side "against the end of the men's seats," and one before the men's seats in the middle row, and the other two in a corresponding position on the South side. Some years after, they had "the short seats by the pulpit stairs in the South West part of the meeting house," assigned them. All this time it seems a little extraordinary that it did not occur to the wise heads of the day to allow families to be seated together, so that the younger part of them would be under the immediate inspection of the older; but the very mention of such a project would probably, in the highest degree, have shocked their notions of propriety, for it was opposed to the prevailing sentiments and manners of the age.

One circumstance shows that whatever may have been the character of the inhabitants, at this period, the population of the Town was increasing. The meeting house had not been long erected before additional accommodation was wanted, and ten years after it was first occupied, we hear of a design to construct new galleries. *

* Another circumstance creditable to the Town deserves to be mentioned. In a list of the contributions of the several Towns for the erection of the "New College," a little before Mr. Adam's settlement, I find sixty-one
Mr. Adams enjoyed a brief ministry here of only twelve years. He died the 17th August, 1685. I have not been able to recover from oblivion any incidents of his life beyond those already mentioned, except that he was graduated at Harvard College in 1671; and in 1674, a year after his ordination, was married to Mary Manning, and some time after her death, to Alice Bradford, in 1680; by the former of whom he had three children, and by the latter four.

During his ministry Mr. Adams published two Sermons. The first was delivered the 21st Nov. 1678, on a day of General Fasting throughout the United Colonies on account of the calamities in which they were involved. The country had just been exposed to all the horrors of Indian Warfare, the flames of which were but recently extinguished; the loss of the charter was threatened, and the times, in other respects, wore a sad aspect. Under these circumstances a Fast was appointed, and the next year a Reforming Synod was convened at Boston to give counsel adapted to the state of the Colony. The Sermon of Mr. Adams was pertinent, and throws some light on the character of the age. The subject, as announced on the title page, is "The necessity of the pouring out of the spirit from on High, on a sinning and apostatizing people, set under judgment;" and truly the Discourse furnishes a frightful catalogue of the sins and miseries of the day, "war, sickness, and other shakings," such is its language, God having grown "weary of repenting concerning us," refusing to hear our prayer, and leaving us "under a dispensation of judgment," our troubles growing "more extensive, numerous, and general; and more intense, sharp, and piercing;" there being "little mourning for sin among us,"—little of a "praying frame," our prayers being "too cold, dead, formal, lifeless, insipid and wordy only," men and women remaining "heart whole," so that if a reform did not take place, "New England's ruin" would be the consequence.* The Dis-

* The result of the Synod gives a similar account of the sins of the times, though Hutchinson says that there is no evidence of any extraordinary degeneracy at the period referred to. Vol. 1, p. 292.
course breathes throughout a serious, devout, and a fervent spirit. It is eminently practical, and though in the quaint manner of the day, is written in a clear and correct style. The language is pure Saxon English, and has at times much force and vigor, though plain and unadorned. The performance, as a whole, is certainly creditable to the author. The same may be said of the other, which was an Election Sermon, delivered May 27, 1685, a few months only before the author’s death. If we may rely on the statements contained in this Discourse, the times certainly had not much mended since the delivery of the former. How much allowance is to be made for rhetorical exaggeration, I can not tell. I can only say, that for the credit of the land of the pilgrims, I hope some deduction is to be made on this score.

The Discourse though reputable for ability is a very long one: the text is opened and the doctrine stated in five propositions, or “conclusions,” as they are called, then come the use, application, and the needful exhortations to rulers, clergy, and people. Among the errors and sins of the times, are mentioned neglect of the “Discipline of Christ and his churches,” or only such attention to them as accorded with the “humors, affections, interests or relations of some men;”—“woful contentsions in many churches;”—“dissentions, heart burnings, counteractings in courts and civil assemblies;”—“jealousies, reproaches, slanders, alienations of spirit, in churches and other societies, and between rulers and people.” “We have borne too high a sail,” says the writer: “there hath been an affectation of gallantry unbecoming our condition”—too great delicacy of living;”—“some with hearts lifted up above their brethren”—“too high to bear the execution of some good laws”—“family government and order in a great measure lost in New England;” and finally “the form of religion, to many lifted up therewith, is (as one speaks) a Buff Coat to their sins, to turn the sharpest reproofs that can be levelled against them.” Hence calamities, frowns of Providence, sickness, pestilence, and the whole catalogue of human ills.

In a Preface to the first of these Sermons, by Mr. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth, and Josiah Flynt of Dorchester, father of
the celebrated Tutor Flynt, the writers speak of Mr. Adams as peculiarly fitted to promote the work of reformation so much needed, in this "more happy than most of his fellow servants," being himself "coetaneous with, and among the choicest of the first ripe fruits of this young generation." This was the new generation which had sprung up on the soil, and he had been born, and grown up in the midst of it. No doubt this circumstance was in his favor, and altogether, there is reason to think, that the Town possessed in Mr. Adams a worthy Pastor, who only wanted a longer ministry in order to hold an eminent rank among his cotemporaries and brethren, according to the standard of the age. He had as much theological learning, I suppose, as was possessed by most of the New England clergy of the day. In a book afterwards used for the Parish Records, and still preserved, he began, a little more than two years before his death, an exposition of the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy, which he did not live to finish. His commentary is exceedingly elaborate and minute, and though it proceeds no further than the tenth verse of the first chapter, covers sixty-three quarto pages, in Mr. Adams peculiarly small and compact hand.

The Town was now without a Pastor for about eight years. The aspect of things here was not encouraging; at least, there were some circumstances of a disheartening nature, which seemed, in the opinion of several whom the people were desirous to obtain, to preclude the hope of a peaceful and happy ministry, and they declined coming, and truly the vineyard mourned. Mr. Bowles first received a call, January, 1685, the inhabitants voting together, without distinction of communicants, and non-communicants, it being decided in a general meeting, that "the church and Town will act together as one," the church taking no separate vote. To this measure no one objected, the church members present acquiescing.*

Mr. Samuel Lee was afterwards invited, by a separate act of the church and Town. In their vote and subsequent request to him to come and settle with them, they pathetically bewail the miseries which had fallen upon them. They speak of their

* See Note H.
low estate by reason of their long continued vacancy and emptiness for want of a settled ministry;" they add, "our earnest and humble request to you is, that you may be pleased to consider of our sad, languishing state under our long bereavement, and we hope that you will in your wisdom consider our weakness, and make it an argument of pity, and we earnestly desire that you will consider this place as a field white to the harvest."

The application, however, was unsuccessful. In 1687, a similar invitation from the congregation, the church subsequently concurring, was declined by Mr. Jonathan Pierpont, on the ground, as he says in his answer, "of the present circumstances of things with yourselves, and those discouragements which yourselves are not ignorant of, together with the probable uncomfortableness which might accrue to yourselves and to the person desired."

Mr. John Rogers of Ipswich, and Mr. Nathaniel Clap, the younger, the latter after three calls, gave a negative to a request to "come, and live, and labor here," in the office of the Christian ministry. I believe, that one or more other calls were given during this interval, but whether this was the case or not, is of too little consequence to make it worth while to pore longer over the terrible records of the period.

The prospect now certainly looked dark. The people thus repeatedly disappointed, deeply deplored their desolate condition, it being "as unnatural," says the author of the Wonder-Working Providence, "for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without fire." But light was soon to break out of darkness. On the 23d May, 1692, we find, that Mr. Joseph Belcher had already received a call from the church and Town, and the select men are deputed to urge him to accept, and not delay his coming to live in the place. As an encouragement, the people offer him sixty pounds towards providing him a habitation, and he is to receive an annual salary of the same amount, subsequently increased to one hundred pounds. Wood to the value of ten pounds, at five shillings a cord, was afterwards added; or the amount was paid him in money.

* See Note I.
Mr. Belcher* was ordained Nov. 29, 1693. During his ministry a change was introduced in the mode of collecting the ministerial rate, which, as it illustrates the revolutionary process which was silently going on in men's opinions, I will proceed briefly to state. For some time past the amount to be raised was apportioned in the same manner as the Provincial, or as they were called, country rates. The inhabitants, from sabbath to sabbath, then put into a box prepared for the purpose, such sums as might be convenient, enclosed in a paper containing the name of the contributor, and whatever was not thus enclosed in a wrapper was considered as a donation. On examining the box, the Deacons, who had custody of the money, marked against every man's name the sum he had from time to time contributed, in the book to which we have already referred, and which forms a somewhat curious relic of the times.

Such continued to be the usage of the Town at the time of Mr. Belcher's settlement. No compulsory process, I believe, had as yet been resorted to. Occasionally there was found to be a deficiency at the end of the year. So early as the last year of Mr. Allin's ministry, mention occurs of some arrears, which were due to him, and the next year, 1672, the Deacons inform the select men of some "shortness in the coming in of the money" for the Pastor, and John Aldis is chosen to assist them in collecting the needed sum of the "several inhabitants according to their rates." For this purpose reasoning and remonstrance, and occasionally an "exhortation," in which the subject was "handled out of scripture," were the only weapons employed, and these in the main, had proved sufficient.

One exception to this mode now occurs, under circumstances which, as I think, clearly show that the amount necessary to the support of public worship was not paid into the Deacon's treasury without many and growing murmurs. At the annual March meeting in 1695-6, as the Records inform us, Mr. Belcher makes a proposition to the inhabitants, that if they will pay his salary for the coming quarter, he will accept a voluntary

contribution for the remaining three quarters of the year. At the next annual meeting, he professes himself satisfied with what had been done for him, and it is agreed to try the experiment another year. But the result was not such as to induce a wish to continue it, and the subsequent year the Town returns to the old method, that of voluntary contribution being abandoned not to be revived. But times had changed; the mode successful in former years, now proves ineffectual, and it is found necessary to adopt the compulsory process. In November, 1704, a vote is passed making it the duty of the select men, after fixing the rates, to prepare two lists, one to be presented to the Deacons, that they might receive them either in the box, as before mentioned, or in private, if any chose so to pay, and the other to be handed over to the constables, who were required to collect immediately at the expiration of the year, (the 14th of February was subsequently adopted,) all such sums as were reported by the Deacons as not paid.

At the same time, ample indulgence was granted to those, who found it convenient to worship elsewhere, they having liberty to pay their rates where they worshipped, but if they did not pay elsewhere, they were compelled to pay here. A vote to this effect was passed the 4th of March, 1700, and the principle recognized in it, was afterwards adhered to, occasionally, however, modified in practice by the votes of the Town. By a vote passed in 1706, the select men were authorised to grant permission, for the time being, for persons to worship elsewhere, such persons being released from obligation to pay here.

Another subject to which the attention of the Town was frequently called, during the period under review, was the condition of the meeting house. In 1695, it was voted to erect galleries "over the other galleries." The next year, mention is made of erecting a single seat over the galleries "as near the roof as may be convenient." This may have been all that was meant by the upper galleries. The seat over the women's gallery was for "young women and maids to sit in." The expense of these additions, as also of some necessary repairs on the "outside covering, and the platform above," was voluntarily shared, as had been the original expense of erecting the house,
by the neighboring people of Roxbury, who worshipped here, and whose liberality is often noticed in the Records.

Still, however, room continued to be wanted, and in November, 1700, the Town passed a resolve to enlarge the meeting house by an addition of from twelve to fourteen feet on the West side, and for this purpose they make a grant of thirty pounds, to be paid in money, labor, or grain, wheat being then at five shillings a bushel, rye at four, Indian corn at three, and labor at two shillings a day.

About two years after this, we for the first time hear of pews, a vote being passed allowing such persons as a committee chosen for the purpose should approve, to erect them at their own expense, "on the sides of the meeting house below that were without seats." Other alterations were, at the same time, made, which it is unnecessary to describe.

From a Preface, by Dr. Increase Mather, to the last published Sermon of Mr. Belcher, preached at an ordination in Bristol, the 30th August, 1721, it appears that between that time, and the 23rd December, the date of the Preface, Mr. Belcher had a dangerous attack of paralysis. Some months after, the Town meet to "consider and do what they see meet to procure him help in his weakness," and they vote to take a contribution every Sunday for two months, the time being subsequently extended, and a committee chosen to supply the pulpit. He died at Roxbury, the 27th April, 1723, and was brought to Dedham for burial, with such observance, as respect and affection dictated, and the usage of the day required.*

Of Mr. Belcher's personal history scarcely any thing is known. He belonged, as I conjecture, to the Braintree family, then numerous, and was graduated at Harvard University in 1690. He had daughters married in town, but few of his descendants now remain among us. An unmarried son lived some years with a niece in the West Parish, specimens of whose eccentric wit and humor are still handed down in the traditions of the place. I

* The sum of two pounds and four shillings was paid to Lieut. Joshua Fisher, "for entertaining men and their horses, that came" to the funeral, and eight years after, the Town voted to allow "Madam Belcher" forty pounds for expenses to which she had been subjected on the same occasion.
suppose "Sir" Belcher, whose name frequently occurs in the records, to have been a brother.

Mr. Belcher lived, says his immediate successor, "much desired, and died greatly lamented in the 53d year of his age, and 30th of his ministry." Cotton Mather, who had contributed a complimentary Preface to his first printed Sermon, now paid a tribute to his memory in a Discourse preached at a Lecture in Boston, May 2d, 1723, and afterwards published. If we may trust the author of this Sermon, and I see no reason in the present case to doubt his fidelity, Mr. Belcher ranked high in the estimation of those who best knew him. The Discourse is entitled, "A Good Character, or a Walk with God Illustrated, with some Dues paid to the Memory of the Late Rev. and Excellent Pastor of Dedham." "We have had," says the writer, "an excellent Preacher to walk with God, who was an excellent Pattern of what he preached to us,—who lived what he spoke, and did what he taught,"—"he was one of that holy set, that so lessons every day among us."—Among his virtues enumerated, we find prudent speech, by which he avoided what according to a "computation of the ancients makes half the sins of our lives," his rule being to say nothing of those of whom "there was not much good to be spoken," that he might not be tempted to speak evil. "A gentlemanly temper and carriage, with a certain sweetness of disposition," added lustre to his other virtues.

As a Preacher he was, as Mather informs us, "greatly admired and followed—he fed us, not with jejune and stolen sermons, but with well studied composures." He was modest and retiring, declining to appear on occasions of publicity, unless when compelled to it. As a Pastor he "faithfully" and "painfully fed the whole flock," by an act of self denial, says the same authority, adhering to them, though "under strong temptation to have embraced greater opportunities." Against a shepherd of so much goodness, he continues, "it would seem impossible that any mouth should open. If any did, his worst word upon it was, "Father forgive them." Much more is added, and in a tone of friendly eulogy, which would seem to prove the writer, in this case at least, to have been sincere. The character is evidently drawn by the hand of affection, and though in point of execution, it par-
takes of the usual faults of Mather's style, there can be little
doubt, I think, that the main features are correctly given.

Mr. Belcher's printed Sermons,* possess different degrees of
merit. They are all, however, written in a devout spirit, and
though like those of his predecessor, a little quaint at times, are
marked by good sense and vigorous thought.

But the most curious document, connected with Mr. Belcher,
I have met with, is a manuscript volume containing a sort of Dia­
ry, and particularly an enumeration of the presents brought him
by his Parishioners, not omitting those of the most trifling value.
Strange things are here sometimes brought into juxta-position.
The whole, however, shows a people of primitive habits, strongly
attached to their Pastor, and presenting him such little offer­
ings as they could, if greater were not in their power.

I know not on what authority a Letter said to have been found
in his study after his death, and subsequently printed and circu­
lated on a loose sheet, on the question, "how to live in this
world, so as to live in heaven," is attributed to him. It contains
some quite graphic touches, especially in several allusions of a
personal nature relative to the author's temper, feelings, and
general views of life, portraying a character of somewhat retir­
ing habits, of great thoughtfulness and tranquillity, and of a filial
and trusting piety; and if Mr. Belcher was the writer, it is a
worthy relic of a worthy man, in a few vigorous and rapid lines
conveying to us more knowledge of his real character, than
Mather would have furnished in as many pages.

This account of Mr. Belcher and the religious affairs of the
Town, during his ministry is meager enough, but the documents
in my possession do not enable me to present a different or more
extended one. If in the use of some of the materials afforded
me, and out of which I have constructed this and other portions
of my narrative, I may be thought to have descended too much
to particulars, I can only say in explanation, that a degree of
minuteness, when I could command it, seemed to me to comport
with the object I had in view: that statements of the kind allud­
ed to, partaking somewhat of the nature of Parochial statistics.

* See Note K.
have their use as throwing light on the history of the age, helping to body forth its manners and habits of thought. Besides, a degree of minuteness is not out of place in local histories, like that in which I am at present engaged, and from these, general history must derive some of its best materials.

The Ecclesiastical history of New England is yet to be written, and if it is ever executed in a style worthy of the subject, it can only be by the aid of authentic details of the religious affairs of Towns and Parishes.

As I stated, at the commencement of my labors, my object is not so much to give a discourse, as a history, embracing such incidents and biographical notices as may seem appropriate and useful, and worth rescuing from the dust and oblivion to which they are hastening. If by any care of mine, I shall contribute to their preservation, I shall feel that my labors among blind manuscripts and rusty and obscure relics, are sufficiently rewarded. Nor is the toil itself without alleviation and pleasure. It is no unmeet task in the few leisure moments, which can be snatched from professional duties, to retire into the past, to cull its treasures, and

"If studious, copy fair what time hath blurr'd;
Redeem truth from his jaws."
Sermon III.

Psalm 118, 7.

That they might set their hope in God.

A little more than three months after the death of Mr. Belcher, under date July 6th, 1723, it stands recorded in the manuscript Diary of a then obscure young man, of great modesty and diffidence—"Went to Dedham to preach,"—and making up his journal the next day he writes,—"was somewhat dashed and confused in morning prayer." As this young man is to occupy some space in these brief notices of the past, as he left here an honored memory, and bore a name since not unknown to fame, it may be gratifying, before we proceed with our narrative, especially as we possess so authentic a source of information as his own private journal, to go back a little, and gather up a few incidents connected with his personal history previously to the above mentioned date.

The young preacher was a native of Malden. He was born on the 23d October, 1700, and descended from that worthy old stock of New England yeomanry, to whose substantial virtues their country has been indebted from the first, for a full proportion of its prosperity and honors. He joined the church in his native place at the age of twenty, and a short time after, July 1720, received his first degree at Harvard University, after which he taught school six months in Taunton, then, to be nearer his friends, in Lynn, where he remained one year. He then returned to Malden, engaged in a short school there, after which
he devoted his time to a more special preparation for the ministry. He preached for the first time the 15th October, 1722.

Next spring he received an invitation to settle at Brimfield, which he declined, afterwards one at Medford, and another at Westborough, to both of which he gave a negative.

Under great depression of spirits, and suffering from ill health, he for a time refuses to preach at Charlestown, not being able to summon courage to appear in such a congregation. "It is," says he, "contrary to my disposition. I abundantly rather choose retiredness, and if I might be my own carver, an assembly in the country, though it were but small, would more gratify me." A second call at Medford was afterwards received, and by the advice of Mr. Colman, Wadsworth and others, declined, the fourth which had been extended to him within a year, much to his own surprise. "It is a great wonder to me," he says, "that people do in any way like my performances—they are so mean and poor—I am less than the least of the candidates for the ministry, yet the Lord does so smile upon me."

His desponding temper and disposition to take gloomy views of things, appears, at this time, to have been known to himself, and to have been vigorously combatted. He speaks of being very melancholy and discouraged, and adds, "This is so much my natural disposition, that it makes my life very weary. O, that God would dissipate the dark clouds, and alter my temper to an easy, quiet, submissive, and circumspect disposition."

This young man, thus timid and shrinking, often laboring under a nervous depression of spirits, with a humility which was proof against flattery, and a piety bordering on asceticism, was Samuel Dexter.

He was now about to settle at Yarmouth, but having, Oct. 14, 1723, received a call here, the Town offering him a salary of one hundred pounds, and a hundred and fifty as an outfit, he yielded the preference to Dedham, though it was long before he could summon resolution to reply to its invitation. "My fears" says he, "do multiply on me," and when, six weeks after, a committee called on him and requested his answer, he was perplexed, and says, he "put them off for that time." His answer, however, which is an exceedingly well written document, and
full of the right spirit, bearing date Malden, Dec. 6, was at
length sent, and on the 15th, was communicated. His trials
were now augmented. The next day, says he, being at Ded­
ham, "several of my friends came in to see me, and one Rab­
shakeh to revile me." He is depressed, discouraged, dismayed,
tempted to give up and quit the ministry forever. However, he
persevered, and his ordination took place on the 6th of May,
1724.*

Those who are acquainted by tradition, or otherwise, with the
circumstances under which he entered on the ministry in this
place, and the feelings manifested by some few, in regard to the
proceedings relative to his call, may readily imagine, that to one
possessing his peculiar temperament, the position he occupied
here, could not for some time, at least, have been of the most
pleasing character. In fact, the earlier part of his ministry was
somewhat tempestuous.

Before we proceed to recount his troubles, however, we must
mention a felicity he now enjoyed. In speaking of the events
which had happened to him during the year, he says, under date,
23d October, 1724, a little more than five months after his set­
tlement, "I have been ordained Pastor of a church, and I have
married a wife. The lines have fallen to me in a pleasant place
for situation, though the people are not so easy and agreeable
as might be wished for, but they are better than I deserve, and
my companion is a kind, tender, and virtuous person. I hope I
have in her that good thing which is from the Lord." So she
proved. She survived her husband, Mr. Dexter, almost half a
century. Sometime after his death, she married Samuel Bar­
nard, Esq. of Salem, after whose decease she returned to finish
her days in Dedham, where she continued to be universally be­
loved and respected, and enjoyed a tranquil and happy old age.
She died on the 10th of June, 1797, having nearly completed her
ninety-fifth year.†

The limits of the Town, See, or Parish, had now become still further con­
tracted. Needham and Bellingham had been incorporated during Mr.
Belcher's ministry. Walpole was incorporated Dec. 1724, a few months
after Mr. Dexter's ordination.
† See Note L.
The difficulties which rent the church and town for some years after Mr. Dexter's induction into office, were, very few of them, I believe, of a personal nature, though some of them, perhaps, might have been. In his journal under date of Feb. 13, 1724—5, the winter subsequent to his ordination, he speaks of the trouble given him by "unreasonable men," unreasonable, he says, he thinks he may "without any breach of charity" term them. "Their actions are so extraordinary," he says, "that they seem to be under a hellish impetus, when all the while they charge it upon conscience." The church records, of the same period, give evidence of a highly excited state of feeling on the part of some dissatisfied members, and after fruitless attempts at conciliation, a council was convened on the 14th of June, 1725, which censured the deflected brethren for irregular withdrawing from the communion, and indulging in illiberal and unjust reflections on the other members of the church. After this, there was for a short time an apparent calm, but the fire was still smouldering under the ashes, and soon again burst forth.

It is not my intention to pursue the history of these bickerings, over which it were well that the curtain of oblivion should be forever drawn. Nor shall I attempt to decide on whom the folly and guilt of these, and of others which followed, rested. That Mr. Dexter was not always prudent, is very possible. When on a certain occasion he announced to his congregation, that the ministers of the association had agreed to hold fasts in rotation in their several Parishes, and that the second would be held in Dedham, he observes that "none publicly objected," though one had been heard to say previously, that the "ministers were going to deprive the churches of their power." But when the day came, some were absent from the exercises, continuing about their usual business. This they had certainly a right to do, but the Pastor made a serious matter of it, and on the next Sunday proceeded to reprehend them. This was certainly indiscreet. It of course irritated them, and called forth many severe remarks.

Whether it was in reference to the controversy growing out of this circumstance, or something else, that some very strong expressions which occur in the Journal, were penned, I cannot
say. It is quite certain that the dissentions in the place, in whatever source they originated, weighed heavily on the spirits of the young Pastor. He was in the habit of frequently observing days of private fasting and prayer, on which he practised rigid self scrutiny, for he was always a most severe judge of himself. The topics previously marked out to be made subjects of prayer on these days, are in many instances recorded, and among the rest we find the "shocking troubles" he met with, by "reason of the difficulties which prevailed in the church and town." These form the burden of many a heavy line, altogether presenting so sad a picture of the religious and social condition of the community, that our only marvel is, not that his feelings were not always calm, but, if there be no exaggeration in the case, how life passed in such a state of ferment could have been endurable.

In addition to other causes of excitement, the desire, very reasonable in itself, of several inhabitants living in the southerly and westerly parts of the town, to be allowed to form themselves into a separate precinct, occasioned, for a time, no little perturbation of feeling. Several projects were brought forward and one after another rejected. One was, for two ministers to be supported at the charge of the town; another to remove the meeting house to a point more central; or to erect a new one so situated that it would accommodate the whole town with the exception of Springfield Corner, now Dover, propositions which were repeatedly renewed, but always without success. The General Court was petitioned for permission to form a distinct precinct, but the town remonstrated against the petition. In this train affairs proceeded for some years, the town for one year only, employing a second minister to preach in the southerly part of it. An act of incorporation for the south Parish, then including the west, being obtained in 1730, at length gave hope of a speedy termination of a very unpleasant controversy. The quiet of the old Precinct, however, was again for a short time disturbed by the movements attending the formation of the West Parish, and the controversy still lingered in the church, that body for some time refusing to dismiss its members to form a
new church by its side. It finally submitted to a necessity it could not control; and the waters of strife subsided.

Henceforward, the stream of our narrative is to flow in a narrower channel. The affairs of the first, or Old Parish, and not those of the town, are to engage our attention.

The first meeting of the Parish, as a separate precinct, was holden by virtue of a justice's warrant, the 4th of January, 1730—1. The subject of the pastor's salary soon came up for discussion, and, no doubt, in consequence of the fluctuation of the circulating medium, presented a question of some real difficulty, which was constantly recurring through the whole of Mr. Dexter's ministry. Unquestionably, he at times suffered greatly from the depreciation of the currency. To this subject I find no allusion in his private Diary, or in the records of the church kept by him: not a murmur or discontented expression is left on record by him: all the information we possess on the subject is derived from the Parish books. From these it appears, that he, for some years, continued to receive of the Parish the hundred pounds originally agreed upon, the church, however, in addition, voting, about a year after his settlement, May 18th, 1725, to "appropriate the profits of the lands commonly known as Parsonage" to his use, "during the term of his continuance in office among them." In 1734, fifty pounds were added to his salary, which was continued for some years. I suppose it may be taken as evidence of his straitened circumstances, that in 1737, a bill of five pounds was granted him for "keeping the meeting house" the past year, and a bill for a similar, and finally for a larger amount, was allowed him for many years, sometimes in the form above expressed, for "keeping," or "taking care of the meeting house," and sometimes for "his negro's taking care" of it, ringing the bell, and at last, performing the whole duty of Sexton.

In March 1738–9, in consequence of his representations of the rise of provisions and depreciation of the currency, ten pounds, new tenor, were added to the one hundred and fifty, old tenor, of which he was at that time in the receipt. For some years after, the yearly sum granted him was voted sometimes in bills of the new, and sometimes of the old tenor; thus sixty pounds, new
tenor, one year, and a hundred and fifty, old tenor, the next, with thirty for providing wood from the church lot; then fifty pounds, lawful money. A committee was then appointed to "inquire respecting the fall of paper money," since the time of his settlement, for the purpose of ascertaining, whether according to the "original contract" he had any unsatisfied claims on the Parish. His salary was then raised to sixty pounds, new tenor, and during the years 1745 and 1746, quarterly contributions for him were taken by vote of the Parish, "on account," as it is expressed, "of the fall of paper money." These contributions were afterwards repeated; questions of currency were discussed annually at the Parish meetings; committees of finance, if we may use so dignified a term in this connection, were appointed, and both Pastor and Parish were subjected to no little trouble and inconvenience. Mr. Dexter's salary at the time of his death, I believe, was eighty pounds, lawful money, and wood, and the use of the parsonage lands in addition.

During the period now under review, I have been able to gather from old records but few materials of pleasing reflection. Nor have I much to add. The meeting house, from time to time underwent various repairs in its several parts, being as I should think from the incidental notices, and description given of it in the Records, in a much dilapidated state. Near the close of Mr. Dexter's ministry pews began to be erected to some extent, by permission of the Parish, on condition that when to be sold the first offer of them should be made to the society. Two new bells were procured within twelve years; the Deacon's wives, by vote of the Parish, were seated in front of the second pew on the South side of the meeting house; and the boys were kept in order, sometimes by a person paid for the purpose, and sometimes by a voluntary association of persons, who agreed to watch them in rotation a certain number of sabbaths in the year.

The first notice of Episcopalianism I have met with in the Records, occurs under date 8th March, 1734, when Joseph Smith, Noah Kingsbury, Joseph Aspenwall, John Downe, Benjamin Holden, and Peter Violas, had their ministerial taxes remitted on the ground that they carried on the worship of God "in the way of the established church of England;" they sub-
sequently exhibiting a certificate of the fact, signed by Dr. Cutler of Boston. This was eight years before the passage of the law making it the duty of Towns and Parishes to allow the taxes of such as attended worship in an Episcopal church, to go to the support of the minister on whose instructions they attended.

In the Records of the church and Parish I find no direct allusion to the excitements on the subject of religion, produced by the itinerant preaching of the wild and erratic Whitfield, during his second visit to this country. In his private journal, Mr. Dexter, under date of 1740, speaks of having, he does not say where, heard him with great delight, and he hoped with benefit, and the church book without specifying a cause for any extraordinary attention to religion, records an unusual number of admissions into the church in December and January, of the years 1741 and 1742. On the 4th March, 1742, the church observes a day of fasting and prayer, and renews its covenant. On the 7th of the same month a vote is passed, dispensing with a relation of christian experiences on the part of persons becoming members of the church, provided the party satisfies the Pastor, and any of the brethren, who may choose to call, in private, and as-sents, in public, to the received confession of faith and form of covenant.

Mr. Dexter's private Journal ceases with December 5th, 1752, under which date he records the death of his mother, Winnifred Dexter, at the age of seventy-nine. Her maiden name was Sprague. He survived her a little more than two years. He died after a short illness, the 29th January, 1755, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his ministry. His death is recorded in the church book, with a simple and affectionate eulogium, more honorable than all the pomp of sculptured panegyric. He died as he had lived, enjoying the general respect and confidence of his people and of the public.

His peculiar sensitiveness, as we have seen, caused his feelings to be keenly affected by the opposition, which he encountered during the earlier portion of his ministry. But the disaffected persons being found chiefly among that portion of his flock, who afterwards constituted the West Parish, when that was incorporated, calmer days appeared. His disposition was pacific.
and nothing seems afterwards to have occurred to deprive him of the sweets of harmony and affection so desirable both to Pastor and people.

Mr. Dexter's Sermons were written in a serious and practical style, without any attempt at ornament or fine writing. He had little imagination, or eloquence; he addressed chiefly the understanding, but there was a warmth, a fervor, a truth in his piety, which, united with good sense, so pervaded all his performances, that while the intellect was awakened, the heart could hardly remain cold and insensible.

I am not aware that he published more than two Sermons, one, in 1728, on the death, by casualty, of an esteemed young man in his Parish,* and the other his Century Discourse, ten years after. This, which was printed soon after its delivery, and went through a second edition in 1796, is too well known to require analysis. As a historical document, it is not of great value, not more than half a dozen pages out of fifty-four, besides a short Appendix, having any special reference to the Town, or to its history, civil or religious. Near its commencement the author says that "his acquaintance either by private records or particular traditional accounts, with the special circumstances of the original and progress" of the town and church, was not such as to furnish him with materials of a history.

Yet many sources of information must have been open to him, to which we have not access; important written documents existed, which are not now to be found; and many an old tradition might have been gathered from living lips, which has now long since perished. It is to be regretted that some portion of the information, which might have been gathered from these sources, had not been arrested in its passage to oblivion, that something might have been added to our present scanty stock of knowledge.

* "A Call from the Dead to the Living. In a Sermon on occasion of the early and surprising, though comfortable death of Mr. Timothy Metail, a very hopeful young man, who received his death wound on Saturday, Aug. 12, 1727, and exchanged, as we trust, earth for Heaven on Monday following, aged 19. By Samuel Dexter, M. A. Pastor of the Church in Dedham. Boston, 1728." The wound was inflicted by a fall upon the tine of a fork."
I have not the means of portraying in their minuter shades, the character and condition of the Parish as it was at that time. In its territorial limits, it was much the same as now, except in name, for though Dover and Natick, or a part of it, still in some sort adhered to it, the connexion was very loose. Those living at the distance of five miles and more, had, by vote of the Parish, been discharged from paying “head money,” as it was called, and several, bringing certificates from the Rev. Oliver Peabody, who had a church at Natick, composed partly of English, and partly of Indians, were absolved from obligation to pay ministerial rates here.

Here stood the old Church, with its double row of galleries, a raised Platform with seats along the North and South walls, the floor also occupied with seats, two or three pews only being erected at the sides. A cupola, or rude turret, written in the record, territ, rose from the centre, surmounted, not by a high steeple, but by a short pole, or staff, as it appeared to the eye, serving merely to support a vane. The bell was rung by a person standing in the body seats in the central part of the house below. There was no ceiling above, nor were the sides plastered, and the whole interior appeared thickly studded with spars.

Four persons occupied the Deacon’s seat, there being so many then in office. The remainder of the assembly took the places assigned them by the Parochial authorities. The Psalm from the Old New England Version was sung after the manner of the day, one of the Deacon’s leading. The village about the meeting house had not then risen, the people living chiefly on their farms, the population of the place being as yet almost exclusively agricultural, marked by simple and primitive tastes and habits, and all those hardy virtues, which so honorably distinguished the founders and defenders of our liberties and prosperity.

The habits of the people had been little changed during the century which had passed away. Their position was in some sort insulated. The wilderness was still around them. Inheriting something of the old feeling, which induced the first settlers to wish to call the new plantation by the name of Contentment,
they were too well satisfied with their lot to feel any strong desire to desert their homes in search of better. They were content to remain as they were. They had no roving propensity, and they placed too high a value on their pleasant heritage, their green farms, and their sunny slopes by the hill side, and on the banks of their beautiful river, to be willing to share them with any stranger who should choose to sit down among them. They were somewhat jealous of intruders, and as the town was originally the property of the company, or Proprietaries, and the undivided portions of it remained such still, they had the means in some measure of causing their wills to be respected. Whoever would come and partake of their goodly inheritance, must first obtain leave, and this was not easy, unless he could make it appear probable by good and sufficient reasons, that he would be a desirable neighbor. The consequence was that old feelings, habits, and manners were retained.

Some modification of character, however, might be detected, by the observant eye. Many improvements had been made, but some imperfections were visible. At the end of a century, and earlier, complaints were uttered on the subject of the neglect of intellectual education in the Town. Mr. Dexter, in his century sermon, after speaking of the regard, which the Fathers of New England had shown to “necessary and useful learning,” to promote which they had “in the days of their weakness, burdens, and impoverishments” liberally contributed, adds, “let this shame us out of our regardlessness to that which is better than money and farms.—I think it is beyond dispute,” he says, “a rare thing to find among us, men of a common character, that can use their pens as many of our Fathers could.” This was said in 1738.

Undoubtedly, as I have said, the original settlers of Massachusetts, and of this place, in particular, were as a class, better educated than those who occupied the stage after their removal. This was, in some measure, the natural result of circumstances and situation. The first planters came from the intelligent circles, the learned halls, and Universities of Old England. When they fixed themselves in this desert, it was impossible for them, however strong their desire, to give their children, and the com-
ing generation, the means of the same thorough intellectual training which they had enjoyed. What they could they did. They endowed a College, and they founded schools. It is not surprising that amid the hardships of a life in the wilderness, and the perils and sufferings of Indian warfare, the high impulses which had urged the fathers onward, and which rendered the cause of good learning dear to their hearts, should have yielded to the dominion of other feelings, or become narrowed and chilled in the breasts of their descendants. So it was. And it was not till the consequences of the want of a better education began in various ways to manifest themselves that attention to its interests revived.

Mr. Dexter lived after the delivery of his century sermon a little more than sixteen years. The people were not dilatory in their endeavors to fill the vacancy occasioned by his removal. Seven months only after his death we find the Parish prepared to elect a successor, and they desire the church "as soon as they see meet to come to the choice of a minister." Mr. Jason Haven was chosen, and the Parish concurring, vote him one hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence, "as an encouragement to settle" here, and an annual salary of sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and eight pence, and twenty cords of wood, "during the time of his carrying on the work of the ministry" in the place. The church grant, in addition, "the use and improvement" of their lot of land near the meeting house, being the whole square between this spot and the burial ground, now mostly covered by buildings, as also three pieces of meadow, and one pasture, the latter on the Medfield road, "to till, mow, and feed," as the Record has it, during the term of his ministry. The invitation was renewed at a second Parish meeting called, as it appears, at the request of some dissatisfied members. The answer was conditional, some expressions occurring in the votes and offers of the Parish which appeared to Mr. Haven exceptionable. The Parish refused to recede. The difference however, was soon adjusted, and the 4th of Feb. 1756, fixed upon as the day of ordination. The Council assembled at the time appointed, but objections being urged on the part of some brethren of the church, the first day was passed in hearing
and deliberating upon them. These being disposed of, the Council vote to proceed to ordination the next day, the 5th of February, when the services took place, Mr. Appleton of Cambridge preaching. It is due to Mr. Haven here to state, that in a note to a Sermon preached forty years after, he observes that he had the satisfaction of soon numbering the few members of the church and Parish opposed to his settlement, among his "kind, affectionate and confidential friends, and such," says he, "they continued to the end of their lives."

The affairs of the Parish were now for many years conducted with peace and harmony. Men's attention was soon turned to other subjects than those of theological controversy; and petty and local jealousies, and the miserable warfare, which is too often carried on in matters of a religious nature, and frequently about points of very trifling importance, were forgotten. The revolutionary struggle soon commenced, and this Parish in common with others, felt very severely the weight of public burdens. These they bore with unflinching fortitude. The Parish records afford ample testimony of the alacrity with which the people met requisitions for money and men, and of the magnitude of their sacrifices and efforts in a cause which they all deemed holy.

Among other difficulties of the times were those which arose from the unsettled condition of the currency, and these were felt in Parochial concerns, without however, leading to any serious interruption of quiet and harmony. Mr. Haven, as observed, was to receive in money a salary of sixty-six pounds, and a fraction over. In 1670, it is raised to eighty, as, say the Parish in a very complimentary vote, "his ministerial labors are very acceptable to us," and we are "desirous that he meet with suitable encouragement therein, and to testify the sense we have of his abilities and faithfulness." Four years after, they manifested their liberality by granting a weekly contribution to procure preaching for him during a fit of sickness. In 1779, a monthly contribution was voted in addition to his usual salary, and afterwards, five hundred and twenty pounds were added, on account, as it is expressed, "of the rise of the necessaries of life." So great was the depreciation of the currency at this time, that in voting the salary of next year, the Parish add sev-
enteen hundred and twenty pounds to the standing sum of eight-
y. The subsequent year the sum was fixed at eighty pounds in
hard money, or its equivalent. Nine hundred pounds, were
at this time paid by the Parish to procure a pall to be used at
funerals.

Some years after, there was a further fluctuation, but addi-
tional detail is unnecessary. In 1786, the church grants one
year's interest of its funds, the first of the kind I have observed,
towards the Pastor's salary, which the Parish accepts and pas-
ses a vote of thanks to the church for the grant. After the year
1792, a similar grant was frequently made at the request of the
Parish, but it was not till a somewhat later period that the cus-
tom obtained of making the grant annual, and this custom was
afterwards sometimes broken through. The whole expenses of
the Parish were as yet frequently assessed.

At the time of Mr. Haven's settlement the meeting house had
stood more than eighty years. A new one was now in the opin-
ion of the Parish needed, which they soon proceeded to erect
with that unanimity which marked all the transactions of this pe-
riod. The vote to build was passed the 16th March, 1661. At
an adjourned meeting it was decided that the structure should
be sixty-feet long, and forty-six wide, that it should have a
steeple and two porches, the height to be such as to preserve the
architectural proportions. At the same time a committee is
chosen "to apply to the church for liberty to get materials or
timber" from their lands. The plan of the pews and seats in
the lower part of the house, was furnished by the Rev. Mr. Ha-
ven. On the 7th of June, 1762, the inhabitants assemble to take
down the old house. On the 24th, the "sills" of the new were
laid, the north sill, according to a previous vote of the Parish,
occupying the precise place of that of the old, and on the 21st
Sept. next year, 1763, the pews were disposed of according to
regulations previously adopted. In this house, much changed
since, we are now assembled. Occasionally we meet with one
among us whose memory extends back to the time of its erection,
seventy-six years ago. One now gone from us, assured me the
present season that he distinctly recollected the old house,
which he proceeded in a very clear and intelligible manner to describe.*

The meeting house being finished, an inside clock was presented by Samuel Dexter, Esq. Sen. which remained until replaced, a few years ago, by that now before us.

In 1764 the old New England version of the Psalms, which had been before used, was exchanged for that of Tate and Brady; and two years after it was voted that Mr. Ebenezer Richards "who usually led in singing be desired to sit on the Lord's day, in the seat under the pulpit, commonly called the Elder's seat, and that he have the liberty to nominate a number to sit with him to assist in carrying on the singing." He proceeded to nominate eight persons whose names are given. At this time it was customary for one of the deacons to read the Psalm piecemeal, as it was sung, a custom which continued till 1785, when it was abolished by vote of the Parish. In 1724, at the commencement of Mr. Dexter's ministry, Deacon Wight both read and "tuned" the Psalm, as it was called, but the latter service, I suppose, did not necessarily devolve on him in virtue of his office.

I find no mention of instrumental music as forming part of the services of the Sabbath, before the year 1790, when the Parish vote to "admit an instrument of music into public worship to strengthen the bass," and desire Mr. Abner Ellis to make use of the same. The Bible now used, was presented to the Parish in 1785, by Mrs. Catharina Barnard already mentioned, on condition that the reading of a portion of it should forever, hereafter, be made a part of the religious exercises of the Lord's day, which, it seems, had not hitherto been the custom. The offer was gratefully accepted, and a vote was passed to request the Rev. Mr. Haven to read from time to time such portion as he

* Mr. John Dean, who died Sept. last, at the age of ninety. Two or three circumstances mentioned in my description of the old meeting house, are given on his authority. I have no doubt of his perfect accuracy, from the known retentiveness of his memory, and from the fact that having compared his statement with the various notices of the house contained in the records, I have found, so far as these notices extend, an exact correspondence in the minutest particular.
should judge "most suitable," and "of such length as the several seasons of the year and other circumstances" might render proper.

It is more pleasing to trace improvements, than to note faults and infirmities. The latter, however, as the Records show, existed. Morals were not always pure, and some great indecere, one would think, must have been observable on the Lord's day, or we should not find, in a warrant for a Parish meeting, an article "to see if the Parish will provide stocks or some other means for the punishment of disorderly persons on the Sabbath."

The church administered its discipline for offences, but some alteration in form was, from time to time, required by public sentiment. Until 1771, confession was made by the offending party or parties standing in the broad aisle, and before the whole congregation, and it was not till 1800 that the latter condition was dispensed with.

In 1793, Tate and Brady's Version of the Psalms was exchanged for that of Dr. Watts. This year, also, an important change was made in the mode of admitting persons into the church, and the profession required of them. The latter, as well as the mode of admission in other respects, has been found unexceptionable to the present day. We neither ask nor wish for a covenant, or profession drawn up on more liberal principles. The only article of faith it requires, is that a person believe the Christian religion. The teachings of this religion, he is allowed to interpret for himself, and the church authorises no inquiries as to the result. It takes the broad Protestant ground, that the Bible, and the Bible only is the religion of Christians. Each one is there to seek his religion, and to whatever views of doctrine he may arrive, in the serious exercise of the right of private judgment, it belongs not to his fellow beings to condemn him.

The transaction of the church on the occasion alluded to, is too important, and too creditable to all concerned, to be passed over without some further explanation or statement. The act was a deliberate one, and entire harmony prevailed through the whole.
At a meeting of the church, holden the 11th April, 1793, it being " suggested to the church whether it might not be advisable to make some alterations in the modes and terms of admitting persons into the church, and to the enjoyment of christian privileges with them," a committee was chosen to take the subject into consideration, and report at an adjourned meeting, "what they think proper to be done, agreeable to the light of reason and scripture, and the principles of christian liberty." The committee appointed for this purpose were Dea. Isaac Bullard, Timothy Stow, Dea. Joseph Whiting, Samuel Haven, and Aaron Fuller. At an adjourned meeting of the church, May 17th, this committee, says the Record, "Reported the following Form of Christian Union, and Covenant Engagements, to which all shall agree and consent, who become members of the church, viz.

"We profess our belief of the Christian Religion. We unite ourselves together for the purpose of obeying the precepts and honoring the institutions of the religion we profess. We covenant and agree with each other, to live together as a band of christian brethren, to give and receive counsel and reproof, with meekness and candor, to submit with a christian temper to the discipline, which the Gospel authorizes the church to administer; and diligently to seek after the will of God, and carefully endeavor to obey all his commands."

"The church," it is added, "very unanimously voted to accept the foregoing as their Form of Christian Union and Covenant Engagements."

According, as it is expressed, to "a very unanimous vote of the church," passed at the same time, a person desirous of becoming a member of the church is to make known his wish to the minister, "who shall mention it in public, a fortnight before the admission of said person. If no solid objection be offered within that term, the person's name shall be entered in the church Book, and said person shall be considered as a member of the church, entitled to all the privileges of the same, and under the obligations of the before mentioned covenant and agreement." If, however, any of the modes of admission heretofore
in use in the church were preferred, the person was at liberty to adopt them.*

Such was the noble example of liberality exhibited by this church more than forty-five years ago,—exhibited without opposition or controversy, when men's understandings were calm, and they could bring to the discussion of the subject unembarrassed minds and an unfettered judgment. The fact shows the prevailing state of sentiment and feeling in this society, at the time, as far removed from exclusiveness, as liberal and catholic, as the most strenuous advocate for rational views and freedom of thought and expression, could desire.

While so much good sense was manifested in concerns more strictly of a religious nature, the temporal interests of the church and society were not neglected. With singular disinterestedness, the annual income of the church property was suffered to remain for a long time untouched, the Parish taxing itself to defray its expenses, at a time too, when its means were comparatively limited, and the pressure of public burdens was severely felt, that the capital might accumulate for the benefit of those who should come after. The consequence was, the funds were augmented, and by the wise forethought, the virtue, and self-denial of the Fathers, an ample legacy was left to posterity in perpetuity,—was left unencumbered by any entailed creed or opinion, and wholly unfettered, excepting only, that it must be appropriated to religious uses, to the teaching of Christianity on the old spot, and under care and trust of the old, or first church.†

As Mr. Haven approached the evening of his days, his strength gradually declined, and the duties of his office were often discharged under circumstances of pain and suffering. In 1798, five years before his death, the question of a supply of the pulpit at times when he was unable to perform, came up at the annual Parish meeting, and was renewed from year to year, till the fall of 1802, when Mr. Joshua Bates received an invitation

* In the list of admissions into the church during the year subsequent to that in which the above alteration was made, I find the names of Fisher Ames, and Frances, his wife.
† See Note M.
to settle as associate Pastor. The ordination took place the 16th day of March following, and Mr. Haven after a few days of severe sickness, died the 17th of next May, 1803, two months after, in the seventy-first year of his age, and forty-eighth of his ministry.

From a Discourse, preached in this place by his early friend, Dr. Prentiss of Medfield, the second Sunday following his decease, and subsequently published, I am able to collect some information respecting his talents, ministerial character and standing, which, corroborated as it is, by statements derived from other sources, by his published sermons, and the traditions of the place, I have no doubt is correct. He had a clear mind and a perspicuous method; his division of his subject was easy and natural; and his ideas always distinctly expressed, without tedious prolixity or "affected conciseness." He was thus always understood: no one was ever left in doubt about his meaning, and his performances were fitted to produce the precise effect he intended. His thoughts lost nothing of their force by being transmitted through a cloudy or distorting medium. In the choice and treatment of subjects suited to "special occasions," he is described as having been particularly happy. In the general style of his preaching I should suppose him to have been eminently practical, writing with plain good sense, presenting rational views of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, neither perplexing his hearers by metaphysical subtleties, nor bewildering their minds by conducting them into the mazy paths of theological controversy.

In his devotional services he is said to have been ready and apt; in cases of affliction and trial, always meeting the feelings of his hearers and exerting a soothing and elevating influence. To his other qualities he added a gravity of manner and dignified appearance in public becoming the utterance of weighty truths.

In his social character he possessed many of the requisites of a pleasing and instructive companion. His conversation, though not ambitious and showy, was distinguished for good sense and intelligence; he was kind and affable in his deportment; in his manners the grave and familiar seemed to blend in
due proportion, and there was a propriety marked all his actions. His people were sensible of his worth; he enjoyed their confidence, and carried their affections with him to his grave.

During his ministry, Mr. Haven published several sermons, one of which, delivered Feb. 7th, 1796, forty years after his introduction into the ministry in this place, possesses, in addition to its other merits, no slight historical interest. He preached the Dudleian Lecture and Convention Sermon, which I do not find in the list of his printed discourses;* also a Half Century Sermon, fifty years after Mr. Dexter delivered his Centennial Discourse, relating principally, as appears from a letter of his to Dr. Belknap, and now on file in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to "changes in the inhabitants" of the place, a document which if in existence, would be now curious and valuable.

In approaching the time of my immediate predecessor, I feel that I am treading on delicate ground, and my remarks shall be brief. A few facts, however, it is necessary to state; many they need not be, for I am speaking to you on a subject, to a large portion of you more familiar than to myself. When Dr. Bates was invited to the pastoral office in this church, it was the common impression, I believe, that in his views of Christian doctrine he belonged to what was called the moderate, or rational school, and that in his measures and general tone of preaching, he would not appear in the character of an innovator. That such was the expectation here, I learn not only from persons on the spot, but from others, who were intimate with the counsels of the Parish, or of the leading members of it at the time, and many corroborating circumstances might be adduced, if needed. For a little time nothing seems to have occurred to disappoint this expectation. But it ere long became apparent, that the Pastor's views had been misapprehended, or that he had changed his sentiments, or his policy. Of the latter he was accused, and not without some show of reason. Certain it is, that he gradually withdrew from ministerial intercourse and exchanges with a portion of the clergy, whom the people had been accustomed, with

* See Note N.
pleasure, to hear in this place, and who belonged to the liberal party, as it was then termed; while the young gentlemen from a Theological Seminary in a neighboring County, not always as prudent as the Pastor himself, were frequently introduced into the pulpit.

This and other indications, not to be mistaken, of growing exclusiveness, were viewed by a large portion of his people with deep regret. They had too much moderation and christian forbearance to become fomenters of discord, but they believed that they had serious cause of dissatisfaction and complaint. Other circumstances, no doubt, combined to produce, at length, a state of feeling not friendly to a long continuance of peace in the relation of Pastor and people. Such a state of feeling evidently existed, and when Dr. Bates, being chosen President of a College in the State of Vermont, asked a dismission, the request was granted without hesitation.

The Parish was now divided in sentiment. The majority were opposed to the new Divinity, as it was called, which since the time of Hopkins, had been gaining ground in New England. They had been accustomed, in former days, to a rational, but serious and earnest mode of treating the doctrines and duties of religion, and they could no longer with satisfaction and profit, as they thought, listen to any other. After due trial, as it seemed to them, regarding unanimity in the then existing state of religious opinion, both here and abroad in the community, as hopeless, they resolved to proceed, thinking it reasonable, and consistent with the republican principle, that in cases of an irreconcilable difference of views, the majority and not the minority should govern. But a majority of the church, taking a public vote as evidence, were in opposition. As however the constitution clearly secured to each society, or parish, the right to elect its own minister, against the wishes of a majority of the communicants, if it saw fit to exercise it, and as they could discover no ground in scripture or reason for abstaining from the exercise of such right, the exigences of the case requiring it, this seeming impediment was surmounted, and the result was, the formation of the existing pastoral relation.
After a portion of the church and society, in the exercise of the common liberty of Christians, had withdrawn to enjoy separate worship according to their views of Christian doctrine, it is well known that a controversy arose about certain property held for religious uses, which involved the question, which constituted the first church, that portion of the members of the old church, which had withdrawn, or that which continued to be connected in worship and the administration of ordinances with the Parish. After the case had been argued by able counsel before the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth, at their law term, October 1820, the court decided that the "Church associated and worshipping with the first Parish, is the first Church," and as such it is now known, recognized, and acknowledged in all civil and ecclesiastical acts.*

I here close my narrative.† We have journeyed on through two hundred years, not on the broad and beaten road of history, but in one of its unfrequented by-paths. We have found the way at times, rugged and thorny; this was incident to the nature of the undertaking. If, as a compensation, the eye has been greeted by any green spots, or any sunny aspects, if we have found now and then a sheltered nook where grew a few flowers hitherto unculled, it is as much as we had a right to expect. The task though to me it has been laborious, and has cost me many fruitless researches, and many regrets for materials, which I could not recover from the gulph which had forever closed over them, has yet been a pleasing one, and has furnished occupation for some sick and sad hours.

But whether pleasant or painful, the survey we have taken, has not, I hope, been without profit. It must have suggested to all of us many reflections which it were well to pursue, and awakened many slumbering trains of thought, which it were wise not soon to let escape from us.

During the period to which our attention has been directed, many changes have been wrought. Change! Change is everywhere, and time is ever busy in working it. All things are full of vicissitude, as all are full of labor. Man and his works, yea

* See note O.  † See Note P.
the monuments which are raised to protect his ashes, and snatch his name from oblivion, all are wasting, crumbling to dust, and passing away; all are dissolved and mingle with their native elements, to be combined in other forms, to pass through new permutations, and enter into new systems through unending ages.

But why speak of the universality of change, or why attempt to trace it on the unfathomable, shoreless ocean of being? The alterations, which have taken place within two hundred years, and on a single spot, are more than the mind can well grasp. If we go back but a single century, what changes have been witnessed! not on the broad theatre of the world merely, which has assumed an altered aspect; on which objects have shifted their positions, and new characters have appeared, and gigantic passions have been at work, furrowing the earth with revolutions, and causing society to heave from its deepest foundations; not in the condition and resources of our own country, which has risen from Colonial subjection, through stages of unprecedented growth, to liberty and greatness. No. Here have been mighty changes, but with these we have at present no concern. The field of our vision embraces a narrower circle, the objects of which, with their several phases and relations, can be more distinctly seen. Our attention is occupied with what lies in the vicinity of our daily walks, with the history of the Town we inhabit, and the society with which we are united in Christian worship.

Another century has gone, and what revolutions are here! Could yonder graves give back their tenants of a hundred years, how few objects would they recognize as familiar! Could they look in upon this assembly, with what surprise would they gaze upon us, and we on them with no less!

You will not expect from me an enumeration of the changes the century has witnessed, and I shall not attempt to portray them. This I leave to your own imaginations. You can better conceive than I can describe, the waste, and growth, and vicissitude, which have marked the spot; what traces time, and industry, and skill have left on the soil; what has silently moulder-
life, and freshness, and beauty. The memory of several among you embraces more than half, and of some, three fourths of the term of a century, and you can readily recall evidences of revolution, which to the younger portion of my audience are invisible. You can, with little effort, go back to the time when a generation which has now vanished occupied these seats; when the materials of these edifices had not yet been transported from the forest or the quarry; when modes of thinking, occupations, usages, which are now matters of history, were living and every day realities.

The soil is the same, the hills and the vallies remain, and the calm river at our feet still holds its slow winding way along its green meadows with their groups of islands. But the tide of life in multitudes of bosoms has been stilled. The seasons return, the flowers bloom and fall, and the dews of evening descend as ever, but other eyes gaze upon them, and their influences distil on other hearts. Many hopes, fears, anxieties, disappointments, joys and sorrows have ended. Many designs have been accomplished, and many fair visions have faded.

But on this theme I cannot dwell. I leave it to your own meditations, not doubting that you will derive from it, along with many painful reminiscences, much matter of salutary reflection.

There have been improvements, no doubt, during the century. In all outward accommodations and appliances, in the multiplied sources of physical comfort and enjoyment, unquestionably there has been progress. Whether in intellectual and moral worth we are superior to those who have gone before us, is a question before we attempt to answer which, we should ponder deeply, and pause, and ponder again. In our disposition to eulogize the new, we must not allow ourselves to speak too contemptuously of the old. There have lived before our times men, who were neither dwarfs in intellect, nor puny of heart. Their wisdom, if we may judge from its beautiful results, was not all foolishness, nor their philosophy mere empiricism. And surely, their religion was something better than a narrow superstition. Possibly in the hot bed of modern society, some weeds of luxuriant growth may shoot up, which a deep reverence and study of the
past would help to eradicate. Indiscriminately to admire the old, or the new, is no proof of a sound mind, or of superior discernment. We should cull from both what is good, and cast the bad away, sedulously guarding against self adulation and an extravagant estimate of ourselves, or of our age, as the bane of all improvement.

In the review we have taken, it has appeared, I think, that the community here has been as little subject as any, and less subject than most, to fitful and convulsive movements. It has been generally marked by steadiness of habits. It has been so in its religious character surely. Whatever have been its defects or faults, fickleness, levity, a capricious spirit, and querulousness, are certainly not among them. Of this, a history of the changes, which have been from time to time introduced in connexion with public worship and the christian rites, which have always been accomplished in a peaceful manner, and especially the history of the ministry, afford gratifying evidence. In the relation of pastor and flock, it would not be easy, I presume, to point out an instance, in which entire harmony has more generally prevailed, from the period of the foundation of the church to the present day. Of the six Pastors, who have preceded me, the first five died sustaining the Pastoral relation, and appear to have gone to their rest enjoying the affection, and followed by the united regrets of their people.

I believe, too, from a careful inspection of the records of the place, and such other documents as I could command, as well as from my own experience, that they have enjoyed the average degree of happiness, which falls to the lot of the ministry,—a profession, which, with whatever circumstances of ease it may appear to be attended in the eye of those, who are not aware, or do not reflect, how much more exhausting mental labor proves than bodily,—is in reality accompanied with peculiar anxiety, toil, wear of spirits, and waste of intellectual energies, terminating too frequently in impaired health, pain and languor, if not in premature dissolution. But I forbear. I stand not here to speak of the duties and difficulties of the Pastoral office, or of the many rich sources of consolation and pleasure which it opens.
But time warns me that I must bring my remarks to a close. What remains, but that we endeavor to be faithful to the lessons of the past, that we be patient and tranquil amid all the mutations of earthly things, setting our hope in the God of our Fathers, seeking and using the light he may vouchsafe to impart? Desiring for ourselves freedom of conscience, and liberty to "carry forward the reformation," to assert and enjoy which our Fathers come out to "these goings down of the Sun," let us see that we do not restrain others in the exercise of them. Let us be tolerant of those who differ, honoring sincerity wherever it is found, avoiding illiberality and exclusiveness, as unworthy the disciples of a meek and heaven descended religion.

Truth is the exclusive property of no individual and of no sect. To claim to be the sole possessors of it, is as absurd as to claim a monopoly of the universal light and air. We are not authorised to say to any one, you shall receive it of us, and in such proportion, and on such terms as we choose. Each one is entitled to seek and enjoy it according to his own views of its nature and evidence. Our language to him should be; Enjoy it in peace; we interfere not, nor condemn. Breathe the atmosphere of freedom; follow where you think you see the light, though it lead you aside from the path in which we walk, and we pray God to keep thy steps, and grant us to meet in Heaven.
On this point it is unnecessary to adduce authorities. As matter of curiosity, however, I will give one or two extracts from copies of unpublished Letters, and fragments of Letters, of one of the sufferers, an original settler in this place, which have been put into my hands by Mr. Joseph Metcalf, a descendant of the writer. I believe that there is no doubt of their genuineness. The author, Michael Metcalf, was born according to his own account, in Thetford, in 1586, but at the time of his leaving the "land of his father's sepulchres," was a Dornick weaver in the city of Norwich, to the freedom of which he was admitted in 1618. The following extract, contains his own account of his motives for emigration, with some notice of his voyage.

"For my not bowing at the name of Jesus; and not observing other ceremonies in religion, with other things of the like nature forced upon me, at the instance of Bishop Wren, of Norwich, himself and his chancellor Dr. Corbet, whose violent measures troubled me in the Bishop's court, and returned me unto the high Commissioners court; suffering many times for the cause of religion, I was forced for the sake of the liberty of my conscience, to flee from my wife and children, and go into New England; taking ship for the voyage, at London the 17th of Sept. 1636; being by tempests tossed up and down the seas, till the Christmas following, then veering about to Plymouth in Old England; in which time I met with many sore afflictions; leaving the ship I went down to Yarmouth in Norfolk County, whence I shipped myself and family to come to New England; sailed the 15th of April, 1637, and arrived in New England three days before midsummer following, with my wife and nine children, and a servant."
The above is from the fragment of a Letter without date. The following is from a long Letter apparently entirely, addressed to “all the true professors of Christ's Gospel within the city of Norwich,” and bearing date January 13th, 1636, after his first unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic, and while waiting an opportunity to embark a second time. It is a sort of farewell Epistle, written with great earnestness, much in the style of the Old Puritans, and contains the outpourings of a spirit writhing under a sense of personal wrongs, and mourning over the evils and sins of the times, and the “miseries of Gods’ people,” which they were suffering from the loss of “faithful ministers,” and the “tyranny of wicked men.” I have room, however, only for that portion of it which is of a personal nature.

“You are not ignorant, I suppose,” says the writer, “of the great trouble I sustained from the Archdeacon’s and Bishop’s court, at the hands of my enemies concerning the matter of bowing, as well as for other matters of like consequence. I alleged against them the Scripture, the canons, and the Book of common Prayers, but the chancellor replied, he cared for none of them. I further alleged against them the authorities of Archbishops and Bishops, as also their great patron of ceremonies, the learned Hooker (so called by them), together with a Book called the Regiment of the church, allowed by authority, which hath these words, that the decrees and constitutions of the Church of England must not be made a part of God’s worship, neither holden necessary to our salvation; for our Savior saith, “in vain do they worship me, who teach for doctrines the precepts of men.” — The Apostle condemneth all voluntary worship devised by men; — Hooker after saith, our church doth not enforce bowing at the name of Jesus upon any man against his conscience. Notwithstanding these and more than these reasons alleged against them, their learned and invincible arguments to refute my assertions were these; “Blockhead, old heretic, the Devil made you, I will send you to the Devil,” with such other trim stuff, unfitting times (terms?) to be used by a judge in a court of Judicature, but of these no more, for these words were not spoken in a corner.

My loving friends be not discouraged too much at innovations now forced upon you but never before urged upon any man’s conscience, by any Bishop of the See of Norwich since the Reformation, but as the proverb says, new Lords, new laws. Such doings make sad the hearts of God’s people. Let now
faith and patience have their perfect work in these perilous times now come upon you by the sufferance of God; be you dearly; God is on your side, and his truth is your cause, and against you be none but the enemies of the cross of Christ."

In a Postscript, he alludes again to his "his troubles sustained at the hands of Bishop Wren, and Corbet, his chancellor," in consequence of which he was driven from his family, and sometimes, says he, "my wife did hide me in the roof of the house, covering me over with straw."

This Bishop Wren, is said by Lord Clarendon, the court historian, to have been "a man of a severe, sour nature." So passionate and furious were his proceedings, in the Diocese of Norwich, adds the same historian, that "many left the kingdom, to the lessening of the wealthy manufactures there of kerseys, and narrow cloths, and, which was worse, transporting that mystery into foreign parts." History of the Rebellion, pp. 183, 1186. ed. Bost. 1827. See also Neal, History of the Puritans, vol. ii, pp. 298—300. Pierce, in his "Vindication of the Dissenters," says that among the charges exhibited, by a committee of Parliament, against the Bishop, two or three years subsequent to the events above alluded to, one was, that in the two years and four months during which he held the See of Norwich, 3000 of his Majesty's subjects "many of which used trades, spinning, weaving, knitting, and making cloth, stuff, stockings, and other manufactures of wool, some of them setting a hundred poor people at work," transported themselves into Holland, and "other parts beyond the seas," in consequence of his "superstition and tyranny." p. 190. Of these Michael Metcall seems to have been one.

NOTE B, p. 12.

A conjecture of the Hon. James Savage, the learned and accomplished Editor of Winthrop's Journal, which, though it proves to be unfounded, was a very natural one, as the Records of the Dedham Church had not fallen under his eye, has had the effect of leading astray almost all subsequent writers, who have touched on this point.

In his Appendix to Winthrop's Journal, vol. ii, p. 389, Mr. Savage has inserted Cotton Mather's lists of ministers taken from the Magnalia, supplying the baptismal names, so far as he was able, where Mather had omitted them, and adding other particulars. In Mather's first list of those who were in the actual exercise of the ministry when they left England, we find
"Phillips of Dedham," the place of the baptismal name being left blank. This, Mr. Savage has supplied by Henry, and adds, "returned to England in 1642."—Both these additions were conjectural on the part of Mr. Savage, as appears from his note on p. 86, vol. ii of the Journal. Winthrop there speaks of a "Mr. Phillips of Wrentham, in England," whose return is mentioned among the events of 1642. This, Mr. Savage thinks might have been Henry, and adds, that John Phillips of Wrentham was one of the Assembly of Westminster Divines. The member of the Dedham church, he further conjectures, might have been either his son or brother.

Now, the member of the Dedham church, I suppose, was neither a son, nor a brother, but this same John himself. Henry Phillips was a member also; but not the person alluded to either by Winthrop or Mather. Henry Phillips' name is constantly recurring on the Proprietors books, in connexion with grants, purchases, and dividends, down at least to 1657-8. The birth and baptism of several children are recorded at different times, as in 1641, 1643, 1645, 1648, and 1650. He was never a candidate for the ministry here. He is called Henry Phillips for several years, without the Mr. prefixed, afterwards uniformly Ensign Henry Phillips. He resided some years in Boston, but continued to hold property here, and was engaged in numerous transactions connected with the sale and transfer of lands. These facts show clearly that the Phillips who returned to England in 1641, or 1642, was not Henry Phillips.

I will now proceed to state what I know of Mr. John Phillips, from which it will appear, I think, that he is the person to whom Mather and Winthrop allude,—that he, and not Henry, as has been supposed, was the candidate for the ministry here, who "chose to be a candidate in another place," and who remained unsettled, and in reference to whom the business of gathering the church was for some time delayed.

Mr. John Phillips is mentioned four times in the Church Records. I will give the passages entire. The first occurs in the account of the gathering of the church and before the work was completed.

"It is here to be remembered," says the Record, "that we apprehending the great weight of the work and our great weakness and insufficiency thereto, and finding how slowly we could proceed in these cases with satisfaction to our consciences, we did expect, and much endeavored the guidance of Mr. John Phillips, who came over that summer with some godly company, and had been invited to this plantation by letters formerly. Having therefore hopes from him of obtaining, he was much de-
ired in the first beginning, whereupon he delaying his resolution, we were so delayed in the conclusion of the work, as that he summer passed away in the expectation of his help." This was the summer of 1638.

The next passage occurs soon after, also before the church was gathered.

"Things being thus far cleared up in respect to the company, of eight persons, we spent divers meetings in the more particular conning of divers questions, that concerned the right constitution of a church, of the nature of the covenant, and how far necessary, with other questions of a like nature, whereunto we had the longer time by the delay of Mr. Phillips who being called divers ways, could not speedily resolve, but at length upon weighty reasons concerning the public service of the church, and ordination of the College, he was so far persuaded to attend to the call of Cambridge that we saw no present hopes of him, and about the beginning of October, came to resolutions to cast ourselves upon the Lord, and venture with such help as he should afford, rather than delay so great and needful a work any longer."

The next extract relates to a period subsequent not only to the gathering of the church, but to the ordination of Mr. Allin, and Ruling Elder Hunting, after having chosen whom the church as it has been seen, declined electing more officers on the ground that better materials might hereafter be had. This, a fact, was the reason why, when so hard pressed to decide between John Hunting and Ralph Wheelock for ruling elder, they did not take both. This was proposed, from tenderness to the feelings of Wheelock, whom, though the majority were for Hunting, the church was for "divers reasons very loath to decline." But the proposition was rejected "chiefly," says the record, "because the church being yet but meanly gifted for the office, we should deprive ourselves of liberty to take some of more able gifts that God might cast in afterward." They therefore proceed as stated in the text, to ordain the Pastor and one ruling Elder. This, it will be recollected, was the 24th April, 1639. The following extract, it will be perceived, belongs to the next year.

"Mention was made before of the earnest desire of the church to enjoy the help of Mr. Phillips, which they expressed by their invitations with the consent of the whole Town before they joined, and afterwards by a renewed call of the church. But the Lord's time not being come, he was drawn rather to attend the call of other places till the 1st Nov. of the year 1640. But the ordaining things so by a special Providence that he no
where settled, but was freed from all engagements; the Lord also disappointing our endeavors of supply other where, when we came to take notice of his liberty from all other places, we found the hearts of all the church desirous to renew the former invitation, which was so suited with many special Providences of God in respect to himself and us, that he saw the Lord's hand clearly in it, and so cheerfully accepted the same, and after his coming to us, and some more acquaintance with the church, he was propounded, with his wife also, the 24th of the 3d mo. 1640, and admitted with much rejoicing of the church, both he and his wife the 31st of the 3d mo. 1640."

The same year, as the Proprietor's Records inform us, he purchases of Joseph Kingsbury three acres of land, bounded on the South by the burial ground and the way leading to it, East by the way leading to Wigwam Pond or Plain, West by land of Mr John Allin, and North by land of Joseph Kingsbury, being part of the Square on which the meeting house, town house, and Capt. Alden's hotel now stand. The same year he "alienateth and selleth" the same to the church in Dedham forever.

Resuming now the church Record, we find among other memoranda of a miscellaneous character, at the end of the volume, a notice of the departure of Ferdinando Adams, the 3d 6th mo. 1641, he having previously communicated to the church his purpose to "sail unto England and there to remain," and obtained their permission.

Soon after, we find the following: "Likewise our Reverend brother Mr. John Phillips with his wife propounding divers reasons of their intended departure and return to England, for the satisfaction of the church therein, and further advice about the same, the church though divers were unsatisfied in his reasons, yielded consent to his departure, as appears in other notes to that effect, and he took ship 26th 8th month, 1641."

Lechford, in his "Plain Dealing, or Newes from New England," the Preface to which is dated "Clement's Inne, Jan 17, 1641," giving a catalogue of ministers in the Bay, mentions a "Master Phillips out of office" at Dedham, 3, Hist. Coll. iii. 93. This can be no other than the John Phillips above mentioned. There is nothing which would lead to a suspicion that Winthrop referred to any other individual, except a discrepancy of one year in the date, as Mr Savage understood him. As I understand him, this seeming discrepancy vanishes. Winthrop inserts his account of the disastrous voyage of the ship which bore Mr. Phillips and others, among the transactions of the autumn of 1642, though no dates occur in the account itself inconsistent with the supposi-
tion that the event belonged, in part, at least, to the preceding year. Further, I think the statement requires this supposition.

Mr. Allin’s Record gives the autumn of 1641 as the time of Mr. Phillips departure. Winthrop says that they were tossed up and down a December’s sea, their provisions being nearly exhausted in consequence of the length of the voyage. Allin says they sailed on the 26th of September. This, so far, harmonizes very well with Winthrop’s statement, since there is nothing improbable in the supposition that, at that period, a voyage commenced late in September, might not be completed before the end of December. If Winthrop’s account of it was written during the fall, the occurrences of which are related in connexion with it, or any time, in fact, before the latter part of the winter following, it must of necessity refer back to the preceding year, 1641, since, as before observed, it states that the ship was at sea, on her way to England, the passengers being put on allowance in consequence of the failure of provisions, in December—circumstances which could not have been known to him until intelligence was brought by vessels leaving after her arrival. I feel very confident from a careful inspection of the whole passage, that Winthrop is giving the history of a voyage, which was undertaken in the autumn of 1641, but which did not terminate before the latter part of December, or early in January following, and that on receiving information concerning it from his friends in England the next season, he inserted the account in his Journal without particularly specifying dates, any further than to observe incidentally, that those on board were exposed to peculiar suffering being at sea in December, and their provisions nearly exhausted.

But however this account may be disposed of, it is very clear, I think, from the above statement and extracts, that Mr John Phillips, and not Henry Phillips, was the candidate for office in this church and elsewhere, and that he was the Phillips referred to by Mather as having left and returned home. I have very little doubt that he was the same John Phillips to whom Mr. Savage alludes as a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and out of “affection” to whom Deacon Chickering declined for some time taking office. A faint hope of his return may possibly, for a time, have lingered in the breasts of some members of this church.

In regard to the assertion, made, however, not by Mr. Savage, that Henry Phillips became a “discouraged and broken hearted christian,” I may be permitted to observe, that there is no authority for it in our church records. The expression in the records, used in reference to his admission into the church,
is, "he appeared to the church a tender and broken hearted christian," the phrase "broken hearted" being evidently used in the scriptural sense, as in Psalm LI, 17,—"The sacrifices of God are a broken heart, a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." The opposite expression was sometimes used. A case occurs in point, in a quotation I have given from Mr. Adams' Fast Sermon, p. 39. Thus he speaks of persons remaining "heart whole," referring to their impenitence and pride.


The Covenant of this church I suppose, may be taken as a fair specimen of the Covenants of the early New England churches, which were not in general creed Covenants, but related solely to practice. Such certainly is the character of that adopted here in 1638, which is in the words following.

"We whose names are subscribed, having found by woful experience, the unstedfastness of our hearts with God, and proneness to go astray from his ways (for which we desire to abase and humble ourselves in his presence) and desiring to be joined forever to the Lord, and to cleave together in spiritual love and communion, according to his holy institutions, that we might enjoy in his name such holy helps as the Lord Jesus in wisdom and compassion hath ordained in his gospel for his people, thereby to let out himself unto them, and to build them up in faith and holiness, till he have prepared them for everlasting communion with himself.

"We do therefore, in the name and presence of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and before his people here assembled, solemnly enter into covenant with the Lord our God, professing and acknowledging the Lord Jesus, our blessed Redeemer, to be the only priest, prophet, and king of his church, and (through the help of his grace) his only merit we rest upon for our pardon and peace with the Father, his only teaching and righteous government, with all the blessed ordinances of his kingdom; we do embrace and submit unto all things, as the only rule of our lives; renouncing all our own righteousness, with all the doctrines, devices, and commandments of men, not agreeing with his holy word; especially all the superstitious and tyrannous commands of Antichrist, and his adherents, wherein we have in any kind been entangled; professing and promising (through the help of his rich grace) henceforth not to live unto ourselves, but unto the Lord Jesus,
who hath bought us with his blood, avoiding carefully all such things as be offensive to his Majesty, and dishonorable to our profession of his name, with all such dangerous temptations as our sinful hearts are wont to be drawn aside withal, in special, the inordinate cares of, and entanglements in, the affairs of this life: promising and professing also through the help of the Lord, to live together in this our holy fellowship, according to the rule of love, in all holy watchfulness over each other, and faithful mutual helpfulness in the ways of God, for the spiritual and temporal comfort and good of one another in the Lord; and all to the setting forth of the praise of his rich grace in Christ, who hath called us, in his abundant mercy, to this holy fellowship with his Majesty, and one with another.”

On the 23d of May, 1683, during the ministry of Mr. Adams, as appears from the Appendix to Mr. Dexter’s Sermon, (for the Records of the period are lost), the church renewed its Covenant in the same words, adding at the end some paragraphs relating particularly to the sins of the times. As these additions are of little importance in themselves, and the insertion of them would occupy more space than can well be spared, I shall not be censured, I trust, for their omission. I will only observe, that among the sins enumerated, and the catalogue of which must sound somewhat strangely in the ears of those who are accustomed to attribute a remarkable degree of purity to the days of our fathers, are “neglect or profanation of the worship and institutions of Christ, sabbath breaking, vain and sinful company keeping, misspending of time, excessive drinking, wanton and loose behavior, failing in truth, uncharitable and unrighteous censuring, sinful tale bearing, corrupt communication, pride, covetousness, and the like.” This it will be recollected was in 1633. Mr. Adams’ Sermons, which relate to nearly the same period, present, as we have seen, a similar picture. What worse could be said of modern degeneracy?

In 1742, during Mr. Dexter’s ministry the covenant was again renewed, the original form being recited, with the additions above alluded to. “About the year 1767,” as Mr. Haven informs us, in a note to his Sermon preached forty years after his ordination, a substitute was adopted, “more concise, and expressed in more general terms.” The transaction, however, is not alluded to in the church records. No other alteration in the Covenant was made till 1793, when the form now in use was adopted. For this, see p. 65.
Winthrop in his *Addenda* (ii, 342,) mentions a "John Allen, of Surslingham, a minister in Norfolk," who, in 1635, or about that time, sent over to the Treasury of the Colony twenty five pounds, by Thomas Fisher, of Winton. This I suspect to have been Mr. Allin afterwards pastor of Dedham. Thomas Fisher, it will be recollected, was admitted a member at Dedham, along with Mr. Allin, though there is no evidence that he came over at the same time. Michael Metcalf, mentioned in a former note, was another of Mr. Allin's company, and he, as we have seen was from Norwich Surslingham belonged to the same Diocese. Now among the ministers of that Diocese silenced by Bishop Wren in 1636 or 1637, Neal, (Hist. Puritans, ii, 300, ed. Bost. 1817,) mentions a Mr John Allen. Probably he and Metcalf came in the same ship, for they both arrived in the summer of 1637. These circumstances put together lead me to suspect that the Mr. John Allen of Surslingham, mentioned by Winthrop, and the individual of the same name silenced by Bishop Wren, and the Pastor of Dedham were the same. From affection or respect for him, or previous acquaintance with him personally, or by reputation, Fisher or the Fishers, (for there were three of them, John, Thomas, and Anthony, admitted at the same time,) and others probably, may have been induced to select this spot as the place of their future residence. Thomas Fisher undertook the building of the meeting house, but died before it was finished. Both he, and Anthony Fisher originally took lots adjoining Mr. Allin's, that of the former bounding Mr. Allin's on the South, and that of the latter on the North. John also had a lot in the vicinity, but he died early.

Joshua Fisher, who, as has been already observed, died in 1672, was also here early, though not admitted into the church before 1648. Daniel Fisher alluded to, on page 29, as an ancestor of Fisher Ames, but whose name was inadvertently omitted in a notice of the death of some of Mr. Allin's cotemporaries in the foot note on the same page, was admitted several years earlier, that is, previously to the 24th of April, 1639. He died in 1683. Anthony Fisher received into the church in 1645, died in 1669. Michael Metcalf admitted in 1639, died in 1664. His name stands first on the Committee chosen to "contrive the fabricke of a meeting house." His associates were John Luson, Anthony Fisher, and Joseph Kingsbury.—Edward Alleyn died at Boston in 1642.
A copy of the original edition is found in the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, bearing the following title. A Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions, or positions, sent from New England against the Reply of that reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. John Ball; entitled Tryall of the New Church Way in New England, and in Old. Wherein besides a more full opening of Sundry Particulars concerning Liturgies, Power of the Keys, Matter of the Visible Church &c. more largely handled that controversy concerning the Catholic Visible Church, tending to clear up the Old Way of Christ New England Churches.


By an error of the press the Preface bears the signature of Tho. Allin and Tho. Shepard. (Thomas Allin was minister of Charlestown.) The same error occurs in the edition of 1653. But this, I am convinced by a careful collation of a copy of the two editions is not a reprint, but a part of the former edition, garnished with a false title page, which reads as follows,—“A Treatise of Liturgies, Power of the Keys, and Matter of the Visible Church. In answer of the Rev. Servant of Christ Mr. John Ball, by Thomas Shepard, sometimes Fellow of Harvard college in Cambridge, and late Pastor of Cambridge in New England. Lon. 1653.” Here, it will be observed, the name of Allin is wholly omitted, though, as before said, that of Tho. Allin and Tho. Shepard stand after the Preface. That this is an error of the press, however, very readily accounted for by the circumstance that the work was printed in a foreign country, and the proof sheets therefore could not be submitted to the inspection of the authors, is abundantly evident. No one who reads the Preface with ordinary attention can for a moment doubt that it was written by the authors of the Defence. It contains in itself proof incontestable on this point. The following are some of the notices of the book, and of the writers with which I have incidentally met in my researches.

That Mr. Allin whose name stands first on the title page of the original edition, had a principal share in its composition has never been questioned. Cotton Mather, once indeed, speaks of the Defence as Shepard’s, expressing himself in a loose way, his purpose not particularly requiring precision of language. In his notice of Mr. Allin of Dedham, however, he affirms that he wrote “with Mr. Shepard of Cambridge,” and John Cotton couples
both names in a complimentary allusion to the work in his Latin
Preface to Norton's Reply to Apollonius. Dr. Eliot, in his Bi­
ographical Dictionary gives the reference incorrectly, to the
"Preface to Norton's Sermon." The whole passage with the
exception of two or three unimportant words, is given by Mather,
vol. i, p. 417. The Preface of Allin and Shepard was in part
republished in a small collection of Tracts relating to the early
history of New England, printed in Boston in 1696, under the
title of "Massachusetts, or the First Planters of New England,
the End and Manner of their coming thither, and Abode there, 
&c." It is there called the "Preface of the Rev. Mr. John Al­
lin of Dedham and Mr. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge in New
England before their Defence of the Answer made unto the
Nine Questions."

In a Tract published in Boston in 1693, entitled "The Judg­
ment of several Eminent Divines of the Congregational Way
concerning a Pastor's Power occasionally to exert Ministerial
Acts in another Church, besides that which is his own particular
Flock," to which is prefixed a commendatory notice by James
Allen, Samuel Willard, Michael Wigglesworth, Cotton Mather,
and Nehemiah Walter, the author among other authorities he
adduces, appeals to "Mr. Thomas Shepard, the first Pastor at
Cambridge in N. E. and Mr. John Allin, Pastor of the Church
at Dedham, in their Defence of the Nine Positions (printed in
the year 1648) in Answer to Mr. Ball." In this Treatise, he
says, they "acknowledge that though a minister has not such
power in another church as he has over those in his proper
flock, nevertheless that he may charitably put forth an act of
his office to those in another church of whom he is no officer,
p. 132, 135; and again p. 134, in answer to that question,
whether a minister may administer the seals in another congrega­
tion, their words are, 'we will not deny but that occasionally
being called thereunto by the desire of the church he may law­
fully do the same.' This was the judgment of Mr. Shepard of
Cambridge, and Mr. Allin of Dedham, both of them famous in
New England."—pp. 10, 11. This power of a Pastor was ear­
ly denied by many in New England.

The work was appealed to as illustrating the views and opin­
ions of the early Planters on other subjects. Thomas Shepard
of Charlestown, in his Election Sermon, refers to it as written
by "Mr. Allin of Dedham with" says he, "my honored Fath­
er," and adduces its authority to prove that the original emi­
grants came not out as separatists, but "for progress in the
work of Reformation," as had been said by many others.
I mentioned, in a former part of this note, a slight inaccuracy in a reference made by Dr. Eliot in his article on Mr. Allin. The Biographer has also misapprehended the remark of Cotton Mather in relation to Mr. Allin's Epitaph. Mather says that the lines

"Vir sincerus, Amans pacis, patiensque Laborum, Perspicuus, Simplex, Doctrinar, purus Amator;"

originally applied to Philippus Gallus, might be made the epitaph of John Allin. Eliot quotes them as actually Allin's epitaph. There are some other errors, or marks of haste in Eliot's article. Near its commencement 1737 is put for 1637. This of course must have been an error of the press.

NOTE F. p. 29.

The following will serve as a specimen of these Grants, and of the motives which led to them.

"Whereas Mr John Allin the new pastor of our congregation hath for much time past taken great pains both in exercising his gifts amongst us: and careful in attending his said office since it pleased the Lord to call him thereunto; As also hath been at much expense in his diligent and faithful practice for the good both of Church and commonwealth amongst us the whole time he hath been with us; which we acknowledge we are bound to showe ourselves thankful for by taking care for that convenient means of employment, and improvement of his stock for his more comfortable subsistence in the aforesaid office whereunto he is so called; In which respect we do now grant unto the said Mr. John Allin our present Pastor and to his assigns forever Thirty acres of meadow lying beyond the Rocks Westwards: to begin at the North corner of the said meadow and so on both sides of the brook to measure the said meadow Southwards unto the portion of 30 acres complete. Also we do grant unto Mr. John Allin our said Pastor and to his assigns forever One hundred and twenty acres of upland next adjoining unto the said Meadow as may be most convenient to be annexed unto the same: And to be measured out in time convenient accordingly as he shall require the same to be done. And also for his more peaceable and comfortable subsistence in the before said office we do further grant that the said meadow and upland shall be free from payment of all charges in or concerning our towne during the time the said Mr. John Allin shall remain in office amongst us and employ the same himself or by some other to his use and no longer." Fol. i. p. 40.
This was in 1639. The same year Mr. Allin purchased the twelve acre lot, and house upon it, of Nicholas Phillips. On this lot the Jail and House of Correction, and the house now occupied by Samuel Swett, Esq, at present stand. It extended through from Charles River to the burial ground on the South, a part of it extending beyond it on the West, to the meadow, the Eastern boundary being the lot of Joseph Kingsbury, the dividing line between them running a little south of the centre of the street, (which might with propriety be called Allen street,) now leading from High street back of the meeting house, and by the Town house, to the burial ground. High street passed through it, and on the West lay the lot of Lambert Genere. Mr. Allin's original house lot, which he the next year sold, lay West of this, as did most of his estates, though not all, for he at one time owned a part of the Mill on Mother Brook and some upland about it, which, in 1650, he sold to Nathaniel Whiting. His original house lot together with the lots of Thomas and Anthony Fisher, Thomas Wight, and some others, lay, as it appears, in and about what now constitutes the upper village, "for wood and timber running in among the rocks westward." There was at that time a place called "Ragged Plain," lying in a westerly direction, as any one will be convinced, who carefully studies the Book of Grants and Alienations. The road to it lay through, or along side of several of the lots above alluded to. What is now known as "Ragged Plain," (on the Canton road) was not the original one, or there were two places so designated.

The order of the General Court, Oct. 17th, 1649, requesting the Treasurer to pay to "Mr. John Allen" 130l, as satisfaction for 100l advanced to defray the expenses of Mr Ed. Winslow's mission, as it now appears, referred not, as has been supposed, to the Rev. John Allin of Dedham, but to a Capt. John Allen, who had rendered the Colony this, or some other services. On examination of the Records of the Court I received the impression, as did Mr. Haven, who examined them before me, (Centennial Address, p. 63,) that Mr. Allin of Dedham was the person intended. This was quite natural. As Mr. John Allin of Dedham was mentioned in a preceding grant, (1643,) and again in a subsequent part of the Record, (1653,) the obvious inference was that "Mr. John Allen," referred to in the order of 1649, was the same individual. But on looking over the recently published volume, (vol. vii, 3d Series,) of the Mass. Historical Collections, I find in some documents relating to D'Aulney and La Tour, taken from the "Archives of Massachusetts," a John Allen repeatedly mentioned, who in the concluding document is called "Capt. John Allen," and some circumstances are added,
which show clearly that the Mr. Allen mentioned in the order of 1649 in connexion with the loan, was not Mr. Allin of Dedham, but the Captain aforesaid, who is a new personage in history. The document is signed by William Torrey, Clerk, and Ed. Rawson, Secretary, and bears date 27. 8. 1668. The following is an extract. "The Deputies understanding by good information that Capt. John Allen hath several times been employed by order from this Court, viz. ten days to look after a French ship upon the coast, as also a voyage to Monsieur D’Aulney, both himself and ship, for the space of near twenty days, besides a second voyage to the aforesaid D’Aulney, wherein he was absent six weeks; to which may be added, his lending Mr. Winslow for his country’s use, 100l. in England, which was not paid in seven years after, and then but in country pay, all which considered the Deputies judge meet,” &c. “to grant him a thousand acres of land where he can find it according to law, so as he take it not up in above two places.” 3 Hist. Coll. vii, pp. 120, 121. Mr Allin of Dedham always wrote his name Allin, and not Allen, but nothing is to be inferred from this circumstance, as the orthography of the day was not uniform.

The Bogetostow, or Bogastow, alluded to in the grant to the Rev. John Allin as lying on Charles river, is a well known place, now, as I have said, included within the limits of Medway. Dr. Morse, in his Geography and Gazateer says, I know not on what authority, that the Indian name of Charles River was Quinobecquin.

NOTE G. p. 35.

A similar project had been previously before the Town, a law of 1654 making it the duty of Towns to provide houses for their ministers. In 1668, during Mr. Allin’s ministry, it was voted at a general meeting of the Town, to build “a convenient dwelling house on the lot called the church lot,” and to plant and enclose an orchard there. At the next meeting, 18th 12 mo. 1669, objections being urged, on account of the “public charges,” and a debt which is specified, a proposition was made to dispose of some of the public lands lying near the Dorchester line, in order to build a house in the “place aforesaid,” from 40 to 50 feet long, and from 18 to 20 wide, 13 feet “between joints, double floors, with windows, and all the building sufficient for strength and convenience.” Here, I believe, the affair ended for that time. Some time after Mr Adams’ settlement, the Town vote that a frame be “forthwith” prepared for him at the
Town charge, and the business is committed to the select men for execution; but upon consultation with Mr. Adams, it is thought best to defer it "some time longer;" mean time Mr. Adams might contrive to "set up the frame to content of all, or may he provided some other way." Nothing more was done till his death. An attempt was afterwards made to purchase Mr. Allin's houses and lands, but difficulties presenting themselves, the project seems to have been finally abandoned.

NOTE H, p. 40.

This vote is very carefully recorded at length both in the Town Record, and in the Deacon's Book. Other instances of a similar kind near the same period may be adduced which go to show that the right of the church, technically so called, to precede the people in the election of a minister was then contested and sometimes with success. The case of Salem, when Mr. Nicholas was chosen to the office of Pastor, is one. Another instance occurred in Charlestown in 1697. Referring to this case, the Rev. H. Ware, Jr., remarks, in a note to his Century Sermon delivered in 1821, after mentioning a vote passed by the Old North church in Boston relative to it, "I have noticed this vote particularly, because it is sometimes attempted to make us believe, that the choice of ministers by the people, instead of the church, is a modern innovation, opposed to the uniform usage in times past. Here is an example to the contrary of as long ago as one hundred and twenty-four years; and the example and opinion of the church in Charlestown is as valuable in settling the question of usage as those of any other church. This satisfies us that usage is not invariable, and that the principle so far from being settled was actually contested from the first." Accordingly Cotton Mather acknowledges, "many people would not allow the church any privilege to go before them in the choice of a Pastor." Ratio Disciplinæ p. 16. According to the same author, the church, though compelled to yield, sometimes resorted to a sort of artifice to cover its defeat, electing three or four persons, so that on whichever of them the choice of the people might fall, it might still be said, "The church has chosen him." ib. p. 17. He complains of the disposition of the people to "supersede" the law, and "overrule it," as it then stood. Their argument against allowing the church to precede them in the choice of a minister was, "We must maintain him." ib. p. 16.

The case here preceded that of Charlestown by some years. Nor was it the only one which occurred here, for two years af-
er, in giving a call to Mr. Pierpont, the people took the lead, and the vote of the church followed. The General Court about his period passed a law giving to Towns and Parishes the exclusive right to elect their ministers, and though this law did not long continue in force, its passage viewed in connexion with examples of the kind just alluded to, (and Brattle Street was another instance; how many more exist I cannot tell; it is not probable that they were solitary instances,) furnishes a sufficient indication of the struggle which was then going on, in which we may detect the old spirit of liberty jealous of every encroachment on popular rights. Of course, as the number of communicants, in progress of time, became less in proportion to the congregation, or people, the latter would with the more reluctance submit to be controlled in their choice of a minister by the church, especially as they must provide for his maintenance when settled, and its ministrations were to be for the common benefit. The result of the struggle might be foreseen. It appeared in the Constitution of 1780.

NOTE I. p. 41.

To the name of Samuel Lee a more than ordinary interest attaches. He is described as possessing "a strong and brilliant imagination," and as being "extensively learned." "Hardly ever a more universally learned person," says Cotton Mather, "trod the American strand." "Live, O rare Lee, live," exclaims the same writer, "if not in our works, yet in thy own." Of his learning, however, we have more unequivocal testimony than the rhapsodies of Cotton Mather. His books though now little known, enjoyed a high reputation at the time. One of them, "The Triumph of Mercy in the Chariot of Praise," as Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary informs us, was much read in New England. The author, however, according to the same authority, was haughty, overbearing, and eccentric, disgusting by his extravagance those who viewed his talents with admiration, and read his productions with delight.

He was the son of a wealthy London merchant; was educated at Oxford; became fellow of Wadham College, and Proctor of the University; afterwards went to London, where he had the living of Bishops-Gate church, conferred by Cromwell, but was silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. "He was," says Calamy (Continuation of Account of Ejected Ministers, p. 83, et seqq.) "a considerable general scholar, understood the learned languages well, spoke Latin fluently and elegantly, was
well versed in all the liberal arts and sciences, was a great master in Physic and Alchymy, and no stranger to any part of polite and useful learning.” He came to this country in 1636. Eliot says that “two reasons were assigned for his leaving his country, one that he was afraid of the growth of popery. Another, that he was invited to be president of Harvard College.” The Dedham Plantation was then in its most depressed state. That he should not have accepted its call is not surprising.

In 1687, he became Pastor of a church in Bristol, R.I. But he was not pleased with his residence in New England, and after intelligence of the Revolution of 1688 arrived, he became impatient to leave. He remained, however, till 1691, when in his haste to depart, “he with great hazard,” says Calamy, “travelled to Boston, with his wife and family, and in the midst of winter, set sail for Old England.” Yet, withal, he was a “timorous” man, and somewhat superstitious too, and dreaded above all things death in captivity or a prison. He had dipped deeply into astrology, which he durst not approve, and once burned nearly a hundred volumes which taught the art, yet he could not banish from his mind the ideas with which a study of it had rendered him familiar, nor, with all the efforts of the reasoning faculty, succeed in divesting his imagination of a lingering reverence for predictions founded upon it. A few nights before he sailed, he told his wife that he had “viewed a star which according to the rules of astrology presaged captivity.” Alarmed at this, he persuaded the captain to delay sailing for a few days, without however letting him know the reason he had for desiring him to wait. At length, however, he pursued his voyage, but encountered violent winds, and the ship being driven on the coast of Ireland, was attacked by a French privateer, and after strenuous resistance for some hours, was taken, and carried as a prize to St. Maloe, in France. Here his family was separated from him and sent home. Left alone in a strange country, he soon fell sick, and died “in possession,” says the author just referred to, “of those very enemies whom all his days he had most dreaded” Neal, Hist. New England, p. 419, says he died in prison, and adds that his “timorous spirit,” in consequence of which he was so possessed with a fear of the return of Popish cruelties that he fled from England, “put him upon those measures that brought him to the end he always feared.” He found a heretic’s grave, being denied burial within the city. See also Wood, Athen. Oxon.

Jonathan Pierpont also mentioned on page 41, was from Roxbury, graduated at Harvard College, 1685, ordained at Reading, June 28, 1689, died June 2, 1709, at the age of 44. John
Rogers was the son of President Rogers, and was ordained at Ipswich, in 1692, and died Dec. 28th, 1745, in the 80th year of his age. See Mss. additions to Harv. Coll. Catalogue in the Historical Library. Nathaniel Clap was the son of Nathaniel Clap of Dorchester, and was settled at Newport, and died Oct. 30, 1745, at the age of 78. See Callender’s Century Discourse; also 1 Hist. Coll. ix, 184, x, 170.

NOTE K. p. 46.

Of Mr. Belcher’s printed Sermon’s I have met with the following, which are probably all which he published.


2. “The Singular Happiness of such Heads and Rulers as are able to choose out their People’s Way, and will also Endeavor their People’s comfort. As it was discoursed in a brief sermon, Preached to the Great and General Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, convened at Boston, in N. E. on May 28, 1701. The stated day for the Anniversary Election of Counsellors. By Mr. Joseph Belcher, Pastor of the Church in Dedham. Boston 1701.” Preface by Samuel Torrey of Weymouth.

3. “Two Sermons Preached in Dedham, N. E. The First on a day set apart for Prayer with Fasting, to Implore Spiritual Blessings on the Rising Generation. The other (some time after) in Private to a considerable number of Young Persons, in the aforesaid Town, and at the earnest desire of several of the hearers. Published by Joseph Belcher, M A.—Boston 1710.” These are written in an exceedingly plain, not to say homely style, and no particular care appears to have been bestowed on their composition.

4. “God Giveth the Increase, an Ordination Sermon, Preached at Bristol, N. E. August 30, 1721, when Mr. Nathaniel Cotton was ordained the Pastor of the Church there. By Joseph Belcher, Pastor of the Church in Dedham.—Boston 1722.”—Preface by Dr. Increase Mather.

A well executed Portrait of Mr. Belcher was in possession of Mrs. Lucy Gay, wife of Dea. Ichabod Gay of the West Parish,
at the time of her death. Mrs. Gay was daughter of Col. Joseph Richards, and grand daughter of the Rev. Mr. Belcher. Dea. Gay left one son, the late Capt. William Gay, to whom the portrait descended; and by whose widow, Elizabeth Gay, it has been preserved. I take pleasure in being able to add the following communication from her, recently received through the agency of the Hon. William Ellis, to whom for this, and other services by which I have been aided in my inquiries, I am happy to acknowledge my obligation.

"To the Rev. Alvan Lamson, D. D. Pastor of the First Church of Dedham,

"Sir,—In behalf of myself and family, I hereby present through you, to the First Church of Dedham, the Portrait of the Rev. Joseph Belcher, formerly Pastor of said Church, on condition that this Relic of Antiquity be put in order, and preserved in some suitable place, under the care and direction of the said first Church of Dedham. 

ELIZABETH GAY.

Dedham, January 1st, 1839."

Though, since the reception of this note, I have not had opportunity of communicating it to the Church, I hazard nothing in saying that the Portrait will be gratefully accepted, and that due care will be taken for its preservation.

NOTE L, p. 51.

She was Catharina Mears, the daughter of Mr. Samuel Mears, who kept the public house near the Roxbury line, long and familiarly known as the "George Tavern," and which was burned July 31st, 1775. Her mother was Maria Catharine Smith, and one of her ancestors held a commission in Cromwell's army. She was a member of the Roxbury church. She died as already stated in 1797, at the age of 95. A tender and beautiful tribute to her memory, written in all the fulness of filial affection, by her son the Hon. Samuel Dexter, Sen. appeared in a newspaper then published in Dedham. It is, however, too long for insertion.

The Rev. Mr. Dexter has recorded in his Journal the birth of eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. One of the sons, the Hon. S. Dexter, Sen. already mentioned, is well remembered here. It was the wish of his father to educate him for the ministry, and for this purpose he fitted him for College, but the theology of the day being abhorrent alike to his understanding and his feelings, the design was abandoned. He engaged in the mercantile profession, and having, at the age of 36,
acquired property sufficient to satisfy his moderate desires, he relinquished business, and came, in 1662, to reside in his native town, where he remained till after the commencement of the Revolutionary war. He then retired to Woodstock, in Connecticut, and returned to Dedham after the close of the war. Not long after the death of his wife, in 1784, he sold his place to Dr. John Sprague, and went to Marlborough, thence to Weston, and in 1800, to Mendon, where he died in 1810, in the 85th year of his age, bequeathing in his will five thousand dollars to found a professorship for promoting the study of Biblical Criticism in Harvard University.

Of the numerous marks of respect he received from the public, of the trusts reposed in him, and the responsible offices he was at different times, called to fill, it does not fall within the design of my present remarks to speak. It is pleasing to dwell on his merits of a humbler kind, to witness him as a citizen of the place, taking an interest in all its affairs, civil and religious, engaged on all important committees, for several years serving as clerk of the Town and Parish, the records of which, during his residence here, furnish ample testimony to his discretion, activity, high standing, and influence.

Mr. Dexter had a taste for theological reading, which he liberally indulged, but in his views he continued to the end of life to dissent from what he regarded as the austere doctrines of the Genevan school. He was eminent for piety and talents; he was a man of scrupulous integrity, exact and methodical in all his habits.

He married Hannah Sigourney, daughter of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who was one of the company of French Protestants, or Huguenots, who emigrating soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled at Oxford, in Worcester county, but who being soon after attacked by the Indians, fled to Boston. He was the father of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter.

For the use of the Rev. Samuel Dexter's Diary, I am indebted to the Misses Clap, of Dorchester, whose father Capt. Lemuel Clap, married one of his daughters, and to Mrs. Palmer, late of Needham, and daughter of the late Rev. Jason Haven of this place, who also married a daughter of Mr. Dexter. To Mrs. Palmer I am also indebted for other aid. The Journal contains some allusions to the eminent Divines of the early part of the last century, but I find nothing respecting them worth extracting. The following is the only incident I will quote. It is given under date of Feb. 21, 1723, when Mr. Dexter was a candidate for the ministry. "Visited old Dr. M. at Boston, and received his dying blessing. I begged his blessing. He replied, the Lord
be with you and bless you, and make your labors more successful than mine." This could be no other than Dr. Increase Mather, who died the 23d of August following, a disappointed and melancholy old man.

NOTE M, p. 66.

A few remarks on the origin and history of these funds, and the conditions on which they are held, may not be out of place here. As early as 1638, one acre of ground, on which the meeting house now stands, "abutting on High street towards the North," was obtained by the Town, in exchange, of Joseph Kingsbury, for the purpose of erecting a meeting house upon it, after it was determined not to place it on the spot originally reserved for it. In 1641, three years after, as the Proprietor's records informs us, "Mr. John Phillips alienateth and selleth to the Church three acres," being another part of the same lot, which had been sold to him by Kingsbury the preceding year, having the burial ground on the South. The same year, 1641, said Kingsbury, upon a certain consideration, grants to the church the remaining three acres lying between the parcel last named and the acre before relinquished for the meeting house. In this way the church came into possession of the whole square. After this, grants or donations in land or money were, from time to time, made by the Proprietors or by individuals, the purpose being sometimes specified, as "for the use and accommodation of a teaching church officer," at other times not, it being thought unnecessary probably, as it would be naturally inferred that property granted to a church, was intended to be bestowed for religious uses, of which the support of public worship would be regarded as the principal. No more specific condition or limitation than that above mentioned, occurs in any of the grants; no other trust or use is named. There is no reference whatever to the theological sentiments of the Teacher, or the doctrines he is to explain or inculcate. In this respect the funds are, as I have already observed, wholly unfettered, a circumstance to which I am desirous of calling the attention of my readers, as I have reason to believe that the subject has been misapprehended by some who are unacquainted with the facts in the case.

There is no evidence that the donors intended to throw any impediment in the way of entire freedom of thought in those who should come after. Had they designed to leave posterity the liberty which they themselves enjoyed, and which they prized so
highly, of forming their own opinions on all subjects pertaining to religion, availing themselves of whatever further light might break forth from God's word, I see not how they could have proceeded otherwise than they did, for it is impossible that grants for a religious use, should be conveyed in more general and comprehensive terms.

What portion of the lands thus acquired, were occupied by the minister, or what part of the proceeds of them was appropriated to his maintenance before the time of Mr. Dexter, we have no means of ascertaining. He, it will be recollected, had the use of all the lands "commonly known by the name of Parsonage." How much this included at that time, is not very clear. When Mr. Haven was settled, the church, as already stated, grants him the use of its land about the meeting house, and three meadows and one pasture, which are specified, in addition.

In regard to the early management of the church property, I find no very satisfactory information. The Town, or the select men of the same, appear for some years to have had the custody of it, the affairs of the church and Town being here as elsewhere, at that period, intimately blended. In 1668, the Town chooses a committee on the subject of making some improvement on the Church Meadows, and renting the same. The committee rent them to Lieut. Joshua Fisher for three years, and engage to make him the offer of them for a further term, provided the church have no "occasion for them to supply the use of the ministry before." It is added, "the select men do allow of and confirm the above written covenant." Again, in 1673, we have an account of the renting of the Church Meadows for one year, one of them for "three loads of hay to be paid for the use of Mr. Adams," then minister. This, too, was an act of the select men. In 1668, the Town, as has been seen, was engaged in discussing the question of planting an orchard and making other improvements in what was called the Church lot. As early as 1686, however, we find that the Deacons had the care of the lands and the proceeds of them. More than half a century afterwards, 1754, a law was passed constituting the Deacons of churches a corporation for holding and managing property subject to the direction of the church. Before the passage of this law, as appears from the Deacons' Books, (pp. 124 et seqq.) the church had money to a certain amount at interest, loaned by the Deacons in trust for the benefit of the church.

It was not, as before stated, till after the close of the revolutionary war, that an act of the church is recorded appropriating its annual income for the payment in part of the ministers salary. This appropriation was afterwards frequently omitted in order
still further to augment the funds, but it has now, for many years, been regularly made.

The property belongs to the first, or old church, to be managed by its Deacons, whom the law creates a corporation for this and similar purposes, and who are to hold the same in trust, to be employed by them, under superintendence of the church, for the support of public worship for the general good of the inhabitants of the Parish.

NOTE N, p. 68.

The following is a list of Mr. Haven's printed Sermons.—Thanksgiving Sermon, Nov. 21, 1758—Artillery Election Sermon, June 1, 1761—Sermon at Framingham, 1761—at Ordination of Rev. Edward Brooks, at North Yarmouth, 1764—at the General Election, 1769—on the death of Hannah Richards, 1770—at Ordination of Ephraim Ward, Brookfield, 1771—of Moses Everett, Dorchester, 1774—at Funeral of Rev. Samuel Dunbar, 1783—at Ordination of Rev. S. Palmer, Needham, 1792—Sermon preached forty years after his ordination.

The Rev. Jason Haven was born in Framingham, where his father was Deacon, March 2d, 1773, O. S.—was graduated at Harvard University, 1754, and in Nov. 1756, married Catharine Dexter, daughter of his immediate predecessor. He was a member of the Convention for forming the constitution of the Commonwealth, and an original member of the Massachusetts Charitable Society.

Mr. Haven left, by will, thirty dollars, for the establishment, provided the same sum should be contributed in addition, of a Parish Library, to consist of works on religious subjects, "books of warm and bitter controversy being excluded." The plan and regulations of the Library were adopted at a meeting of the Parish, Aug 27, 1804, and the Library is open to all the members of the first Parish. Additions are now annually made to it by a collection taken at the Spring Fast.

NOTE O, p. 70.

The case came on for trial, at Dedham, at the Feb. Term, 1820, and a verdict was then taken under the direction of the Judge, but questions being raised on certain points of law, the case was argued before a full court, at the October Term, 1820. The Opinion of the Court, which is long and elaborate, may be found in the 16th vol. Mass. Reports, pp. 488—522.

In this decision the Court first examined the nature of the grants out of which the funds in question have arisen, and they came to the conclusion "that the land granted was for the beneficial use of the assembly of Christians in Dedham, which were
no other than the inhabitants of that town who constituted the religious society within which the church was established," that "these inhabitants were the cestui que trusts—and the equitable title was vested in them, as long as they continued to constitute the assembly denominated the church in the grants;" the Deacons of the church being, by the law of 1754, constituted trustees for holding such property, the church having "supervisory powers in the nature of visitation that they might compel the Deacons to appropriate the proceeds of the property, according to the will of the donors." The question which next presented itself was, "whether the Plaintiffs have proved themselves to be Deacons of the same church to which the grants were originally made for the trusts before mentioned."

The Plaintiffs, it will be recollected, were Deacons of that part of the Old church which continued to be connected in worship and ordinances with the Parish. The question, which the court now proceed to discuss is, whether this is the true successor of the old church, entitled to the name, and all the privileges of the said ancient or first church. They decide that it is.

Most of our old churches have existed in connexion with corporate religious Societies, or Parishes; and if all the members of a church so situated, should withdraw, another church might be formed, which would succeed to all the rights and privileges of the old.

After some argument, the court proceed. "The consequences of the doctrine contended for by the defendant will glaringly show the unsoundness of the principle upon which the argument is founded. The position is, that whenever property is given to a church, it has the sole control of it, and the members for the time being may remove to any other place even without the Commonwealth, and carry the property with them.

"Now property bestowed upon churches, has always been given for some pious or benevolent purpose, and with a particular view to some associated body of Christians. The place in which the church is located is generally had in view by the donor, either because he there had enjoyed the preaching of the Gospel and the ordinances, or because it was the place where his ancestors or his family and friends had assembled together for religious purposes. These associations will be found to be the leading motive for the particular direction which his charity has received. If he gives to a church for the general purpose of promoting piety, or for the use of the poor of the church, he generally designates the body, by the place where it is accustomed to worship."

To remove the property therefore, or what amounts to the same thing, to sever the connexion between the Parish and the
church the Deacons of which are by law constituted trustees for
the holding of such property, would be to contravene the will
of the donors. Thus, by the very act of secession, the members
seceding, forfeit all claim to the name, rights, and privileges of
the old, or original, church.

Having ascertained the legal character of the original grants,
and decided that the church remaining in connexion with the
Parish constituted the first church, the true successor of the an­
tique church, it only remained to inquire whether the Plaintiffs
had been duly elected its Deacons. This led into a wide field
of inquiry, partly historical, and partly relating to the question of
ordination.

I had marked some passages for extract, but the limits I
must prescribe to myself forbid their insertion. I will give only
the two concluding paragraphs.

"The authority of the church should be of that invisible, but
powerful nature, which results from superior gravity, piety and
devout example; it will then have its proper effect upon the con­
gregation, who will cheerfully yield to the wishes of those who
are best qualified to select the candidate; but as soon as it is
challenged as a right, it will be lost. The condition of the mem­
bers of a church is thought to be hard where the minister elect­
ed by the parish is not approved by them; this can only be be­
cause they are a minority, and it is one part of the compensation
paid for the many blessings resulting from a state of society. A
difficulty of this nature surely would not be cured by returning
to the old provincial system of letting the minority rule the ma­
jority; unless we suppose that the doctrines of a minister are of
no consequence to any but church members. Besides, in the
present state of our laws, and as they are likely to continue there
is no hardship, although there may be some inconvenience; for
dissenting members of the church, as well as of the parish may
join any other church and society; or they may institute a new
society, so that they are neither obliged to hear nor to pay a
minister in whose settlement they did not concur. It is true, if
there are any parish funds, they will lose the benefit of them by
removal, but an inconvenience of this sort will never be felt,
when a case of conscience is in question.

"Having established the points necessary to settle the cause,
viz. that the property sued for belongs to the First Church in
Dedham, sub modo, that is, to be managed by its Deacons un­
der the superintendence of the church, for the general good of
the inhabitants of the First Parish, in the support of the public
worship of God—that the members of the church now associa­
ted and worshipping with the First Parish, constitute the First
Church—and that the plaintiffs are duly appointed Deacons of
that Church; it follows that the verdict of the jury is right, and
that judgment must be entered accordingly."

It only remains to add a few words on the question, did the
majority of the church finally withdraw, and if not, why did that
portion of it, which remained with the Parish, make no effort to
rebut the evidence introduced by the seceders to show that a
majority did retire? The answer is not difficult. The portion
of the church which remained in connexion with the Parish, or
their legal advisors, did not consider it as material, in the pend­
ing controversy, on which side the majority was. They were will­
ing to concede to the other party all the advantage accruing to
them from the supposition that the majority of the church mem­
ers was proved to have withdrawn. This, they were the more
ready to do, as they wished to present the case in its simplest
form, and unincumbered by any extraneous questions. They
wished to appeal to first principles. They believed that accord­
ing to these principles the right was with them, and the event
proved that, so far as human tribunals are capable of deciding,
they were not in error.

At the same time they maintained, and it is still maintained by
us, that though the church by vote undoubtedly refused to con­
cur with the Parish in the proceedings of the ordination, yet a
majority of its members, including two or three individuals, who,
though they had never had their relations formally transferred
from other churches, had for many years, regularly communi­
cated with this church, and had been recognized as members of it,
by being appointed on committees, or elected as delegates to
represent it at ordinations, certainly never did leave, but on the
contrary, adhered to the Parish. Of this there is no question.

But throwing out of view the names of the communicants al­
luded to, it is further maintained, that a majority of the old
members did not, in fact, retire, when, soon after the ordination, the
dissatisfied members of the church and Parish, at length came
to the determination to set up a separate altar over against the
old; one dying before secession, and others, who opposed the
proceedings of the Parish before the ordination, afterwards yield­
ing their scruples, and living and dying in communion with the
church adhering to the Parish. This, I believe, from a careful
inspection of a very accurate list of the original members, to be
a fact. It is certainly so, if we reject from the list the names of
some, who had removed and permanently resided out of town,
and one, if I mistake not, without the limits of the State, and
who, it might be fairly argued, whatever might be the ecclesias­
tical usage in such a case, were not in strict equity, and accord­
ing to our republican notions, entitled to vote; and one of whom
on being solicited, refused so to do, on the ground that being a
non resident here, he had no right to interfere. Of one thing there can be no dispute, that is, that after the ordination, there was a larger vote sanctioning the proceedings of the Parish than was ever given against them. I make this whole statement after a diligent examination of authentic documents, and ample means of information, and I believe that every part of it can be fully substantiated.

As before observed, the counsel for the Parish, or that part of the church which still adhered to it,—a fact which should ever be borne in mind,—did not see fit, for reasons already stated, to go into the question, on which side the majority was, and did not introduce any evidence on the point, or attempt to refute that introduced by the other party, but allowed the seceders all the benefit they might be able to derive from the concession, that they had shown the majority to be with them. Such a concession in law, and so far as the trial was concerned, of course, was regarded as proof, and so it appears in the Report. This circumstance has, I believe, led to some misapprehension, but as understood at the time, and according to the explanation above given, it cannot be appealed to as affording sanction to the belief, that a majority of the male church members did, in reality leave the old place of worship.

I take peculiar satisfaction in observing that the excitement, which attended the controversy above referred to, has, we have reason to believe, completely subsided. None but friendly feelings now appear to exist between the members of the different religious societies in this place; the courtesies of social life are resumed, and the right of private judgment respected. Ever may it be so. A religion of peace should lull to rest every unholy passion of our nature. Its fruits should be peace.

NOTE P. p. 70.

A few miscellaneous facts, mostly of a recent date, I will throw together in this note.—In 1818 the old meeting house, in which we are now assembled, erected in 1662, retained, both within and without, its ancient form, the bell, which, however, was silent, being suspended in the porch on what now constitutes the north side, but which was then one of the ends. Soon after the induction of my predecessor into office, a company was formed for the purpose of enlarging it, and the Parish granted them liberty to execute the project, and accepted a plan which had been presented by a committee on the subject, but difficulties afterwards occurring, the design was abandoned. In 1805, the Parish determine to enlarge it at their own expense, and vote a sum of money for the object, but their votes were subsequently rescinded, and here it was understood that
the "whole matter" should be permitted to subside. In 1807, the Parish vote to erect a new meeting house, and agree on a plan for the same, and choose a building committee, and authorize them to proceed forthwith to make contracts, to borrow money, and to dispose of the old meeting house, or any part of it, or make use of the materials for constructing the new. This, and other votes on the subject were soon after rescinded, and so the matter rested till the autumn of 1819, when by vote of the Parish, the old house was enlarged by an addition in front, the direction of the roof being changed, the North and South porches being at the same time removed, and the building entirely remodelled within. A clock was added without and within, the former being the gift of the Hon. Edward Dowse and Mrs. Hannah Shaw; and the latter, of Messrs. John and Samuel Doggett, jr. of Boston, formerly of Dedham. In 1821, an Organ was purchased; and the next year Dr. Watts' Version of the Psalms was exchanged for the New York Collection of Psalms and Hymns.

In 1828, the Deacons were authorised by vote of the church to procure a vestry to be used for occasional meetings, for the Sunday school, and as a place of deposit for the Parish and Juvenile Libraries. The origin of the former has been already stated. It contains over 400 volumes. The Juvenile Library was instituted by subscription in 1827, and is supported by a collection taken after the services on the day of the annual Thanksgiving. It contains between 400 and 500 volumes.

The Council for the Ordination of the present Pastor, Oct. 29, 1818, was composed of the following Ministers with their Delegates—Rev. Dr. Reed of Bridgewater—Rev. Doctors Kirkland and Ware, of the University Church, Cambridge—Rev. Mr. Palmer of Needham—Rev. Mr. Bradford, and Rev. Dr. Gray of Roxbury—Rev. Mr. Whitney of Quincy—Rev. Doctors Lowell and Channing of Boston—Rev. Mr. Ripley of Waltham—Rev. Mr White of Dedham—Rev. Mr Sanger of Dover—Rev. Mr. Field of Weston—and Rev. James Walker of Charlestown. Mr Field made the Introductory, Dr. Reed the Ordaining, and Dr. Gray, the Concluding Prayer Dr. Ware preached. Mr. Palmer gave the charge, and Mr. White the fellowship of the churches. The Result of Council was drawn up, and read in public by Dr. Channing.

At the time of the ordination in 1818, the church had three Deacons, Dea. Joseph Swan, who died Nov. 13, 1818,—Dea. Jonathan Richards, who, in a communication addressed "to the First Church of Christ in Dedham," and bearing date the 22d of Feb. 1819, resigned his office;—and Dea. Samuel Fales, who having ceased to be connected in worship and ordinances with
the first church, was dismissed from office April 6th, 1819, without, however, any imputation on his moral and religious character.

Dea. Eliphalet Baker and Dea. Luther Richards were chosen March 15th, 1819. The latter died Dec. 5th, 1832, and the Hon. John Endicott was chosen in his place. Dea. Martin Marsh was chosen July 22d, 1838, the church having now three Deacons.

The following list of those who have previously held the office in this church, with the year of their death, is as complete as I have the means of rendering it. Whether or not any names are wanting in the earlier part of it, I cannot say. Henry Chickering, died 1671—Nathan Aldis, 1676—John Aldis, 1700—Thomas Metcalf, 1702—William Avery, 1708—Joseph Wight, 1729—Jonathan Metcalf, 1731—John Metcalf, 1749—Joseph Wight, 1756—Jonathan Onion, 1758—Ephraim Wilson, 1769—Richard Everett, 1746—Nathaniel Kingsbury, 1775—William Avery, 1796—Ebenezer Richards, 1799—Joseph Whiting, 1806—Isaac Bullard, 1808—Aaron Fuller, 1816.

The Rev. Mr Haven in his Sermon preached Feb. 7th, 1796, forty years after his induction into office, states that of the 529 persons who had died in the Parish during that term, 74 died between the ages of 70 and 80; 42 between the ages of 80 and 90; and 9 lived to the age of 90, or upwards; that is, about 1 in 59 reached the age of 90 or more, 1 in 10 or 11, that of 80, and 1 in between 4 and 5, the age of three score years and ten, or more—Baptisms, 904; admissions to the church, 276; marriages, 279.

Between Feb 7th, 1796, and Mr. Haven's death in 1803, the number of persons whose deaths are recorded on the church book, is 110; of whom 11 died between the age of 70 and 80; 10 between 80 and 90; and 3 over 90; that is, 1 in 36 reached the age of 90, or over; 1 in 8 the age of 80, and nearly 1 in 5, that of 70 or more.—Baptisms, 114; admissions to the church, 36; marriages, 43.

Between 1803 and 1818, the number who died was 272; of whom 7 lived to be 90 or more; 15 died between 80 and 90; and 32 between 70 and 80; that is, about 1 in 39 reached 90, a little more than 1 in 12 lived to be 80 or more, and 1 in 5 to be 70 or more.—Baptisms, 285; admissions to the church, 105; marriages, 141.

Between 1818 and 1838, 278 have died; of whom 5 attained to the age of 90 and over; 18 died between 80 and 90; and 22 between 70 and 80; that is, about 1 in 55 have lived to be 90 or more; 1 in 12 to 80 or over, and 1 in 6 to be 70 or more.—Baptisms, 138; admissions to the church, 53; marriages, 168.
AN ADDRESS,
DELIVERED AT THE
CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION,
IN
PETERBOROUGH, N.H.
OCT. 24, 1839.

BY JOHN HOPKINS MORISON.

BOSTON,
PRINTED BY ISAAC R. BUTTS,
1839.
A hundred years ago this whole valley, from mountain to mountain, from the extreme north to the extreme southern limit, was one unbroken forest. The light soil upon the banks of the Contoocook was covered with huge and lofty pines, while the rocky hills and rich loamy lands were shaded with maple, beech and birch, interspersed with ash, elm, hemlock, fir, oak, cherry, bass, and other kinds of wood. Bogs and swamps were far more extensive then than now; and the woods in many parts, on account of the fallen timber and thick underbrush, were almost impassable. The deer and the moose roamed at large; the wolf and bear prowled about the hills; the turkey and partridge whirred with heavy flight from tree to tree, while the duck swam undisturbed upon the lonely, silent waters. The beaver and the freshet made the only dam that impeded the streams in their whole course from the highlands to the Merrimack; the trout, pickerel and salmon moved through them unmolested, while the old Monadnock, looking down in every direction upon almost interminable forests, saw in the hazy distance the first feeble encroachments upon the dominion which he had retained over his wild subjects for more than a thousand years.

That an attempt was made to settle this town as early as 1739 there can be no doubt. The authority of the petition
for incorporation as a town, of which, through the Secretary of State, we have been favored with a copy, is on this point decisive. The town was surveyed and laid out by Joseph Hale, Jr. in 1737. Of the party that came in 1739 no memorial remains. Probably they were driven away before any considerable clearing had been made. In 1742 five men,* each with an axe and a small supply of provisions upon his shoulders, came from Lunenburg, Mass., and cleared a few small patches of land near the old Meeting-house. They abandoned the settlement at, or more probably considerably before, the alarm of war in 1744. Soon after this party three men cut down the brush and girdled the large trees on the hill near the Ritchie-place at the south part of the town, but left before they had put in their seed. They probably returned the next year with Thomas Morison and John Swan. It could not have been later than 1744, and must have been at a period when there were no other settlers here. For it is a story often told by the children of Thomas Morison, and which cannot well be doubted, that soon after they came, several Indians called upon them just after breakfast, appeared friendly, and, after tarrying a short time, went away. When the cook, however, came from chopping to prepare a dinner for the party, he found not only the pot which he had left upon the fire robbed of its contents, but all their provisions carried off; and they were obliged to go to Townsend, twenty-five miles, for a dinner; which they would not have done had there been other inhabitants here at the time.

In 1744 the town was entirely abandoned, and the settlement was not resumed till the peace of 1749. Indeed, I have

* The traditions are by no means distinct, and it is possible that this party came as early as 1739. They may not have staid more than a single season. Their names, according to Mr. Dunbar, (see N. H. Historical Collections, Vol. I, p. 129) were William Robbe, Alexander Scott, Hugh Gregg, William Gregg and Samuel Stinson. John Todd, senior, a high authority in the antiquities of our town, says they were William Scott, William Robbe, William Wallace, William Mitchell and Samuel Stinson.

The second party were William M'Nee, John Taggart, William Ritchie.
found little evidence that families* had established themselves here previous to that period, and this presumption is confirmed by the fact that the first male child, John Ritchie, was not born till February 22, 1751. All that was done therefore previous to the war of '44 was only to prepare the way for the future settlement, which was commenced in earnest in 1749. From that time the colony was rapidly increased by new accessions from abroad till in '59 there were forty-five or fifty families, from Lunenburg, Londonderry, and some immediately from Ireland. They all, however, belonged to the same stock. They came to this country from the north of Ireland, and were usually called Scotch-Irish.

Early in the reign of James I,† on the suppression of a rebellion by his Catholic subjects in the north of Ireland, two millions of acres of land, almost the whole of the six northern counties, including Londonderry, fell to the king; and his Scotch and English subjects were encouraged by liberal grants to leave their own country, and settle on these lands, in order to keep in awe the turbulent spirits, who had so often defied the authority and arms of the British government. This accounts in some measure for the hatred which the English and Scotch population bore to the Catholics, who could not but hate the men who occupied the soil from which their countrymen had been forcibly expelled. The great Irish rebellion — for they were many — which happened thirty years after, in the reign of his son, doubtless had its origin in the attempt of the Irish Catholics to extort the redress of grievances and repel religious persecution; and we may well suppose that they had not yet forgotten the transfer of their property to foreigners of a religion different from their own. The plot of a general massacre of the Protestants was discovered in the southern part of the kingdom before the time fixed for its execution; but this was unknown in Ulster, and the most cruel destruction of lives

* Catharine Gregg, mother of Gov. Miller, is said to have been baptised here in 1743.
and property ensued that has ever stained the bloody pages of history. Some of the first settlers of our Derry were probably alive at the time.

John Morison,* my great, great, grandfather, who died here in 1776, was born about thirty years after, but you may well suppose that vivid pictures of this dreadful time, when, according to some,† not less than one hundred and fifty thousand were victims, had been strongly impressed upon his mind.

In order better to understand these people from whom we are descended, we must remember, that in addition to those already mentioned, in the time of Cromwell, about 1656,‡ a large number of English and Scotch, mostly Scotch, were induced to settle in Ireland on lands forfeited for the Popish rebellion of 1641, or by the adherents of the king. All these circumstances must have greatly exasperated the original Catholic Irish against the foreigners who had thus been planted among them.

In 1689, James II. returned from France. His intention was to settle the affairs of Ireland. On the first alarm of an intended massacre the Protestants flew to arms and shut themselves up in the strong places, particularly in Londonderry, where, under the command of Walker, an Episcopal clergyman, they defended themselves against the royal army. The ships sent to them with supplies were kept back by a boom across the entrance of the harbor, below the city. The French general who commanded the besiegers, threatened to raze the city to its foundations and destroy every man, woman and child, unless they would immediately submit to James. But these brave men, suffering at the time from hunger and every privation, treated the Popish general's threats with contempt. His next step was to drive the inhabitants, for thirty miles round, under the walls of the city. Among these miserable beings,

* I have retained the spelling for this name which was used by his sons Thomas and Jonathan in their signature to the petition for incorporation in 1759. It is the true Scotch orthography.
exceeding four thousand in number, was the family of John Mor-
ison, then nine years old. The greater part, after being detained
there three days without tasting food, were suffered to return to
their habitations, plundered of every thing, and many of them
actually dying upon the road of hunger and fatigue. His family
were admitted into the famished city. The garrison, which
consisted of about seven thousand, became greatly reduced* in
numbers; but their courage and constancy remained unshaken.
Just when their sufferings had reached the point beyond which
human nature can suffer no more, Gen. Kirk, who had deserted
his master and joined King William, sent two ships laden with
provisions and convoyed by a frigate, to sail up the river. One
of them, after two unsuccessful attempts, and amidst a hot fire
from both sides of the channel, at length reached the wharf to
the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants.

There are now alive† those who have frequently heard this
youth, when near a hundred years old, relate the most strik-
ing incidents of the siege.—Standing upon the walls of the city,
where he could survey at once the besieging army surrounding
them, and full of a more savage cruelty than any other army
had ever possessed; ready to execute their threats of indiscrimi-
nate rage and slaughter against the miserable sufferers within,—
the frigate and transports just heaving in sight, the foremost in
full sail, with a strong wind, prepared to cut the boom. Amid
a severe fire from the enemy, on both sides of the channel, she
strikes against it and bounds heavily back, to the consternation
of the inhabitants. Again she advances, new hopes are kin-
dled; she strikes and again bounds heavily back in full sight
of the pale and starving multitude. A third attempt is made;
the chain creaks and breaks. The old man could resume the

* Burnet says that near two-thirds of them perished by hunger.—Burnet's
† This whole account I have received from his grandson, Hon. Jeremiah
Smith, who remembers distinctly the tall, erect form, the engaging counte-
nance, urbane manners, and "peculiar native eloquence," which, together
with the remarkable scenes through which he had passed, made a strong im-
pression upon the young.
boy and describe most graphically the universal joy, when the ships reached the city.

I have dwelt long on this part of the subject.—For John Morison, the oldest man that was ever buried in our place, had among our early settlers, three sons, four sons-in-law, and the numerous family of Steeles* were descended from his sister; so that he has been connected far more extensively than any other man with our inhabitants, and may in some measure be looked back upon as the patriarch of the town.† But in addition to this, it is necessary to bear in mind the circumstances that have been mentioned, in order to understand the character of the emigrants from the north of Ireland. They have been often confounded with the Irish, and yet at the time of their emigration, there were perhaps no two classes in the United Kingdom more unlike, or more hostile. Every circumstance in their history, for more than a hundred years, had served only to inflame them against each other. The original strong traits, which separate the Scotch and Irish, had been gathering strength through more than a century of turbulence and bloodshed, in which they had been constantly exasperated against each other by their interests, by secret plots and open rebellions, by cruel massacres, by civil wars carried on through the most black and malignant of all passions, religious hatred.

It is not, therefore, wonderful that even after the establishment of the Protestant cause by the accession of William, Anne and the house of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain, they should still have found their position in Ireland uncomfortable. They considered themselves a branch of the Scotch Presbyterian church, and though permitted to maintain their own forms of worship unmolested, a tenth part of all their increase was rigorously exacted for the support of the established Episcopal church.—

* Capt. Thomas Steele came in 1763 from Londonderry, N. H.

† By marriage, or direct descent, he has been connected with the families of Steele, Wilson, Smith, Wallace, Moore, Mitchell, Todd, Jewett, Gregg, Ames, Holmes, Gray, Field, Stuart, Little, Swan, and probably some others, without including the last generation.
They also held their lands and tenements by lease, and not as the proprietors of the soil.* They were a religious people with an inextinguishable thirst for liberty, and could not therefore bear to be trammeled in their civil and religious rights.

For these reasons, and influenced particularly by the representations of a young man named Holmes, the son of a clergyman, who had been here, four Presbyterian ministers, † with a large portion of their congregations, determined to remove to this country. They belonged not to the lowest class in the country from which they came, but perhaps to the lower portion of the middling class. They had the cool heads which their fathers had brought from Scotland, and doubtless counted well the cost of the step they were about to take. It required no small strength of character to leave a country where they could live quietly and in tolerable comfort, for an untried region, with an ocean between, and a full prospect before them of the labors and sufferings incident to planting a new country with slender means. In the summer of 1718, they embarked in five ships for America.§ About one hundred families arrived in Boston § Aug. 4; and twenty families more in one of the vessels, landed at Casco-Bay, now Portland. Among these were three of the families (Gregg, Morison and Steele,) who afterwards settled in Peterborough. The vessel had intended to put in at Newburyport; but arrived at Casco-Bay so late in the season, that she

* See Century Sermon, by Rev. Edward L. Parker, of Londonderry, p. 7. See also Farmer's Belknap, p. 191.
† Holmes, James M'Gregore, William Cornwell and William Boyd. The Federal St. Church in Boston was founded by this same class of emigrants.
‡ From a manuscript left by Rev. James M'Gregore, and seen by Mr. Parker, it would appear that he preached to them on leaving Ireland, stating distinctly that they were coming to America in order "to avoid oppression and cruel bondage; to shun persecution and designed ruin; to withdraw from the communion of idolaters, and to have an opportunity of worshiping God according to the dictates of conscience and the rules of the inspired word."
§ They brought with them, according to Dr. Belknap, the first little wheels turned by the foot that were used in the country, and the first potatoes planted in New-England; which from them have ever since been called Irish potatoes.
was frozen in, and they, unable to provide more comfortable quarters, were obliged to spend the whole winter on board, suffering severely from the want of suitable accommodations and food. It is said that on first landing upon that cold and cheerless coast, the wintry ocean behind them and naked forests before, after the solemn act of prayer, they united in singing that most touching of all songs:—“By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion;” and with peculiar feelings as they surveyed the waste around them, and remembered the pleasant homes which they had left, might they add, “How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?”

They left Casco-Bay early in the spring, and began their settlement in Londonderry, April 11th, O. S., 1719. The people of the neighboring towns, supposing them to be Irish, harbored strong prejudices against them, and wished to have them driven out from the country. Soon after they began their settlement in Londonderry, a party from Haverhill, headed by one Herriman, came in order forcibly to expel them. It was on Friday afternoon, and the settlers, with their wives and children, had come together under an old oak, to attend, according to the good old Presbyterian fashion, the lecture preparatory to the communion, which was to be administered the following Sabbath. Herriman stopped his party and listened till the services were over, when, deeply affected by what he had seen and heard, he said to his followers, “Let us return; it is vain to attempt to disturb this people; for surely the Lord is with them.”*

In Sept. 1736 or ’37, another party came over from Ireland. Among them were the Smiths, the Wilsons and Littles. Mrs. Sarah M’Nee, or, as she was called, old Aunt Nay, who died within my memory, aged 97, (or, as some supposed, one hundred years old, was one of this party, and used to relate with much satisfaction, that as the vessel approached the wharf

* This account I have taken partly from Mr. Parker’s Sermon, and partly from the lips of John Todd, sen.
in Boston, a gentleman there, after inspecting them closely, said, "Truly, these are no poor folk, and," she always added, "he was an 'awfu' great gentleman; for he had ruffles on his fingers." It* was noised about that a pack of Irishmen had landed, and they were much annoyed by the observations that were made upon them. "Why," said one, with evident surprise, "these people are white." "So they are," said another, with not less astonishment, "as white as you or I." "It made my blood boil," said the elder William Smith, who was then about eighteen years old, "to hear ourselves called a parcel of Irish." The prejudice subjected them to a more serious inconvenience, and rendered it difficult to procure lodgings. They however succeeded in getting a Mr. Winship, in the east part of Lexington, to take them for the winter. His neighbors, especially during the intermission on Sundays, would crowd around him and remonstrate loudly against his harboring these Irishmen. At last he would listen no longer, but told them that if his house reached to Charlestown, and he could find such Irish as these, he would have it filled up with Irish, and none but Irish."

The spring or summer following (1737), they came to Lunenburg, Mass. from which place, and from Londonderry, small parties, as we have seen, came out between '39 and '49 to make a settlement in Peterborough. The township had been granted by the General Court of Massachusetts, on the supposition that it was within their limits, to Samuel Haywood† and others, but soon after was transferred to the famous Jeremiah Gridley of Boston, John Hill, Fowle and William Vassal, who were become the sole proprietors of the soil. Under purchases made from them, the first settlements were made, and the town took its name from Peter Prescott, of Concord, Mass.

*For this I am indebted to my great aunt, Sally Morison, who, though always feeble, and for many years an invalid, retains now, in her 85th year, a very perfect recollection of what she heard more than seventy years ago.

†The petition for incorporation (Oct. 31, 1739) says, "in consequence of a tract of land had and obtained from the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, by Samuel Haywood and others, his associates," &c.
Till 1749, almost nothing was done. It is impossible to say how many came then; but from that time the growth was rapid. The hardships of the first settlers cannot be understood from anything that is now experienced by the pioneers in our western territories. Being recently from a foreign country, they were unaccustomed to the axe, and by no means acquainted with the best method of clearing away the timber, and yet, here they were in the midst of an unbroken forest, to which alone they must look for support. The gloom and loneliness of the place, the hollow echoing of the hills and woods as the first tall pine fell groaning by their side, the sound of strange birds and insects, the dismal creaking and howling among the trees upon a stormy night, connected with what they had heard of destructive beasts and snakes, and the frightful acts of Indian cruelty which were going on all around them, must have made an impression upon them which we can hardly conceive. Add to these, the superstitious fears, the religious awe that overcame them as they stood here, apart from the civilized abode of man, and it will not seem strange if again and again they abandoned what they had begun even from imaginary fears, and withdrew that they might for a season be within the sympathy and security of an older settlement. A single incident will show the constant apprehension under which they lived. About twelve o'clock, on one of those autumnal nights, when the moon rising late, hangs with a sort of supernatural gloom over the horizon, the family of William Smith were suddenly startled from their sleep by shrieks of murder in the house of their nearest neighbor. Immediately, without waiting to put on a single garment, the father and mother, each with a child, left their log-hut, and forcing their way, no one could ever tell how, more than two miles through the woods, arrived at the log-house of her brother, (near where the South Factory now is) and spread the alarm, that they had barely escaped with their lives from the Indians. Capt. Thomas Morison, who was a man of greater martial coolness than his brother-in-law, after supplying them with
clothes, joined them with his own wife and children, one an infant, and after hiding them in the woods south of his house, set out for the fort, about a mile further south, saying as he left them, that if he should meet the enemy before reaching the fort they would know it, because he should certainly have time to fire, and kill at least one man before he should himself be killed or taken. Meanwhile, the Swans, another family at the south, had taken the alarm and fled for the fort. Soon after, a younger Swan returning home at that late hour, from what to young men is a very pleasant as well as important business, and finding his father’s boots and clothes by the bedside, and the house deserted, ran out almost frantic and spread the report that his whole family had been murdered and carried away by the Indians. The consternation was general and intense; and it was not discovered till morning that the whole panic was occasioned by some thoughtless young men at Mr. Cunningham’s, who had screamed and shrieked simply to frighten their neighbors, the Smiths.

This incident, trifling as it is, shows the constant apprehension in which our fathers every night retired to their beds; and yet they were brave men. About the same time with this alarm, perhaps the following summer, a report was spread here that the Indians had fallen upon the settlements at Keene. Immediately Capt. Morison with his company set out, and in the heat of summer, marched more than twenty miles through the woods to rescue their brethren from an enemy of unknown strength, who seldom spared a foe. Upon arriving at Keene, the men there were found mowing peaceably in the field, and so much were they affected by this act of kindness, that they could not refrain from weeping.*

Such was the continual fear of midnight fire and murder from the Indians for twenty years from the commencement of the settlement; being several times, as their petition says, driven off by the enemy, and “many of them almost ruined.” “Yet,” to use their own affecting language, “what little we had in the

* This was told me by his daughter, Elizabeth Morison.
world lay there; we having no whither else to go, returned to our settlement as soon as prudence would admit, where we have continued since, and cultivated a rough part of the wilderness to a fruitful field.”

But aside from the apprehension of danger, they surely had difficulties and hardships enough. Till 1751, they had no grist-mill, and were obliged to bring all their provisions upon their shoulders five-and-twenty miles. For many years there was not a glass window in the place. Their dwellings were miserable huts, not a board upon or within them till 1751, when three frame houses were erected. Most of the frame houses first made, were poorly built. In one,* considerably later than this, when the family had gathered round the table, the floor suddenly gave way just as the good man was asking a blessing, and the whole party, dinner and all, found themselves in the cellar. The first meeting house,† which must have been erected as early as 1752 or 1753, for several years was furnished with no other seats than rough boards laid loosely upon square blocks of wood. For a long period there were no oxen, and still later no horses. The first mill-stone used, was drawn (in 1751) more than a mile and a half by seventeen men and boys. Their food was meagre in kind, and not often abundant in quantity. Bean porridge, potatoes and samp (corn) broth were for the first twenty years the principal articles of diet. The women vied with the men, and sometimes excelled them in the labors of the field. There was no bridge till 1755, and the roads were fit only for foot passengers. But notwithstanding their privations and hardships, with insufficient clothing and almost without shoes, except in the severest weather, the first settlers lived to

* The house was William Moore’s, and William Smith, Esq. the man who was asking the blessing as they sunk.

† It was thirty feet square, and stood a little to the east of what we call the “old meeting-house,” which was raised in 1777. During the raising, a deep gloom was thrown over the whole assembly by the arrival of a courier, who announced that our troops had left Ticonderoga, and that a new levy was called for. In 1760 the first meeting-house was enlarged by an addition in front, considerably broader than the main body.
an unusually advanced period, and the three oldest people that have ever died in the place were natives of Ireland, and among our earliest inhabitants.*

Such was the condition of the town for the first twenty years after its settlement. About that period many new comforts began to be introduced. Oxen became more common. The richer part of the inhabitants might be seen going to meeting on horseback, the good man before, his wife on the pillion behind; while at noon the children would gather round with almost envious eyes to admire this curious and sumptuous mode of conveyance. All marketing was done with a horse. Butter was carried by tying two casks together and placing them across the horse’s back like panniers. In this way the wife of Major Wilson often carried her spare articles to Boston, while her son James was in Harvard College, between the years 1785 and ’89. The first chaise was introduced in 1793, and the first one horse wagon in 1810.

Few things could have given our ancestors more annoyance than their extreme awkwardness in the mechanical arts.† For this reason their houses must have been loose, cold, and deficient in almost every article of domestic convenience. Jonathan Morison‡ was the first, and for a considerable time, the only mechanic in town. He was a mill-wright, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a house-joiner, a stone-cutter, a gun-maker, and had the reputation of being really a workman at all these trades. He was the son of John Morison, and was considered the most gifted of the family, being a man of quick parts, great ingenuity

* John Morison and Sarah M’Nee, who died in their 98th, and Mrs. Cunningham in her 99th year.
† This was well taken off by uncle Mosey (as every one called him) in his account of Deacon Duncan’s hewing, and Deacon Moore’s ladder. “As I was ganging,” said he, “tho’ the woods, I heard a desprite crackling, and there I found a stick of timber that Deacon Duncan had hewn, sae crooked that it could na lie still, but was thrashing about among the trees. I tauld him that he must go and chain it down, or it wad girdle the hail forest.”
‡ Deacon Moore,” he said, “made a ladder, and it was sae twisting, that before he got half way to the top he was on the under side, looking up.”
‡ The first male child born in Londonderry.
and generous in the extreme, but unfortunately possessed, what
is too often the curse of superior endowments, a violent temper,
and a want of self-control, which led sometimes to intempe­
rance. To crown his misfortunes he had a wife who, in all but
his bad qualities, was the opposite to himself. A separation
took place, and he died in Vermont about the year ’78. The
second and third mechanics were William Cochran and James
Houston, both blacksmiths. From these small beginnings we
have gone on till now there is hardly a product of the mechanic
arts, belonging either to the comforts or elegancies of life, which
may not here be furnished.

The first use made of our water privileges* was for a saw
and grist-mill, on the spot where the Peterborough Factory now
stands. It was built by Jonathan Morison, in 1751. This was
an important event to the neighboring towns, who for several
years brought all their grain to this mill. It was built for
William Gordan, of Dunstable, Mass., and passed through
several owners into the hands of Samuel Mitchell in 1759.
The grist-mill was usually tended by his wife, and it was
thought could hardly be a source of much profit; for she would
take no toll from the poor, and when her customers were there at
meal time, she would constrain them to partake of her fare, and
often to remain through the night. The second saw-mill,
where a saw and grist-mill now stands near the South Factory,
was built by Thomas Morison in 1758, and the grist-mill added
in 1770. The race-way to these mills is through a ledge of a
sort of trap rock, on which it is extremely difficult to make any
impression by blasting with gunpowder. Besides, the use of
gunpowder for blasting seems to have been unknown here at
that time. Large fires were therefore built upon the ledge, and
when it was heated, water was thrown on. This scaled or
cracked the rocks, all that was loosened was removed, and the
same process repeated till a sufficient depth was gained.†

* For a very full and exact account of this part of the subject, see in the
Appendix, the reports prepared by John H. Steele.
† There are now in town 6 grist-mills and 7 saw-mills.
At this period, (1770,) log-huts were little used; substantial frame-houses, many of them two stories high, had been erected;* and though hard labor and a homely fare were their portion, our people perhaps enjoyed as much then of the real comforts of life as at any subsequent period. Robust health, and confirmed habits of industry and exposure, enabled them to enjoy what would now be esteemed intolerable hardships. Four bridges had been built across our two principal streams; † the roads had greatly improved; there were no longer apprehensions of danger from the Indians or wild animals. I cannot well picture to myself happier domestic scenes than might then be found in one of those spacious kitchens which some of us have seen, though not in their glory. The kitchen stretched nearly across the house,—at one end was the ample dresser, filled up with pewter platters and basins of every size, all shining bright, and telling many a story to the beholder, of savory broths, ‡ and Indian puddings, and possibly of pumpkin pies, even. The fireplace, which seemed to reach through half the length of the room, and was four or five feet high, not only contained between its capacious jambs, logs two or three feet in diameter, and almost sled length, heaped one above the other, with the proper accompaniments of foresticks and small wood; but back in one corner was an oven big enough to receive the largest pots and pans in which beans and brown bread ever were baked; and in both corners under the chimney was room for benches, where the children might sit on a winter’s evening, parching corn, while the huge green back-log and back-stick were simmering and singing, and three or four little wheels with

* Hugh Wilson moved into the first two-story house in 1753. The first brick house was built by Nathan Richardson in 1811 or ’12; the second by Jonas Loring in 1815. The whole number now in town is 23.

† The first near the great bridge in 1755; the second across Goose-brook previous to 1760; one at the North, and one at the South Factory in 1765, by labor from the town.

‡ Broth (barley or corn) was the favorite food. It is said that one of our eminent men, when a boy, wished that he could only be a king, for then he might have broth every day and as much as he wished.
various tones, were joining in the concert; and the large cat upon the wide stone hearth, interrupted occasionally by a gruff look from the dog, was industriously purring out her part of the accompaniment. There by the blazing fire, (for it would have been extravagance to burn any other light,) the children sit, with attention divided between the stories and the corn, and the young people, stealing now and then a sly glance or joke at the expense of their elders, burst out often into a chorus of laughter as their fathers, with grotesque humor, narrate the hardships and strange adventures of their early settlement, or dwell upon their favorite theme, the wonders of the old country, and especially “the pre-eminence of Ireland,” against which all their anger is now forgotten. At length the time for retiring has come; apples* and cider, after taking their station for a time upon the hearth, are served up. And now (for the guests, though neighbors, are expected to remain till morning,) a candle is lighted, the big Bible is brought out; the oldest man receives it with reverence, and after reading a chapter with a voice of peculiar and unaffected solemnity, all join in prayer, and the elder people withdraw. Now is the time for the young. No longer with suppressed laughter, but with loud and boisterous merriment, the evening is prolonged. The call from the sleepers, whose slumbers they have broken, produces only a momentary check. How long they sit up nobody knows; but before light the young men are gone, for they must spend the day in the woods. The common mode of neighborly visiting among the women, was to go in the morning, carrying with them, not unfrequently a mile or more, their little wheels, and returning before dark; thus enjoying all the advantages of good fellowship without loss of time.

This period of quiet however was of short duration. The difficulties with England soon began. Our fathers were too

*The first apple tree in the town was set out by John Swan, and is still alive. Apples must have been seldom used in the way I have mentioned, so early as 1770. The first cider was made by Mrs. John Smith. The apples were pounded in a barley mortar, and pressed in a cheese press.
zealous in their love of liberty to remain indifferent spectators, at a time like that. They entered warmly into the dispute. Private feelings were merged in their anxiety for the public good. News of the Lexington battle fell upon them like a sudden trump from heaven, summoning them to the conflict. "We all set out," said one who was then upon the stage, "with such weapons as we could get; going like a flock of wild geese, we hardly knew why or whither." The word came to Capt. Thomas Morison at day-light, that the regulars were upon the road; — in two hours, with his son and hired man, he was on his way to meet them; they on foot, he on horseback with a large baking of bread, which had just been taken from the oven, in one end of the bag, and pork in the other. This is but a sample of the general spirit which spread through the town, among men and women. "I was willing," said an old lady, whom I was questioning about those times, her pale cheeks kindling as she spoke, "that my father and brothers should run their chance with the rest." "I will not taste your tea," said another woman this same day; "I would as soon drink a man's blood."

At the battle of Bunker-hill, though there could not have been more than seventy or eighty families in the town, twenty-two of our citizens were present, and seventeen actively engaged in the fight. The night after the battle information was brought to Maj. Wilson* who then commanded the company, that the British were advancing upon the American lines, and at break of day every able-bodied man in town, with such weapons as he could procure, was on the march. At Townsend, those who went on foot heard the result of the battle and returned; † and then the old men, who had sons in the battle, set out to

* This anecdote is told me by his grandson, Gen. James Wilson, of Keene, who had it from his father, James Wilson Esq., who was born in this town 1766, and died in Keene, January, 1839.

† The greater part however were on horseback, and proceeded as far as West Cambridge, where they broke into a large vacant house, and passed the night.
learn whether their children were yet living, and had acquitted
themselves like men.

Seventeen days before the Declaration of Independence, the
following resolution was signed by eighty-three of our citizens,
which included all the strong men, except those who were in
the army, and possibly one or two besides.

"In consequence of the Resolution of the Continental Con­
gress, and to show our determination in joining our American
brethren in arms, in defending the lives, liberties, and properties
of the United Colonies:—

"We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and prom­
ise, that we will to the utmost of our power, at the risque of our
lives and fortunes, with arms oppose the hostile proceedings of
the British fleets and armies against the United Colonies."

It has always been a matter of wonder to the world how our
American Congress, which had no legal authority, whose
strongest enactment was nothing more than a recommendation,
should dare to make the Declaration of Independence, and still
more, be able to carry out their measures through a long and
discouraging war. The secret of their success is contained in
the resolution which I have just read. It was the spirit which
pervaded the people in their individual capacity, that nerved
their arm and gave them strength. It was the solemn engage­
ment and promise of the people, "at the risque of their lives
and fortunes, with arms, to oppose the hostile proceedings of
the British fleets and armies," that enabled Congress to take
and carry through those strong measures which have been the
admiration of every student of history. And in privations and
hardships, that school of stern and manly virtues, in which not
only here, but throughout the United Colonies, men were
brought up, may we not see the hand of God stretched out to
provide them with courage to declare, and strength to maintain
their rights;—that while He was elsewhere raising up men to
direct the councils and lead the armies of the nation, He was
here, and in places like this, making ready the strong nerves,
the hard muscles, the unflinching souls, to fight the battles that
should set them free. "He found them in a desert land, and in
the waste, howling wilderness; he led them about, he instructed
them," and when the great day had come, through the discipline
which he had imposed, they were found equal to their work.

It is impossible now to paint the anxieties which prevailed
through this little town during the war. Their remoteness from
the scene of action, while it lessened their dangers, by no means
diminished their fears. Rumors of terrible defeats and slaug­
ters, of victories that had never been gained, and battles that
were not fought, swayed them back and forth with doubts
more cruel than the worst uncertainty. They were constantly
in the dreadful expectation and suspense that precedes the
conflict, and tries the soul more sharply than the hottest fight.
No stranger made his appearance, but the town was full of
surmises, suspicions and strange reports. He must be stopt,
examined, and when fairly gone, suspicions were again afloat.
The sufferings of those left behind were greater than of those
in the war. It is sufficient however to say, that our citizens
nobly redeemed the pledge they had given at the commence­
ment of hostilities. During the war there were no mobs against
the tories, for there was not a man here who favored the British
cause.

Of our political history I shall say little. The terms on
which the original settlement was made, were such that no
Provincial* meeting could be held, or vote passed "obliging
any person to do any part towards supporting the gospel, build­
ing a meeting-house and bridges, clearing and repairing roads."
The act of incorporation was passed January 17th, 1760.
These corporate townships are a peculiar feature in our govern­
ment, and, so far as I know, have received only from a single
author† anything of the attention which is due to so important
a subject. Townships, with their peculiar rights, sprang, as I
suppose, from the form of church discipline which was originally
introduced into New England. Being composed entirely
of the people, they contain in themselves all the elements

* See petition for incorporation. † De Tocqueville.
of a pure democracy, and exercise all the functions of a more extended government. They are the schools in which young men are educated for higher offices, and in which all may be taught their duty as citizens. But the great purpose which they answer is, that they serve as a barrier against the encroachments of the state and federal governments.

A great danger in every government is, the centralization of power. For this reason only, that which relates to the whole nation in its federal capacity should be placed in the hands of the general government; and only that which relates to the whole state should be placed in the hands of the state government. All that remains should be left with the towns, and as a matter of fact nine-tenths of the real effective legislation in New England is performed by the towns. They raise the taxes, support the schools, roads, bridges. The parts of our general government which tend most to the centralization of power, and from which we have most to apprehend, as they, more than all others, tend to corruption, are the revenue and Post Office departments. Now, were it not for our townships, the same influence which pervades those departments, would take to itself, as it does in Prussia, the control of our roads, our schools, of all the taxes that are raised; and there would be at the heart of the republic an accumulation of power, with which no government on earth can be safely trusted. To prevent this dangerous result, we have in the first place our state governments, and then, what is of far greater importance, our town governments, which hold in their own hands more than nine-tenths of the real power which, so far as they are concerned, belongs to government.

Our town government, from the commencement, has been efficient and liberal. The town meetings in old times were often stormy, and ended in small results.* At all times of great

* An old man returning many years since from town meeting was asked what had been doing. "O," said he, "there was George Duncan, he got up and spakit a while, and Matthew Wallace, he got up and talkit a while, and Matthew Gray, he got up and blathered a while; and then they dismissed the meeting." A fair account of many town meetings.
party warfare in national politics, the contest here has been warm; and it has been well for the town, that while the same party (the conservative) has prevailed in every severe trial, it has at all times been confronted by a large and respectable minority. The severity of the contest kept alive the interest, it obliged men to examine and to think; and though, when parties are nearly equal, the temptation to gain a momentary triumph by dishonest artifice is sometimes too great to be resisted, the consciousness on each side that they are closely watched and cannot escape detection and exposure, will, where higher considerations fail, make them peculiarly circumspect in their movements. While the strong character of our citizens has done much to make political contentions severe since the first formation of parties under the federal government; the nearly equal division of parties has done much to sharpen the intellects, and restrain, if it did not correct, purposes grossly unjust.*

The ministerial history of the town is the darkest page in our calendar; but those whose feelings might be injured are now gone, and it is time that the subject should be placed in its true light. A Presbyterian minister, by the name of Johnston, came with the first settlers, and tarried with them about a year. Another by the name of Harvey, whose wife was the first person laid in the old grave-yard, was here for a time. A Mr. Powers supplied the desk in 1764. This is all that we know of them. John Morison, of a family entirely distinct from our first settlers, was born at Pathfoot, in Scotland, May 22, 1743; was graduated at Edinburgh, February 17, 1765; arrived at Boston the May following, and was ordained at Peterborough, November 26, 1766. From all that I can learn he was a man of decided talents; but it must be borne in mind, that the same ability will appear always more conspicuous in a bad than in a good man, just as a horse, or a building of perfect symmetry will always appear smaller than another of the same dimensions

* Party spirit in politics, has perhaps in no town been more violent than here, but it has never been permitted to disturb the cordiality of social intercourse.
whose parts are out of proportion. But after making all due allowance, we must, I believe, conclude that Mr. Morison possessed more than common powers, for good or for evil. But soon he proved himself an intemperate, licentious man, dangerous alike as the companion of either sex. A charitable construction was put upon the first symptoms of intemperance. At a party he was found unable to walk, and it was necessary to take him through the room where the young people were collected, in order to place him upon a bed. This was managed with so much adroitness, that no suspicion was raised, except with three or four church-members who were disposed to view it as an accident, at a time when similar casualties were not uncommon. But soon, while his bad habits in this line became notorious, his evil passions in another direction flared out, to the general scandal of the town. A Presbytery was held; he was suspended from his office for two or three months, a thing probably to his taste, as his salary was not suspended. At length, however, the people could no longer tolerate him; he relinquished his connection with the society in March, 1772; visited South Carolina, returned and joined the American army at Cambridge in '75. He was present at Bunker-hill, but excused himself from entering the battle on the ground that his gun-lock was not in order. The next day he joined the British, and continued in some capacity with them till his death, which took place at Charleston, S. C., December 10, 1782. He became a professed atheist. It is said that he spent his last days, when he was daily sinking to the grave, among profligate, abandoned associates, taking his part in every species of dissipation which his decaying strength would permit; and just before his death, gave a sum of money to his companions, requesting them to drink it out upon his coffin. His wife, Sarah Ferguson, in every respect a true, exemplary woman, never to the time of her death, (November, 1824, æt. 84,) lost either the interest or the confidence with which she had first joined her fortunes to his. It is refreshing to add, that their son, John Morison, who died more than forty years ago, was, by the uniform consent of all
who knew him, one of the most pure-hearted and clear-headed
men that our town has produced. I have never heard him
mentioned by one who had known him except with strong
affection and respect. He received his education at Exe­
ter, where for a time he was also a teacher. When, many
years after, I went to Exeter, and was there in a very hum­
ble employment, a friendless, ignorant boy, the fact that my
name was the same with his, had, I have no doubt, a very
considerable influence in bespeaking for me unusual kindness
on the part of my employer,* who had been his early friend.

From '72 to '78 our people had no settled ministry. The
meeting-house was built in '77, and traditions are handed
down respecting a Mr. Clarke, who was preaching here at the
time. Many who heard him testify that the following is nearly
an exact account of the exordium to one of his discourses.
“ This is a stately house; and who meet here? The folk,
they meet here, and the Deil, he meet here too; and he is
among the foremost and the fattest † o’ ye. An’ he’s peeking
out at ye, like a wee mouse in the wa’; ye dinna see him,
but he kens ye. An’ now where is the gun to shoot him wi’?
Here it is,” said he, lifting up the Bible and taking aim, “here
is the gun. Too! too! he’s deed, he’s deed.” The preach­
ing of that period was usually without notes, the sermons very
ordinary, very long, and made up very much of repetitions,
especially of a continual play upon the words of the text.

The second settled minister of the place, David Annan,‡
was born at Cupar of Fife in Scotland, April 4, 1754, came
eyarly to America, was educated at New Brunswick College,
N. J., was ordained for Peterborough, at the call of the people

* Joseph Smith Gilman.
† This, it was thought, might apply to Dea. Mitchell and his wife, as he
was usually foremost, and she the fattest in the assembly.
‡ His brother, Robert Annan, was first at Wallkill, N. Y., then pastor of
the Federal Street Church in Boston, then of a society in Philadelphia,
where he died. He was a man of uncommon power and of great austerity.
here, by the Presbytery which met at Wallkill, N. Y., October, 1778, and was dismissed from this society at his own request, by the Presbytery of Londonderry, at their June session here, in 1792. He was deposed from the ministry by the Presbytery of Londonderry in 1800, and died in Ireland in 1802. The people received him with high expectations, and were slow to believe anything against him. Though in talents inferior to his predecessor, he was a man of more than common endowments, but was intemperate and morose, uniting in his character the extremes, which sometimes meet in smaller tyrants than Nero, of levity and cruelty. With the elders of the church he was stern, inflexible, and austere. With young men his conversation was loose, licentious, corrupt. He was easily flattered, but being opposed, haughty and overbearing. When treated to toddy at a public house by a man of no good repute, he expressed himself delighted with his companion, and wished he had a whole church like him; and when one of the most upright of his society* attempted in private and with great kindness to remonstrate with him on his conduct, his only reply was, "It is a wise people that can instruct their minister;" "and a foolish minister," it might have been rejoined, "who cannot be instructed by his people." Rev. Mr. Miles, of Temple, used to relate, that once on coming to his house to exchange with him, he found him sitting at a table with a fiddle, (made by his own hands,) a bottle of rum and a Bible before him. In his own house he was the severest of tyrants. His wife, an amiable, discreet, patient, uncomplaining woman, often retired at night amid actions and threats, which left to her scarcely a hope that her life would be spared till morning, and sometimes she passed the whole night with her children in the woods. After the birth of their last child his conduct towards her and her children was so brutal that it could no longer be borne. She fled from his house with her child,

* Henry Ferguson, a thoroughly excellent man. Not one of the name is now among us. Three of the sons removed to South Carolina, where the last of them, having accumulated a large property, died within a few years.
and a petition for a bill of divorce, on the ground of extreme cruelty, was granted at once by the court with a feeling almost of horror at the disclosures then made.

The only organized mob, of which I find any evidence in our history, was against Mr. Annan. Just at the time of his wife's flight with her child, when stories were spread through the town, and every one was burning with indignation, the young men who were collected at a ball, talking over the circumstances till they had wrought themselves into a perfect rage, determined to take the matter into their own hands. Blacking their faces with soot, disguising themselves in every uncouth dress, and provided with a rough spruce pole, at the dead of night, in the autumn of 1799, they knocked at the door of Mr. Annan's house, and when he, suspecting no harm, came to them as if from his bed, three* of the strongest among them seized him, placed him upon the pole, and the whole party with shouting and howling, the tinkling of cow-bells, the blowing of horns and pumpkin vines, carried him a full half mile and threw him into a muddy pond. An attempt was made by Mr. Annan, who always after went armed with pistols, to bring the rioters to justice. Writs were issued against them, and had he possessed a single friend, he might have succeeded. But nothing could be proved; the feelings of those who had been most severe against him began to relent, and they looked with pity on the solitary, friendless, dejected old man.

The provocation in this case undoubtedly was great. But never, we may safely say, in a well organized society, can an emergency arise where individuals may be justified in taking upon themselves that which it belongs to the natural retributions of Providence and the authorised laws of the land to inflict. It may pain and vex us to see the oppressor go untouched; but sooner or later punishment will overtake him, and we know

* "What do ye want o' me?" he inquired sternly. "Only a little of your good company," was the reply from a young man, whose name has since been known through the United States.
not how severely he may suffer at the very moment when he seems most happy.

Mr. Morison and Mr. Annan were the only settled ministers in the place for fifty years. Two questions naturally come up: How could such men be tolerated so long; and how could religion be kept alive under such instructions?

They were tolerated, in the first place, because of the great veneration which was then attached to the profession. "Ministers," said one at the commencement of the difficulties with Mr. Morison, "are edged tools, and we maun aye be carefu' how we handle them." "Keep yoursel' to yoursel'," said an elder of the church with great solemnity to his son, who was beginning to intimate that Mr. Annan was not what he should be. Another reason which made many, and those among the most rigid disciplinarians, more tolerant than they would otherwise have been, was, that the ministers though wrong in practice were yet sound in faith; and error in belief was esteemed far more dangerous than in heart or life. This doctrine of antinomianism was then carried to a degree of extravagance which finds no sympathy now. An illustration may be given. A Mr. Taggart, one of the straightest in faith, but who was intemperate in his habits, had a remarkable gift in prayer, and this gift was rather increased than diminished by the exhilaration of ardent spirits. At funerals, where there was no minister, he was usually called upon to pray; and sometimes when unable to stand, would kneel by his chair and edify the assembly by the readiness and fervor of his devotions. Henry Ferguson once met him lying in the road, and after helping him up told him that this conduct was inconsistent with his place in the church. "Ah," said he, "but we are not our own keepers." Sometime after, Mr. Ferguson was nominated an elder, and Mr. Taggart, on the strength of this conversation, publicly opposed him as a man who trusted entirely to works. These two reasons in their influence upon some of our own people, and still more upon the Presbyteries with which they were connected, together with the personal influence of Robert
Annun, who was a strong man in the church, will sufficiently account for the long infliction upon the patience and moral feelings of the community.

The next question, how could religion be kept alive under such circumstances, is readily answered. Our people were always readers, and the Bible was almost their only book. Here they went for counsel and support. It was to them prophet, and priest. With all their reverence for the public ministrations of religion, their reverence for the written word was far greater. In the next place, the practice of family prayer was faithfully observed. Morning and evening the Scriptures were read; and if the flame of devotion burnt dim in the house of public worship, it was not permitted to go out upon the family altar. Besides, they had preachers more powerful than man. They were strangers in a strange land; in the midst of perpetual alarms and dangers; sickness, death, and all the vicissitudes of life entered their dwellings in the wilderness, and through its loneliness spoke to them as they never can speak in a more cultivated place. They had before coming here been well imbued with the principles of religion; and besides, the human soul is so constituted, that it cannot live and be at peace without a religious faith. Rites and ordinances are an important means of advancing the cause of religion. But they are not all. God has never left himself without witness among men. The success of his word does not rest upon a mortal priesthood. Religion is an essential want of the soul, deeply fixed in its nature. Men may stifle its cravings, may for a time suppress them, and unhallowed servants at the altar may help to keep them down. But they cannot be destroyed until the soul itself is crushed. Religion, dishonored by its ministers, degraded by the false ideas that have gathered round it, can never be banished so long as these human hearts, beating with hopes, anxieties and fears, look round upon a world of change and weakness, and find nowhere here the object that fills up their wants.

The church thus far had been Presbyterian. After Mr. Annan left, the late Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore was invited
to remain, but declined, not wishing to settle as a Presbyterian. After he left, a paper* was handed round and signed by all, or nearly all, the church, expressing a willingness to settle Mr. Moore in the Congregational form; but he, in the mean time, had found another place; and the town continued without a settled minister till Oct. 23, 1799, when Rev. Elijah Dunbar was ordained. Originally the church had belonged to the Londonderry Presbytery. At the settlement of Mr. Annan, by his request, it received a dismissal from this and joined the New-York Presbytery. When Mr. Dunbar was settled, that Presbytery had become extinct, and the church here was left an independent body. It then adopted the Congregational form, and though there were still some who preferred the Presbyterian mode, all attended upon his ministry, with the understanding however that once a year the communion should be administered by a Presbyterian, and in the Presbyterian manner. For many years the Rev. Dr. Wm. Morison, of Londonderry, administered the ordinance every autumn. It was always a day of uncommon interest; the house was crowded; and though but a child when he last came, I well remember the solemnity and awe with which I was impressed by the countenance, accent, and manner of that aged and faithful minister of Christ. Mr. Dunbar, with unsullied character, remained the minister of the town till June 19, 1822, when a portion of his people who had never liked the Congregational form, and others who had never been quite at ease under an Armenian preacher, withdrew and formed the Presbyterian Society. Mr. Dunbar continued pastor of the Congregational Society, till Feb. 1827. He was succeeded in June of the same year, by Rev. Abbot, D. D. who had preached in town a short time, thirty years before, and who is still the pastor.

The Presbyterian church was built in 1825, about half a mile north of the old meeting-house, and during the present year has been removed to the village. Rev. Peter Holt was installed pastor March, 1827, and resigned March, 1835.—

* This paper, I understand, is now with Dea. Jonathan Smith.
Rev. Mr. Pine was installed June, 1836, and dismissed Jan. 1837. Rev. Joshua Barret was pastor from Feb. 1837 till Feb. 1839.

The Baptist church was constituted, Nov., 1822, containing forty members. Rev. Charles Cummings was the first pastor. Rev. Mr. Goodnow, from June, 1831; Rev. George Daland, from March 1834 till 1836; Rev. John Peacock, one year from Sept., 1837, have been the ministers. Rev. J. M. Williamson, the present pastor, was settled Sept., 1838.

There has been for some years a Methodist Society; and the Universalists have sometimes had preaching in the Congregational meeting-house.

Of our public schools, important and vitally connected as they are with all the better prospects of our country, my limits will allow me to say but little. From 1760 till 1797, the annual appropriations were small, never more than one hundred dollars, seldom fifty dollars, and often nothing. I do not find that any school-houses were erected by the town, before 1790, when the town was divided into five districts, and provision made for the erection of five buildings.* From 1797 to 1805, three hundred dollars were annually raised for schools, except in 1801, when the appropriation was but two hundred dollars. From 1805 to 1808, four hundred dollars were raised annually; and since then the town has uniformly raised what the law required, and, I believe, no more, except that for a few years past one half the literary fund (about seventy-five dollars per annum) has been given to aid the feeble districts. The school tax now, (and it has not materially varied for several years,) is eight hundred and eighty-one dollars and thirty-six cents.

The condition of the schools, public and private, during the last, and the first twenty years of the present century, was de-

*There were school-houses long before this, which had been erected by neighborhoods. In the same way schools also were supported. The public appropriations give a wrong idea of what has actually been paid for this purpose. The sum now paid for private schools is at least equal to what is paid by the town. There are now in town eleven districts, each with a brick school-house.
cidedly bad. Some improvement has been made since then; and great credit is due to the spirited exertions of a few individuals in different parts of the town. Still, (for I should pervert the purposes of this day, if I stood here only to flatter or to praise,) the subject has not received the attention which its importance demands, and our public schools do not take the place that we should expect, from the general intelligence of our citizens. They are peculiarly the property and province of the whole people, by whom they live and prosper, and without whose hearty assistance and co-operation, committees and teachers can accomplish nothing. All who take an interest in the welfare of their children or of society, will not be slow to do what can be done for these, the true nurseries of a nation's mind. They will not grudge to the teacher his hard earned pay, nor forget to do at home, that which alone can render his labors easy and effective.

Our Libraries demand a moment's attention. There had been previously a library of a similar character; but as early as 1811 the Peterborough Social Library was got up, containing not far from one hundred volumes. So judicious a selection I have never seen. There was hardly a book which did not deserve its place. I well remember the astonishment with which, at the age of eleven, I first looked on what seemed to me such an immense collection of books; nor can I soon forget the uniform kindness with which my early reading was encouraged, and in some measure directed by the librarian, Daniel Abbot. In an intellectual point of view, I look back on no period of my life with so much satisfaction, as on the two years when, at the age of fourteen and fifteen, I lived with Samuel Templeton, as honest a man as this or any town has ever produced. During the hour which he always gave me at noon, and in the evening by fire-light, I read the standard histories in our language, and made myself acquainted with the important events of the ancient world. When a volume was finished, I would set out at dark, after a hard day's work, walk three miles to the village, and, enriched with a new treasure, would return
almost unmindful of the woods and their near vicinity to the
grave-yard and old meeting-house, which especially on a wintry
autumnal night, standing there naked, black, and lonely, was,
as I know full well, a fearful object enough to a child. The
Peterborough Social Library became gradually neglected, and
was sold about 1830, when a new library on the same plan was
got up, and contains now about three hundred volumes. The
Union and Phœnix Factories have each a library of about one
hundred and fifty volumes. The Ministerial Library, (an ex­
cellent institution,) contains five hundred, and the public town
library about nine hundred volumes; so that, besides private
collections, there are now in town for the use of readers two
thousand volumes.

One word let me here say to the young. These schools and
libraries are for you. All that is most valuable in education is
within your reach. Many have been the bitter but unavailing
regrets of those, who, despising these precious advantages in
youth, have found themselves, as men and women, ignorant and
incompetent to the great duties that were before them. The
busiest day has intervals of rest, and he who is in earnest for
knowledge will receive it. Let your leisure moments be sacred­
ly devoted to the improvement of your minds. You might not
covet the honors of a professional life, if you knew its painful
watchings, anxieties and toils; but as you value the esteem of
others, or your own happiness, as you would do your part to
carry on the progress of the world, as you would be useful and
respected in manhood, and escape a leafless, neglected, old age,
do not fail now, while the time is, to use every means that is
held out for your intellectual advancement.

Another subject of much interest in our history I can but
just sketch out. Early in our history, the hand-card, the little
wheel, and the loom with the hand-shuttle, were almost the
only instruments of manufacture in the place. The grand­
mother of Governor Miller paid for four hundred acres of land
in fine linen, made entirely (except getting out the flax) by
her own hands. With the exception of hats and the wedding
gown, which was usually of satin, and handed down as a sort of heirloom to children and grand-children, even (three generations not unfrequently being married in the same dress) all the articles of clothing were manufactured at home. There the wool was carded, spun, woven, colored, and made up into garments. The hides were indeed sent away to be tanned; but the same hides were brought home as leather, and the shoemaker came always to the house with his bench, lasts and awls. To use foreign goods was considered, as indeed it was, great extravagance. After the first store was opened here, in 1771, one hundred pounds of butter was the price usually paid for a calico gown. Almost every article of food and clothing was then prepared at home. The first clothier's shop for taking in wool to card and cloth to dress, was built by William Powers, in 1780, and this was the only factory in town till 1793; when, on the spot now occupied by the Phoenix factory, "a wooden building two hundred feet long, and two stories high, was erected by Samuel Smith, and was the wonder of the whole country. Mr. Smith had in this building a paper-mill, a saw-mill, an oil-mill, a clothier's shop, a trip-hammer shop, a wool-carding machine, and a dwelling-house." This bold step gave the first decided impulse to the manufacturing enterprise of the place. It brought into notice the great water privileges that were here possessed. The first cotton factory for the manufacture of yarn was started in 1810. And from that time to this, one after another place has been taken up, until the capital vested in and upon the different water privileges, — not forgetting the peg-mill in which twenty-five hundred bushels of shoe-pegs are made annually, — is now estimated at three hundred thousand dollars; the cotton factories alone producing annually one million seven hundred and twenty-five thousand yards of cloth; and the amount of property annually imported and sold in our stores, it is estimated, cannot be less than seventy-five thousand dollars.

*I have received from John H. Steele, Esq. a very full and exact account of all our manufacturing establishments from the beginning, which, in a condensed form, may be found in the Appendix.*
With this change there has been a great influx of people from abroad; the habits and pursuits of the town have undergone an important revolution.*

But with all this show of enterprise and prosperity there is danger. Our young women, the future mothers, who are to form the character of the next generation, are not educated as their mothers were, at home, in comparative solitude, where the mind had leisure to mature, and the affections to expand, but are taken from their homes, work together in large companies, and board in crowded houses. It is surely a solemn responsibility that rests upon the owners and agents of these establishments. Thus far, their conduct has been marked by generosity and high principle. But it is well for all to be awake; for the operatives to remember that they have rights and duties for themselves beyond the mere comforts and luxuries of an animal life. They have minds, they have hearts which require to be clothed and fed, and unless now in season they provide for their intellectual, moral and spiritual wants, for the support of a refined intelligence, a modest but true moral independence, we shall repent the day that has clothed our bodies with improved garments, but left us with inferior minds,—with souls robbed of their pure affections, lofty freedom, and immortal hopes.

The notice of our early history would be incomplete without some scattered facts of a different character. Our ancestors, with all the rest of the world, believed in the bodily manifestation of the devil, in the existence of witches, and the appearance of ghosts. It is not my purpose to do anything more than relate what they believed. A small, lean, aged woman, by the name of Stinson, was uniformly regarded as a witch. A cat somewhere in town was observed to act strange-

* A Post-Office was established in town, about 1790; John Smith was the first Post-Master. A Mr. Balch first carried the mail. He was succeeded by Asa Gibbs, who for many years rode on horseback from Portsmouth to Brattleborough once a week. At last he rode in a little wagon and carried a few passengers. He was killed in 1824, by falling from a bridge. He was succeeded by his son. Stages began to run in 1826 or ’27, and now a daily stage each way is crowded with passengers.
ly, hot water was thrown upon her, and straightways Mrs. Stinson's back was dreadfully afflicted with the St. Anthony's fire. On another occasion, a good man near Sharon shot at a crow many times, but the bird only flew round and laughed at him. He at last took off a silver sleeve-button, and with it broke the crow's wing; whereupon Mrs. Stinson was found with a lame arm. At her funeral, which was about fifty years ago, though she was hardly more than a skeleton, the strong men who bore her to the grave were almost crushed to the earth by the weight of sin, and their shoulders remained for weeks black and blue.

There was also one Hannah Scott, who supposed herself bewitched by an old woman named Aspy, of Hancock. The girl lay more than a month without the power of opening her eyes any more than she could open a part of her cheek. While in this state, she could tell exactly who were passing, how they looked, what they had with them, and what was going on in different houses, and in different parts of the town. She always said that if old Aspy would come and bless her she should recover. The witch came, and passing her hands over the girl's forehead, with the words, "your God bless you and my God bless you," ended the charm. This, it will be seen at once, is but the counterpart of what has recently taken place under the name of Animal Magnetism.

All this was religiously believed. And we in our day have known one* who, to his dying hour, firmly believed that he had twice been honored by a personal interview with the devil. Old Baker — what child in Peterborough within the last sixty years has not danced to his fiddle, with an ecstasy which no other music ever gave? Who does not remember the benevo-

* Baker Moore, a colored man, born in Boston, 1755, bought as a slave and brought to this town by Deacon Moore, in 1763. At the age of twenty-two, he purchased his freedom for two hundred dollars, which he never felt obliged to pay, nor was it exacted. He died January, 1839. There have been in this town eight slaves; two, Baker and Rose, belonging to Deacon Moore; two to David Steele; two to Samuel Aulds; one to Isaac Mitchell; one to Captain Robbe. There may possibly have been others.
lent, complacent smile with which his honest black face and white teeth and eyes shone, as raising his instrument to his chin, and producing the first sweet notes, he looked about on the delighted children that were listening or romping round him? But when we knew him, "the minstrel was infirm and old," and now he is gone — light may the turf rest upon his bosom. Such men are like fossil remains and petrifactions, which preserve the exact lineaments of plants and animals centuries perhaps after the living species has become extinct. Their minds receive in youth the impressions then current, and there remain fixed through life; so that Baker in these matters may be considered a fair sample of the belief which prevailed sixty or seventy years ago. It was seldom that he could be induced to speak upon the subject, and then with symptoms of terror, which it would be difficult to describe. I remember, however, to have heard him once, after casting round a fearful look to be sure that the doors were shut, and the evil spirit not actually in the room. As he was driving the cows to pasture, he said, one evening he met a man who very kindly accosted him, and in the course of the conversation told his fortune, mentioning things that no mortal could have known. He gave him a book, with the request that he would read it. Baker took the book; but it hung like lead upon his spirits. He carried it constantly with him, for he was afraid to leave it behind, and at last having met "the man" again on horseback, in the northwest part of the town, he returned the book; whereupon the man's eyes glistened like fire, his cloven foot appeared, and he was terribly angry. Baker looked up a moment after and he was gone. All this, our good friend as much believed as he believed in his own existence, and it is but a fair sample of what our fathers also believed. One man, William M'Nee, had horse-shoe nails driven into the horns of all his cattle, to save them from the witches, and it was generally believed that horse-shoes, witch-hazel rods, and silver, were effectual securities against their influence.

Another singular fact may be here added, to illustrate this
part of their character. Wm. Robbe,—his mother was always supposed to have saved the life of the elder Wm. Smith, by sucking the wound made by a poisonous snake in Lunenburg, and both he and his parents were modest, excellent people,—Wm. Robbe was a seventh son; and it was generally thought that certain diseases could be cured by him. He was not a quack;—receiving pay destroyed the charm. He gave a small silver coin to those who came. The visits became so numerous, that he left the town in consequence, and went to Stoddard; but being unfortunate there, was obliged to return and bear the onerous duties which the accident of being the seventh son imposed upon him. The belief in his power was general, and borne out by reputed facts, which we cannot here stop to examine or even specify.

I would now speak of the characteristics of our inhabitants.

In the first place they have been always distinguished for their mental activity, and love of knowledge. The original emigrants from Ireland were by no means an ignorant people. They were brought up in the common school education of the day, and most of them were imbued with the religious education then more common in Scotland and the North of Ireland, than in the sister kingdom of England. What was wanting in outward instruction, was, in some measure, supplied by their own intellectual energy and zeal. The respect which has always been paid to learning, may in part be understood from the number and character of our educated men. Twenty-eight* have graduated at

*Jeremiah Smith, 1781; James Wilson, 1789; Walter Little, 1796; John Wilson, 1799; Stephen Mitchell, 1802; John Stuart, 1803; William Ritchie, 1804; Stephen P. Steele, 1808; Charles J. Stuart, 1809; David Steele, 1810; James Porter, 1810; Jonathan Steele, 1811; Isaac P. Osgood, 1814; Jesse Smith, 1814; David Steele, 1815; Joseph Brackett, Jonathan Smith, 1819; James Wilson, 1820; Albert Smith, 1825; Josiah Ballard, John H. Morison, 1831; Robert Wilson, 1832; Artemas L. Holmes, 1835; Solomon Laws, 1836; Horace Morison, 1837; Nath'l Holmes, 1837; Nath'l H. Morison, 1839; Bernard B. Whittemore, 1839.

The above list, in which one or two may possibly be omitted, has been kindly furnished me by S. P. Steele, Esq. Others not born here, have gone to College from this place, as Dr. Reuben D. Mussey.
our different colleges. James Wilson, for a time Representative in Congress, and Jonathan Steele, a Judge of the Supreme Court, were widely known. Nor must we omit the name of Jesse Smith, who having graduated at Dartmouth College in 1814, studied medicine with Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Boston, and afterwards established himself in Cincinnati, where as a professor in the Medical College and a practitioner, he stood decidedly at the head of his profession. He died of the Cholera in 1833, universally lamented, having fallen a victim to his humane and fearless exertions for the suffering, during the ravages of that frightful pestilence.

Among the educated sons of Peterborough, is another, yet happily numbered with the living, who was your first choice for the task which I am now laboring to perform. I cannot but regret that it was out of his power to accept your call; for there is no man alive so intimately acquainted with our history, or so well able to do justice to the character of our people. He was born November 29, 1759;—his father, William Smith, perhaps the best educated of our early settlers, and who was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1774, was a man of singular discretion, modesty and goodness; and his mother, (the daughter of John Morison,) was a driving, energetic woman. He was one of seven sons,* all (except one who died before his strength was brought out,) uncommon men. Until recently, for the last sixty years, they have had here an influence possessed by no other family, and have done more than any others to form the character and advance the prosperity of the town. Seventy years ago, if we may trust to one who then knew them well, a more rude, uncouth, impudent set of boys was not to be found in Peterborough. Very early, however, Jeremiah's enthusiastic love of knowledge began to act. But the facilities for learning within his reach, were greatly inferior to what may now be enjoyed by the poorest and most neglected child among us. There were no books to be had; and the

* Robert, John, William, James, Jeremiah, Jonathan, and Samuel.
schools were wretched. I have heard him speak of going, when a small boy, three or four miles to procure the loan of some ordinary volume, and the tears of disappointment with which he often came away from his teacher's blundering explanation of subjects which he was longing to understand. But never yet did the youth, urged on by an unquenching desire to know, stop short through outward obstructions. They only quicken his zeal, and give new energy to his powers. So was it with our townsman. At the age of twelve he began to study Latin at the public school, which was then kept in the old meeting-house by Master Rudolphus Greene. After this he studied for a short time with a Mr. Donovan at New-Boston, and then with Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Hollis, where he began Greek, and finished his preparation for college. He entered Harvard College in 1777. Just at this time he enlisted for two months in the service, was present at the battle of Bennington, where a portion of his gun was shot off in his hands, and a musket-ball grazing his throat, left its mark there for many years. He left Cambridge in 1779, and was graduated at Rutgers College, N. J., in 1781. He now began the study of the law in Barnstable, 1782 '83; spending after this a year at Andover and two years in Salem; filling at each place the office of teacher in connection with his studies.

He began to practice here as a lawyer in 1787, was a member of our legislature three years; during which time he revised the laws of the State. Previous to this time, Peterborough had been notorious for its lawsuits, and furnished no small portion of the whole litigation of the county. These foolish disputes he always discountenanced; sometimes cooling down his angry client by pleasantry, and sometimes dissuading him by more serious considerations. It was the opinion of our most intelligent people at the time, that the town might afford to pay Jerry Smith five hundred dollars a year, simply for his influence in preventing lawsuits.

But a wider field was opening. In 1791, he was chosen a representative to Congress. To this office he was appointed at four successive elections, and continuing in it through nearly the
whole of Washington's Administration, he resigned during the Presidency of the elder Adams, after the May session of 1797. Here it was his privilege to become acquainted with the great men of the time; with Washington, with John Adams, with Jefferson and Madison, with John Jay, John Marshall, Samuel Dexter, and Fisher Ames, during the interesting period when the French revolution was breaking out with the suddenness of a new volcano. Upon leaving Congress, he was appointed United States Attorney for the District of New Hampshire, and soon after, while holding this office, was made Judge of Probate for the county of Rockingham, having in the meantime removed to Exeter. In 1801, he was appointed Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, and during a part of the year 1802, was at the same time Judge of Probate, Judge of the United States District Court, and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. He continued Chief-Justice till 1809, when he was chosen Governor of the State. He returned to the bar in 1810; in 1813 was again made Chief-Justice, and continued in this office till 1816, when he withdrew from public life. In 1820, he gave up his practice at the bar. It is not my purpose, nor am I competent to speak of the ability, learning, uprightness, and independence with which the duties of these high, various, and responsible offices were discharged. His acts, are they not written in the Chronicles, and themselves an important part of the public history, of our State? The assaults of party violence are over; and they who were once the most earnest to assail, are now among the foremost to acknowledge his intellectual vigor, great learning, and above all the spotless purity of his character as a public man. It is not for such as me to praise or censure him. The verdict has been made up by his peers; and if they are to be trusted, his name will be handed down as one of the two most able and accomplished public men that New Hampshire, during the first two centuries of her political existence, has produced.

In this our great family meeting, may we not indulge in the expression of personal feeling? Especially may not a younger
brother speak of what he owes to one full of honors as of years, whose heart is with us though he be not here? From my childhood up, I have been the creature of kindness, and should I die with the consciousness of having done no other good than to have called out the kind acts which have been extended to myself, I shall go down to the grave feeling that I have not lived in vain. There are others towards whom the fullness of my gratitude can be known only by the Searcher of all hearts. But for them, I should not now be among the living. What I should have been without him I almost tremble to think. Just standing upon the verge of life, with principles unformed, with a yearning indeed for knowledge, which had followed me like some mystic spell from my earliest recollections, hoping and yet despairing, with no claim but inexperience and helplessness, I received from him all the kindness that a father could give. Dull indeed must I have been, if I have not profited from the richness of his mind and the advantages which his aid has placed within my reach.

I have dwelt on this example, not for the purpose of gratifying private feelings, but because it is the brightest illustration that our town has furnished to the young, of a really great intellect, strengthened and adorned by a finished education. When I see such a man, and feel his strength of mind, the richness and variety of his intellectual stores, his vivacity and wit, and, more than all, his utter scorn for everything mean or dishonest, I forget the offices through which he has passed. They have borrowed much, but added little to the dignity of the man. And the elements which have made him what he is, belong peculiarly to the Peterborough mind, and may be seen, less clearly developed indeed, in many of our citizens.

But while the intellect of our people is shewn in the number and character of educated men that have gone from among them, it is shewn still more in their general character. I might select many among those whom I have personally known, who, if not polished so as to bring out all the shades and rich veins of intellect, have yet been sufficiently cultivated to shew minds ca-
pable of grasping strong thoughts, and acting upon the most important interests of public and private life. Many excel them in every species of intellectual refinement, in the taste for poetry, the fine arts, and the niceties of literature. But in sterling good sense, in close and severe reasoning, in solid information, especially an acquaintance with the standard works of history, theology, and some branches of philosophy, the people of few towns are superior, if indeed, as a whole, they are equal to those who have lived here for the last twenty or thirty years. Like every place, it has those who recognise no such thing as purely intellectual tastes and wants. But thanks be to heaven they are few, and their influence in the town has been only to make men shun their example. Our young men, kindling with nobler hopes, look to other quarters for instruction.

The next remarkable feature of our town during the past century, has been courage. It was shewn by our fathers in Ireland, and has not deserted their sons. As a people they have never shrunk from peril. At the first sound of danger, their custom has been to fly to the scene of action. So was it in the Indian and French wars, in which, when there were not in town more than forty families, six of our citizens were slain in a single day.* So was it after the news of the battle of Lexington. Of the seventeen engaged at Bunker-hill, one man (John Graham, remarkable for his skill in throwing stones) after exhausting his ammunition, unwilling to retire, seized upon stones and hurled them, not without effect, against the enemy; another (John Taggart) after fighting as long as it was possible to fight, in the retreat stopped his companions while yet in the midst of danger, and when they had refreshed themselves from their canteens, exclaimed, “Neu let us trust in God and tak the tother run.” Randal M’Alester was severely shot through the neck; Thomas Green, in a fainting and almost expiring state was saved by his friend Gilchrist, who carried him on his back from Bunker-hill to Medford. Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) William Scott, early in the action had one of

* In a ranging company commanded by Robert Rogers, in 1757. See Farmer’s Belknap.
the bones of his leg broken just below the knee. He continued coolly paring musket balls and handing them to his soldiers. He was among the very hindmost in the retreat, when he received in his thigh and the lower part of his body four additional balls, and, bleeding at nine orifices, fainted upon the field. When he came to himself, a British soldier was standing over him, with his bayonet, and asked with an oath if he did not deserve to be killed. "I am in your power," was the reply, "and you can do with me as you please." He was rescued by a British officer and permitted to remain unmolested upon the field through that cold frosty night. The next morning he was taken to Boston, and thence to Halifax, where he was imprisoned. With a gimblet, a bayonet, and an old knife, furnished by a friend without,* he, and six of his companions broke the prison, and by the help of that same friend got on board a vessel and reached home the following August. He set out immediately for the American army which he joined on Long Island, was taken with two thousand others at the capture of Fort Washington;† but the night after, tying his sword to the back of his neck and his watch to his hat-band, he swam a mile and a half to Fort Lee upon the Jersey shore, eluding the vigilance of the British frigate, that had been stationed there to guard the prisoners. He continued in the army till after the retreat of Lafayette before Cornwallis, and from that time was engaged upon the ocean.

The same intrepidity which he had shewn in war continued in peace. The following is from the Boston Independent Chronicle of July 12, 1792, under the head of news from Philadelphia, July 2. After stating in general terms a terrific tempest that occurred the day before, and some of the accidents caused by it, they add; "Since writing the above account, we

* John Morison, Esq. the brother of Thomas and Jonathan. He lived in Nova-Scotia, was a Whig, and like others of the family not being able to keep his opinions to himself, became suspected, fled from the British Provinces and lived for a time in Peterborough.

further learn that a boat from this city to the Jersey shore, was overset within fifty rods of Samuel Cowper's wharf. There were in the boat Captain Scott, Mr. Blake, his wife and four small children, a young woman and Mr. Betts — in all nine persons — none of whom could swim but Captain Scott. The Captain by the most astonishing and praiseworthy exertions, was able, providentially, to save them all. He swam ashore with one child hanging to his neck and one to each arm, and he returned to the boat amidst the boisterous waves raging in a furious and frightful manner, and brought the others, who had with much difficulty held by the boat, safe to land.

The editor of the Boston paper adds: "For the honor of Captain Scott, an old and valiant soldier, a son of Massachusetts, this circumstance should be handed down to posterity. Those who revere the virtues of the benevolent Howard, must ever remember with veneration the successful exertions of Captain Scott."

He fell at last a sacrifice to a higher spirit than can ever be shewn by mere courage in the field. "In 1793, he went in the suite of General Lincoln, to settle a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians at or near Sandusky — where his health was impaired. In 1796, he was connected with a party in surveying lands on the Black River, near Lake Erie, and in the vicinity of the smaller lakes. They were attacked by the lake fever, and he returned with a division of the sick to Port Stanwix. Finding it difficult to procure any to go back after the sick persons left behind in the wilderness, he determined to go himself, though strongly dissuaded by the physician, who affirmed that he could not return alive. 'I think I shall,' was his reply, 'but if not, my life is no better than theirs.' He succeeded in his benevolent attempt, but died on the 10th day after his return, at Litchfield, N. Y., September 19, 1796, in his 54th year."

This instance, which by no means stands alone in our history, may serve to illustrate the courage which has been always a prominent feature in the character of our citizens. And it has

run through their whole character, distinguishing alike their habits of thought, of social intercourse, of public and private enterprise. In whatever they have undertaken, they have gone forward with the same fearless spirit. If at any time a man has had hard thoughts of his neighbor, he did not whisper it about in private scandal, but the offender was the first to hear it. There has been no secret underhand dealing, but their voices were always loud,* their gait erect, their conduct open. While ready to maintain their own and their neighbor's rights, they have also, it must be acknowledged, never been backward in proclaiming their own merits. Yet they have not been a conceited, boasting race, but men who knew their strength, who judged correctly of their merits, and would not suffer others to destroy or impair their just appreciation.

Closely allied to this was another prominent trait in their character. They were always a high-minded, generous people. Though poor, they were never mean in spirit. Sometimes indeed a foolish pride has been among them. It is related of the wife of the oldest John Morison, that when her husband was building his first habitation in Londonderry, she came to him, and in a manner unusually affectionate, (as is sometimes the custom of wives when they have a great favor to ask,) said, "Aweel, aweel, dear Joan, an it maun be a log-house, do make it a log heegher nor the lave" (than the rest.) A portion of this spirit may have come down to some of her descendants, and perhaps to a few who are not her descendants. But if they have had a little sprinkling of this, they have also been marked by a true loftiness and generosity of soul, which in all their trials has not forsaken them. It mingled with their courage in war. We have seen how prominent it was in the character of Scott.

* Loud talking has always prevailed here; and at least in one case served an important purpose. At Bennington the company belonging to New Ipswich and Peterborough were surprised by an ambuscade of tories, when Lieut. Cunningham of Peterborough cried out with the voice of a lion, "Bring up those four hundred men," which put the tories to flight and left an open passage to the main army.
And in the last war, when our townsman made himself conspicuous in the eyes of the nation by his coolness and gallantry, in the most perilous enterprise ever ready to "try," and to succeed where he tried, he gained the confidence of his soldiers and townsmen, by his humane, and generous attention, even more than by his unquestioned military ability and courage.* The same spirit of liberality guided their intelligence in politics. When it was proposed in our Legislature to give some assistance to Dr. Belknap, who was then preparing his invaluable history of the State, the representative of a neighboring town objected, saying that he would as soon support an appropriation for the purchase of Tom Thumb. The next morning your representative,† in the presence of the House, gave to him a copy of Tom Thumb, adding, that it afforded him much pleasure to be able to make the gentleman a present so appropriate in size and character to the liberality which he had shewn the day before. In their influence, great or small, in high or in low stations, upon the councils of the state or nation, our people, as a body, have always been on the side of a liberal, generous policy, whatever might be its effect upon their private interests. The same may be said of their conduct as a town. The whole amount of their property at the present hour would not probably exceed $500,000; yet the amount of taxes this year (and for several years past they

* James Miller, son of James and Catherine Miller, born in 1776, began to practice law in 1807, and was appointed Major in the U. S. Service in 1808. The family from which he sprang lived in the Northeast corner of the town, which seemed cut off from the rest. James Miller, sen., and a twin brother inherited a farm together, which they lived upon fifteen or sixteen years, enjoying the produce in common, with no exact division of labor or the fruits of their labor. The whole family were remarkable for simple hearted truth and kindness, and at the same time great manliness and courage. Gen. Miller's history after entering the U. S. Service is too well known to be given here.

† John Smith, Esq. whose sudden death in 1821 threw a gloom over the whole town. He perhaps united in himself all the characteristics of our town in a more remarkable degree than any other man, joining to the gushing emotions of a child, strong powers of thought, integrity, courage, and an infinite fund of wit.
have varied little) is $4,768 22. If to this we add $900 paid for the support of private schools, $1,500 for the support of public worship, and remember that of three hundred and eighty taxable polls only two hundred and six (and many of them by no means the most competent) contribute anything towards the maintenance of religion, we certainly must conclude that our citizens now are by no means backward in their contributions for public objects. In addition to the usual taxes in 1825, $14,000 were raised without great effort for the erection of churches and school-houses, and in roads the town has been liberal almost to excess.

The same spirit has been even more conspicuous in private donations. Losses by fire have sometimes been more than made up to the sufferers by voluntary subscription, and generally he whose house has been burnt has hardly borne a greater share of the loss than many others in proportion to their means. Nor has this liberality been confined to cases of want; but it has often happened that when, by the sudden providence of God, a portion of a man's goods have in this way been destroyed, many whose property was less than what remained to him have cheerfully contributed to make up his loss. There have been, we all know, and still are, mean men among us, but I do not believe that in the history of the town a single instance can be found in which a mean act, public or private, has been for a single day countenanced by the general feeling of the community. It has been my privilege, beyond the lot of most men, to reside among high-minded, generous people, but I have never lived in a place where in thought, speech and conduct, there has been so general a detestation of what is paltry and little as in my native town.

The same spirit has been carried into their quarrels and enmities. Who has ever heard in Peterborough of a sullen, Indian-like hatred, cherished for years or even weeks, watching stealthily for the opportunity of revenge; or of a fawning dislike veiling itself under the semblance of friendship till the secret stab might be given? They have been impetuous in
their feelings, and have given way too readily to the impulse of anger; but the cloud passed quickly off. The storm was too violent to last. They who have quarrelled to-day are tomorrow the more earnest to do each other a kind act. And acts of neighborly kindness in the common intercourse of life have been a leading feature from the earliest settlement of the town. It has made an important part of the good fellowship of the place; and if the kind office had not its intended effect, instead of going sulkily away and determining to do so no more, they enjoyed it as a good joke, and were quite as ready to repeat the act when a new occasion might require it. A man who had not been long in town, was poor, lazy and shiftless. The neighbors came together and mowed his grass, leaving it for him to do the rest. "It is very light," said the old man, after they went away, "very light, worth mowing indeed, but not worth mowing and raking too," and so he permitted it to lie upon the ground. They were not angry, but simply laughed at his awkward excuse, and for aught that I have heard to the contrary may have mowed and raked his hay too the year following.

This brings me to what has perhaps from the beginning been their one trait, standing out from all the rest; I mean their love of fun. The sun would go down before I could tell half the stories we still have which might illustrate this point.* No occasion, no subject was kept sacred from their wit. The thoughtless and the grave, the old and the young alike enjoyed it. When Capt. Scott had been pierced by five bullets, and his life almost lost, he said the minister had prayed in the morning that their heads might be covered in the hour of battle. "His head," he added, "was safe enough, but the prayer

* Moses Morison, the prince of story-tellers, usually manufactured his stories for the occasion. The wit consisted in a wild and comical exaggeration of real facts, and was the offspring of a prolific fancy. It had, however, an unfavorable influence; for though these stories were told and heard merely as romances, the habit of exaggeration thus produced was likely to extend itself to more serious matters, so that strict verbal accuracy has been too little regarded.
should have extended to the rest of his body.* Relatives and friends were never spared when they offered a good subject for laughter, but were rather dealt with the more freely. From the cradle to the grave there was no circumstance which at one time or another did not administer to their mirth. Even their superstitions had in them a mixture of drollery that took much from their terror. The bird that was bewitched "only laughed" at the man who shot at it. They who believed most fully in the reality of the account, and who never doubted that Satan was actually present at the scene, could yet with shouts of laughter, tell, how at a certain place, when Mr. Morison and Mr. M'Lellan, another minister, were there, the evil spirit came, and the bed on which a young woman lay actually rose from the floor, and the ministers, terribly frightened, called upon each other to pray, and Mr. Morison would not pray, but at the prayer of Mr. M'Lellan the spirit was driven off. Our fathers were serious, thoughtful men; but they lost no occasion which might promise sport. Weddings, huskings, log-rollings and raisings, what a host of queer stories is connected with them?

At weddings† seventy years ago, the groom usually proceeded from his dwelling with his select friends, male and female. About half way on their progress to the house of the

* A story has been told, which, though perhaps without foundation as a matter of fact, may yet show the extent to which they often indulged their wit in serious matters. The story is, that when they were first forming a church, almost every one propounded was set aside on account of some objection (particularly intemperance), till it became doubtful whether a church could be established, when one of their number rose, and gravely said, "If God chooses to have a church in this place, he must take such as there be."

† The first notice given in town publicly of intended marriage was in 1749. William Ritchie agreed with Alexander Robbe for half a pint of rum, to give notice of his intentions, which he did by nailing the publishment to a beech tree near the old meeting house. The first oral notice (which mode prevailed for a long time) was given thus by Alexander Robbe: "Marriage is intended between Joan Robbe and Betty Creighton. If any man or man's man has any objections, let him speak now, or forever after have his clash."

The above, with other curious particulars relating to our early history was furnished me by John Todd, Jr.
bride, they were met by her select male friends. There each party made choice of a champion to run for the bottle to the bride's house. The victor returned to the party with the bottle, gave a toast, drank to the groom's health, passed round the bottle, and the whole party proceeded, being saluted by the firing of muskets from the houses they passed, and answering the salutes with pistols. When they arrived at the bride's house the groom was stationed upon the floor, the father led his daughter, dressed usually in white satin, and delivered her up to the groom, and the rest of the ceremony was performed nearly as at the present time. The evening was filled up with all imaginable sports, and closed with a ceremony which it will hardly do now to mention. This is the way in which our grand-parents were married.

The other merry-meetings then common I cannot stop to describe. Huskings, rollings, apple-pairings, and raisings,* most of those now in middle-life have seen; and as they think of the new cider, the smoking indian puddings and huge loaves of brown bread, such as our grand-mothers made, with perhaps a whole quarter of mutton, and pork and beans, smoking also from the same oven, and followed by pumpkin, apple and mince, pies, such as they also made, not thin, depressed, or all outside, but thick and plump, and remember the jokes, the plays, the peals of merriment and the sound night's rest that followed, their childhood and the dawning hopes of life rise again; — the father and the mother, the brother and the sister that are gone come before them, and what would they not give to renew but for once those ancient times? But they cannot

* At the raising of the third two story house, (in 1764) all the men, women and children of the town were gathered together. After the sills were levelled, prayers were offered, and a psalm sung. Seventeen gallons of rum had been provided, and none of it remained the next morning, except half a pint, which had been stealthily put aside. At a training much later than this, a barrel of rum was placed upon the field, and the head knocked out, so that each, without loss of time, could dip from it what he wanted. Before night an express was sent for more. One man on returning home, said they had had an excellent training, and he believed they were to have more of it the next day, "for he saw many of the soldiers lying upon their arms."
be renewed, and we must soon follow them into the pale and shadowy past, and be known here among our native hills only as a memory more and more dim till it shall vanish clean out.

But I may not dwell on subjects like these. Our ancestors dearly loved fun. There was a grotesque humor, and yet a seriousness, pathos and strangeness about them which in its way has perhaps never been excelled. It was the sternness of the Scotch covenanter softened by a century’s residence abroad amid persecution and trial, wedded there to the comic humor and pathos of the Irish, and then grown wild in the woods among these our New-England mountains. I see in them and their genuine descendants the product of the heaths and highlands of Scotland with their border wars, of the rich low fields of Ireland with their mirth and clubs, modified afresh by the hardships of a new settlement and the growing influence of a free country.*

In nothing here was the Irish character more visible than in the use of ardent spirits.† When the entrance of death‡ into the little colony had suspended the sound of the axe, and a strong arm was laid low, all the people gathered together at the house of mourning, and through the long, dark, dismal night watched by the body of their friend. The eldest and most sacred of their number, with the holy volume before him, and with an iron sternness of manner, from time to time administered the words of divine consolation and hope. This was the offspring of Scotland, and betokened at once the sublime and severe character of the highlands. But ever and anon another

* See Appendix, No. 1.

† I had thought our ancestors an intemperate people, but it was not so. Some never drank; but there were loose men who would always, when an opportunity offered, get intoxicated, and be quarrelsome. The great body of the people were not in the constant habit of using inebriating drink; but on great occasions, there were few of whom it might not be said, as of Tam O'Shanter, that if they “were na fou,” they “just had plenty” — enough to put them in the best possible trim for telling their “queerest stories.”

‡ The first death in the town (1751) was of a child, killed by a log passing over him; the second (March, 1753) was of William Stuart, aged 53, who died of fever, and without medical advice, as there was then no physician in the town.
comforter came in, of Irish parentage; the long countenance became short, the broad Irish humor began to rise, and before the dawn, jokes and laughter had broken in upon the slumbers of the dead. Again at the funeral the same mixed custom prevailed. After the prayer had been offered, and the last look taken, and the coffin closed, spirit was handed round first to the minister and mourners, then to the bearers, and finally to the whole congregation. All followed to the grave. The comforting draught was again administered at their return, and a sumptuous supper prepared. So did they bury their dead in the days of our fathers.

And yet they were a devout, religious people. With their Presbyterian predilections confirmed by the inhuman massacres, extortions and wars through which they had passed, their first object in settling here was that they might be free in their religious faith. And nowhere upon the shores of New-England, every part of which was sought for a religious end, have prayers been offered more fervent and sincere, or the Scriptures read with more constancy and reverence, than in the first rude dwellings of our fathers. The fact, that with such religious teachers they should still have preserved a religious character, shows how deeply those principles had been implanted in their minds. What had clung to them in Ireland, the disposition to humor, rioting and laughter, was only upon the surface, playing there and varying the outlines of the countenance, while the strong granite features of Scotland were fixed deep in the soul. The unbending purpose, the lofty principle, the almost haughty adherence to what they believed true, and high, and sacred, resting on a religious basis, was the real substance of their character. They had foibles, they had weaknesses and errors. But well may it be for us if the refinements of a more advanced society, and a more liberal culture should serve to give grace, beauty and light to the same strong powers of thought, the same courage, though in a different sphere, the same generous elevation of soul, the same vivacity, and above all the same deep, thoughtful religious principle that belonged to them.
I have now before me a list* of four hundred and eighty emigrants, who, scattered through sixteen different states, and if not greatly distinguished, yet holding a respectable place, retain these same strong features. Here, though at times we have felt as if strangers who came among us could only spy out the nakedness of the land after the fruitful gatherings of the harvest, there is still, enriched as the town has been by new accessions, enough to perpetuate the character which we have received from our fathers. Their faults were usually virtues carried too far. The strong mind sometimes became dogmatical, impatient, overbearing; their courage became rashness, their generosity extravagance, their wit levity, their piety was sometimes proud, formal, severe; and all these incongruous excesses were not seldom mingled in the same mind. Such were our fathers,—the substantial elements of their characters well deserving attention, especially in these days of timid virtue; their faults, partly belonging to the times, but more the effect of strong feelings without the advantages of early discipline. At the same time they had in them the rudiments of a real refinement, warm, kind and gentle feelings,—and specimens of politeness were found among them, worthy of the patriarchal age.

A century has gone by since the solitude of our forests was first broken by the sound of their axe; and within that century what events have successively risen upon the world. The old French war,—our own revolution, one of the few great events in the history of man; Washington and his associates,—they have come and gone, and the noise of their actions is like the distant murmurings of the sea, heard inland, when the storm is over, and the waves are sinking to their repose. Then there was the French revolution, filling the world at once with hope and terror,—the rise and fall of that wonderful man, who beginning and ending his life in a narrow island, dethroned monarchs, shook empires, ploughed through kingdoms in his bloody course. During all this while our mountain retreat remained,

* Prepared with much care by Capt. Isaac Edes.
answering only with a faint echo to the tumults that were agitating all the great interests of the world. The common incidents of time passed over it. Our fathers sowed, and with the patience of hope waited the result of their labors; they laughed and mourned, performed or neglected the great work that was before them, and went off one by one to their reward. All of the first, and almost all of the second generation are now gone. The few that linger with us will soon be gathered to their fathers, and no link will be left connecting us with the first settlers of our town. They are going, they are gone; a strongly marked race—bold as the craggy summits of our mountains, generous as our richest fields; impetuous as the torrents that come tumbling down our hills, kind and gentle as the same streams winding through the valleys, and watering the green meadows.

They, and all that they loved, hoped or feared, their intelligence and strength, their warm sympathies and strong hearts, their loud jests and solemn prayers, are gone from their old homes. Their bones repose on yonder bleak hill-side, near the spot where they were wont to assemble, as a single family, to worship the God of their fathers. Blessings rest upon the spot. The old meeting-house, as if it could not longer in its loneliness look down day and night upon the graves of those who had once filled its walls with prayer and song, has gone like them, and the ploughshare has removed every mark of the place where it stood. The grave-yard alone remains. It is overgrown with wild bushes, briers and thistles. There let them in summer spread their shade over the ashes of the dead, and in winter let the winds whistle and howl through them, a fitting emblem of the desolation which must sooner or later strip off every earthly hope. May the blessings of heaven rest still on that spot. Fresher tears may be shed, and more sumptuous ornaments prepared for the new ground, but many are the hearts, of children and brothers and parents which still cling to the old grave-yard, bleak, and wild, and lonely as it is. And some there are, who, when the paleness of death is creeping under their thin gray locks, shall leave the parting charge of the patriarch;
“Bury me with my fathers on the old hill-side. There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebecca his wife, there I buried Leah, and there let my bones be laid.”

A hundred years have gone by. What unlooked for events in the great wheel of human life shall rise before another century has closed, it were vain for us to inquire. But when a remote generation shall come next to celebrate this day, not one of us, not one of our children, except as a gray and wrinkled relic from the past, shall be found among the living. The Monadnock then, as now, will catch the first glimmerings of morning, and the last rays of evening will linger upon his bald and rugged brow; the Contoocook will journey onward to the sea; but of all that our hands have wrought, and our hearts have loved, not a vestige will remain as we now behold it. What future good or ill, what storms of civil violence or public war may pass over the land we know not. But so may we live, that the inheritance which we have received, of freedom, truth, intelligence, virtue and faith, may be handed down unspotted to those who shall succeed; and the blessing of Almighty God will go with it, and go also with us.

Note.—My object throughout has been to state facts, and not to give opinions. In noticing at the beginning of the discourse, for instance, the long and bitter contests between the native Irish and the Scotch who had settled on their lands, I wished to say nothing of the blame attached to either party. My sole object was to state the facts as viewed at the time by the Scotch emigrants, in order to show the influence upon the character of their descendants. The Irish may have been guilty of cruelty and madness, but it was the cruelty and madness into which a sensitive, generous, enthusiastic people were goaded by oppression.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing my obligations to several members of the Committee of Arrangements at Peterborough, without whose assistance in the collection of facts, this Address, imperfect as it is, could not have been prepared.
The union of opposite qualities, which has sometimes prevented our character from being rightly estimated by strangers, is, with great justice, expressed in the following account of Dr. Jesse Smith, which I have been permitted to extract from a manuscript sermon preached after his death, (Sept. 22, 1833,) by my friend, Rev. Ephraim Peabody, who had been his pastor.

"There were united in him qualities, which, in so eminent a degree, are rarely seen combined. His mind was thoroughly possessed by that foundation of every virtue,—a sense of his own personal responsibility, which governed his life with the omnipotence of habit. Hence that firmness and independence of purpose, which kept its calm and even way, equally incapable of being seduced by the solicitations, or overawed by the fear of man. His iron firmness of resolve seemed almost to partake of obstinacy, till a more intimate acquaintance showed that it was the result of a character, where the mental and moral powers were peculiarly active, but peculiarly well proportioned,—where habits of independent, clear thought left no wavering of mind, and the moral energy fully sustained the intellectual decision. And interfused through these more rugged features was a true tenderness of nature, which softened down everything like austerity, and preserved for manhood the simple feelings of the child. It struck men almost strangely, who had seen him only in the struggle of life, to witness how quickly and deeply he was touched by everything that interested others, until it was remembered how much better the firm character preserves the original susceptibilities of the heart, than the feeble. But that which shed beauty over his character and commanded the love and respect of his friends so deeply, was the light and strength it received from religious faith."

In conversation my friend speaks also of his fearless intrepidity of spirit, which, united with the Peterborough humor, that spared no one, and with a frame of mind so vigorous, gave to those who knew him little, the idea of coarseness and levity, hiding at once the nice susceptibilities, deep feelings and lofty principle, which were really, with him, the controlling powers.
To his Excellency, Benning Wentworth, Esq., Commander-in-chief and over his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire; the honorable his Majesty's Council of said Province.

The Humble Petition of us, the subscribers, being Inhabitants of a tract of Land (lying in said Province on the West side of Merrimac River, of the contents of about six miles square, commonly called and known by the name of Peterborough) in behalf of ourselves and others, the inhabitants of said tract of land, most humbly shows — That about the year of our Lord 1739, a number of Persons in consequence of a Grant of a tract of land, had and obtained from the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, by Samuel Haywood and others his associates, granting to them the said tract of land on certain conditions of settlement. And in pursuance whereof a number of People immediately went on to said tract of land and began a settlement, (tho then vary fur from any other inhabitants) which we have continued increasing ever since the year 1739, except some times when we left said Township for fear of being destroyed by the Enemy, who several times drove us from our settlement soon after we began and almost ruined many of us. Yet what little we had in the World lay there, we having no whither else to go returned to our settlement as soon as prudense wood admiss where we have continued since and have cultivated a rough part of the Wilderness to a fruitful field — the Inhabitants of said tract of land are increased to the number of forty-five or fifty familys, and our situation with respect to terms we at first settled on are such that we cannot hold any Provincial meetings at all, to pass any vote or votes that will be sufficient to oblige any person to do any part towards supporting the Gospel building a Meeting-house and Bridges, Clering and repairing Roads and all which would not only be beneficial to us settlers to have it in our power to do but a great benefit to people travelling to Connecticut river and there towns settling beyond us—

Therefore we humbly request of your Excellency and Hon' to take the premises under consideration and Incorporate us, that we may be invested with town privileges and immunities as other towns are in this province and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c. Oct. 31, 1759.

THOMAS MORISON,
JONATHAN MORISON,
THOMAS CUNNINGHAM.

Your petitioners beg leave to add, as a matter of considerable importance that the only road from Portsmouth thro this Province to number four is through said township of Peterborough, and which makes it more necessary to repair said Road within said Township, and to make may bridges which they cannot do unless incorporated and enabled to raise taxes, &c.
No. III.

Mortality.—The average annual mortality, according to an estimate made from tables furnished by Dr. Follansbee, was, from 1801 to 1806, one in ninety-three; from 1806 to 1816, one in eighty-one; from 1816 to 1826, one in seventy-eight; from 1823 to 1838, one in sixty-eight; which shows a very considerable increase, notwithstanding all the comforts which have been brought in.

Epidemics.—In 1777 the dysentery prevailed severely; in 1800 it prevailed in the north part of the town, particularly among children. Number of deaths, twenty-three. In 1826 it prevailed under a more malignant form among adults as well as children. Number of deaths, fifty-eight.

Casualties.—There have been, since 1751, fifty-eight cases of death by accident; but no person or building has ever been destroyed by lightning.

Pauperism.—The first pauper in town was Jane Culberston, 1764; the largest number (seventeen) in 1821. In 1826 the expense was four hundred and ninety-nine dollars and fifty-four cents, and the average annual expense from 1815 to 1836 was about four hundred dollars. Since then the poor have been on a farm purchased by the town, and maintained without cost.

Population in 1775, five hundred and forty-six; in 1790, eight hundred and sixty; in 1800, one thousand three hundred and thirty-three; in 1810, one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven; in 1820, one thousand five hundred; in 1830, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-four; in 1839, two thousand three hundred.

No. IV.

Water Privileges.—The following is condensed from Mr. Steele’s Report. I regret that an abstract of his full and exact account of the subject is all that our limits will admit.

On the spot where the Peterborough Factory now stands, a Saw and Grist Mill was erected about 1761. The Grist Mill ceased operation in 1817. The Mills were burnt in 1772, and rebuilt.


Cotton Factories.—The Peterborough Factory, or the Old Factory, or the Bell Factory, incorporated December, 1808, started 1810; the brick part with looms added 1817. The first cloth woven 1818, under direction of John H. Steele. It now contains one thousand two hundred and eighty
spindles, and forty-two looms, making three-fourth Drilling and Shirtings of No. 16 Yarn, four hundred thousand yards per annum.

The South or Second Factory erected 1809, machinery started 1810; now employed in making Satinet Warps and Yarn for the Market.

The North Factory, started 1814, contains now eight hundred and forty-eight spindles and twenty looms, making Drillings and Shirtings of Yarn No. 16, four hundred thousand yards per year.

The Phoenix Factory began in 1813 or 1814 to make Yarn; looms added in 1822; the southern half burned in 1828; rebuilt 1829; the northern half rebuilt 1831. It contains now three thousand eight hundred and eighty spindles, and seventy-eight looms, and makes Shirtings and Sheetings, part No. 16, part No. 30, five hundred and seventy-five thousand yards per year.

The Union Factory, erected 1823, cost one hundred thousand dollars, contains two thousand five hundred and sixty spindles, and seventy-four looms, and makes seven-eights and four-fourth Shirtings of No. 40, three hundred and fifty thousand yards per year.

The first Clothier's shop was built in 1780; the second, 1794; the third, 1801; the fourth (now Henry F. Coggswell's) 1811; the fourth, now run by Thomas Wilson, 1826.

The other Factories which have been or now are in town, carried by water, are the Eagle Factory, Moore & Bement's Machine Shop, the Batting Shop, seven Trip-hammer Shops, an Oil Mill, an Iron Furnace and Stone Shop, a Shoe-peg Factory, two Paper Mills, two Bark Mills, six shops for turning Cabinet and Wheelright work.

The whole Manufacturing power is estimated at three hundred thousand dollars.
PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

AT

PETERBOROUGH, N. H.

At a legal Town-meeting of the inhabitants of Peterborough, holden at the town-house in said Town, October 5th, 1839, the following votes were passed and proceedings had, viz: —

Balloted for and chose John H. Steele, Moderator, who was sworn to the faithful discharge of the duties of his office by William M. White, first selectman of Peterborough.

On motion, Voted unanimously to celebrate, on Thursday, the 24th instant, the First Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of the town.

Voted, To choose a Committee of Arrangements, whose duty it shall be to invite such guests as they may see fit, and do and provide all things necessary for the celebration.


Voted, To publish in a pamphlet form the Address, together with such other facts and proceedings as the Committee of Arrangements may see fit, and that a copy of the same be distributed to each family in town.

Voted, To appropriate two hundred dollars out of any money in the Treasury, for the purpose of defraying any expenses inci-
dent to the celebration; and that the Selectmen's order on the
Treasurer shall be his voucher for the amount so drawn, not ex-
ceeding the above named sum.

A true copy from the Records.

Attest,  A. C. BLODGETT, Town Clerk.

Saturday, October 5, 1839. Meeting of the Committee of
Arrangements. Chose John H. Steele, Chairman, and Albert
Smith, Secretary.

Voted, That all the sons of Peterborough who have distinguish-
ed themselves abroad, be invited to attend the Celebration.

Committee to invite Guests; John H. Steele, Albert Smith,
Stephen P. Steele.

Voted, That John Steele, William Scott, A. C. Blodgett, Isaac
Edes, John Smith, be added to the former Committee to prepare
sentiments for the Celebration.

Voted, That the Secretary be authorised to insert a notice of
the celebration in five neighboring newspapers, viz: the two
Keene papers, the two Nashua papers, and the Farmer's Cabinet
at Amherst.

The following notice was accordingly sent to the above papers.

"The Centennial Celebration of Peterburgh will take place
on Thursday the 24th instant. An Address will be delivered by
the Rev. John H. Morison, of New Bedford, Mass. The exer-
cises will commence at 11 o'clock, A. M. All the absent natives
and those who have resided in Peterborough are respectfully in-
vited to attend on this occasion. Peterborough, Oct. 13, 1839."

Voted, That a cold collation be prepared for dinner.

Chose Gen. John Steele, Marshal, with authority to appoint
such assistants as he may think proper.

Voted, That a Committee of three be appointed to confer with
the Presbyterian Society, in relation to the obtaining of their un-
finished church for the dinner.

John Todd, Jr., William Fields, Isaac Edes, Committee.

Voted, That a Committee be chosen to prepare seats and make
the necessary preparations for the dinner.

James Scott, William Scott, William M. White, Committee.

Voted, That a Committee be chosen to contract for and proc-
cure the dinner.

Timothy K. Ames, Samuel Swan, William Scott, Committee.

Voted, That A. C. Blodgett and James Scott be a Committee
to see to the ornamenting of the Meeting-house, and that they
invite the ladies to assist, and that they be controlled by their
taste.

Voted, That a Committee of three be chosen to invite the In-
Impendent Companies, and all the Singers and the Instrumental Music of the town, to take a part in the celebration.

Albert Smith, William Scott, William Follansbee, Committee.

Voted, That a President of the day be chosen.

Chose Jonathan Smith, President; David Smiley, John Scott, Vice Presidents; Albert Smith, Toast Master.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to Monday, Oct. 14th, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

Albert Smith, Secretary.


Voted, That the procession form at the Town-house on the day of the celebration.

Voted, That the Committee of Invitation be requested to invite all the regular clergymen of the neighboring towns, together with Rev. A. A. Livermore and Rev. Z. S. Barstow, of Keene, and Rev. Mr. Whitman, of Wilton.

Voted, That a Committee of three be chosen to designate the clergymen who shall take part in the religious services of the day.


Adjourned to Monday, Oct. 21st.

Albert Smith, Secretary.

Monday, Oct. 21, 1839. Met agreeably to adjournment.

Voted, That Committee be chosen to procure extra seats for the Meeting-house on the day of the celebration.

Chose Frederick Levingston, Jonas Levingston, Riley Goodridge.


Voted, That the above be the order of the procession.

Voted, That all the lower pews of the Unitarian church be appropriated to the Ladies, except those on the broad aisle.

Meeting adjourned.

Albert Smith, Secretary.

Thursday, 11 o'clock, October 24, 1839.

Sung an Anthem.

Invocation, by Rev. Solomon Laws.

Hymn, composed for the occasion by Henry Dunbar, a blind boy.

To thee, O God, we joyful raise
Our songs of gratitude and praise;
Thy mercies like thy dews descend;
O'er all thy care and love extend.

We thank thee, Lord, that thou did'st bless,
Our fathers in a wilderness;
That where the forest darkly frown'd,
The smiling cottage now is found.

We thank thee that to us is given
Freedom, the richest boon of heaven;
And may our country ever be
The land of true equality.

The poor man, in his humble cot,
Is not, O Lord, by thee forgot;
And they whose mansions higher rise,
Receive their blessings from the skies.

Then, Father, grant that we may stand,
Protected ever by thy hand;
And while thy power our life sustains,
We'll sing thy praise in joyful strains.


Anthem.

Ode, written for the occasion by Nathaniel H. Morison.

Tune—New England Fathers—By Mrs. Hemans.

Through devious ways, and paths unknown,
Through forests dark and drear,
Our fathers sought these mountain streams,
To plant their offspring here.

They came not forth from princely halls,
To wasting pleasures sold;
They came not as the Spaniard came,
To seek for mines of gold.

But strong in purpose, high in soul,
In virtue armed secure,
They came from homes, affection blessed;
They sought for homes as pure.

Through years of toil, through years of want,
They bravely struggled on;
And lo! the forest melts away;
The sturdy pines are gone.

Their gardens bloom, and fields of corn
In summer breezes wave;
And plenty crowns the smiling boards,
When tempests howl and rave.

But time on hasty pinions flew;
Forgot were toils and woes,
On fair Contoocook's flowery banks,
Their little hamlets rose.
Their names are left for us to bear;
Their spirits, they are fled;
On yonder hill their bones repose
Amidst the slumbering dead.

No monument adorns the spot,
And yet that spot is blessed,
So long as we, their sons, shall own
The spirit they possessed.

Anthem.
Benediction.

Blessing at the dinner table by Rev. Elijah Dunbar; thanks returned by Rev. Peter Holt.

Afternoon.

Toast 1st.—The memory of the early settlers of Peterborough.—Let us not forget the perils and hardships which they endured, while we are enjoying, in peace and plenty, the fruits of their labors.

Deacon Jonathan Smith (the president of the day,) rose and said:—

"Fellow-Citizens.—The sentiment just read relates to the sufferings and hardships of our fathers, in their first settlement in this place. The orator of the day has related many incidents of the perils they endured, yet the half has not been told. I well recollect many of the meetings of the first settlers, at my father's house and elsewhere, when they used to relate the privations, hardships and dangers of their first settlement; and it seemed as though they were enough to break down their spirits, and cast a gloom over every countenance. Was it so? No. Notwithstanding all they suffered, and all they feared, there was a joyful countenance — there was more mirth, pleasantry, wit and humor, at that time, than at the present. There was another good thing attending those meetings; there was more friendship towards one another; more acts of kindness in relieving each other in their distress. The singing of the old Scotch songs generally closed these meetings.

In truth, their lives were soldier's lives; though they were not so well fed or clothed. These scenes and trials admirably fitted them for brave and hardy soldiers, to fight our battles and gain our independence. If the times and condition of the country raised up men eminently qualified to lead our armies, no less did they raise up soldiers — making them patient of suffering — persevering and confident of success. Had it not been for this, we have no reason to believe that we should have gained our independence. Now shall their sons, well clothed and fed,
and at their ease, lose what their fathers so hardly earned? I hope not; but that the same divine hand that so abundantly cherished and sustained their fathers in attaining, will also qualify them to keep and improve the blessings of liberty they now enjoy; and that another century from this, will find a people here improved in all knowledge, virtue and every moral principle, so that our independence will be preserved to the latest ages.


2nd. The Memory of the patriotic Eighty-three of this Town, who signed a virtual declaration of Independence June 17, 1776.

[A copy of the document alluded to was read by Thomas Steele, Esq., one of the signers, now in his 86th, year, who gave a short account of every signer, where they lived, and where they died. No more than three of the eighty-three remained, namely, Thomas Steele, Esq., Capt. William Robbe and Benjamin Mitchel, all of them present.]

Music, “Ode on Science.” Sung by the Choir.

3d. The Clergy. May their united labors, as heretofore, prove a strong citadel of our free institutions and sacred rights.

Rev. William Richie, rose and said,—

Mr. President.—It is probably expected that I, the eldest of the clerical sons of Peterborough, should respond to this compliment to the clergy. In the faithful discharge of the duties of their office, the clergy are necessarily important aids to civil government. Whilst they advance the spiritual interests of men, and prepare them for a higher and more perfect state of being; they make them better in all the relations, social and civil, they sustain on earth. Their ministrations strike at the root of those disorganizing principles and vices which endanger the rights, disturb the peace, destroy the liberty and happiness of society. The good done by many other classes of the community is palpable; but frequently the happiest influences of our ministry can never be known until the secrets of all hearts are revealed. Then it will be seen, how often by the faithful ministrations of the clergy, slumbering conscience has been aroused, incipient crime checked, languishing virtue revived, and the intellectual and moral nature awakened into vigorous exercise, and man no longer permitted to live, a libel on his form and on his Maker.

In the eloquent and interesting Address of this morning, its author, as by enchantment, caused our ancestors, in all their privations and sufferings, excellencies and defects, to pass before us. The first and second clergymen of this town, we were told, and some of us recollect, were neither an honor to their profession nor a blessing to the community. Such examples are however rare; and their successors still live and fully redeem this order of
men from the reproach cast upon it by their predecessors in this
place. Not only the faithful ministrations of the clergy, but
their example, is well calculated to guard our free institutions
and sacred rights. We are sometimes indeed told the clergy
have no concern with politics, and should never leave their pro­
per sphere for one so uncongenial to their sacred office. Party
politics, the arts of office-seekers, are sufficiently disgraceful not
only to exclude the clergy, but all honest men from them. The
man, however, who devotes himself to the ministry, does not by
that act surrender his social and civil rights. He has, and should
feel, all the interest in the political prosperity of his country,
which every good man does; and having no selfish purpose to
serve, no office to look for, one would suppose this, added to
intellectual acquirements, would render his opinion at least as
important and valuable as that of other members of the commu­
nity. So long as the minister of religion discharges faithfully
and independently his duty; expresses fearlessly and courteously
all his opinions, without a wish to dictate or control the opinions
of others any farther than light and conviction should control
them, his influence must be highly beneficial to the religious,
social and civil institutions of his country.

I have no wish that former days should return, when respect
was paid solely to the office, however unworthy the occupant.
Intelligence and character in the clergy should alone command
respect and confidence. The clergy have also manifested a deep
interest in the cause of education; and been efficient in elevating
the common schools. This is the very corner-stone on which
all our valuable free institutions rest. Valuable as are our High
Schools and Academies, the Town Schools are the fountains from
which knowledge flows to the people. An overwhelming ma­
jority of the community and of the electors receive all their edu­
cation at the town schools. No greater service can be done for
the community, than to elevate the standard of education in the
public schools. In this important work the clergy have taken
an active and leading part. May every class of the community
co-operate, until our common schools are what the wants of the
community, demand; according to every portion of the republic
the means of a good education. It is always pleasant to look
back to the place where we first acquired a taste for learning.
Indeed, every thing which reminds us of the place of our birth,
and of those dear parents and friends, whose affection cared for
us, when we could not care for ourselves, is deeply interesting.
Yes, I have often hailed as a friend the dark Monadnoc, at a
great distance, raising his head above the hills and looking far
off on the land and on the sea; and around its barren top have
clustered the most delightful associations and reminiscences of by-
gone days; of parents and ancestors, whose remains now sleep on the side of yonder hill, on which they uniformly worshipped, and to which they early directed my feet.

I have already occupied more time than I intended. The rapid advancement of my native town in mechanic arts; the increase of wealth, the improvement in public buildings and private dwellings has given a new aspect to this place. May the cause of education equally advance, giving a permanent glory to the prosperity of a place we all delight to honor. I conclude with this sentiment:

*Intellectual and moral culture.*—The only conservative principles of the republic, may they ever have an increasing interest in our hearts.

*Music, "Old Hundred."* Sung by the Choir.

4th. *Hon. Samuel Smith,*—whose activity, energy, and enterprise, put the first wheels in motion, that have rolled this Village on to its present flourishing condition.

*Doct. Albert Smith,* rose and said,—

It is with great reluctance and embarrassment that I feel myself obliged to respond to the sentiment just read. I regret to consume any time, in which you might be entertained by others, who are now ready to speak. You have seen fit kindly to notice my father on this occasion— one of the greatest and most important in the history of our town. But the fast creeping infirmities of age have rendered him unable to express, in a manner agreeable to his feelings, the sincere gratification which this kind and flattering notice has given him. You will permit me to speak for him— who, you all know, has heretofore so well and ably spoken for himself.

What he has been and all that he has done, belongs to this town alone:— here he was born and here he has always lived. The sentiment alludes to his efforts as the founder of this village. He did here only what he would have done elsewhere, with such energy of character— such ardor and enthusiasm in his projects;— for he had all the Morison failing of being a great projector, and was withal somewhat visionary. Such men often do great good. It is well that, now and then, an individual can disregard all the minor considerations of prudence and economy and go on fearlessly in his course. Thus great plans are carried out, villages arise, business is increased, and what is ordinarily the work of years, is accomplished at once.

It was thus with my father. Almost any man, with his limited means when he came to this village, instead of building all kinds of Mills, Dams, Walls, Stores, Houses, &c., would, in Scripture language, have counted the cost; and then the progress of this
Village would have been slow, and what was accomplished at one effort, would have been the work of years.

It is now forty-seven years since he first commenced in this part of the village. There was then but one house standing and one family only, near the spot where we are now assembled. All else was in the rude state of nature, untouched and unsubdued. From yonder hill, what a contrast would a view of this place now present! Then all was dreary and desolate. A thick, tangled forest, abounding with lofty pines and hemlocks in all the grandeur of mature age, was flourishing, where now resound the efforts of active and constant industry. There was nothing in the prospect to give pleasure; for should you look with attention, a high and extensive sand bank, that had withstood the elements for ages, would meet your view; then you would observe abrupt hills, and the two rivers almost choked with the inroads of the forest. Only now and then might be seen a human being along its narrow and crooked road. The outsettlers of the town could not use too opprobrious terms to express their dislike of the place. But now how changed! from the same spot there would meet your view, (or I am deceived,) one of the most beautiful villages of our country. You would see this beautiful river at your feet, winding its course through highly cultivated fields — at a little distance the green, but, at this time, deeply variegated woods — then the hills, the grand hills, some of them rising abruptly, others in a gradual slope from its banks. When your eye rests on the village, you would see the happy homes of hundreds, and of all these, only two, (my parents) remain, who were here in the infancy of the place. Again you would see churches, houses, factories, stores, mechanic shops, and all the busy hum of men — the stir and bustle of business from morn to eve. You would see the evidence of enterprise on every hand, the well marked and not to be mistaken signs of a prosperous and flourishing community. Well might it excite astonishment, that one individual, alone and unaided, and with limited means, should have pitched upon this spot, as forbidding as it then was; should have reared up such a building of Babel dimensions as justly to be considered the wonder of the day; should have filled the same with all kinds of mills and machinery then in use and needed by the community, and persevere till he had made a village of his own. But the greater the difficulties, the more ardent and persevering was he in overcoming them. His life has been a lesson of perseverance, whatever other lesson it may have exhibited to mankind. The pecuniary embarrassments which he sustained for years would have prostrated almost any other mind; but he preserved an equanimity through them, that few men possess; and nothing but the ruthless hand of age and infirmity
could depress or break him down. I trust I shall be pardoned for speaking thus. No one now can feel any other than sentiments of respect towards him, unless it be of commiseration. For here is a noble mind in ruins. He has now passed the active scenes of life, he has long since ceased to be an object of jealousy or envy to any living being, and soon, in all human probability, must his earthly career be closed. What he has done in life, it is not for me to say. His labors are ended, and whether they be for weal or woe, those who come after him and us will judge.

I offer the following sentiment in behalf and at the request of my father:

May the present enterprising spirit and increased prosperity of Peterborough—which is so highly honorable and praiseworthy—ever continue.

Music, "Who is this." Sung by the Choir.

5th. Gen. James Miller.—A brave man, never to be forgotten by his country, or native town.

Gen. Miller, rose and said,—

Mr. President and fellow citizens of my native town,—I return to you my sincere thanks for your flattering notice of me on this memorable occasion, an occasion which once more gives me the pleasure of meeting and taking by the hand so many of my old and valuable friends and acquaintances, and of again witnessing the marked improvements of my native place. That her march may still be onward in every useful improvement, is the sincere wish of my heart.

Mr. President, I offer as a sentiment—

May we encourage Literature, revere Religion, and, love one another.

Music, "Gen. Miller's March." By the Band.

6th. First Light Infantry and Peterborough Guards,—A Citizen Soldiery—the best in the World,

Capt. Samuel C. Olliver, rose and said,—

Mr. President,—My situation is such as to render it inconvenient for me to come forward to speak. But after hearing the sentiment just offered I feel obliged to respond. Although an adopted son of Peterborough, I am proud on all occasions to acknowledge myself one of her sons—even one of her citizen soldiery. Yes, Light Infantry and Peterborough Guards, we have in the sentiment just read the honorable title of a citizen soldiery given us. We are so indeed—members of that institution which gained for us the blessings of liberty and freedom which we now enjoy, and descendants of those noble patriots who won them—with whose praise we are all familiar. We cannot,—we will
not, prove ourselves unworthy of the sires who, reared in those valleys, went forth at the first call of their country, met the British lion on the plains of Bennington and Saratoga, and bravely took him. History responds to their heroic deeds; and the echoes of those hills answer nobly to the tune of Yankee Doodle, and fill the air with victory. We are all familiar too with the condition of the American people. Every child knows and adopts the popular sentiment, that ours is the happiest nation on the globe,—and is it not so? We are able to enjoy ourselves independently of others. Although other nations may trouble and even threaten us with destruction, yet we know the strong arm of the militia will defend our families and homes.

It is our own prerogative, and the distinction of the true Yankee, to be prepared to defend, but not to invade. Mark the improvement. One hundred years ago, those limped waters that flow along our river witnessed in their course only the yell of the savage and the howl of wild beasts. Now a civilized and industrious people rise up in clouds before them—a people, too, whose homes and firesides have become academies of useful learning. One hundred years ago, the inhabitants of this fertile soil knew nought but the enslaving maxims that enchain the mind. Now every man is a student. Then none sought to improve by the past, but were content with the pleasures of the moment;—in a word, they were savages. Now all look forward to a nobler and higher state of improvement. Having been sufficiently educated to become instructors of themselves, they reach forward with slow but sure march to jewels that are laid up in store for them. Moreover, we here breathe the pure air of freedom, where all are born equal; where there are no kings, no princes, no nobility, no titles; in a country that is destined to grow on; to fill the Valley of the Mississippi—to spread itself along the Red River, the Arkansaw, the Missouri, climb the Rocky Mountains, descend upon the Columbia, and overspread the shores of the Pacific Ocean with a hundred millions of human beings as free and independent as ourselves. We have something to do in this matter. Mr. President, upon us rests the responsibility for the safe keeping of those institutions and transmitting them untarnished to millions yet unborn.

Fellow Citizens—Citizen soldiers:—When our country with all her noble institutions, shall cry Defend—Are we Ready? Aye, Ready.

Mr. President—Permit me to offer the following sentiment—

The Fair.—It is but fair, that the Fair partake of our fare on the present occasion.

Our Absent Sons,—We gladden at your prosperity, we mourn if you attempt to do evil,—though we grow old we do not forget you.

Exeter Oct. 22, 1839.

Gentlemen,—I regret that it is not in my power to accept your invitation to attend your Centennial Celebration on Thursday. Nothing, I assure you, could give me more pleasure. I am sure none of the sons of old Peterborough would enter more into the joyous feelings of the day. I have known her nearly as long as any of her children still alive, and yield to none in attachment. I have experienced nothing but kindness and confidence from her ever since I was capable of knowing good from evil; and I pray Heaven to reward her for all her goodness to me. Allow me to offer this sentiment:

Peterborough,—May she be as distinguished in the next century for moral worth, as she has been for intellectual superiority and business enterprise in this.

I am, gentlemen, with much regard, your obedient servant,

Jeremiah Smith.

New York, Oct. 17, 1839.

Gentlemen,—I assure you, with the most perfect truth and sincerity, that I received the invitation with heart-felt satisfaction, considering the place whence this gratifying testimony proceeds. It being the place of my early and late associations, it demands the expression of my profound and grateful acknowledgments. It occasions me painful regret not to be able to accept the invitation, and I cannot conclude without tendering to you and those whom you represent, my respectful thanks for the honor done me on this occasion. Permit me, Gentlemen, to propose the following sentiment—

Peterborough,—What was she a century ago—what was she half a century ago—and what is she now? May her industry, enterprise, improvements, prosperity and happiness continue to advance onward for centuries yet to come.

Your Obedient Servant,

Daniel Abbott.

Boston, Oct. 17, 1839.

Dear Sirs,—Accept my hearty thanks for your invitation to the Centennial Celebration at Peterborough. I should most certainly attend, were I not denied that pleasure, by ill health. But, gentlemen, I shall not be unmindful of so interesting an
wants; for I intend to celebrate the day at my own residence in Boston. I shall be with you then, though not actually in my native town.

Your kind letter brought to my mind many pleasing reminiscences of days gone by — of the scenes, the times, the associates and friends of my youth. The Wilsons, Steeles, Mitchells, and Smiths, — the Morisons, Stuarts and Moores — the Millers, Whites, and many other worthy citizens, whose names are familiar to you, appeared before me. They had a rugged path to walk; but they were industrious and persevering. They were open-hearted, public spirited and independent men; and it is gratifying for me, a native, though non-resident of Peterborough, to know, that the present inhabitants are the true representatives of such predecessors.

On the 24th inst., and while you are publicly rejoicing, I shall fill my glass with wine in honor of the day, in remembrance of the first settlers, and my old comrades and friends, and to the health of their descendants, and the present inhabitants of the town; giving this sentiment:

*The Pioneers of Peterborough,* — Let us cherish their memories, and teach our children to emulate the labors and virtues of the first settlers of the town.

Renewing to you, Gentlemen of the Committee, and through you, to the citizens, my regret that "though with you, I shall not be there," on the occasion in question, I remain an ardent friend of my native town, and

Most respectfully your obedient servant,

Samuel Gragg.

Belfast, Oct. 15, 1839.

Gentlemen,— A short absence prevented the receipt of your letter a day or two. But the first occasion is embraced to say, that the pleasure of attending your Centennial Celebration would overcome all objections as to distance, if it were not that the Court of Common Pleas sits in this County on the first Tuesday of next month, and that will prevent attendance.

With leave, the following sentiment is offered.

*The Town of Peterborough,* — May her prosperity be as rapid and lasting as her streams.

Yours, with sentiments of high respect,

John Wilson.

Cincinnati, Oct. 18, 1839.

Gentlemen — I am much obliged by your kind invitation to be
present at the Centennial Celebration at Peterborough. It would give me a peculiar pleasure to be there on an occasion so interesting, and especially as I should find myself among many old friends, but it will be wholly impracticable. If there were time, (I received the letter yesterday) I could not come. Our lecture term is at hand, and I must be on the ground.

Be pleased to present my affectionate regards to the Rev. Mr. Morison, if he be the same gentleman who was once my patient; and my sincere respects to my old friends, the recollection of whose kindness years and years ago, I fondly cherish.

Very respectfully, your friend,

R. D. Muzzey.

Boston, Oct. 16, 1839.

Gentlemen,—Your kind letter of the 7th instant, inviting me to join the citizens of Peterborough in the celebration of the approaching Centennial Anniversary of the town, on Thursday the 24th inst., was received in due course of mail. I feel highly gratified with being remembered on this occasion by the inhabitants of my native town; the town where I spent the pleasant hours of my early childhood; where the remains of my beloved parents, now long since mingled with its dust, were deposited. But I should feel a much higher gratification, if my daily engagements would permit me to meet with my brethren, the sons of the town, and interchange with them the feelings which belong to such a relation, and respond, in such manner as I might be able, at the moment, to sentiments suitable to such an occasion. Since this gratification is denied me, I take pleasure in saying, that I feel proud in numbering myself, here in Boston, among those who hail from the "Granite State," the birth-place of a Statesman, who has acquired for himself the exalted appellation of "The Defender of the Constitution;" and more especially among the sons of the town of Peterborough, the nativity of many industrious, frugal, enterprising agriculturalists, the "bone and sinews of our country," and other men, who have eminently excelled in the manufacturing art, at the bar, and upon the bench, in the senate and on the field. That the town of Peterborough may flourish in the coming century, as she has during the past, and continue to send forth her sons with the spirits of their fathers to excel in all the useful occupations of life, is the sincere sentiment of one of her sons, and gentlemen, your brother,

I. P. Osgood.

Franklin, Oct. 21, 1839.

Gentlemen,—When I received your kind invitation to attend the Celebration, I was determined to do so; but circumstances
have occurred since, which render it impossible for me to attend.

Although I cannot be present on the occasion, my heart and soul will be with you. I claim to be a native son of Peterborough, and feel proud of my maternal home. The occasion brings to my mind many pleasing recollections of bygone days, the days of my childhood, when seated with others of my father's family around the winter evening fire, listening to the traditionary tales of the first settlement of the town.

I will conclude this communication by proposing the following sentiment.

The adopted sons of Peterborough. — However distinguished or exalted may have been many of her native sons, may her adopted sons be equally distinguished.

Yours, in the bonds of affectionate brotherhood,

John Annan.

Newport, Oct. 22, 1839.

Gentlemen, — It would have given me great satisfaction to meet my early associates, and join with them in the festivities of that occasion.

Peterborough is dear to me, and I feel proud of being recorded among her sons, of whom so many have distinguished themselves in the different professions and departments of active life. She has within my own short recollections sent forth four or five respectable Clergymen, and fifteen or sixteen Lawyers, four members of Congress, and four or five respectable Physicians. She can point to the Hon. Jeremiah Smith, for a long time Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, truly a sage of the law, and a former Governor of this State, as one of her sons; and to Doctor Muzzey, now of Cincinnati, as not less distinguished in the medical department; and to Gen. Jas. Miller, not less distinguished in our military annals.

Suffer me, in conclusion, to offer the following sentiment:—

The citizens of Peterborough. — May they continue to cherish literature, and the arts and sciences — may they be distinguished for their morals, and those virtues which elevate and ennoble man; and may she send forth men who shall protect and defend the rights of our country, and perpetuate our free and liberal institutions.

With sentiments of respect and high consideration,

Yours truly,

Amasa Edes.
Bath, Oct. 19, 1839.

Gentlemen,— I received your invitation a few days since to attend the Centennial Anniversary Celebration of the settlement of the town of Peterborough, on the 24th inst.

My attachments to my native place are strong, and though I have spent a large portion of my life elsewhere, those attachments have not diminished, nor has a link of the chain that bound me there ever been severed.

It would give me great pleasure to be present with you and participate in the Celebration, but it is otherwise ordered; and though I may never again see the place of my birth, or again mingle with my fellow-citizens there, for whom I have such strong sympathies and attachments, I may be present with you in spirit on this occasion.

I was early taught to entertain high respect for that hardy and enterprising band, who in 1739 and the ten following years, established the settlement of our native town. They possessed certain traits of character of high excellence, (doubtless mingled with faults of as strong a character,) yet those of excellence so far predominated as to give a marked and distinctive character of excellence to the people of the town.

I trust some one of her many talented sons will be found ready, on this occasion, to do justice to their memory and character. Permit me, gentlemen, to offer you the following sentiment:—

May the generation that now is, exhibit all the excellencies of character, without any of the faults, of the generation that is past, for the instruction of those who are to come; that the town may continue to have a name and a praise, for the worth of her citizens, when those present are gone from the stage and rest with their fathers.

I am, gentlemen, very truly yours,

Jonathan Smith.

New York, Oct. 19, 1839.

Gentlemen,— Your kind invitation of the 8th instant came duly to hand. I have delayed replying, hoping to do it in person; but I very much regret my engagements are such as I cannot remove, and will consequently prevent my attendance.

That you will have a gratifying Celebration I have no doubt, and that you may, is the sincere wish of

Yours, very truly,

Jeremiah Smith.

Boston, Oct. 22, 1839.

Gentlemen,— I have delayed giving you an answer, in hopes of being able to be present on the interesting occasion, and now I
am truly sorry to find myself unable to leave my business affairs at this time; otherwise it would afford me the greatest pleasure to be present.

It is pleasant to visit the home of our childhood at any and all times, but especially on such an occasion as the present.

Your ob't servant.

D A V I D C A R T E R.

B A L T I M O R E, O C T. 1 5 , 1 8 3 9.

Gentlemen,—Nothing could give me greater pleasure, than to be present at your celebration, but circumstances will necessarily prevent. Allow me therefore, to express myself, though now adopted elsewhere, still a son of my native town, good and true to the core in feeling, and every wish for her prosperity, and to propose the following sentiment, as my representative among you:

Our native town,—Her intelligence, the boast; her success, the joy; her hills, memory's dearest shrine; her all, the pride of her absent sons.

With great respect, I am your's, &c.

H O R A C E M O R I S O N.

B A L T I M O R E, O C T. 1 5 , 1 8 3 9.

Gentlemen,—Your letter of the 9th instant was received, inviting me to attend a Centennial Celebration in Peterborough on Thursday the 24th of Oct. Nothing could give me more pleasure than meeting on that occasion my townsmen, the inhabitants of Peterborough, and her many distinguished sons from abroad; but circumstances beyond my control render it impossible. I trust, however, I shall be there in spirit, and, like a true-hearted son, enjoy in imagination the festivities in which I can take no part. I hope my native town will accept in my absence, the following lyric * from one of the humblest of her bards, as a fit offering on such an occasion.

Accept for yourselves personally my warmest regards, and believe me truly your fellow townsman.

N A T H A N I E L H. M O R I S O N.


8th. Non-resident owners in our Manufacturing establishments,—For their liberality in aiding the public and private institutions of Peterborough, we return them our sincere thanks.

B O S T O N, O C T. 2 2 , 1 8 3 9.

Gentlemen,—I have received your letter of the 16th inst., with a polite invitation to attend the celebration of the First

* Inserted on p. 64.
Centennial Anniversary of the town of Peterborough, on the 24th inst. I much regret that it will not be in my power to attend said celebration, as it would afford me much pleasure to meet my friends and acquaintances at that place.

I have known Peterborough for about sixty years, and observed with pleasure its rapid growth in population, agriculture, manufactures, arts, sciences, literature, &c. &c.

My first visit to Peterborough I will relate, merely to show some of the changes that have taken place since my recollection. Fifty-nine years ago last April, a man with a drove of cattle passed my father's house in New Ipswich, on his way to a pasture for his cattle in the town of Hancock. Being in want of assistance to drive his cattle, and seeing a flaxen haired boy at the door, he bargained with my father that I should assist him on his way as far as the mills in Peterborough, distance ten miles; for this service to be performed by me, my father received ninepence, lawful money; we arrived at the mills—a rickety saw and grist mill, standing on the site where the Peterborough Factory now stands, about four o'clock. The man of cattle then offered me half as much as he had paid my father, and a night's lodging, if I would go on with him through the woods three miles to Taylor's Tavern. I readily consented, and pocketed the cash. At that time there was only one house (Doctor Young's) between the mills and the tavern. All the rest of the way was a dreary wilderness. But enough of my first visit to Peterborough.—I propose, with your permission, Gentlemen, the following toast:

The first Settlers of the town of Peterborough,—The Smiths, the Wil- sons, the Steeles, the Morisons, and many others; celebrated for their industry, perseverance, prudence and honesty. Also their sons and grand-sons whether at home or abroad; they have done honor to themselves, to their native town, and to their country. Their virtues and talents have shed a lustre on every profession, political, judicial, ecclesiastical, medical, military and scientific.*

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, gentlemen, your obedient, humble servant.

Samuel Appleton.

P. S. Gentlemen, if you have not on hand more toasts than time, I beg leave to propose the following:

The first Matrons of Peterborough,—Who, like the matrons of King Solomon's time, laid their hands to the spindle and distaff, made fine linen and sold it to the merchants,† and looked well to the ways of their household.

* Among my acquaintances may be reckoned Judge Smith, General Wilson, Doct. Smith of Cincinnati, Rev. Mr. Morison, General Miller, &c. &c.
† Fifty years ago the writer of this kept a small store at New Ipswich, and exchanged tea, sugar, coffee, pins, needles, &c., for home spun fine linen, made by the matrons and fair daughters of Peterborough.
Also, their fair daughters, of the third and fourth generation, who without handling the distaff, by the almost magical use of the spinning jenny and the shuttle, can clothe themselves in silks and fare sumptuously every day.

Boston, Oct. 19, 1839.

Gentlemen,—Your favor of the 16th inst. came duly to my hands, and I accept and thank you for the invitation to attend the Centennial Anniversary of your Town on Thursday next. I fear that it may be impracticable for me to be absent from Boston at that time, and shall much regret if such shall prove to be the fact. In any event, my sympathies and feelings will be with you; for I have witnessed with lively interest the growth and improvement of Peterborough, and find it my pride and pleasure to associate with her sons. Very respectfully, yours,

Samuel May.

Should I be prevented being with you, on the interesting occasion, allow me to offer through you as a sentiment:—

The Town of Peterborough,—Forward in the ranks of Agriculture and Manufactures; high in the scale of education, morals and religion; she has sent forth her full quota of eminent and excellent laborers in Church and in State. May she go on "prospering and to prosper."

Boston, Oct. 23, 1839.

Gentlemen,—This will be handed you by my son. I regret very much that I cannot be with you to-morrow, but having only within a few minutes returned from a journey of some fifteen or sixteen days, it is impossible that I can have that pleasure. I have many pleasant reminiscences connected with Peterborough. Born, as it were, upon the borders of the town, her brooks and rivers were familiar to me, for I was in the habit of fishing from them the wily trout, before factories were hardly thought of, other than the then common ones for manufacturing meal and boards. I should there find myself surrounded by many old friends and acquaintances, and might perhaps point out in the assembly, the man who used to purchase of me the skins of the muskrat,* which I entrapped to supply myself with change, for election and training days—and I trust I should then meet my much respected and ever valued friend †—Peterborough's most enterprising son—who, when I became of age, and was about to leave New England, to seek my fortune and business in western wilds, unsolicited, took me by the hand and established me in business with himself in Keene; a change which no doubt has

* Jonas Loring; for a long time the only hatter in town.
† Samuel Smith, Esq.
much promoted my prosperity and happiness, and for which I trust I shall ever feel grateful.

With manufacturing in Peterborough I can claim an early connexion, as well as one of more recent date. More than forty years ago I was an operative, and used to set card teeth by hand, for one of her citizens, for which I was paid fourpence a pair, not in cash, but "store pay." By close application in my leisure hours, I could set about one and a half or two pairs in a week. I was an owner in the Peterborough Factory, and was present at the commencement of its operations in 1810, and that I believe was the Second Cotton Factory in the State; since then I have been interested in most of the factories established there, and have done business to a considerable extent, for them all.

In many towns, where manufactories have been established within the last twenty years, the inhabitants have looked upon them, and especially upon the proprietors who were non-residents, with jealousy and distrust; but it has not been so with the citizens of Peterborough. They have been governed by more enlightened and liberal views, and with few, very few exceptions, they have fostered and aided the corporations by all the means in their power; and from them the proprietors abroad have ever received the most kind and courteous consideration and support, for which they are entitled to, and through you I would most respectfully present to them, my sincere acknowledgments. To you, Gentlemen, personally, for your kind invitation to be present on this interesting occasion of the Centennial Celebration, I tender my thanks, and offer the annexed sentiment to be used as you may deem proper.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ISAAC PARKER.

Peterborough.—Prosperity to her people, to her manufactories, her fur trade and her fisheries.

Music, "Hill of Zion." Sung by the Choir.

9th. Our adopted Citizens.—May we never in action or in word say to any one of them, — thou art the son of a stranger.

JOHN H. STEELE, Esq., rose and said, —

Mr. President, — Had I the ability to do justice to my own feelings, or to the feelings of many others who like myself are adopted citizens of Peterborough, the present occasion would have been eagerly sought. No minor considerations could have prevented me from embracing this opportunity, to return thanks in the warmest language of the heart, for the many proofs we have received, not only of your kindness and open handed hospitality, but for the free, warin-hearted welcome invariably extended
of every stranger whose fortune it is to make his residence among you.

No diversity of opinions has at any time prevented that cordial interchange of sentiment or free discussion, which is the parent of every improvement. All here meet as men should meet. No fancied distinctions or differences of opinions, are suffered to destroy that sociability, which is at once the pride and boast of Peterborough.

The stranger, as well as native, share alike the honors and pleasures of society. No wonder then that your sons, wherever they roam, in whatsoever situation they may be placed, whether on the tented field, in the senate, on the bench, in the pulpit, at the bar, following the plough, or hammering on the anvil,—all cheerfully own their native home, all proudly hail from Peterborough.

Mr. President,—if the sentiment which has brought me forward, is to be considered as a call now made on the native citizens of this town, never, in action or in word, to say to any one of their adopted citizens, "thou art the son of a stranger," it will not convey a reproach either now, or in times gone by. No, Sir, nearly thirty years' residence among you enables me to say, that for the past you can have no reflections to cast;—the stranger is here sure to find a resting-place, a Home.

To those who have never wandered far from their paternal firesides, I would say; you know not the feelings of the immigrant, the longing desires of the homeless stranger. No one who has wandered far from the home of his youth, but must have felt a loneliness, a depression of spirits, a yearning after his native land, an almost irresistible impulse to return to the place that gave him birth,—it is of little consequence where that place may be,—whether on the borders of the burning desert, amid the chilling blasts of the frozen North, or the yet more fatal stagnant swamps of the South. Let him be a forced or willing exile; let him have received the kindest, or the most cruel treatment that the ingenuity of man can inflict; all, all, cannot, will not, and let me add, should not, wean him from his native land. He that can forget the land that gave him birth, must be unworthy to be called an adopted citizen of any other. Such a man deserves not the sympathy of others. On such a being the kind and generous greetings of his adopted home is lost. He careth not whether you say to him "thou art welcome, stranger, or, that "thou art the son of a stranger." Far different are the feelings of him who never hears the name of his native land without emotion. Although alive to the interests of the home of his childhood, he will not neglect or forget the interests of his adopted home. By such a man a cheerful, hearty welcome will be duly appreciated; it will cheer him on, and bring forth whatever there may be of
the man in him; while a different reception, if it did not destroy,
would paralyze his future efforts, and perhaps extinguish forever
all the energy of his character. His usefulness would be im-
paired, his previous acquirements lost, and all his future pros-
pcts blasted; the home of his adoption would only be able to
number one more human being among them, who would proba-
bly live a life of wretchedness instead of one of usefulness, and
die a neglected, forgotten stranger.

Yes, fellow-citizens, on you in a great measure depends the
usefulness of every stranger who may permanently settle among
you. It is true you cannot give youth to the aged, neither can
you make the stupid active, nor yet entirely wean the sluggard
from his slothful ways; but you have, time and again, by your
open-heartedness, not only encouraged all who were disposed to
help themselves, but have effectually rebuked, both by precept and
example, the vicious and evil inclined. Many a youth, who from
previous associations had acquired a thoughtless, if not a ruinous
habit of extravagance, has been by the example of your industry
reclaimed, and made to bless the day that led him to choose this
as his abiding place.

Mr. President,—The allusions of the orator of the day to the
Old Meeting-house on yonder hill, brought forward in bold relief
the remembrance of one of Peterborough’s brightest, noblest
sons; one whose influence has contributed much towards giving
a distinct character to the town. A friend, whose departed
spirit, if permitted to leave the realms of bliss, where it long since
has taken its abode, is now within these walls. The noble,
manly, generous spirit that animated him while here, must now
look down on this crowded assembly, while with a tear on his
manly cheek, ready to drop, and wash away all that his purer
soul finds to condemn, his cheerful eye eagerly scans this ani-
mated collection of human beings, and returns thanks to the au-
thor of all good for the prosperity of his native town.

Mr. President,—I hardly need add that I allude to your departed
brother, John Smith, Esq. If Peterborough can boast of a better,
more useful, brighter, purer hearted son than was John Smith, I
know him not. That she can point to many whose exterior,
both in dress and address, comes much nearer to what is gene-
raIly termed a finished gentleman, no one will doubt. But where
now is the man, who never lets a human being pass him unheeded;
whose ever active mind, and ready talent, can draw forth alike
the budding powers of childhood, or those of ripened age; who is
ever ready to aid, council, or direct, with wisdom, purse, or hand,
his fellow man? Such a man was John Smith. With an address
which to a stranger appeared as rough and rugged as the moun-
tains which surround his native town, he possessed a heart as
tender and pure as ever animated the breast of man. To him
owe more than I can express. He was not only a friend, but a
father. He taught me to believe that there is nothing impossible;
nothing that a willing mind, and active hand, cannot accomplish.
I yet seem to hear his voice reproving me for saying, I cannot
do it! He would say "Steele, Steele, you booby, why don't you
try, and not stand there looking as if you were in a trance?"
Shade of my departed friend, permit me to say that your reproofs,
councils, and aid, have not, I hope, been entirely lost.

But, Mr. President, I detain you, and keep back others, who
are much abler, from giving to you and this assembled multitude
matter more pleasing and better suited to the present occasion.
Yet I must beg your patience for a few minutes longer. I can­
not sit down, Sir, without saying one word to the Ladies. In at­
temptsing so to do, I am not compelled, but willingly throw myself
on their well known generous kindness. — It has so often been
said, that it is believed at least by every gay Lothario, that the
way to win the good will of the Ladies is to flatter them. Is
this so, Ladies? If it is, I had better stop where I am. Should
I at this time of life attempt to turn flatterer, it would, it must
prove a failure. No, I shall not attempt it. My fate has been
cast in a sterner mold; nor do I believe one word of this slander.
Such a libel on your good sound sense and well known discrimi­
nating powers, must have been penned or uttered by one of those
nondescript beings, frequently seen hovering around the fair
daughters of the land, like a gay, gaudy butterfly around the beau­
tiful half blown rose, and like that transient insect is chased away
by the approach of the first active useful busy bee. Would you
know them, mark well their confident air, their tight bound waist
and gay clothing, the closely cramped toes, the never forgotten
silk or embroidered kid gloves, the rattan or other useless switch.
Useless, did I say? Not so, its repeated raps on their well polished
boots or full cushioned legs, will at least give you warning that a
flatterer is approaching; and if age has furnished him with a beard,
you will be almost sure to see the face half covered with a care­
fully curled pair of whiskers. Although they are called, as I
suppose, by way of derision, "Ladies' men," avoid them as you
would a viper. They are mere peacocks. Their hats may be of
the latest fashion, but there is nothing in their heads. With the
lighter, vainer portion of young and thoughtless females, who, like
themselves, think gay clothing must make their charms irresisti­
ble, they may pass for men. To such, if any such there are
among the many bright faces around us, I have nothing to say.
They must be left to smoother tongues than mine.

It is to the more staid and useful I would say, go on as you
have done; encourage your husbands, sons and brothers, in
every thing that is manly and generous.

To you are or will be committed the destinies of our town.
The results of the past are before us; the changes and improvements are great. Will the coming century produce as great? No one here can answer. No one here will in all probability live to see. One hundred years hence, when your descendants assemble, as we this day assemble, to commemorate the Second Centennial Anniversary of their native or adopted town, will they be able, as I believe you now are, to say that all the good our mothers taught us, we have kept and practised. To your Mothers, as well as to yourselves, do we mainly if not entirely owe that public spirit, that love of order, that open, generous, manly bearing, which always did, and still does, distinguish your husbands, sons and brothers.

To your influence are we, the adopted citizens of Peterborough, indebted for our privileges. Your influence enables us to say that this is truly the home of the stranger.

Guard well the rising generation. To you, to your guidance, it must be committed. Must? No! I take back that word, and say, to none other should so important a trust be committed. Without your fostering care, without the anxious care and instruction of a mother, what would man be? Deprive man of his natural and best companion, Woman, he would then be, or soon become, a fit companion for the tiger. Degrade and debase woman from her proper sphere, and man at once sinks to the level of a savage. Give her full and free scope, and man rises to a higher destiny as fast or faster than generations pass away.

Mr. President, permit me to offer as a sentiment,—

Peterborough,—May she ever continue to be, as she has heretofore been, the Stranger’s Home.

Rev. Elijah Dunbar, rose and said,—

Mr. President,—An adopted son of Peterborough, following the example of our respected friend who has just spoken, would also briefly respond to the kind notice which has been offered. My adoption, which was confirmed forty years ago, yesterday, you well remember. The venerable Council of the ordaining Clergy, with a very few exceptions, are gathered to their fathers; and it is with a great, though a mournful satisfaction, that we welcome the last survivor, in this immediate vicinity, the Rev. Mr. Ainsworth, to our Celebration. It reminds us of his venerable colleagues, whom we shall see no more, till we meet on the shores of eternity.

My long residence here, my long continued and intimate connection with generations past and present; the continued kindness and support I have experienced; and the identity of national descent, from Scotch origin, almost persuade me that I am a native.
The enterprise, the benevolence, and the liberality of the natives of Peterborough form a distinguished and highly honorable characteristic.

Among the evidences this day exhibited, permit to notice the handsome military display. It may remind us of those who fell and those who triumphed in the war of 1755; of the enterprise, perseverance and intrepidity of our Revolutionary heroes; and of the more recent glory of the battle-field of Bridgewater.

I would offer this sentiment:—

*The Citizen Soldiery of Peterborough.*—May they continue to cultivate the martial spirit—may they be ever prompt, at their country's call; and he that hath no sword, let him sell his coat and buy one.

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Mr. Thomas Payson, rose and said,—

Mr. President,—The toast, to which my valued friend, an adopted son of Peterborough, has so justly and happily, although, considering the time is so far spent, rather too lengthily responded, I had intended to have noticed in a more extended manner, than, from the lateness of day, is now in my power. That friend has handsomely anticipated something, which I contemplated to say, on this occasion, as one of the fortunate, though lately adopted citizens of this memorable town.

I will, however, with your good leave, state, in a few plain words, what my impressions of the inhabitants were, before I knew them.

In early life it was my chance to make acquaintance with one of the natives of Peterborough, and to have no very favorable report of some others. He possessed not a few of the reputed characteristics of his fellow-townsmen, which the distinguished orator of the day has so justly and impartially portrayed.

This personal knowledge of one and historical reputation of others, predisposed me to entertain no very favorable opinion of the place and people. Nor was this opinion lessened by the story of the outrageous application of Lynch-law to an unhappy clerical subject, who had by that same people for many years been retained in the sacred office, to his own and his people's disgrace.

With these things fresh in my recollection, it so happened that a few years since I was called on to consider the proposal of making this same Peterborough my place of rustication.

Can any one of this respectable auditory who hears me, indulge in wonder, that, under such circumstances, I should feel a strong repugnance at making my future residence and closing my life among a people so famous? I assure you, Sir, that repugnance was great, and that this was among the last places in New England, of which I had any knowledge, that I should voluntarily have made my home.
Circumstances, however, overruled my volition and repugnance. Twelve years since I removed to this town. How great were my surprise and disappointment, after a short residence here, in the appearance of the place, and in the character of the people, I hardly need now repeat. I had looked at them through a foggy medium. I had judged of the whole by a part only. Instead of being stared at as a stranger, and treated as the son of a stranger, I found myself among a friendly set of men, was taken cordially by the hand, kindly, and even respectfully received, and treated as a native son or brother; the people, with as few exceptions as can be found in any other place, open hearted hospitable, independent and intelligent; and more than usually well read—with good feelings and good manners. Modern degeneracy had not yet reached them. Had I come earlier in life among them, and had possessed a reasonable talent for improvement, I might have profited more by their society and example. As it is, I owe them much. May the legitimate fruits of such social qualities constantly crown their future honest enterprise and labor.

In conclusion, allow me to offer the following toast:—

The Pioneers of Peterborough in the 18th century, their Posterity of the present day, and the Generation yet to come—May their progressive advancement in knowledge, morals, the arts of life, and religion, prove commensurate with their years and their privileges.

Music, ‘’Home! Sweet Home.’’ By the Band.

10th. The Agriculturists, Mechanics, and Merchants of Peterborough, The three great founts of our industry and prosperity.—May they ever encourage and support each other.

William Scott, Esq., rose and said,—

Mr. President,—I will make a few remarks in answer to that part of the sentiment just given, touching the class of citizens to which I am proud to belong, and to which belonged those bold Pioneers, the first settlers and fathers of the town. The cultivation of the earth is the primitive and the most honorable employment in which men can engage. Every individual should feel an interest in agriculture. Considered as an art, it is the foundation of all others. The wealth and unparalleled prosperity of this country may be attributed to the industry of the tiler of the soil. From this source all real wealth is derived. The employment is healthful and invigorating to body and mind, and operates powerfully and beneficially upon the morals and constitutions of those engaged in it, giving a right and permanent tone to our national character. I believe that open hearted generosity and hospitality are more generally found to animate the rough, home-spun farmer, than the more polite citizens of cities and villages; and if they take temperance and virtue for their guide, the tillers of the soil enjoy more of ease, more of the real luxuries of life,
and undisturbed sleep, than the debilitated inmates of com-
ing-houses and city work-shops. They may justly be said to be
the happiest class of people on earth. The torch of liberty has
ever burned with a purer light on the hills and mountains, among
the farmers, than in cities and villages. This was the case in
Switzerland in the days of William Tell, and thus it was in this
country in the struggle for independence. The agriculturalists
compose, in a great measure, the present defence of the Union.
Standing upon the soil, which they own and cultivate, they are
ever ready to catch their muskets, and march to defend the liber-
ties of the country. They can be relied upon with more cer-
tainty, in case of sudden invasion, than those engaged in com-
merce and trade, not being so likely to suffer loss by sudden fluc-
tuations; for from these sources the farmer derives only a part of
his luxuries, the necessaries of life being produced by the labor
of his own hands. Notwithstanding these high claims in favor of
the pursuit of agriculture, it has been considered in years gone by,
as a low, unpopular, if not vulgar, employment. This undoubt-
edly arose from the sudden accession of wealth amassed by
merchants and commercial men, and the high price paid for labor
in and about our manufacturing establishments. These causes
led many of our young men to forsake the occupation of their
fathers in hopes of finding a more speedy road to wealth, preferring
the meanest drudgery in the shop or compting-house, to the
hoe and rake. To such an extent has this unbounded desire of
wealth been carried, that our compting-houses in particular, have
become full to overflowing. The slightest revulsion in trade
turns loose upon society numbers of no profession, no occupa-
tion; being so long habituated to a city or village life, to return
to the occupation of their fathers, they become dead weights upon
the community, mere idle loafers, a name unknown in the days
of our fathers.

But, Mr. President, I believe the days in which agricultural
pursuits have been considered degrading, are numbered. Many
of our most respectable mechanics, as well as professional men,
have, within a few years, turned their attention to the tilling of
the soil, occupying the hours that they can spare from the calls of
their customers or books, in the healthful as well as profitable
pursuit of agriculture. This has caused a rise of lands, particu-
larly in the vicinity of this village, almost beyond belief. This
course, continued throughout the country, will create a taste for
agriculture, and will prove instrumental in causing more of our
youth to embark in this laudable pursuit. The time is not far
distant, I hope, when our schools and colleges will be more anx-
ious to instruct our youth in agriculture, than in the dead and al-
most useless languages.

A few words to my brother farmers, and I will close. While
we are pursuing that best and most independent of all arts, agriculture, let us not forget the duties which we owe to our fellow citizens. Let us aid with a liberal hand and cheerful heart, the various useful institutions of our country; encourage and support our mechanics and merchants. As to the lawyers and doctors, may we be so fortunate as to need but little of their assistance.

I conclude by offering as a sentiment:

The Laboring portion of our Citizens.—May their numbers be increased by accessions from the ranks of those of no profession, until all become usefully employed.

Mr. A. C. Blodgett, rose and said,—

Mr. President,—after so distinguished a display of talent and eloquence as that which has preceded me, I must acknowledge I feel somewhat diffident in attempting to make any response to the sentiment which has just been offered. But, sir, we have some thoughts which we won't conceal, some feelings which we can't disguise. Perhaps, sir, no one feels more than I do how much we owe to each other, not only in regard to our welfare and prosperity in business, but in the kindnesses and courtesies of civil and social life. It is but a few years since, when I was as it were but a youth and just entering the drama of the world, that I left my native home and came a stranger among you; "but a welcome smile and a friendly face" seemed to whisper in fancy's ear that, though a stranger, I should not long be among strangers. You have been pleased to take me by the hand and adopt me as a citizen, and now I feel that I am one among my townsmen, who have come together within this temple, this day, to commemorate that epoch in our history which lies buried beneath the dust and darkness of a by-gone century. One hundred years have now rolled away since our forefathers first broke the gloom of that wilderness, which for thousands of years before had hung brooding over the land upon which we now live, move, breathe and tread; and, standing as we now do on the line which divides one century from another, looking backward through the vista of years, let us for a moment contemplate Peterborough as she then was, a howling and hostile wilderness. The same old Contoocook, whose waters now whirl by us, passing on through flowery vales and banks of green, moving and aiding in her course almost every mechanical invention and enterprise—was then overshadowed by sylvan bowers and her shores trod by the feet of savages. In the midst of this wild and romantic scene the echo of the white man's axe is heard by day, and his lowly hut receives his woreied frame by night; but he receives not there the feast to which as a reward for his daily labor he is entitled. "His needy couch and frugal fare," are all the luxuries of his home and fireside. Day after day the echo answers back again,
until here and there is to be seen a little cleared spot, a log
house and a field of grain springing up in the wilderness. They
have now, to be sure, a home in the forest; but they have not the
comforts nor conveniences of civilized life. Afar off in the world
by those blessings in store. For more than thirty years did they
seek abroad, in other towns, all their merchandise.
Their numbers at length invited hither the merchant; and how
willing and ready the farmers and mechanics were to sustain
him, you, Mr. President and fellow citizens, can judge for yours-

elves by the specimen of calico which the orator has exhibited
to you this day, and for which one hundred pounds of butter
was paid. And for the same compensation at this day I would
cheerfully part with twenty such dress patterns of the same quali-

ty. But, Sir, I do not wish to be understood by this that farmers
and mechanics are not as ready and willing to sustain the mer-
chants as they were at that day. I say it to you, sir, and to all
this assembled multitude, in the language of sincerity and truth,
that I have ever found them ready to pay a fair and honorable
consideration for all necessary articles of merchandise. It is not
they, nor the want of encouragement and support from them,
which retards the prosperity of the merchant; but it is the spirit
of jealousy, envy, rivalry and competition which exists among
the merchants themselves, that is so detrimental to their prosper-
ity. If the merchants here do not prosper as well and heap up
golden treasures as fast as they wish, let them blame and censure
each other, and not the farmers and mechanics who have patron-
ized them with a generous hand and liberal heart. But, while I
as a merchant feel grateful for the liberal patronage so generously
bestowed upon me, I cannot think the reciprocity is all, or should
be all, on one side. If I buy one hundred pounds of butter or
cheese, or bushels of corn or grain of the farmer, and pay him a
fair market price, and he buys a corresponding amount of goods
of me, and pays a fair price, I am at a loss to know whose busi-
ness it is, or should be, to say, "thank ye." I owe to him, and
feel under the same obligations, which man should ever feel due
and bound to perform towards his fellow-man, that of philantho-
ropy and good will. The great object of us all is to be free,
independent, and happy; but there is a mutual dependence which we
have upon each other, and a mutual advantage arising from it,
which has a tendency to refine and perfect those blessings, not
only as relative to business, but in all the relations of life. Trade
in this place has had its ups and downs, its lights and shades
Its whole history is checkered o'er with the smiles and frowns of
fortune; for here fortunes have been lost and won. Stores have
multiplied from one to seven; the amount of goods has increased
from two thousand to thirty thousand dollars. Circumstances
have invited merchants from abroad, and fortune wafted them
away to crowded cities and climes that echo farther west. Here people have commenced trade in early life and continued until it was in the "spear and yellow leaf," and their children have risen up and become merchants abroad in the world, and ere another century shall roll away, who can dream of the changes which time may bring about? All of us, who are now on the stage, will have passed through the dark wilds of life. Our stores, with all of our existence that is mortal, will alike have crumbled into dust beneath the ravages of time. As the old Persian monarch, when he sat upon the brow of the mountain "which looks o'er seaborne Salamis" and surveyed the vast multitude of human beings which composed his army, wept, that ere a hundred years should pass away, not one among them all would be numbered among the living; even so might we at this time and on this occasion weep, that of all who are here assembled, not one will come forth a living monument at the next Centennial Jubilee to rehearse to posterity the scenes of this day. It will be for their children and their children's children, who may rise up in generations to come, to read from history and tell from tradition.

My worthy friend who has preceded, (Mr. Esq. Scott,) has portrayed to you in glowing colors, "in thoughts that breathe and words that burn," the merits of his own profession, and how much the community and country are indebted to them for their strength and prosperity. They give a complexion to the age, they are the stamina of the land, the palladium of civil liberty and the bulwark of public safety. Now, Mr. President, I acknowledge the truth and force of the gentleman's remarks. Every year that rolls round, furnishes us with satisfactory proofs, as we behold the fruits of their industry and enterprise, springing forth in flowers of beauty; and like that virtue which lives when beauty dies, ripening into the fruits of promise, while their sons and daughters are rising up to call the nation blest. But may I not, sir, with equal justice and pride, claim the same honors and merits not only for my own profession, but also for the mechanics, who, though silent and voiceless on this occasion, are by the works of their hands daily showing forth to the world, in characters of living light, too bold and indelible to escape observation and admiration, how much this town and the whole country are indebted to them, for their present flourishing and prosperous conditions. Under their auspices and emulation, as a community and nation, we are constantly rising in the scales of laudable improvements, and marching on from strength to strength in the fulness of prosperity. "All are but parts of one stupendous whole," a mutual co-operation and combination of men. Business and professions have their benign and salutary influence in heightening the charms of society, imparting a zest to life, and a weal to the land. Fortune, and the fate of things, has allotted to
as different parts to perform, on this transitory stage of action; and all are alike honorable in themselves and essential pillars and props to each other. The professors alone elevate or depress the professions. Every noble feeling should then animate us to "act well our parts," so that in all the various callings of genius and fortune, we may look back upon the past without remorse, and forward to the future without fear; setting an example to the generations who may succeed us, which they shall be emulous to imitate, by making some laudable pursuit the object of each passing moment, with constant endeavors to grow wiser and better to the end of time. I will trespass no longer, Mr. President, upon the patience of the audience. I will only, in conclusion, offer as a sentiment:

**Mental Endowment.**—May its bright and chastening influence be breathed into all ranks of society, and equalize all business and professions.

**Music,** "**Mehul.**" Sung by the Choir.

11th. **The Music, Vocal and Instrumental.**—May their combined and animating influence never be exerted for any but a useful purpose.

**Music,** "**Multitude of Angels.**" Sung by the Choir, led by Mr. Milton Carter.

12th. **Woman.**—The last and best gift of God. May her amiable qualities teach men to love virtue.

**Gen. John Steele,** (Marshal of the day,) rose and said,—

**Mr. President,**—We look back to the wives, sisters and daughters of the early settlers of this town. No hardship could discourage, no allurements divert them from industry. Although all their industry could not procure them costly attire, it gave them and their families comfortable clothing, and assisted their husbands and brothers to convert the wilderness into a field for the growth of rye, potatoes and flax, and aided in the raising of sheep and cows to help in the support of the family. The mother taught her children that strength, honesty and virtue, were the rubies that were highly to be valued; that virtue and industry were the smoothest path to journey through life. They took much pride in keeping their children trim and neat, and regularly sent them to meeting. If they had shoes, it was well; if not they must go that part of the season which was comfortable, without. No excuse about dress, even if the feet were bare, would satisfy. If the youngster said no, the little bunch of rods was pointed to, and the youth thought it best not to have them taken down. After meeting, inquiry was made of the children, about the text and sermon. And they were seated to say the **catechism.** Let us look back to the time when the eighty-three husbands and sons signed the virtual declaration of Independence, (which was
read this day by one of the signers.) Cut off from all connection with the parent country, they were deprived of every article, not only of luxury, but of clothing. They had to depend entirely on the large or foot wheel, with their skill in turning them. Not one word of complaint was heard. When a neighbor or friend came in, the buzzing wheel was set aside, and a cheerful conversation introduced. Soon came the song, (very often the Battle of Boyne,) and many others, as each one had a store of them. They passed the evening in cheerfulness. If a stranger was among them, they made great exertions to treat him with the best they had. They sometimes talked on religion; were not very superstitious, although some few thought that a good sound Presbyterian stood the best chance in a future state. One of the elderly mothers on hearing that the Reverend found fault with young men and women for dancing together, said, "the minister had better take his dram out of his own bottle, play his own fiddle, and let the young people's innocent amusements alone."

When the old ladies saw their children's children walking in the path they so highly recommended, it brought a smile of approbation on their wrinkled countenances.

Ladies of the present day! will you go back and view those old fashioned women, though poorly dressed? I trust you can find something to venerate, something to admire in their characters. When you consider the vast importance of your precepts, and example to your families and society at large, will you not think with those good old dames that honesty, wisdom and virtue, are the most precious ornaments to grace the youth of the present day?

Music, "The Mellow Horn." Sung by two Young Ladies.

13th. Emigrants. — Well may we be proud of them. They exhibit in manhood, characters that began their infancy on these our sterile hills. May they never forget the land that gave them birth.

Gen. James Wilson, rose and said, —

Mr. President, — I regret that I am called on to respond to the sentiment which has just been announced, and received with so much approbation by this great assembly. On looking over the list of sentiments yesterday, I was informed that the one just read was designed to call out that highly respected, time-honored gentleman, the Hon. Jeremiah Smith of Exeter; a man who feels proud of the place of his nativity, and who on all proper occasions has a good word to say of, and for, old Peterborough. We should have been delighted to have seen that venerable and venerated man here, and to have heard from him, in his usual

* Mrs. Gordon.
loquent and forcible manner, his reminiscences of by-gone times, he has indeed grown old, but not old enough yet to forget any good thing. His mind is richly stored with varied learning, and his knowledge of the early history of the town, the peculiarities of its early inhabitants, his great fund of wit and anecdote connected with the first settlers, very far exceeds that of any living man; and there is now no one of the emigrants who could so well give an apt response to your highly complimentary sentiment as that worthy octogenarian. I was heart-pained to learn, last evening, that his attendance is prevented by physical infirmity. In his absence I could have wished that another highly respected son of Peterborough, of the Smith family, had been here to have spoken in our behalf. I allude to one more nearly allied to you, Mr. President,— your eldest son, my most esteemed friend. We are of nearly the same age. Our friendship dates back to the days of our childhood. Our intimacy commenced in that little square hiped-roof School-house, that formerly stood between your homestead and the homestead of my honored father. It was an intimacy, in the outset, characterized by the ardor of youth, and grew with our increasing years into the strong and unwavering friendship of mature manhood. There has never been a moment's estrangement. For thirty years no frost has chilled it, nor can it grow cold until the clods shall rumble upon our coffins. Glad indeed should I have been to have met, once more, my friend here, to have grasped him by the hand, to have looked upon his slender form and his pale features, to have listened to the tones of his clear voice, to have caught and treasured up the sentiments of a mind as clear as the atmosphere upon the summits of our native hills, and a heart as pure as the fountains that gush from their base. From the sad tidings that I hear, of his declining health, I fear that I shall never meet him on this side the grave. May a merciful God bless him.

Well may Peterborough express her joy at the success of her absent sons, and pride herself upon them, when she numbers such men as these among them.

Your sentiment, Sir, breathes the prayer that we, the emigrants, may not forget the place of our nativity. I can hardly realize that I am an emigrant. True, Sir, a wave of providence has taken me up, wafted me onward, and cast me upon land not far distant. Although my domicil is in another place, it is here that I seem most at home. It is here that I enjoy all those pleasures derived from early recollections and early associations. It is here, that every natural object that meets my eye, has some story to relate of high interest to my mind;—here every house, and tree, and stump, and stone, hill and brook, presents to me the image of some old, familiar, well loved friend. It is here that I meet my earliest friends, and their greeting seems warmer
and more cordial here than elsewhere. It was here that I first enjoyed that substantial Peterborough hospitality, so well understood and so highly appreciated by every one at all acquainted with the people of the town some thirty years ago. Let me not be understood, Mr. President, as drawing a comparison unfavorable to the good people with whom I am in more immediate intercourse at the present time. No Sir; I reside among an excellent and a worthy community, to whom I am bound in a large debt of gratitude. They have manifested towards me a kindness and a confidence vastly beyond my merits; and I am sure they will not esteem me the less for finding me susceptible of emotion at the recollections and fond associations of my childhood.

Forget Peterborough! How can I forget her? Why, Sir, I was born just over there. The bones of my ancestors, both paternal and maternal, are deposited just over there. And among them there, repose the remains of my Mother. Oh! Sir, it would be cold and heartless ingratitude, to forget the place where one's earliest and best friend slumbers in death:

"Ingratitude! Thou marble-hearted fiend,
"More hideous, when thou show'st thee in a child,
"Than the sea-monster!"

Spare me, Oh! spare me such a reproach.

My prayer to Heaven is, that when this eye shall grow dim, this tongue become dumb; when these lungs shall cease to heave, and this heart to throw off a pulsation, then this head and these limbs may be laid to crumble down to dust by the side of thine, my Mother!

Sir, when I learned some few weeks ago, that it was proposed to celebrate this Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of my native town, I resolved to be present; and in the expectation that I might be called on for a word, I began to search the by-places and corners of my mind to ascertain whether any thing connected with Peterborough history had been stored away there, that might be brought out to contribute to the interest of the occasion. When I heard who was appointed to address us, I had my fears that all the choicest and gayest flowers would be forestalled. My worst fears have been more than realized; but I have learnt one thing with sufficient certainty,—that it is hopeless to attempt to keep any good thought out of the reach of the Morisons. They have a wonderful tact at seizing every grand, intellectual conception, and surprising facility in appropriating it exclusively to their own use. If, in my effort to brush up my recollection, I have had the good fortune to find any thing worthy of remark, I find myself anticipated by my learned friend, the orator, to whose eloquent and excellent Address we have listened with so much interest. I ought, perhaps, to rejoice that the evening is so far advanced, that I have time only for a very few words, since all that
could have said has been so much better said by that worthy gentleman.

We have heard of the patriotism of our ancestors, of their manliness in sustaining, and devotion to, the American cause in their early efforts for free government. They sought for a government of equal and impartial laws. Permit me to relate to you an anecdote illustrating their profound respect for sound laws.

My Grandfather, as you know, Mr. President, kept a tavern in a small house, the shape of which sets all description at defiance; but its rickety remains are still to be seen upon the farm of your townsman, Capt. Wm. Wilson. A number of persons being assembled at his public house, an occurrence happened, not unusual in the town at that time, to wit, a fight. There was a blow, and blood drawn. The defeated party threatened an immediate prosecution, but the spectators interposed their friendly advice, and a reference of the matter was agreed to by the parties. Five good men and true were designated as referees, who undertook to arbitrate upon the momentous matter. A solemn hearing was gone into. Every person present was inquired of as to the fact. After a deliberate hearing of the parties, their several proofs and allegations, the referees awarded that the aggressor should pay the cost of reference by a full treat for all the company, and give as damages to the injured man, for the blood lost, an equal quantity of cherry rum, which they appraised at half a pint. Ill-blood is sometimes created between the parties to a lawsuit, that continues to circulate in the veins of succeeding generations. No such result followed the Peterborough lawsuit above reported. The wisdom of the referees was universally commended, as manifested in their liberal award of damages, and their sagacity highly extolled for the discovery of an adequate and proper remedy for healing the wound inflicted upon "the peace and dignity of the State." The referees, the parties and their witnesses all separated perfect friends.

We have heard that one of the prominent traits of the early inhabitants was a fondness for fun. It was on all occasions sought after, and it mattered little at whose expense it was procured. The name of one has already been mentioned, famous for his singular cast of mind and his witty sarcasms—"Old Mosey Morison." I at this moment have in mind an anecdote, which, by leave, I will relate, and if I omit the name of the individual upon whom the wit was perpetrated, I suppose the chief marshal of the day will take no exception to the relation of the story. Mosey Morison was here universally called, in common parlance, "Uncle Mosey." A young gentleman of no small pretensions to learning and high standing in this town, some forty years ago, went to the town of Nelson, then called Packersfield, to instruct a winter school. In the course of the winter "Uncle Mosey"
happened to call at the store of a Mr. Melville, where a large number of the people of Packersfield were assembled, and there met the young Peterborough school-master. The school-master accosted him in the familiar salutation of "How do you do, Uncle Mosey." The old gentleman, looking away, and manifesting no sign of recognition, replied in a cold, disdainful tone, "Uncle Mosey! Uncle! to be sure! I'm na Uncle of yours; I claim na relationship with you, young man." On his return to Peterborough, Mr. Morison related the incident to his blood relations, the Smiths, who asked him why he denied the relationship of the school-master. "Why," replied the old man, "I did na wish the people of Packersfield to understand that a' the relations of the Morisons were consummate fools."

I fear, Mr. President, that I am taking too much time in the relation of Peterborough stories. I will detain you with only one more. At one of the stores in town, upon a cold winter's night, quite a number of the people being present, the toddy circulated freely, and the company became somewhat boisterous, and, as usual, some of them talked a good deal of nonsense. An old Mr. Morison,* who plumed himself, (and not without much reason,) upon his talking talent, had made several unsuccessful attempts to get the floor, (in parliamentary phrase,) and the ear of the house. The toddy had done its work too effectually for him, and he gave it up as desperate, and taking a seat in a retired part of the room, he exclaimed in utter despair, "A' weel, a' weel, here ye are, gab, gab, gab, gab,— and common sense maun set ahind the door."

I have watched, with intense interest, the wonderful improvements that have been carried forward in my native town within the last thirty years. When I was a boy, a weekly mail, carried upon horseback by a very honest old man by the name of Gibbs, afforded all the mail facilities which the business of the town required. Now, Sir, we see a stage coach pass and repass through this beautiful village every day, loaded with passengers, and transporting a heavy mail. Your highways and bridges have been astonishingly improved, showing a praiseworthy liberality on the part of the town to that important subject. Your progress in agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, exhibit striking evidence of the progress of improvement. Look abroad now upon the finely cultivated fields, the substantial fences, the comfortable, yea, elegant dwellings, the superb manufacturing buildings, the splendid churches and seminaries of learning; and in view of all these let the mind for a moment contrast it with the prospect which presented itself to the eye of the first settler as he

*Jonathan, the first mechanic in town, and the first male child born in Londonderry.
attained the summit of the east mountain, one hundred years ago. Then not a human habitation for the eye to repose on over the whole extent of this basin-like township,—one unbroken forest throughout the eye's most extensive range. No sound of music or hum of cheerful industry saluted his ear. It was only the howl of the savage beast, or the yell of the still more savage man, that broke the appalling stillness of the forest. What a wonderful change hath a hundred years wrought here, and what unshrinking energy of character was requisite to induce the commencement of the undertaking!

Some of the old objects of interest to me in my younger days are gone; their places indeed have been supplied by more expensive and elegant structures. Still I must say I regret their loss. And let me ask, Mr. President, are you quite sure that the loss may not manifest itself in some future time? I allude, Sir, to the loss of the old church on the hill there, and the old beach tree that stood hard by. I look, even at this period of life, upon that spot with a kind of superstitious reverence. Many are the noble resolutions that young minds have formed under the shade of the old beach tree. Intellectual indolence is the prevailing fault of our times. Under the old beach, in my young days, the great and the talented men of this town used to assemble, and there discuss with distinguished power and ability the most important topics. Religion, politics, literature, agriculture, and various other important subjects were there discussed. Well, distinctly well do I remember those debates carried on by the Smiths, the Morisons, the Steeles, the Holmeses, the Robbes, the Scotts, the Todds, the Millers, and perhaps I may be excused here for adding, the Wilsons and others. No absurd proposition or ridiculous idea escaped exposure for a single moment. A debater there had to draw himself up close, be nice in his logic and correct in his language to command respectful attention. Abler discussion was never listened to anywhere. Strong thought and brilliant conceptions broke forth in clear and select language. They were reading men, thinking men, forcible talking men, and sensible men. Bright intellectual sparks were constantly emanating from those great native minds; and falling upon younger minds kindled up their slumbering energies to subsequent noble exertion. The immediate effect of those discussions could be easily traced in the beaming eye and the agitated muscles of the excited listeners. It was obvious to an acute observer that there was a powerful effort going on, in many a young mind among the hearers, to seize, retain and examine some of the grand ideas that had been started by the talkers. This rousing of the young mind to manly exertion, and aiding it in arriving at a consciousness of its own mighty powers, was of great advantage where the seeds of true genius had been planted by the hand of nature. If any of the
Peterborough boys, within the last thirty years, have attained to any thing like intellectual greatness, my life on it, they date the commencement of their progress from the scenes under the old beach tree. A thousand times have I thought, Mr. President, if I had the world's wealth at my command, I would cheerfully have bartered it all for the ability to talk as well as those men talked. Antiquity may boast of her schools of philosophy. The present may point to her debating clubs and lyceums, and talk loud as it will of modern improvement; — give me the sound good sense that rolled unrestrained from eloquent lips under the old beach, and it is of more worth than them all. I shall always respect the spot where it grew, and even now it grieves me to see the green-sward, that sheltered its roots, torn too roughly by the ploughshare.

I had purposed, Mr. President, to have asked the attention of the audience to some few remarks upon the all-important subject of education. Old Peterborough has hitherto given her full share of educated men to the public, and I cannot but hope that she will not now permit her neighbors to go ahead of her in this particular. The shades of evening, however, admonish me that I must not trespass further. I must tender my thanks to the audience for the very kind and polite attention they have given me during the remarks I have felt constrained to make at this late hour in the afternoon. Allow me to say, in conclusion: —

The sons and daughters of Peterborough, native and adopted, — In all good deeds may they prove themselves worthy of the noble stock that has gone before them.

At the close of Gen. Wilson's speech, when it was so dark that the audience could hardly distinguish each other's faces, a general invitation was given to attend a ball in the evening at Col. French's. On motion of Albert Smith, the meeting was adjourned for a hundred years. And with shouting and the clapping of hands—joy mingling with many pensive thoughts — the assembly of fourteen or fifteen hundred persons separated to lie down in their graves long before the next meeting shall be held.

Met agreeable to notice.

Voted, That the proceedings of the Celebration, — the Sentiments and the Responses, be published with the Address.

Voted, That the Committee of Invitation, viz: John H. Steele, Albert Smith and Stephen P. Steele, be requested to write to those absent who responded to sentiments, and also obtain and prepare for publication all the remarks made by others.

Voted, That this meeting be dissolved.

ALBERT SMITH, Secretary.

The Committee return their thanks to the citizens of Peterborough, for the confidence reposed in them, and hope that the services rendered will prove acceptable.

To the fault finders, if any such there be, we would say (in the language of one of the Boys who assisted in clearing away the decorations of the Church,) "You are welcome to this, but at your next Centennial Celebration you may do it yourselves."
AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

IN

WILTON, N. H., Sept. 25, 1839.

BY EPHRAIM PEABODY.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

Boston;

PUBLISHED BY B. H. GREENE.
PRINTED BY I. R. BUTTS.

1839.
At a legal Town-meeting held April 30, 1839, it was "Voted, That the Town, some day in the course of the present year, celebrate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the settlement of the same." The town at the same time appropriated a sum of money to defray the expenses of the Celebration.

It was also "Voted, That a copy of the Address to be then delivered, be furnished, if printed, to each family in the town, at the town's expense."—The following gentlemen were chosen for the Committee of Arrangements, viz. Messrs. Jonathan Livermore, Jonathan Parkhurst, Zebediah Abbot, David Wilson, Ezra Abbot, Abel Fisk, Joseph Smith, Abram Whittemore, John Dale, Elijah Stockwell, Caleb Putnam, Josiah Parker, Daniel Batchelder, Oliver Whiting, Asa Stiles, Sam'l King, Moses Lovejoy, Jr., Joseph Newell, Joseph Gray, Jr., Timothy Parkhurst, Samuel Sheldon, Jr., Timothy Abbot, Jonathan Burton, Ashby Morgan. The 25th day of September was appointed for the festival.

At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements, Jonathan Livermore, Timothy Parkhurst, Abel Fiske and Abiel Abbot were appointed a sub-committee to collect materials respecting the history of Wilton for the Address, and were instructed to invite Rev. Ephraim Peabody, of New Bedford, Mass., to prepare said Address.

After the day of celebration, Jonathan Livermore and Abiel Abbot were appointed a publishing committee. Having requested and received a copy of the Address, they have added to it such statistical details as they have thought might be interesting, and also an account of the Proceedings on the Day of Celebration; all of which they now submit to their fellow citizens of Wilton.

JONATHAN LIVERMORE.

ABIEL ABBOT.
We meet this day to commemorate our Fathers. Around us are the products of their toil. In laborious poverty they accumulated this abundance for their children. Our comforts speak of their hardships; our advantages, of their deprivations. On every side, are the proofs of their thoughtful, self-forgetting care for the welfare of their descendants. Here are the institutions established by their wise foresight; on every side, lying warm in the sun, spread out the cultivated fields, freed by their labor from the forest; here yet may be seen the foundations of their dwellings; and here too — forever sacred let them be! — are their graves.

We stand on the horizon that divides two centuries. As the subject suitable for the occasion, I would dwell, first; on the history of the town during the past century; — and secondly, a topic suggested by the preceding one, consider some of the chief causes on which our New England towns have been dependent for their growth and prosperity.
When we point to a well-peopled town, to a community possessing all the comforts and desirable luxuries of life, and blest with settled institutions to bring within reach of all the means of mental, moral, and religious instruction, and then say that a hundred years ago none of these existed; that the region which is now sending emigrants over the whole world, was then itself first explored by emigrants who watched against the Indian, the wolf and the bear; we see the whole amount of change, but we have a very imperfect idea of the hardships and labors encountered in bringing it about. A single incident may show us through what our fathers passed. The first death that occurred was that of John Badger, in Feb. 1740. He died in the night. The nearest neighbor was three miles distant, and the ground was covered deep with snow. His wife composed him on the bed as for rest, left her children, (of whom she had three, the oldest but eight years of age,) with their breakfast, and with strict injunctions not to awake their father, as he was asleep, and putting on her snow-shoes proceeded to seek assistance. That indeed was a dreary morning as she went forth through the solitary woods of winter. Death is in her home, and her children wait her return. Uphold her trembling heart, thou Father of the fatherless and the widow's God! Neighbors returned with her. A tree was hollowed out for a coffin, and so in the solitude was he committed to the earth. Death at all times comes, chilling the hearts of men with awe and fear. Even in populous cities, in the midst of the throng and busy voices of life, an awful sense of solitude rests on those who witness the departure of the dying; and days and years shall pass, and they who beheld the scene shall enter that chamber
with silent steps and hushed voices and a shadow over their souls. What then must have been her loneliness, — a solitary widow in the wilderness. She must watch by the bedside of her children alone; her tears shall be shed alone — she shall no more kneel by her husband’s side to pray — his voice shall no more waken her at morning, and when the night approaches she shall unconsciously look forth to the forest, watching for his return, who shall never return again.

A single example like this shows the hardships of the first settlers of a new region, better than any general description, however extended. But turning from the deprivations to which individuals were subjected, it may be interesting for us to trace briefly the gradual growth of the town.

In June, 1735, the Massachusetts General Court granted to Samuel King and others,* in consideration “of their sufferings” in the expedition to Canada in the year 1690, the township of Lyndeborough and about one third of Wilton on the north side, under the name of Salem Canada. In this part of Wilton, in June, 1739, was the first settlement made. The first settlers were Ephraim and Jacob Putnam and John Dale,†

* We are indebted to Joseph H. Abbot, Esq. for consulting the records of the General Court of Massachusetts on this point, where under date of June 19, 1735, the petition of King may be found. A copy of the same has been deposited by Mr. Abbot in the Wilton ministerial library.

† For the first three years after the settlement of Wilton, the wife of Jacob Putnam was the only woman who resided permanently in the town. During one winter, such was the depth of snow in the woods and such the distance of neighbors, that for the space of six months, she saw no one except the members of her own family. A part of the farm which belonged to Jacob Putnam, is still in the possession of his grandson, Caleb Putnam, who on the day of the centennial celebration exhibited at the meeting-house, a hill of corn raised on the land where a settlement was made a hundred years before.

The farm which was owned by John Dale is also now in the possession of his grandson, John Dale. This year he raises upon it more than four hundred
who removed to this place from Danvers, Massachusetts.

In 1749, the Masonian Proprietors made a grant of the rest of the town, under certain conditions, to forty-six persons. Forty-six shares were conveyed to them by a deed, dated October 1, 1749, each share containing two hundred and forty acres, to be drawn by lot. Besides these, two lots of eighty acres each, were granted “for encouragement for building mills.” One share for the first settled minister, one share for the ministry and one for schools. The principal conditions were, that the grantees should make all highways, — the proprietors not being subject to any tax; — should build a church by November, 1752; — should have made settlements and built a house on forty lots; and that each settler should pay thirteen dollars and thirty-three cents to aid in bringing forward the settlement. Delinquents were to forfeit their land, except in case of an Indian war; — and white pine trees were to be reserved for the British navy. The grantees had it laid out, and annexed to a part of Salem Canada, and called No. 2. It was incorporated June 25th, 1762, under the name of Wilton, a name probably derived from Wilton an ancient borough in Wiltshire, England; and the first town-meeting was held July 27th, 1762, twenty-three years after the first settlement. Before the Revolution, a range of bushels of grain. The house that he now resides in, was the first two story frame house in town. A man was killed in the raising of it — an iron bar falling accidentally on his head from the hands of a man on the frame above, and killing him instantly.

John Dale’s (the first settler) eldest daughter taught the first school in town, and for some years was the only female teacher.

Ephraim Putnam, the remaining one of the first settlers, after residing here a short time, removed to Lyndeborough. His farm was taken by John Crane.
ots, half a mile wide, was set off to Temple; and thus the town finally assumed its present size and shape.*

Improvements of all kinds, of course, were slow and gradual. The first settlers went to Dunstable to mill; and when Shepherd’s mills in Milford, seven miles distant, were built, it was so great a convenience, that it was hardly thought less of than a modern railroad. The first grist-mill in Wilton was built by Deac. Samuel Greele, of Nottingham-West, at the same place where there is one now carried on by Fiske Russell. The first saw-mill was near Philip Putnam’s set of mills on the North Stream. The second grist and saw-mill was Hutchinson’s, at the East Village, on the same spot as now. These were all the grist-mills erected before the Revolution.

The roads were at first little more than footpaths, marked by spotted trees. For a long time there were apprehensions of danger from Indians. Wilton seems, indeed, never to have been a fixed residence for them, but merely a hunting ground. They, however, lived along the Merrimack, and in time of hostility, or when hostility was feared, the first settlers went into garrison. This continued about ten years. One garrison was in Milford, north of the Souhegan, near the Peabody Place. The other was in Lyndeborough, near where

* The first settlers of that part of Wilton south of Salem-Canada, were Scotch, about a dozen families of whom were in the town when it was incorporated. As other families came in, they left, till at the time of the Revolution all but two families had disappeared. The present inhabitants are entirely of the Puritan stock. John Burton, the ancestor of those of that name now residing in the town, was from Middleton, Mass. The Holts, Abbot, Thomas Russell, Samuel Pettengill were from Andover; Kings, Stevens, Parkhurst were from Chelmsford. And nearly all the remaining families that came here before the Revolution were from the same towns.
Ephraim Putnam settled. Descendants of his live there to this day.

The Ecclesiastical History of our New England towns has always been of great interest and importance. It must be gratifying to all whose native place is Wilton, that the means of religious improvement have always been carefully provided by its inhabitants. When the town was first laid out, one share of two hundred and forty acres was set apart for the first minister, and another for the support of the ministry. From the sale of the latter arose the ministerial fund, amounting now to about two thousand seven hundred dollars, the interest of which is appropriated annually to the support of the ministry in the town. There had already been occasional preaching most of the time; and from the records it appears that at least two persons had been invited to settle here; but the first minister actually settled was Mr. Jonathan Livermore, who was ordained Dec. 14, 1763. On the same day a church was formed consisting of eight male members. Mr. Livermore was minister thirteen years and resigned. It may be mentioned as an interesting fact, that there were only two families in town during his ministry whose children were not baptized. The first meeting-house was built in 1752. It was used twenty-one years and then taken down. The second meeting-house,—the one in which we are now assembled,—was built during the ministry of Mr. Livermore. They commenced raising it September 7, 1773. Such things were conducted differently then from what they are now. It was considered the work of two days. People came from distant towns to see the spectacle. There was great note of preparation. A committee of the town appointed
The raisers, and ample provisions were made to entertain strangers.*

It was a beautiful September morning. And now might be seen coming in by every road, and from the neighboring towns, great numbers, men, women and children, to see the show. Some came on foot; some practised the method, unknown in modern days, of riding and tying; some were on horseback, with their wives or sisters behind on a pillion. It was an occasion of universal expectation. The timbers were all prepared, the workmen ready, and the master-workman, full of the dignity of his office, issuing his orders to his aids. All went on prosperously. The good cheer, the excitement of the work, the crowd of spectators, men looking on, women telling the news, boys playing their various games, all made it a scene of general rejoicing. The sides of the house were already up, and also a part of the roof at the east end of the building. One of the raisers from Lyndeborough, Capt. Bradford, had brought over his wife, whom he left, on account of illness, at the place where Mr. Baldwin now resides, while he himself went on to take part in the work. Having to pass along the centre of the building, he observed that the middle beam, extending across the church, was not properly supported. A post was under the centre, but it was worm-eaten, and was already beginning to yield and give way under the pressure. In raising the middle part of the roof, the weight of the workmen would come in great measure on this beam, which was evidently not

* Among other things,—which might, indeed, in part account for the accident that followed,—the town “Voted to provide, one barrel of West India rum, five barrels of New England rum, one barrel of good brown sugar, half a box of good lemons, and two loaves of loaf sugar, for framing and raising the meeting-house.”
strong enough to bear up the timbers and men. He immediately ascended the roof and informed the masterworkman, who, being made over-confident by the success thus far, replied to him, that if he was afraid he might go home; that they wanted no cowards there. Indignant, he immediately went down, and started off for his wife, with the purpose of returning home. But before he had reached Mr. Baldwin's, the men had already proceeded forward, confident and elated at their progress. They were swarming upon the unsupported beam and the planks and timbers which rested on it. They were raising up, with much exertion and shouts of direction and encouragement, the beams and rafters, when suddenly, as he was anxiously looking back, he saw the frame already erected, tremble, the men shrink back aghast; the building seemed to rock for a moment to and fro, and suddenly all, timbers and tools and men, rushed down together in one mingled mass, in the centre. The crash was so loud as to be heard nearly a mile. For a moment all was silent, and then the air was filled with groans, and outcries, and shrieks of terror. There were fifty-three men on the frame that fell. Three were instantly killed; two died very shortly afterwards; others were crippled for life, and most of them were more or less mangled or wounded. To understand the impression that the event made at the time, it must be remembered that the whole population of the town, men, women and children, was scarcely five hundred. It was like so many men lost overboard from a ship at sea. It caused a general mourning, for there were few families which had not lost a friend, or connexion, or some one of whose friends were not among the wounded. At a Fast which was kept,
Mr. Livermore preached from the words, (Ps. cxxvii, 1,) which then must have been peculiarly impressive: “Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.” Superstition came in to darken the event. A man by the name of Isaac Russell had been killed by the fall of a tree which he had himself cut, and it was ascertained that the fatal beam was made of this self-same tree.*

The people soon met again to erect the building, and the superstition of the day seemed to have some reasonable ground; for a new beam substituted in the place of the former, likewise fell. The house was, however, finally completed near the end of the year 1774, and dedicated Jan. 5, 1775, when Mr. Livermore preached a sermon from 1 Chron. xxix, 14: “But who am I and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things came of thee, and of thine own have we given them.”

In July 20, 1804, the house was struck with lightning, and the middle post at the east end rent from top to bottom, where it may now be seen clamped together by an iron bolt.

In former days, (to continue the history of the meeting-house,) before people had become so delicate and luxurious as now, there was no fire in the church in winter. How it might be with those of riper years I know not. I believe that the older men chose to have it understood that their zeal kept them warm; while the

* The event furnished a subject for one of our native poets. His somewhat antique melodies were rewarded with a household, domestic honor, to which many poets of greater note have never been able to attain. Long after the event and within the memory of many now living, they were familiarly sung by the young ladies of the town, as they carded and spun by their firesides. These memorable stanzas may be found in the Appendix.
young men, fearing perhaps lest their reputation for hardihood might suffer in the eyes of the gentler sex, would not confess that they were to be made to feel cold by any weather. But I can bear witness, that there were young lads, who, when the thermometer was at zero, by the middle of the afternoon sermon, were ready, after some misgiving, to give up reputation for zeal and pride of sex, for the chance of holding their fingers for a few moments over their mother's footstoves.

Fires were first introduced in December, 1822, and the belfry raised and bell hung in 1832.

The Universalists united together in 1812. The Baptist Church was organized April 7, 1817, and Society incorporated in 1818, and meeting-house erected in 1827. The second Congregational meeting-house was dedicated January 1, 1830. The Church was embodied June, 1823, and the Society formed under the general act of incorporation.

But this part of our Ecclesiastical history is too recent for me to dwell on. As illustrative, however, of the changes of the times, I may refer to one fact. When Mr. Beede was settled in 1803, there was not one dissenting voice in the town, not one who declined paying the minister's tax on any ground whatsoever. There was a singular harmony of religious views and feelings. All met in the same house to worship together the common Father of all. One of the results, which may deserve to be mentioned, of this harmony, was the comparatively light expense of maintaining public worship. At that time, besides what was derived from the ministerial fund, the whole amount assessed for the support of religious institutions was about two hundred and
sixty-five dollars a year. Now it amounts yearly to more than twelve hundred dollars. The number of inhabitants is very nearly the same now as then, while the tax for religious objects has increased about nine hundred and fifty dollars per annum.

At first sight one may be inclined to lament that the children have not been able to walk together in the same harmony as their fathers. But there are higher considerations than that of mere unity of opinion. It must be gratifying to every native of the place, as showing the general interest felt in religion, to witness the readiness with which this heavy tax is paid for the support of religious institutions, and the liberality which has characterized the town in all such matters. And it must also be gratifying, if men in their examinations do not arrive at the same views, that there are so many different churches, that every one may enjoy the privilege, which the Pilgrim Fathers came to New-England to secure, of worshipping God according to his own conscience. Nay, this separation may be merely temporary and only for the greater advantage of each and all. If the means of religion, which all possess, be faithfully used, there shall be a higher union. I observed as we walked towards the place where we are assembled, that two of the churches, (and I presume that it was only necessity that caused the other to be omitted,) though widely separated on the earth, were, above the earth, united—tower to tower—by a band wreathed with evergreen. So may we hope that many souls, that find it for their spiritual improvement to worship apart here, shall be united in eternal bands in heaven.

Another object of essential importance is that of schools. And I think we may look with pride to our
native town and see how willingly and well they have been supported. The school-tax, assessed by the town has always been more than was required by law, and of late years nearly double that amount. The sum required by law has been about three hundred dollars; — whereas the sum actually raised, has never, for many years been less than four hundred — while of late years it has been five hundred, five hundred and fifty, and six hundred dollars per annum. Besides this should be reckoned in what has been raised for private and subscription schools; and a much larger sum, — some years much more than all the rest, — which has been expended by young men and women in schools, academies and colleges abroad, where they have gone to seek further opportunities of education.

To this liberal support of schools and religious institutions, I think we may trace, in great measure, several very important results, such as a general intelligence and a taste for intellectual pleasures and pursuits, and the general good morals. It is not known, for example, that any native of Wilton has ever committed a crime which has subjected him to any of the severer penalties of the law.

To this may in part be attributed the small number of paupers compared with what is to be found in most towns of the same size; so that if the people here have paid more for the support of schools and religion, they have thus prepared men better to provide for themselves, and have been obliged to pay less for the support of the poor.

It may be owing to this that Wilton has never been able to support a lawyer. The only one who ever attempted to settle in the town, I am told, was starved out in about three months.
Wilton, too, has furnished very much more than her proportion of professional men. Twenty-nine have received a college education. Thirteen of those born here have entered the ministry; eleven have become physicians, two of whom have been professors in medical colleges; and five have become lawyers. Were we to reckon the children of those who have emigrated from the town, this number would be very much increased. Besides this, are a very large number of school-teachers, than whose office none can be more important; and three have gone missionaries to heathen lands.

The great increase of the expenses of the town for schools and religious purposes has taken place, while other taxes have not diminished, and the population has not increased. Since 1790, when the number of inhabitants was one thousand one hundred and five, the population has been nearly stationary, and has never been greater than at that period.

The political history of the town is too important to be passed over entirely, though in referring to it, I would express no opinion as to the political questions that have been agitated.

The state of New-Hampshire during the revolutionary war was more free from toryism, than any state in the union. After the Revolution, the federal party was the dominant one, and New-Hampshire continued a federal state, unitedly, longer than any other, with the exception of Connecticut. Indeed, for fifteen years after the adoption of the Constitution in 1783, there was but one ticket in the state for United States and state officers. The republican party gained the ascendency in 1805. Since then, at different times
the different parties have alternately had the majority. Wilton was a federal town, with the exception of two votes, till 1802. Since that time the democratic party has, I believe, been in the majority, in most cases, except when elections have been influenced by local interests. But on the subject of politics, so contested, and where one is so easily misunderstood, I do not dwell.

Wilton has of course sympathized with the general condition of the country. It has felt the blessings of peace, and war has brought mourning to the homes among these hills, as it has done elsewhere.

In the early settlement of the town, it shared, in common with all the frontier towns, the dread of Indian hostilities. It was, however, free from savage inroads, though for some years, in the time of Indian wars, the people took refuge for safety in neighboring garrisons.

In the French war, at the massacre of Fort Edward, Henry Parker, Jr., a young man whose family belonged to this town, was killed.

But a struggle was approaching which, for years, should be felt in every village and every home of this country. The causes which brought about the Revolution had for a long time been ripening. The country was heated and ready to burst out into a flame. The day of decision and action came. On the 19th of April, 1775, in all the towns in the neighborhood of Boston the same spectacle might have been witnessed, extending on into the country, as fast as men and horses could travel. A horseman might be seen to ride rapidly into the town. The bell, if there was one, was rung; a drum beat the roll; there was a sudden collecting of men from all.
quarters — from the workshop and the field — and presently pushing their horses hotly on, the inhabitants dropped in one by one from the outskirts of the town. The house-doors were open; the ordinary avocations of life stopped; women were hurrying with uncovered heads, or whispering together with anxious eyes and quivering lips. Presently, three or four men on fresh horses were seen starting in the direction of the towns beyond, and the assembly quietly separated. In a few hours, the same men were seen rallying again. They were in their common dress, but they had fowling-pieces and muskets in their hands, and powder-horns and pouches, or cartridge-boxes slung at their sides. They came together with provisions and blankets — but silently, with stern and resolved faces, as if on some solemn and momentous enterprise, that had hushed all lighter feelings and words. What was the meaning of this rude war array? That courier had brought the news that a body of British troops was marching towards Concord for offensive purposes. And thus, at a moment's warning, in peace, almost unarmed, sprung forth the New England yeomanry to meet them. In each separate band was the strength of a separate town, men linked heart to heart; neighbors, brothers, sons, fathers. The plough was left in the furrow and the grain unsown. None but pale-lipped women and children crying they knew not why, and old men that leaned upon staves were left. Many tears were shed and many a prayer breathed, as wives, and mothers, and sisters saw this band, as it went with the expectation of instant combat, vanish in the windings of the road.*

* The same thing, almost to the letter, is described by the older inhabitants, as having taken place repeatedly during the war.
This was the most wonderful day of the Revolution. It witnessed the uprising of a whole people.* It was the day of decision, and each man who took arms in his hands, virtually cast off allegiance to the mother country, and personally declared war against the might of Britain. It was not as when an army, drilled into a piece of mechanism, marches forth to battle. The solemn decision of peace or war, that should drench the continent in blood, was to be made in each individual heart. At once the country was filled with armed men. Stark was in his saw-mill at Londonderry, when he heard the news of the blood shed at Lexington, and instantly took his musket and started for the camp. Putnam was ploughing in the middle of a field. He left his plough in the furrow, unyoked his oxen, and without changing his dress, mounted his horse and proceeded to the scene of action. And the same that they did, was done by multitudes of others. There are few of us, who have not heard from the aged people among us, accounts of the sudden preparation and departure of the minute men, and how their wives and sisters toiled at home with beating hearts, to prepare provisions and clothes to be sent to the camp. Forever in memory be held the brave men and heroic women of that day!†

* Very far, however, was it from being an act of hasty and inconsiderate passion. Many facts might be gleaned from the town records showing in what serious foresight the people were preparing for the Revolution. For example, in 1775, a "Town Stock" of salt and molasses was purchased at Marblehead and transported to Wilton, in the apprehension that the inhabitants might be cut off by the war from their supplies of these articles. The records of the time are also full of votes relative to providing clothes, provisions and money for those who joined the army.

† It is worthy of being mentioned, that the requisitions made on Wilton for men, throughout the war, were complied with invariably by prompt and voluntary enlistments. It is stated that in one case the demand came on Sunday, and
There was nothing peculiar in the history of Wilton during the Revolution. It endured deprivations and shared losses of substance and of men, in common with the other New-England towns. At one period or another, for a longer or a shorter time, nearly all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, were enrolled in the army; and every able-bodied man served in the war, either personally or by substitute. Nearly the whole population turned out to meet Burgoyne, and many were with Stark at Bennington.* To show how heavily the war bore on all the towns, it may be stated that the population of Wilton, when the Revolution commenced, was but six hundred and twenty-three, of whom, there were but one hundred and twenty-eight between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Of this number, twenty-six were in the army in 1775. Of the soldiers from Wilton, twenty-two died or were killed in the war. Of the number who were out in that momentous struggle, but two remain. One† of them was out four years; the other ‡ during nearly the whole war, and on almost every battle-field where the great contest was

the men started for the camp on Monday. This is the more worthy of remembrance, because the want of prompt enlistments was one of the great difficulties of the Revolution. Washington constantly complains of the slow and incomplete returns of men. It does not diminish, but increases our respect for the patriotism of the town, that to encourage men to join the army, Wilton gave a large bounty to those who enlisted. To the last three-years men, this bounty was $160 in silver to each man. For a fuller account of this measure, see the Appendix.

* An anecdote is related that shows the spirit that prevailed. A young man came to the muster-master, (Maj. Abiel Abbot,) to be enrolled for the army, but was found not so tall as the law required. He insisted on being again measured, and it being with the same result, in his passionate disappointment, he burst into tears. He was however finally enrolled, on the ground that zeal and courage were of more value in a soldier than an inch, more or less, in height.

† Capt. William Pettengill.
‡ Capt. Joseph Gray.
decided. They still remain, examples to all of patriotism and worth. May God hold their lives in his most holy care, and may their old age go down calmly amid the respect and honor of those, whose liberties they peril­led their lives to secure.

When we compare the growth of our native town with that of places more favorably situated, it may seem at first slow and slight. Yet even here, how vast the change which a century has wrought. Instead of the Indian trail, or path marked by spotted trees, the whole town is intersected and netted over by travelled roads; instead of forests tenanted by bears and wolves, and every species of wild game, we now see on every side culti­vated farms and happy homes; the streams then wander­ed through the wilderness unvisited, save by the muskrat or the beaver, and now scarcely a water-fall is to be found where is not erected a mill or factory. Through the warm summer days may be heard at the angles of the roads, the busy murmur of the school-houses, and on the hills may be seen the churches, directing the thoughts of the dwellers round about to heaven. At first the town was peopled by emigration; but it has given in this way more than it has received. Not only has it kept up its own population, but it is calculated that the emigrants from Wilton, now living, would make two towns, each as large as Wilton itself.* When we re­member that this is the change wrought in a single cen­tury, and that this is but an example of the growth of the whole interior of New-England, we cannot fail to see that there has been and is abundant reason to be grateful to Providence for the wonderful prosperity of

* A large number of the original settlers of Andover, Weston and Landgrove, Vt., were emigrants from Wilton. So also were many of the first settlers of Nel­son, N. H., and of Weld and Temple in Maine. This, however, includes but a small part of the emigration from this town.
Our land. The wonder of today makes us forget the wonder of yesterday. It is but a little time since the population of this region was increasing scarcely less rapidly than that of the flourishing regions of the West in our own day. And it increases not so rapidly now, only because it is pouring forth its children to do their part in building up cities, and states, and empires towards the setting sun.

We have looked at the history of the Past. That we may draw from it, as far as may be, wisdom for the future, let us devote the remainder of our time to the consideration of some of the causes that have promoted the prosperity of our New-England towns.

One of the most important of these causes is to be found in the fact, that the people have been left to their individual enterprise.

There are two courses which a government may pursue, almost equally certain to ruin a country. One is that of too much legislation; the other is that of unstable and changeable legislation. One is the characteristic vice of despotisms; the other has too often been chargeable upon republics. They both finally bring about the ruin of a country, in the same way, by breaking down and palsying individual enterprise.

In Egypt, the government does every thing; makes all the improvements; builds railroads and canals; owns and cultivates the soil. It takes the responsibility of every thing and directs every thing. Nothing is left to individual enterprise, and, of course, there is no such enterprise. The people remain slaves. Even were it well meant, there is such a thing as a government's taking so much care of a people, that they will cease to
take care of themselves, and sink down into apathy, and ignorance and sloth.

On the other hand, if legislation is changeable; if it grants privileges to day which it revokes tomorrow; passes laws this year only to repeal them the next; gives encouragement to a branch of industry now, and suddenly and causelessly withdraws the encouragement; the result will ultimately be the same. The insecurity of property will prevent men from investing it in any way in which the government can reach it; the greatest encouragement to labor—the hope that one may lay up something for his old age or for his children,—will be taken away; no man will be induced to make improvements, if he is to be immediately after treated as a public enemy, and robbed of all the profit of his labors; industry will be paralyzed; they who have much will hoard it, and they who have nothing will live on the community; all enterprise will be extinct; and thus the changeable legislation of a republic may become as ruinous as the tyrannical exactions of a despotism. Thus far our country has avoided both of these extremes. It has interfered as little as possible to regulate and control individual industry, endeavoring in the main to secure to each one the profits of his own capital and labor. Give a people freedom, and make them certain that they shall have the benefit of all the property and labor they invest in any branch of business; that government shall not rob them of it, but secure it to them and their children; and the spirit of enterprise will spring into life and vigor, and every faculty of mind will be called into action, every hand will be busy, and the land will be covered with improvements and with a prosperous and growing people. Such has been thus far, and may such ever be, the condition of our country.
2. Another great cause of the prosperity of our New-
ingland towns, may be found in the character of the
town governments. We are apt to forget the impor-
tance of the town governments. In them nearly all of
the most important legislation of the country takes place.
Schools, religious institutions, roads, the poor, all that
most immediately concerns the character and substantial
comfort of the people, depend on the action of the
town for support. The action of the general govern-
ment is almost limited to the power of doing or averting
evil. The towns nearly monopolize the power of doing
good.

And not only this, the system of town governments
exert the same influence on the character, spoken of
under the preceding head. It calls on each individual
for thought and action, and makes him responsible in all
the most important measures of government. Our
town-meetings do scarcely less towards disciplining men
to self-government, to wise forethought and expanded
views and action, than our schools do in developing the
minds of children. They are the schools of a republic,
in which the citizens learn self-government. There,
annually, all affairs of a local nature are entirely deter-
mined; and all the great measures of the general gov-
ernment are brought up for consideration, and each indi-
vidual must do his part in deciding on what involves the
welfare of millions. Familiarity renders us insensible to
the advantage of these town governments. We can only
see it by contrasting it with what our condition would
be were these corporations annihilated. Were the taxes
necessary for the support of the poor, of schools, of re-
ligious institutions, for the construction of roads, and
other objects, raised by the general government from
customs or from a general tax, and expended by the government, the good done would be slight compared with what we witness now. Money thus raised would be expended heedlessly and unprofitably. Money raised without forethought on the part of the people would be expended without after-thought. But let the people themselves raise the money for schools, and they will see that their schools are good and well attended. Let the people tax themselves for roads, and roads will be constructed faithfully. Everything in the comparison will be done to the best advantage, for every one's attention will be awake to see that it is so done. Men are satisfied too, with taxes raised by themselves. A tax of a few pence a pound on tea, if exacted by a foreign power, may excite a revolution; while the same people may cheerfully burden themselves with a tax of millions, to accomplish measures which they themselves approve.

But far more than this. It gives each individual the habit of looking beyond himself, his home, and farm, and workshop. It binds him in with the community. It cultivates unconsciously the habit of deliberation, of forethought, of wide and liberal views. An intelligent German remarks, that what he was most struck with in this country, was the early development of mind and character, so that a youth of sixteen is often more competent to enter into the business of life, than a German of twenty-five. And it is accounted for by the constant tendency of our institutions to throw important trusts and responsibilities on every individual.

But more than all; in these town governments the citizens learn that without which a republic cannot long exist,—the habit of self-government. A republic cannot be governed by the bayonet. The real law, the real government, must be in the mind of each individual
27

citizen. The statute book but records the way in which people have determined to govern themselves.

The worth of this habit of self-government was sig-

The worth of this habit of self-government was sig-

ally seen at the commencement of our Revolution. Then the laws of the land were virtually set aside. The general government was entirely cast off. Courts of law and the bench of justice were swept away. The people were thrown back upon themselves, and almost all the affairs of the country were transacted through their primary assemblies in the towns. Then was seen the wonderful spectacle of a people without law, amongst whom all the processes of government, at a most fearful crisis, were carried on as quietly, as steadily, as in the most peaceful times and under the strongest despotism of Europe. The people had the habit of self-govern-

ment; the habit of considering, and in great measure deciding for themselves on the most important general interests. And though law was gone, the sense of individual responsibility remained, and the habit of self-rule remained. A very striking illustration of the importance of this habit of self-government is afforded by an event that occurred on the first news of the breaking out of the Revolution. The warrants for town-meeting down to the time of the Lexington battle, were uniformly issued in his Majesty's name. For example, the last one before that conflict reads in this manner. “To Amos Fuller, constable for the town of Wilton, Greet-

“"In his Majesty's name, you are hereby required forth-

"In his Majesty's name, you are hereby required forth-

with to warn all the Freeholders and other inhabitants, &c. &c.

“"Given under our hands and seal this 21st day of March, A. D. 1775, and in the 15th year of the Reign
of King George the Third;” and this signed by the Selectmen of Wilton.

But little more than a month passed during which the battle of Lexington took place, and the form changes. His Majesty’s name no longer holds the place of authority. That place is occupied thenceforth by “us the subscribers.” And no allegiance is recognised to any power beyond the town itself, as the following warrant issued five days after that event, which, with the doings thereon, virtually constituted, as is justly remarked by the gentleman to whom I am indebted for the anecdote, the town of Wilton a Republic. The warrant now reads, “To Amos Fuller, constable for the town of Wilton, Greeting,—by us the subscribers, you are hereby required forthwith to warn, &c.” The second article of the warrant runs thus:

“Whereas, it appears at this time that our public affairs are in so distressing a situation, that we are not in a capacity to proceed in a legal manner, to see if the town will vote, that the votes and resolves of this and all other meetings in this town for the term of one year, shall be binding on the inhabitants of this town, &c.”

This was signed by the Selectmen for the year. The meeting was held, and the vote was passed, that the votes and resolves of this and all other town-meetings, should be held binding. Thus, practically, all other authority was rejected, and the town of Wilton became a separate sovereignty, a republic, acknowledging no laws but those of its own making. This vote, five days after the battle of Lexington, was, in truth, a declaration of independence, and perhaps the first ever made.

It was this power of self-government which gave strength and union to the people, throughout the
Revolution. It was owing to this, that war and the
erehence of party spirit, and the breaking up of
established institutions, hardly deranged the interior order
of the country. It was owing to a want of them,—to
the want of the habit of self-government,—that in the
French Revolution, the people, when the ancient mon-
archy was removed, knew not what to do. They only
knew that they were free; and, like tigers let loose from
their cage, rushed madly upon their prey, and made
liberty the watchword for licentiousness, and rapine, and
blood.

3. Another cause that has promoted the prosperity of
New-England, has been the character of its soil. One
travels over the prairies of the West, and it seems as if
there must be the garden and paradise of the world. To
one who passes through New-England, and compares it
with many other regions, it appears as if its soil had
been smitten with the curse of barrenness. He travels
for hours and sees only naked hills, walled in and almost
covered with rocks, and the few patches of fertile soil,
the result of unwearied labor. He sees the snows lin-
ger ing under the shadow of the mountains to chill the
summer; and the summer has hardly gone when they
appear again. Six months of the year are exhausted
in preparing for the rigors of the remaining six. Men
must labor or starve. There is no exemption. How
strange, it is sometimes said, that the Pilgrims should
have cast their lot on these wintry shores. How much
happier, had their ship borne them to some more be-
nignant clime!

But, could they have looked into the future, might
they not have wisely chosen this region in preference to
all others? Though the soil be not so productive of
corn and wheat, may it not for that very reason be more fitted to produce men?

The necessity of labor begets the habit of industry. And what men labor for gains value, and labor itself is not willingly thrown away; and thus forethought and self-denial, (the foundations of mental and moral growth,) are nurtured up, and all of manhood that is in the man, is brought out by the necessities of his condition. And the result is, that the traveller sees on all this desolate land, ten thousand homes filled with the comforts and luxuries of life, far beyond most other regions; school-houses at every turn, to which young children come up with shining, morning faces; and, towering above the hills, the spires of churches, catching the earliest beams of the morning and the last rays of the evening sun. Amidst this desolation of nature, man has found happiness and abundance; and he has found it all the more certainly, because the necessities of his condition are such as to call out all manly qualities; and where these exists, little else will be wanting. That region where mind and character have been nurtured up into vigor, shall make all others tributary to itself.

Change the scene. Suppose that, by some necromancy, the soil were to become suddenly fertile, that the heavens should stoop nearer the earth, and the winters be melted away under a milder sky; suppose that by three days' labor men might gain food for the week. The whole history of man tells us that the vast proportion would labor but three days in the six; the rest would be given up to idleness, and with idleness would come its dissipations and its vices. A few, possessed of the strongest minds and characters might acquire vast wealth; but the broad land, instead of being filled with
ompetence and covered with cheerful homes, in which youth learns from age the best virtues of men, would be deformed by miserable hovels. The poorest countries in the world—those in which the mass of the people are sunk in the lowest poverty—are those whose soil is most fertile. The fertility of the soil has operated as a premium on sloth and vice.

It is not the soil that makes a nation flourish, but the men,—their forethought, and enterprise, and industry. And these have rarely existed when there has not been a necessity for them. At any rate, I may say that no land has been permanently and progressively prosperous, in which the people have not been under the necessity of being steadily industrious. And I might say more, that many a man who has gone forth to find a home in distant lands, in counting over his blessings, puts among the first, the fact, that he was born among the bleak hills of New-England and subjected in early childhood to the imperious necessity of daily labor and self-denial.

But there are other causes of prosperity for which we owe a more immediate gratitude to the wisdom of our fathers.

One of them is the School system, which was early established, and which has been always fostered as one of the most valuable of our institutions. That a country may flourish, it is not enough that the hand should toil. The mind must direct the hand. Other things being equal, that country will always be the most prosperous, where there is the most intelligence. Our fathers saw that no money is so wisely invested, as that which is invested in the education of the young. Drought may blast the harvest, fires consume the dwelling, and the hoarded wealth be swept away, but intelli-
gence shall collect, and restore, and rebuild all again. Amongst an ignorant people, all the arts and employments of life languish. To such a people all soils are barren and all skies unpropitious. Nature may do everything, but ignorance cannot use her gifts. But where there is intelligence, every thing may be made to contribute to the general prosperity. The rapids of the river, shall move the myriad wheels of industry, and the very granite of the hills, shall be as mines of gold. There is not a mountain so bleak, nor a valley so lonely, where intelligent enterprise shall not find abundance. Every harbor shall be white with sails, and the rock-bound coast be lined with shining towns. It is because intelligence has guided labor in New-England, that prosperity has filled her borders.

Nor is the influence of this early and careful education of the young seen at home alone. Wherever you go, along the mighty rivers and broad savannahs of the West and South, you see New-England names. And wherever her sons are planted, there are prosperous and thriving communities.

But especially have we reason to be grateful to our fathers for the habitual reverence which they instilled into the minds of their descendants, by their own example and by the institutions which they established for religion. The early settlers of this town brought with them much of that fervent and stern religious feeling, which characterized the pilgrim fathers. One of the first things which they did, was to erect a place for public worship. They had public worship almost from the outset, and a minister was settled when the town contained but about forty families. "And here," says Mr. Fiske, in his half century sermon; "it is worthy of remark that
otwithstanding the number of inhabitants was so small
and their circumstances far from being affluent, the ex-
tense which arose from this quarter, was so far from
impoverishing the town, that the interest of the town was
tripled in a few years. It was the means of a more
rapid settlement of the place.” This remark is very
just and important. He who removes with a family to
a new region, among the first questions, asks, what is
the condition of the schools, and what are the religious
privileges. Close the churches of a town, and you will
diminish the value of every farm; — for the best pur-
chasers are likely to seek a better place for the home
of their families.

It was not, however, such considerations as these
that caused the early settlers to make such efforts to
support the institutions of religion; — but rather their
strong sense of duty, their deep religious feeling, and
the conviction of the infinite importance of religion to
the human soul. Nor was their religion confined to the
Church. It controlled all the employments of life; and
most of all shone with steady light in their homes.
There were few families where the voice of morning
and evening prayer was not heard; and the religious
education of the young was esteemed the first and most
important duty.

It is to this almost universal religious education of
the young, — may it never be neglected! — to which,
more than to any other single thing, the welfare of
New-England may be traced. The ultimate prosperity
of individuals and communities rests on character. This
is the basis of rock, which, though waves beat and
storms blow and rains fall, is unmoved; — and the char-
ter of a people depends on early education.
It is to be feared that it is hardly enough considered, how the welfare of a community depends on the virtues cherished in the homes of that community. These retired, unostentatious virtues—the religious faith and principle fostered in the church and the home,—are the strong foundations on which the state reposes. They form the solid masonry below, on which pillar and dome are built above. Remove these private, unobserved virtues, and the fabric of the mightiest kingdom, will be shattered from the corner to the keystone. The strength of states, depends not on overflowing treasuries, nor on navies that sweep the seas, nor on fortresses that frown over the entrances of their harbors, but on the virtues planted in the hearts of the young, and nurtured in the bosoms of the old. Point out a people, where the parents live and children grow up in the fear and the love of God, and that people is a mighty people. The nations of the earth may come up against it, but they will be scattered before its invincible strength, as waves are scattered that dash on a coast of rock. Every house in such a nation is a fortress, and every heart, a living bulwark. Men grow strong, standing by the hearthstones consecrated by their father’s virtues, and their mother’s prayers. The defenders of freedom, driven from every other refuge, have taken their last stand, to die by the altars where their fathers have worshipped. The prayer of the feeble mother, with which she baptizes her child’s soul, as it lies in the cradle—if she be but faithful to her prayer in the education of her child—may in time become mightier than the sword of kings. The first great lesson of history, which he who has not learned has read history in vain, is, how paltry, temporary, evanescent, is that national prosperity, which is not
ased on the virtues of the people; and how insecure and transient those virtues are, unless sustained by the life-giving power of religion.

But I dwell too long on these topics. In concluding, however, the history of our native town, we can hardly fail of calling to mind the many changes which it has witnessed. The past century has been a most eventful one. It might seem indeed that if there were peace anywhere, it might be amidst the quiet of these scenes. But no place can be dismembered from the rest of the world; and this place has sympathized with and felt the influence of all the changes, that have gone on around it. Within the last hundred years, four wars have sent their drums and trumpets to disturb the echoes of these hills. Within that time the Indians, who then hunted and fished along all our streams, have disappeared. Again and again, the government has changed. The first portion of Wilton was granted by Massachusetts. The remainder was granted by the Masonian Proprietors, who held under the Council of New-England, who themselves held under James the First of England. Then came the Colonial government; which in turn was swept away before the storm of the Revolution. A century ago, the authority of the monarch of France was recognised throughout almost the whole length of the continent. His forts extended from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, upward along the lakes, and beside the great rivers of the west, and down to the mouth of the Mississippi. There were in the Mississippi Valley alone, in garrisons and forts, nearly two thousand French soldiers. And this power continued, till, like the key-stone struck from an arch, it was broken up by Wolf on the heights of Abraham. The Spanish dominion has shrunk and
withered away. And the flag of England, instead of overshadowing the coast, floats only on the uncertain winds of the North. In the meantime, in the midst of these external changes, this great inland empire has grown up, silently, swiftly, while men slept, amid the shadows of the wilderness; like the coral walls of the Indian seas, expanding, rising to the ocean's surface, the basis of a continent. And these events have been the subjects of conversation at the fireside, and have filled with fear, anxiety, or rejoicing, the hearts of the generations among whom they took place.

But there have been changes more felt than these. The first settlers have of course all gone, and of the generation that succeeded them, scarce any remain. And this great work of change, this coming and departure, has gone and still goes on around us. In every house has been transacted its history of sorrow and joy. Thanksgivings have gone up from the lips of parents that a living child was born. Here have the glowing features and opening minds of childhood been watched. Here have affections, stronger than the grave, bound together the hearts of the young. Here the sick-lamp has burnt, and watchers through the long night have tenderly smoothed the pillow and moistened the parched lips. Here prayers have ascended from beside the domestic altar, and parents invoked the blessing of God on those who still remained beneath their roof, and on their children who wandered far away. And death hath been here, and with every instance of mortality has been the sundering of human ties, the shedding of tears, and the bitter grief of stricken hearts. And here I may be permitted to refer to one, who was the personal friend of nearly all present, and was to me from
arly childhood scarcely less than a parent. He was expected to have addressed you on this occasion, to which he looked forward with the greatest interest. He was snatched away by a sudden and fearful death; but his unpretending virtues, his life of active usefulness, his peaceful spirit, and his example of fervent and consistent piety, will long be held in memory. They were not consumed in the flames that consumed the body, but live and will live as silent monitors to all who survive him. And not he alone has gone. There are few who hear me who have not themselves sate by the dying beds of those dear to them, and closed their eyes, and followed them with the sad procession of mourners, to their last resting-place. What a history of change and sorrow may be read by him who passes through the grave-yard, knowing who sleep beneath the narrow mounds beside him. There lie the fathers;—there lie kindred and neighbors and friends. If this were all, how desolate the scene! But thanks unto God, it is not all. As the Christian stands by these silent graves, a still, small voice, the voice of the revelation of the Son of God, speaks to his soul the divine assurance—these dead shall live. The stone shall be rolled from the sepulchre, the earth give up its trust, and the buried generations be clothed with life immortal.

Through these changes we too must pass. The fathers are gone and we have entered into their labors. The blessings that we have inherited we but hold in trust, to transmit, after we have enjoyed them, to our descendants. May this generation have no reason to blush for its unworthiness. If the instructions of those who have gone before be followed, here will intelligence and virtue abound, and the fear of God and the love of
man be seen. Here shall multitudes be prepared to go forth to fill places of usefulness in the world. And when in God's good time, those now on the scene shall be called hence, we may hope that it shall be to join the great assemblage of the good and holy, in a higher world.

Note.—I would express my thanks to the Committee of Arrangements, for the aid which I have received from them. Whatever value and interest this pamphlet may have, is owing among others, especially to Jonathan Livermore Esq., and Mr. Abiel Abbot. With great expense of time and labor, and with great care to be accurate in the account of facts, they have collected and put into my hands the materials that I have used. They have left to me scarcely more than the pleasant and easy office of arranging them. Without the assistance of Mr. Livermore, whose surprisingly minute and accurate information as to the history of the town, embraces probably every event of any interest, this Address could not have been written.
APPENDIX.

As this may be the only account of Wilton published before the next centennial Celebration, it has been deemed proper to introduce into it whatever might be of any interest, not only to the present inhabitants of the town, but also to their descendants. To our children, those engaged in this celebration may say,—we have thought that no incidents which could illustrate the history and progress of the town and the fortunes of its people would be uninteresting. While we gratefully commemorate the virtues of the fathers who have gone before us, it gives us additional pleasure that in doing this, we may also hand down the record of their struggles and virtues to those who shall come after us. It is pleasant for us to believe that they will value the good institutions of the town the more, when they see with what care and at the cost of what sacrifices they were established. We have dwelt on many minute circumstances; because they are already rapidly fading from the memory, and would soon be lost, unless gathered up and recorded.

ORIGINAL PURCHASERS.

We publish a schedule of the lots drawn by the original purchasers of Wilton. We have thought it might be a matter of general interest and perhaps advantage, inasmuch as the present owners of the soil, hold their titles from the original purchasers. This schedule was prepared with much labor and care by the late Samuel Abbot, Esq.

The first settlement, in 1739, has already been spoken of. The number of inhabitants, however, increased but slowly till 1749, when
a Company purchased (with the exception of a few farms previously taken up) the township of Wilton, of the heirs of John Tufton Mason. Very few of these purchasers ever resided in Wilton, but of them the original settlers, after 1749, purchased their land. As will be seen in the schedule, the heirs of Mason,— the grantors of the township— formed a part of this Company. It may be added that a share consisted of 240 acres, containing three lots of 80 acres each.

Extract from the Deed making the Grant of the Township of Wilton by the Masonian Proprietors.

Pursuant to the Power and Authority granted and vested in me by the Proprietors of Lands purchased of John Tufton Mason Esq, in the Province of New Hampshire by their vote Passed at their meeting held at Portsmouth in said Province the 16th day of June 1749 I do by these presents on the terms and conditions hereafter expressed give and grant unto Thomas Read, Esq. Robert Fletcher Junr Joseph Blanchard Junr, Oliver Coleburn, Oliver Farwell, Jno. Usher, Thomas Spaulding, John Lovewell Junr, Peter Powers, Humphrey Hobbs, John Combs, Jos. Blodget, Samuel Fowle, Josiah Swan, Ezra Carpenter, Jona. Cummings, Thomas Parker Junr, John Varnum, William Foster, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Parker, Josiah Butterfield, Anthony Emory, Benj. Parker Junr, Nehemiah Abbot, Samuel Greele, Benjn. Farwell, Oliver Whiting, Jos. Richardson, Benjn. Farley, Jno. Kendall, Abraham Kendall, David Adams, Joseph French, Eleazer Blanchard, Zacheus Lovewell, Samuel Farley, William Cummings, Jona. Powers, Samuel Cummings, Archelaus Dale, Jacob Putnam, Nathl. Putnam, John Dale, Stephen Herryman, John Shead and Ephraim Putnam, all the right title and property of the Grantors aforesaid of in and to all that part of a township or tract of land in the Province of New Hampshire aforesaid containing five miles square Lying on the branches of Souhegan river between Peterborough and Munson bounded as follows, Beginning at the South-west corner of the premises at a white pine tree, which is the North-west corner of the Township No 1 and runs from thence five miles to a white ash marked, from thence east five miles to a stake and stones from thence South five miles to a Chestnut tree marked, from thence
The schedule of the lots drawn is certified thus:

"The afore-written lists were drawn and finished at Dunstable, the 3th day of October 1749.

Copy examined for

Jos. Blanchard, Prs. Clerk."

**SCHEDULE OF LOTS DRAWN.**

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**Note.** — Third column of figures, 6th line from bottom, 17th range, is a mistake for 7th.
The foregoing lots were drawn by the Grantees; those that follow were drawn by the Grantors, the respective lots of each entered against his name.

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<td>Joseph Blanchard, Esq.</td>
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<td>Thomas Wallingford, Esq.</td>
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<td>Matthew Livermore, Esq.</td>
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<td>Richard Wibird, Esq.</td>
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<td>Theodore Atkinson, Esq.</td>
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<td>John Tufton Mason, Esq.</td>
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<td>Mark H. Wentworth, Esq.</td>
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<td>S. Sollv and C. March, Esq.</td>
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The Charter incorporating the town of Wilton is under the hand of B. Wentworth, Governor of N. H., and dated the 2d day of January, A. D. 1765.

**REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.**

The town papers relating to the affairs of Wilton during the war of the Revolution, have unfortunately in great part been lost by neglect or destroyed. The papers that remain have been carefully examined, and the more interesting facts contained in them incorporated with such other information as we have been able to procure.

Our notices of what was done, and especially as regards the expenditures occasioned by the war, are very imperfect, but they will serve to show the spirit that animated the town.

Nearly every able-bodied man belonging to Wilton, was out in the war, and every man in the town either did service personally, or hired another to fill his place for a longer or shorter period. Wilton was represented in the battle of Bunker Hill, and a large number of the
male-bodied men were in the army at Cambridge. It is known that at least eight, and probably more, were in the battle of Bennington, of whom, Ebenezer Perry, was killed. Eleven of those that were last, died in the campaign of 1776 in the North-western Army. Two died in New York about the time of the battle of White Plains, and two at Valley Forge. Others were wounded, but it is not known that more than one was killed in battle.

We are indebted to Col. Jonathan Burton for accounts (found among the papers of his father, who was one of the selectmen of Wilton during four years of the war) of the money paid on several occasions to soldiers from this town. The first is a receipt. It is as follows:

**Wilton, March 19, 1777.**

"We, the subscribers, do each one for himself acknowledge that we have received of Capt. William Barron, by the hand of Jonathan Burton, the whole of arrears of all kinds for our services as soldiers in the continental army in the year 1776, in Col. Wyman's Regiment. We say received by us."*

The next account, is one "of money paid to soldiers in the continental army by the town of Wilton in the year 1777." This money was paid for prior services, and was paid early in the year 1777. The whole amount paid to fourteen persons at this time was £396 10s. Three others received at a later date, a proportionate compensation.

We have next "the account of the bounties given by the town of Wilton, to the first three-years' men who engaged in the Continental army for said tour." The number of men was fourteen, and the sum they received as bounty from the town, was £273 5s.

The second three-years' men left for the army in March, 1781. In order to encourage men to volunteer, the town gave a bounty to every one who enlisted. This bounty was more than equivalent to what a laboring man would have received, had he remained at home to work on a farm. On account of the great depreciation of the currency, it was deemed more just to the soldiers and for the town, to pay this bounty in something not subject to such diminution in value as

the continental money. This bounty was entirely independent of the regular pay which they received. It was agreed that each man should receive 20 head of cattle to be as many months old as they should serve months in the army. A bond given to one of them will be seen in the note.* All of the last three-years' men returned, and as it was more agreeable to them, the town entered into an arrangement with them by which the cattle were to be estimated at $8 per head; thus making for the three years $160 to each man, in addition to the continental pay. The town likewise made up to them their personal expenses for clothing. The sum paid instead of the cattle was $1280.

In 1777 Ichabod Perry enlisted for during the war.

The first three-years' men, who enlisted in 1777, were Humphrey Cram, David Hazleton, William Burton, Asa Lewis, Uriah Ballard,

* Know all men by these presents, that we, Philip Putnam, Nathan Ballard, Jonathan Burton, and Abner Stiles, gentlemen; Jonathan Martin, William Abbot, and Richard Whitney, selectmen for the town of Wilton, being jointly chosen a committee, by said town, for procuring and hiring Continental soldiers for said town, for the term of three years, do hereby stand firmly bound and obliged to Asa Reddington, of Wilton, aforesaid, his Heirs, Executors, and Aministrators, and Assignees, forever, in the sum of Four Hundred Spanish milled dollars, equal to one hundred and twenty Pounds of Lawful Silver money, to be paid to the said Asa Reddington, his heirs, &c., within three years from the date hereof.

The condition of this present obligation is such, that if the above-named Philip Putnam, Nathan Ballard, Jonathan Burton, Abner Stiles, Jonathan Martin, William Abbot, and Richard Whitney, being a committee, chosen by the town aforesaid, in their capacity or either of them, shall procure and deliver unto the aforesaid Asa Reddington, twenty neat cattle of a middling size as an encouragement to the said Reddington serving as a Continental soldier for the term of three years, if not sooner discharged, and the said Reddington is to receive the cattle at as many months old as he doth months service in the army.

And furthermore, the Committee engages, that if the said Reddington doth not receive his clothing of the Regimental Paymaster, according to the order of this State, by the said Reddington bringing a certificate from the Paymaster to us, we will make good the said clothing; and at the delivery of the cattle, if the said Reddington is dissatisfied as to the value of them, we oblige ourselves in our capacity to leave the same to any disinterested person.

And if this obligation is fulfilled in manner and form, above-mentioned unto the said Reddington, then this present obligation to be void and of none effect; otherwise to remain in full force and virtue. Signed, sealed and delivered,

This fourteenth day of March, 1781. In presence of us,

James Dascomb,
William Brown

The last three-years' men were, Joseph Gray, Israel How, Uriah Ballard, Timothy Abbot, John Greele, Benjamin Pierce, Daniel Holt, Joel Holt, Asa Reddington, Daniel Barker.

The following men served in 1776:—Samuel Pettengill, Lieut. Benjamin Pettengill, Nurss Sawyer, Solomon Holt, Caleb Putnam, Peter Putnam, Josiah Parker, Christopher Martin, Uriah Ballard, Nehemiah Holt, Wm. A. Hawkins, promoted to be Captain, May 2, 1779.

Many others were out, among whom was Isaac Fry, who served through the whole war, and at its close returned with the brevet rank of Major.

The three-years' men from Wilton were engaged in 1777, on Hudson river, against Burgoyne, in the affairs of the 19th September and 1st of October. They were also, in 1779, with Sullivan, in the Indian country.

The following are the names of those who died in the Revolutionary service:—

William Burton died at Valley-Forge Spring, 1778; Asa Cram, Jonathan Gray, Jeremiah Holt, Amos Holt, Solomon Holt, James Holden, August 29th, 1776; John Honey, October 24th, 1776; James Hutchinson, Joseph Lewis, at Valley-Forge; Lieut. Samuel Pettengill, 1776; Benjamin Pettengill, his son, 1776; Ebenezer Perry, 2d, Ebenezer Perry, Jonas Perry, Caleb Putnam, August 22d, 1776; Peter Putnam, Josiah Parker, October 22d, 1776; Asa Pierce, Isaac Russell, September 15th, 1776; Nurss Sawyer, Archibald Wilkins, Jr.

The following is the Covenant of Non-Importation and Non-Consumption of Goods from Great Britain. [See Records of Wilton for July 15 and September 8, 1774.]

We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of Wilton, having taken into our serious consideration the precarious state of the liberties of North America, and more especially the present distressed condition of our sister colony of the Massachusetts Bay, embarrassed as it is, by several Acts of the British Parliament, tending to the entire subversion of their natural and charter rights, among which is the act for blocking up the harbor of Boston; and being fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold on every means in our power to
preserve and recover the injured Constitution of our country; and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of slavery or the carnage and desolation of civil war, but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the Island of Great Britain; do, in the presence of God, solemnly and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:—

1. That, from henceforth, we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the said Island of Great Britain, until the Parliament shall cease to enact laws imposing taxes on the colonies without their consent, and until the pretended right of taxing is dropped, and Boston Port opened, and their and our constitutional rights and privileges are restored.

2. That there may be less temptation to others to continue in the said now dangerous commerce, and in order to promote industry, economy, arts and manufactures, among ourselves, which are of the last importance to the welfare and well-being of a community; we do in like manner solemnly covenant, That we will not buy, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person by, for, or under us, to purchase; nor will we use in our families, in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandise, which shall arrive in America from Great Britain, aforesaid, from and after the last day of August, 1774, (except only such articles as shall be judged absolutely necessary by a majority of the signers hereof,) and, as much as in us lies, to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure entered into for the recovery and preservation of our rights and the rights of our brethren in our sister Colonies, we agree to break off all trade and commerce with all persons who, preferring their private interests to the salvation of their now almost perishing country, shall still continue to import goods from Great Britain, or shall purchase of those who import after the said last day of August, until the aforesaid pretended right of taxing the Colonies, shall be given up or dropped, (except so much as Christian duties require).

3. As a refusal to come into this or a similar agreement, which promises deliverance of our country from the calamities it now feels, and which, like a torrent, are rushing upon it with increasing violence, must, in our opinion, evidence a disposition inimical to, or criminally negligent of, the common safety; it is agreed, that all such ought to be considered, and shall by us be esteemed, as encouragers of contumacious importers.
1. We hereby further engage, that we will use all reasonable means, to encourage and promote the production of manufactures among ourselves, that this covenant and engagement may be as little detrimental to ourselves and our fellow-countrymen as possible.

Lastly,— We allow ourselves liberty to comply with the result of the General Congress at Philadelphia. Also, we agree to make such alterations in this Covenant as shall be thought suitable by the major- ity of signers, after notice given in a public manner by a committee chosen for that purpose, which notice shall be eight days before the meeting.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

The First Congregational Church in Wilton was embodied and the first Pastor, Rev. Jonathan Livermore, ordained, Dec. 14, 1763. From Jan. 1, 1764, to Dec. 31, 1776, were admitted to the church by dismission and recommendation from other churches, twenty-nine. By profession, one hundred and eighteen. Whole number, one hundred and forty-seven. Number of Baptisms during the same time, three hundred and fifteen.

During Mr. Fiske’s ministry, admissions to the church were two hundred and nineteen, forty-eight of whom were admitted by virtue of dismissions and recommendations from other churches. Baptisms, seven hundred and thirty-eight.

In the interval between Mr. Fiske and Mr. Beede, admissions to the church, three. Baptisms, seven.

During Mr. Beede’s ministry, admissions to the church, one hun­dred and fifteen. Baptisms, one hundred and ninety.

From Jan. 13, 1829, when Mr. Beede left, to the present time, Sept. 25, 1839, admissions to the church, forty-two. Admitted by recommendations and dismissions from other churches, from Mr. Fiske’s to the present time, sixteen. Baptisms from Jan. 13, 1829, to the present time, thirty. Whole number of admissions to the church, five hundred and forty-two. Whole number of Baptisms, twelve hundred and eighty.

The present number of the members of the church, is seventy-seven.
The ministers settled over the First Congregational Church and Society, have been as follows:

Abel Fisk, " Nov. 18, 1778, Died April 21, 1802.
Thomas Beede, " March 2, 1803, Resigned, Jan. 13, 1829.
A. D. Jones, installed, Jan. 1, 1834, " Jan. 1, 1836.
Nathaniel Whitman, the present minister, installed Oct. 5, 1836.

The Baptist Church in Wilton was constituted April 7, 1817, consisting of eleven members from the Baptist church in Mason, dismissed for that purpose. On the same day, seven persons were baptized and united with the church, and shortly after six others from the church in Mason were added. Fourteen of the members of the church were dismissed a few years since to form a church in Lyndeborough. The present number of its members is eighty-three, of whom fifty-eight reside in the town.

Soon after the organization of the church, Benjamin F. Lane, a Licentiate, was employed as a preacher for a few months. He was followed, June 6, 1818, by Rev. Ezra Wilmarth who was soon after installed their first pastor, and continued with them nearly five years. He was succeeded for a year by Rev. Reuel Lathrop; after which, for a season, they were supplied by neighboring ministers. The meeting-house was erected by the church and society in 1827, and was dedicated November 7, of the same year. On the same day, Rev. Simon Fletcher was ordained as their pastor, and continued with them three years. He was followed, March 12, 1830, by Rev. Caleb Brown, who afterwards became their pastor for two years. In 1833, Rev. Harrison W. Strong received ordination, and became their pastor for two years. Rev. John Cannon was minister from June, 1835, to June, 1836. Rev. Ezra Wilmarth then supplied their pulpit for a few months. In the autumn of 1837, Rev. N. W. Smith took the pastoral charge of the church, and continued with them eighteen months. Since that time they have had only occasional preaching. At the present time they are enjoying the labors of Mr. John Chick, a licentiate.

The Second Congregational Church was organized July 18, 1823, consisting of seventeen members. Whole number added to the church since its organization, including the original members, and twenty-one since added from the First Church, one hundred and
two. Present number belonging to the church, one hundred
and eleven; nineteen having died, and thirty-two having been dis-
missed and recommended to other churches. Baptisms, infant, fifty;
infants, seventeen; whole number, sixty-seven.

The Meetinghouse was built in 1829, and dedicated January 1, 1830. Their first and present pastor, Rev. William Richardson, was
ordained December 15, 1730.

The Universalist Society was established in 1813. It has en-
joyed occasional preaching, but has had no settled minister re-
ing in Wilton. It is, however, occasionally united with socie-
ties in the neighboring towns in the support of a regular minister.

I have been unable to ascertain the number of those who consider
themselves at the present time as connected with the society.

The following account of the first minister, Rev. Jonathan Liver-
more, written soon after his death, has been furnished us by its au-
tor, Rev. Ebenezer Hill, of Mason, who was a brother clergyman
and intimate friend of Mr. Livermore.

7, 1729, O. S. and entered a student at Harvard College in the year
16, N. S., and graduated in the year 1760. To qualify himself
for the gospel ministry was his professed object in seeking a liberal
education. Whether he was prevented applying himself to learning
at an earlier period of life by unfavorable circumstances, or that his
mind had taken a different turn about that time, is unknown to the
reader. But at his advanced age to commence a preparatory course
study for such a work, appears to be strong proof that he had
eighed the matter, and sincerely devoted himself to serve God, and
through the remainder of his days in ministerial labors. So
1763, he was ordained, and constituted pastor of the
church in this town; in which office he continued and labored until
the year 1776. And from the estimation in which he was held by
his brethren in the ministry, who were acquainted with his labors
and manner of life, we have reason to believe that he discharged
his ministerial duties with faithfulness. About the year 1776 was a
period in which many changes took place, and tender relations were
solved. At this time of troubles Mr. Livermore was induced to
sign his office of pastor of the church in this place. But although
a particular relation to this church and people ceased, he did not
relinquish the work of the ministry. He loved to preach the gospel of Christ; and willingly labored wherever divine Providence seemed to open a door; and his brethren and the congregations around have experienced many of his labors of love. In his preaching, he aimed not to please the fancy, but to inform the understanding and affect the heart of the hearers. And notwithstanding his special relation was removed to another church, and he did not commune with this church at the table of the Lord; yet he constantly, when at home, attended on the public worship of God, and lived in brotherly love with his successor.”

“In the family his Christian character was conspicuous in the regularity and religious order which prevailed, in his great tenderness towards his partner, in the religious education of his children, and in his earnest solicitude for their spiritual welfare. While he labored to teach, he set the example in all religious duties. In the evening of a long life the powers of both his mind and body were remarkably strong and vigorous; and he contemplated death as near at hand with apparent satisfaction, and as the time of his release. And although cut off at last by a stroke so sudden as to give no opportunity to express his views and feelings in the actual conflict with death; we must be permitted to indulge the hope that he was ready to open to his Lord.”

The following extract gives the character of Rev. Abel Fiske, the second minister. It is from the sermon of Rev. William Emerson, preached at Wilton, March 2, 1803, at the ordination of Rev. Thomas Beede.

“My brethren of this church and congregation, when that God who is too wise to err, and too good needlessly to afflict his children, was pleased to deprive you of your late pastor, you were not the only mourners; his praise was in every church, which was ever favored with his services, and his merit acknowledged by all who knew him. Some of the earliest impressions, which this heart received, were from his instructive lips; and here, until it ceases to beat, shall the wisdom, prudence, moderation, and piety of a Fiske be remembered with melancholy pleasure.”

A farther notice is contained in a note appended to the same discourse, which is as follows:—

“The late Rev. Abel Fiske was born of respectable parents at Pepperell, Mass. May 28, 1752. In 1774 and 1777, he received the
hiors of Harvard College. He studied theology at Concord with the author's father in 1775 and 1776, and during part of the time was master of the Grammar School in that town, where he was beloved by his pupils, and respected by the inhabitants. November, 1778, he was ordained in this place. The faithful discharge of his pastoral duties, and his steady adherence to the principles of order and good government greatly endeared him to his flock, and obtained him the high regards and confidence of his numerous friends. His death, caused by a paralytic affection in the throat, happened April 21, 1802, and was deeply regretted in this part of the country. His intimate friend, Rev. John Bullard, of Pepperell, preached an affecting sermon at his funeral from Acts xx. 37, 38. He was twice married, and has left a wife and five children.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

SABBATH SCHOOLS. The first was established in May, 1816, and is believed to have been the first in America, whose leading object — according to the plan now universally followed — was to give moral and religious instruction. Seventy children attended the first season. The text-book used was the Bible, and the Bible only. The number of teachers and pupils now belonging to the Sunday School of the First Parish is about one hundred and thirty. The Baptist and Second Congregational churches have also Sabbath schools connected with them.

LIBRARIES. The oldest public library is the Town Library; it has flourished and languished alternately for at least fifty years.

The Ministerial Library owes its origin and peculiar plan to Rev. Abiel Abbot, D. D., who, in 1824, presented, for the use of the minister of the First Congregational Society, a large number of books to five Trustees, viz. Rev. Thomas Beede, Ezra Abbot, Samuel Abbot, Eliphalet Putnam, and Timothy Parkhurst, and requested them to preserve and increase the library, and when there should be a vacancy in the Board of Trustees, to select some person from said society to fill it. An act of incorporation was soon after obtained. The officers are a President, Clerk, Librarian, and Treasurer; the last two give bonds for a faithful discharge of their duties. At the annual meeting, the books are carefully inspected, and written reports made and recorded of the state of the library and of the funds. Accord-
ing to one of the bye-laws, whoever gives ten dollars at any one time for the use of the library, or books to that amount, becomes thereby a Patron, entitled to the privilege of taking out books, during life. There is a permanent fund for the increase of the library, now amounting to $250, of which $100 were given by Rev. Dr. Abbot, $100 by Samuel Abbot, Esq., and $50 by Deacon Ezra Abbot. The interest only of this fund is expended. Donations of books have been made from time to time by Dr. Abbot and others. A few years ago a subscription paper was issued to the young men, and somewhat more than $100 were obtained, of which Samuel Abbot paid $75. This money was appropriated for the increase of the library, which now contains about 600 volumes. Agreeably to the directions of its founder and principal contributor, all ministers of the gospel resident in Wilton may have the gratuitous use of the library; also, the Congregational minister of Wilton may have the gratuitous use of the library established by the same individual, and on a similar plan, in Peterboro'; and the Congregational minister of Peterboro' may have the like use of the Wilton Library.

A Library of 200 volumes belongs to the First Congregational Society. It was opened for the first time in October, 1838. Its foundation was laid by a donation of 50 volumes from Deacon Samuel Greele and friends in Boston, and of 100 volumes from Augustus Greele, Esq. of New York. Books of great value have been added to this library the present year. It is open to all the members of the parish.

The Sunday School Library of the First Congregational Society contains 400 volumes. The books were selected with great care, mostly by S. Abbot, Esq.

The Second Congregational Society has also a Library.

**Sunday Noon Reading Room.** This was opened chiefly by the efforts of Samuel Abbot, Esq. in 1822, for the accommodation of that portion of the people, who, living at a distance from the church, could not conveniently go home during the interval between the forenoon and afternoon services. It was furnished with books, pamphlets, and papers of a serious kind, suitable for Sunday reading. At first it was in a neighboring hall; but recently the books, &c. were removed to the meeting-house.

**Schools.** There are in the town, nine school-districts and ten
school-houses. The sum raised for the support of schools during the year 1839, was $600. The average length of the district-schools in winter about two months, and in summer about three months. It is believed that all the children in the town, who have arrived at a proper age, without a single exception, unless prevented by ill-health or some such accidental hindrance, regularly attend school.

The school-right of land was sold June 1, 1769. The interest which the town received on the sum for which this land was sold, amounted up to the year 1776, annually, to £5 9s. 5½d., Lawful money. In 1784, and subsequently, the fund was £67 16s., equal to $226. The interest on this, and also the interest of the Literary Fund, is applied to the support of schools in addition to the annual tax.


War of 1812. In this war, Wilton had two men in the regular army. Abiel Wilson, Jr. held a Lieutenant's commission, and Timothy McIntire enlisted as a private soldier. McIntire was slain in battle, on the northern frontier, in the summer of 1814. The militia of New Hampshire were called upon to defend Portsmouth, and Wilton furnished seven or eight men; one of whom, named Foster, was taken sick, and died on his way home.

Casualties. The number of deaths by accident has been thirty-nine. Of these, five were killed by falling trees, or were crushed by logs; four were drowned; five were killed by the fall of the meeting-house frame; seven were scalded; one was burnt; three committed suicide, and the deaths of the remainder were occasioned by different accidents. Of the whole number, twelve were children.

Mortality. The whole number of deaths during the last ten years is 162. Average yearly number, $16\frac{1}{2}$. Average age, 36. Six persons died over 90. The whole number of deaths during the seven years beginning with 1784 and ending with 1790, was 71; births, 281; excess of births, 210. Average number of deaths yearly, was $10\frac{1}{10}$. The population of the town was nearly the same as now, being in 1786, 1013, and in 1790, 1105. This shows that the average number of deaths in the town has increased more than one third.

Population. In 1739 there were two families; in 1755 there were 70 persons; in 1763, 240; in 1775, 623; in 1786, 1013; in 1790, 1105. Since 1790 the population has remained almost uniformly the same, varying but little from 1100, and having never been greater than in 1790. The town contains 45 inhabitants to the square mile.

Height of Land. The lowest land in town on which there is a dwelling-house, belongs to the Wilton Manufacturing Company, occupied by Abram Whittemore, Esq. The most elevated land, is owned and occupied by Mr. John Kimball.

Fires. The only dwelling-houses ever destroyed by fire in town,
were, Deacon John Flint's, burnt, April, 1810; and Benjamin Parker's, burnt, May, 1833. Two barns have been burnt: one set on fire by accident, in 1774, belonging to James Dascomb; the other belonging to a Mr. Wood, was struck by lightning and consumed in the evening, August 9, 1779.

Roads and Bridges. The expense of new roads made in Wilton, during the last fifteen years, independent of all the ordinary repairs of the highways, has been above $10,000.

The first bridge over the Souhegan was the one on the interval above French's mills, and was built in 1760, by Henry Parker. It was at first entirely of wood. Its stone abutments, the first in town, were built in the summer of 1793.

Prices. During the ten years following the Revolution, the average price of wheat was about one dollar and a half the bushel; rye, one dollar, and corn seventy-five cents. The usual wages of a hired man on a farm were from forty-five to fifty dollars a year. Eight dollars a month, or forty cents a day, were given to those employed only during the haying season.

Slaves. There were formerly four slaves in town, owned by Thomas Russell, Maj. Samuel Greele, Alexander Milliken, and Archelaus Batchelder. Two of the slaves were males; two females. The latter are still living.

Carriages. The first chaise was introduced into Wilton in 1770, and owned by Rev. Mr. Livermore. There was no other till after the Revolution. The first one-horse wagon made its appearance in 1812. The first sleighs were large double ones, holding ten or twelve persons. They supplanted sleds as a vehicle for carrying families to meeting. They were introduced as early as 1777, and were soon in common use.

Mills, Manufactory, Mechanics, etc. There are now eight saw-mills in operation; five grist-mills; three tanneries; two fulling mills; one bobbin factory; one cotton factory, burnt in 1839 and not yet rebuilt; one starch factory, owned and carried on by people of Wilton, but itself in the border of Mason; four blacksmiths; ten shoe-
makers, including journeymen; two cabinet makers; one hatter; three stores; two taverns.

**Pauperism.** The first pauper was a man by the name of Stratton, who received aid from the town before the Revolution. From this time till 1830 there were but seven families — and these but in part — who were supported by the town. Some other individuals, but very few in number, have occasionally received aid. In 1830, a farm for the poor was purchased, and has since been carried on by the town. The products of this farm have been nearly sufficient in most years to pay the wages of the overseer and family, and for the support of the poor.

**Temperance.** Before the Revolution, although ardent spirits were occasionally used by most of the inhabitants of the town, intemperance was almost unknown. During the war, the habits of camps gradually infected the country; and although the town was never an intemperate one, ardent spirits were in common use. As the orchards grew up, a large number of cider-mills were erected, and large quantities of cider were made to be consumed in the town. It became also an important and profitable article of export. But within the last fifteen years, nearly all of the cider-mills have been suffered to fall into decay, little cider is made, and very few of the inhabitants are in the habit of drinking ardent spirits. It speaks well for the moral sense of the people, that this great change has been brought about easily and naturally, from the change of views and feelings in individual minds, and with little aid from foreign influence. A reformation, of this unforced growth, wrought in the individual by the action of the individual mind and conscience, no one can doubt will be permanent. The Wilton Temperance Society was organized about five years ago, and now consists of between 300 and 400 members.

**Missionaries.** Lydia Brown went to the Sandwich Islands, in 1836. Amos Abbot and wife (her maiden name was Anstress Wilson,) sailed for Bombay in May, 1834, and are employed as school teachers.

**Graduates.** Abiel Abbot, D. D. 1787; Rev. Jacob Abbot, 1792; William Abbot, Esq. 1797; John Stevens Abbot, 1801; Solomon K. Livermore, Esq. 1802; Ebenezer Rockwood, Esq., 1802; Samuel
Ebenezer Rockwood, Jr., son of Dr. E. Rockwood, and one of the most gifted of the sons of Wilton, was graduated at Harvard University, A. D. 1802. While an undergraduate, he had a high reputation as a scholar and a young man of genius. He commenced the practice of law in Boston. Though unaided by that patronage, which arises from large acquaintance and powerful family connexions, his extraordinary talent for his profession soon brought him extensive business. He was considered among the ablest advocates of the Suffolk bar. His mind was deeply embued with christian principles, and he felt a strong interest in the religious institutions of the country. He died in the spring of A. D. 1815. His early death blighted many fond hopes, and occasioned deep and lasting regret in the hearts of a large circle of friends, who admired him for his genius, and loved him for his virtues.

Samuel Abbot, Esq. He died January 2, 1839, being burnt in a starch factory, carried on by him, in Jaffrey, N. H. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1808, studied law, and practised first
in Dunstable, N. H., and afterwards in Ipswich, Mass. He then gave up the practice of his profession and removed to Wilton. His investigations led him to believe that starch might be obtained in greater abundance and at a cheaper rate from potatoes than from any other substance, and in connection with his brother, Ezra Abbot, he entered into the business of manufacturing potato-starch, for which he invented the machinery. He was the first to open a branch of business which has since been carried on extensively in various parts of the country, and has given an additional value to the agricultural products of the districts where it is done. He was a man of a very philosophical and highly cultivated mind. There is scarcely a branch of science, of literature, or any department of morals or theology with which he was not apparently as familiar as if it had been the particular study of his life. He was always ready, with personal exertions and his purse, to help forward any good enterprise. His unambitious career was bright with a daily usefulness. His life bore witness that the finest minds may find as large a sphere of usefulness in the retirements of the country as among the crowd of a city. Few have been more beloved and respected when living, or more widely mourned when dead. A manuscript memoir of Mr. Abbot, by Rev. A. A. Livermore, may be found in the Wilton Ministerial Library.

**Family Records.** It was intended to give a brief account of the descendants of the first settlers. But we have been able to obtain no accounts of this kind with the exception of the following.

**John Burton** and wife moved from Middleton, Mass. to Wilton about 1760. He had three sons, the eldest, John, was the deacon of the church. Jonathan, the second son, was a very prominent and useful man in the town; was selectman sixteen years; was representative to the General Court in 1796, and justice of the peace. He was a soldier at Louisburg, and served several times in the revolutionary army, in which he held the rank of lieutenant, and some time after the Revolution, was appointed captain, and then major in the militia. The descendants of John Burton, the first settler, were quite numerous, and are to be found scattered abroad in at least eight different states of the Union.

**Thomas Russell** came to Wilton from Andover Mass. in June, 1770, with four small children. The whole number of his descend-
Asbury Morgan was born at New Salem, N. H. March 27, 1749, brought up in Pelham, commenced working on his farm, which was in a state of nature, in June, 1770; removed his family in 1772. The whole number of his descendants, 151; deaths, 45; now living in Wilton, 28.

Barachias Abbot removed from Andover September 6, 1786. Whole number of descendants, 55; now living, 40; living in Wilton, 10.


Major Abiel Abbot settled in Wilton in 1764. He was, during his life, one of the influential, active, and useful citizens of the town. He was ten times elected selectman, and filled various other offices of trust. Jeremiah Abbot, his brother, came the same year. And William Abbot, another brother, settled here in 1772. He was also, during the whole of his life, a prominent man in town affairs. The descendants of the three brothers are very numerous. Many remain in Wilton — many settled in Maine — and others are found scattered in almost every state of the Union.

Amusements. Wrestling was practised on all occasions of public meeting, raisings, &c. until about 1815, when the custom died away. Shooting matches, once common, were discontinued about the same time. Hunting matches, in which two captains choose sides, each side being composed of ten or twelve young men, and their object being to see which side shall bring in, on an appointed day, the largest amount of game, have been occasionally continued to the present day. These matches have usually taken place about election time, or in the autumn, and have been occasions of great interest and excitement to those engaged in them. Sleigh-rides are frequent in the winter. Formerly, when the ministers were married, immense parties composed of nearly all who could command a sleigh, went out in procession to meet the newly wedded pair. When Mr. Beede was married, such a party met him on his return, to welcome him and his bride to
her new home, at a tavern in Amherst, ten miles from Wilton. There have been no balls or dancing schools since 1829. Games at cards were never common. Public lectures, the formation of libraries and practical education generally, have changed the tastes and greatly improved the moral condition and usages of society.

Wild Animals. Deer were killed in the east part of the town as late as 1775. Bears and wolves were trapped and killed as late as 1787. Within the memory of persons now living, men have been treed by bears. This happened to Abiel Abbot, one of the first settlers, who being in the woods, unarmed, and pursued by one, was obliged to take to a tree. The bear sat and watched him, till wearied with the delay and annoyed by a small dog which Mr. A. had with him, he finally left him. In the winter, the wolves came down from the mountains for food, and it was no unusual thing for parties to go out in pursuit of them. Wild turkeys were shot as late as 1797. Two moose have been killed within the borders of the town,—one on the farm now owned by Ephraim Brown, and one near Mason, killed by a man of the name of Blood. Two extensive meadows were flowed by the Beaver; one on the farm owned by Oliver Whiting, and another on the farm of John Dale. Their dams are yet to be seen. Salmon were caught in the Souhegan about one hundred rods below its junction with Stony Brook, as late as 1773-4.

Most of these facts, as well as various other interesting memoranda for the Centennial Celebration have been kindly communicated by Harvey Spalding, Esq.

We have been favored with a letter from Dr. Abiel Abbot, now in the 75th year of his age, and the oldest man born in Wilton now living, giving an account of the early customs of the town. The picture he gives, is at the same time so minute and so vivid, that we publish it entire.

My Dear Sir,—As I have so good an opportunity to send to you, I will not neglect it; and it being Sunday evening, I will say a word about Sunday of olden times. On Saturday evening the work of the week was finished. My father, after washing, and putting on a skillet of water, would get his razor and soap, sit down by the fire and take off his beard; after which he would take his Bible, sometimes some other book. My mother after washing the potatoes, &c., and preparing for Sunday food, used to make hasty pudding for supper, which
was eaten in milk, or if that was wanting, with butter and molasses. The little children were put to bed; early in the evening, my father read a chapter in the Bible and offered a prayer, soon after which the younger part of the family and the hired help went to bed; indeed, the family every night went to their rest soon after supper, especially in the summer. Saturday night and Sunday and Sunday night, a perfect stillness, no play going on, no laughing. Those of us who were old enough, took the Testament, or learned the Catechism or a hymn; and read in the Testament or Primer to father or mother, in the morning. For breakfast, when we had milk sufficient, we had bread and milk; when this failed, bean and corn porridge was the substitute. Sometime after the Revolutionary War, for Sunday morning tea and toast were often used. As we lived at a distance from meeting, those who walked set out pretty soon after 9 o'clock, and those who rode on horseback were obliged to start soon after them; the roads and pole bridges were very bad, and the horses always carried double, and often a child in the mother's lap, and sometimes another on the pommel of the saddle before the father. All went to meeting, except some one to keep the house and take care of the children, who could not take care of themselves. The one that staid at home, was instructed when to put the pudding, pork and vegetables into the pot for supper after meeting. Those who went to meeting used to put into their pockets for dinner some short-cake, or doughnuts and cheese. We used to get home from meeting at 4 o'clock, often much later. Immediately, the women set the table, and the men took care of the horses, and in the winter, the other cattle, &c. In the short days, it would often be sundown before, or very soon after, we got home. The sled with oxen was often used for meeting when the snow was deep, or by those who did not keep a horse. After supper, the children and younger part of the family were called together and read in the Testament and Primer, and if there was time, said their Catechism (the Assembly's) and some short hymns and prayers. Soon after this, in the Summer, before my father read in the Bible and offered prayer, the cows were brought from the pasture and milked. No work was performed except what was deemed absolutely necessary; the dishes for breakfast and supper were left unwashed till Monday. Every person in the town able to go to meeting, went; if any were absent, it was noticed, and it was supposed that sickness was the reason. If any one was absent three or four Sundays, the tything man would make him a visit; this, however,
was a rare case. The Sabbath was not unpleasant to me; early habit, I suppose, rendered the restraint by no means irksome. I do not recollect feeling gloomy, or disposed to play, or wishing Sunday was gone or would not come.—I don't think of any thing more to say about Sunday, except that the meeting-house was well filled.

Now what more shall I say? A word about schools. These were poor enough. We used to read, spell, write and cipher, after a sort. Our teachers were not taught. The Primer, Dilworth's Spelling Book, and the Bible or Testament were the books. No arithmetic; the ciphering was from the master's manuscript. My father became sensible that the schools were useless, and in the winter of 1782 hired Mr. John Abbot, who was then a sophomore in college, to teach a month or five weeks in his vacation, and invited the district to send their children gratis. This gave a new complexion to the school in the South District; and for a number of years after, qualified teachers were employed about eight weeks in the winter, usually scholars from college. Soon after the improvement in the South District, some of the other districts followed in the same course. To this impulse, I think, we may impute the advance of Wilton before the neighboring towns in education, good morals and sound theology. I venerate my father and mother, more than for any thing else, for their anxiety and sacrifices to give their children the best education, literary and religious, in their power. And it gives me, as I have no doubt it did them, and must you and all the rest of their descendants, the highest satisfaction, that their desires were so well gratified and their labors successful. Their children, grand-children, and so on to the twentieth generation, will have reason to bless the memory of parents of such true worth.

Now for something else. For breakfast in olden times, were bread and milk, as soon as the cows were milked, for all the family. When milk failed, bean porridge with corn. About 9 o'clock there was a baiting or luncheon, of bread and cheese or fried pork and potatoes. For dinner a good Indian pudding, often in it blue-berries and suet; pork and beef, through the winter and spring; potatoes, turnips, cabbage, &c. At four or five o'clock, P. M., in the summer, some bread and cheese, or the like. For supper, bread and milk. When milk failed, milk-porridge, hasty-pudding and molasses, bread and molasses, bread and beer, &c. When there was company to entertain, chocolate for breakfast, no coffee. Pewter basins or porringers, and sometimes wooden bowls were used when spoons were required.
renchers or wooden plates were used at dinner; when a friend
had, pewter plates were used by father and mother and the friend.
You probably remember the pewter platters and plates usually stand-
ing on the shelves. None but pewter spoons. The cup for beer
was pewter. After which came the brown mug. If a neighbor
came in for any purpose, he was asked to drink beer or cider. When
women visited their neighbors, they went early in the afternoon,
harried their work, and returned home before sundown to take care
of milking the cows, &c. Their entertainment was commonly short-
cake baked by the fire, and tea, except in the early part of the Revo-
lutionary War. For the visit, they often put on a clean chequered apron
and handkerchief and short loose gown.

In the winter, several of the neighbors would meet for a social
evening, and would have a supper. There were no select par-
ties; all were neighbors in the Scripture sense. The maid and
boy in the family, the same as the children in all respects. I do
not recollect ever hearing a profane word in my father's family from
any of his hired men, nor at school at Wilton or Andover acade-
my. I do not think that profane language was used by any in
the town till after the Revolutionary War. Industry and economy
were the order of the times. I do not remember seeing my father
or mother angry; they were sometimes displeased no doubt. My
father in the winter used to go to Salem or Marblehead to market
with shook-hogshead staves, rye, pork, butter, &c., and procure salt,
molasses, tea, rum, &c., for the year, as there were no traders in the
new towns. Rum was not used except in haying and harvest, and on
particular occasions of hard service and exposure, such as washing
sheep, burning large pieces of wood, &c. Intoxication was very
rare; I do not remember more than one man being intoxicated.
Rum was commonly used at raising buildings; half a gill was a good
dram. After raising a building, if finished before night, the amuse-
ments were wrestling, goal, coits, &c. Goal was the favorite play
with boys the day after thanksgiving, and election days, which were all
the holidays, I remember. Good humor and cheerfulness always pre-
valied in our family, and it was generally so I believe. Enough for
the present.

Faithfully yours,

Ariel Abbot.

We venture to add to the interesting statements contained in the
foregoing letter, one fact within our knowledge, relating to a religious
custom of former times. It was the habit of the early inhabitants of
this town to have their children baptized in the church the Sunday after they were born, whatever the season of the year or the state of the weather; and accordingly, the writer of the above sketch was himself, before he was a week old, carried three miles, in the month of December, to be baptized in the meeting-house, in which there was no fire! What would our ancestors, could they revisit the earth, say of some of their descendants, who cannot be prevailed on to bring their offspring, even from the nearest distance, to the holy font, at any age, or in any season?

The following extract from a letter, just received from S. K. Livermore, Esq., we are happy to insert here.

Dear Sir,—That I may contribute, if it be as the poor widow's mite, to the benefits proposed by the Celebration, I will furnish one anecdote, illustrative of the energy of the early settlers in Wilton, and the hardships they endured, which may serve to reprove the effeminacy and self-indulgence of the present day.

One,* who was long since gathered to his fathers, told me that in a severe winter, when the highways were blocked with snow, he several times travelled on snow-shoes about seven miles, bought a bushel of corn and carried it on his back to mill and thence home.

It is well to perpetuate the knowledge of facts like this, that succeeding generations may more fully appreciate the virtues, and trials, and labors of those, by whose instrumentality they are in possession of their present advantages, and may guard against that degeneracy, by which, if not resisted, they will unavoidably be divested of them. It is earnestly to be desired that the scenes and events brought to view by the exercises of the late Celebration, may be indelibly impressed upon the minds of the present and future generations, and that they will thereby be stimulated to a course of conduct, which will manifest that they truly honor the memory of their ancestors.

The following are such stanzas as can be recovered from the poem, referred to in the Address, on the fall of the Meeting-house frame.

In Seventeen Hundred Seventy-Three,
September, seventh day,
In Wilton did Almighty God,
His anger there display.

* Mr. Amos Holt.
A very great collection met,
    The meeting-house to raise,
Wherein to speak God's holy word,
    Also to sing his praise.

God did their labor prosper and
    Erecting of the frame,
Until it was almost complete,
    And joyful they became.

They thought the worst was past and gone
    And they were bold and brave;
Poor souls, they did but little think,
    They were so near the grave!

All of a sudden broke a beam,
    And let down fifty-three;
Full twenty-seven feet they fell,
    A shocking sight to see!

Much timber with these men did fall,
    And edged tools likewise;
All in a heap together lay,
    With groans and bitter cries.

Some lay fast bleeding on the ground,
    All bathed in crimson gore,
Crying to Jesus, strong to save,
    His mercy to implore.

Some lay with broken shoulder bones,
    And some with broken arms,
Others lay senseless on the ground
    With divers other harms.

One in an instant then did pass
    Through death's dark shadowy way,
Who now is in the realms of wo,
    Or in eternal day.
Two more in a few minutes' space
Did bid this world adieu,
Who are forsaken of their God,
Or with his chosen few.

The rest is wanting.

We have endeavored to make the preceding notices of the history and condition of the town as brief as possible. If they should seem to any one too minute and extended, we would say that we have thought that many things of little interest now, because familiarly known, might be of much interest to those who shall follow us. The aged men are passing away; the traditions of the early times are fast fading into oblivion; we shall soon be in our graves, and the history of the first century of Wilton would, before long, be a blank to our children, unless the facts relating to it were gathered up from individual memories and scattered papers, in which alone they are to be found, and preserved in some more permanent form.
The Committee of Arrangements, in the performance of the duties assigned to them by the town, held several meetings in the course of the summer; — Jonathan Livermore in the Chair, and Timothy Parkhurst, Secretary. At these meetings the following sub-committees and officers were chosen.

Committee to collect materials for the history of Wilton, and to invite Rev. Ephraim Peabody to deliver the Address; — Jonathan Livermore, Timothy Parkhurst, Abel Fiske, and Abiel Abbot.

Committee to erect the Pavilion; — Josiah Parker, Caleb Putnam, and Joseph Gray, Jr.

Committee to provide the Dinner; — Joseph Newell, Abram Whittemore, and Elijah Stockwell.

Committee to prepare the Toasts; Timothy Abbot, Eliphalet Putnam, Zebediah Abbot, Abiel Abbot, Harvey Spalding, and Daniel Batchelder.

Committee to procure the Singing; — Timothy Parkhurst, Zebediah Abbot, L. B. Rockwood, Timothy Abbot, Samuel Spalding, James Hutchinson, 3d, and Joseph Wilson.
The morning of the Celebration dawned auspiciously, and was ushered in with the ringing of the bell and a salute of one hundred guns. The sun rose upon a cloudless sky. The day was calm and clear and mild. Everything conspired to render it one of the finest mornings of early autumn; and many were they who rose betimes and hailed it with joyous anticipations. Emigrants to other towns and to the distant cities and villages of other states, had come back to revisit once more the scenes of their youth, and to celebrate with friends and former associates this grand jubilee of their native town. And now the sons and daughters of Wilton, resident and emigrant, together with numerous guests from abroad,—leaving behind them for a while the cares of professional life, the din of machinery, the business of the farm, the workshop, or the counting-room,—might be seen thronging the roads that ascend from all quarters to the Common. As they approached, the first thing to catch all eyes was a fancy flag, in its semi-circular wreath of evergreen, hovering in the air midway between the two churches on the hill, and appearing to have no support till, on arriving near it, the cord which upheld it was seen stretched from belfry to belfry, and on the flag itself appeared the inscription,
1739' and '1839,' with other devices between them. The national banner had been raised high in the air, and its stripes and stars, borne on the now rising breeze, were floating gaily over the spacious pavilion, erected on the border of a pleasant field, a few rods east of the old meeting-house. Around the meeting-house stood handsome spruce trees, the growth of the night; while within, it was beautifully ornamented with verdant boughs and wreaths, and a large chandelier of evergreen. The Common was at an early hour alive with people, moving to and fro, or collecting in groups; and the fine appearance of the Miller Guards,—a company of volunteers, organized in the town a short time previous, under the command of Col. Samuel King,—with the cheering music of the Band attending them, gave increased animation to the scene. And throughout the multitudes there assembled, the cordial greetings of old acquaintances, the hearty shaking of hands, the glad voices and speaking countenances, all testified to the overflowing pleasure and good feeling which reigned on the occasion.

About ten o'clock a procession was formed at the Brick Hall, under the direction of Col. Jonathan Parkhurst, the Chief Marshal, and was escorted by the Miller Guards to the Old Meeting-house, which, though large, was soon filled to overflowing. The performances here were as follows:

Voluntary,—by the Band.


Anthem, "Great is the Lord," &c.,—sung by the Choir.

Selections from the Scriptures,—by Rev. Warren Burton.

The Nativity,—sung by the Choir.

Prayer,—by Rev. Abiel A. Livermore, of Keene.

Marcellus Hymn,—sung by the Choir.

Address,—by Rev. Ephraim Peabody, of New Bedford.

An Original Hymn, sung by the Choir and the assembly.

Prayer,—by Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston.

Grand Hallelujah Chorus,—sung by the Choir.


The Music was under the superintendence of Mr. Charles Abbot.
Father in Heaven, thy grace impart;
Let gratitude inspire each heart;
To thee our joyful songs we'll raise,
Thy goodness claims our highest praise.

We hail this consecrated day;
Accept the tribute here we pay;
Let this Centennial Jubilee
Wake in our hearts new praise to thee.

Let peace attend, a welcome guest,
May filial love inspire each breast;
Join, every voice, the song, the vow,
We're brethren all, our Father Thou.

Blest morn of Liberty, whose light
Effulgent broke the shades of night,
To dry the weary pilgrim's tear,
And bid him seek a dwelling here.

Sleep, "Pilgrim Fathers," and be blest;
We'll ne'er disturb your peaceful rest;
Long shall the grateful prayer ascend,
While o'er your sleeping dust we bend.

Inspired with hope, we'll walk the road
Of virtue, which our fathers trod;
Their praise shall every voice prolong,
And loudest anthems swell the song.

Almighty God! we own thy power,
Which on the Pilgrim Fathers smiled;
The forests fled, and bloomed the flower
Where all was sterile, drear, and wild.
These fertile hills our fathers found,
Their dwellings rose beneath thy care,
They early sought for hallowed ground,
And on it built a house of prayer.

One hundred years thy guiding hand
O' er us has held unerring sway,
Dependant beings, still we stand,
O, guide us on from day to day.

Our labors bless, our garners fill,
Our hearts enlighten by thy grace;
Our study be, to do thy will,
While in this transient dwelling-place

And as each passing year shall sweep
To their last rest, some friends we love,
As joy shall smile, and wo shall weep,
Prepare us for a home above.

At the close of the exercises in the Church, the procession, with an accession of ladies, out-numbering the gentlemen, moved to the Pavilion, where the divine blessing was invoked by Rev. William Richardson, of Wilton, and about five hundred persons partook of a dinner provided by Mr. Joseph Newell. Meanwhile the sky became overcast with clouds and a few drops of rain fell, which suggested the expediency of retiring to a more comfortable place. Accordingly, the company rose from the table, and thanks having been returned by Rev. A. D. Jones, of Brighton, they marched back to the Meeting-house, where the proceedings were as follows:—

Deacon Ezra Abbott, President of the Day, introduced the proceedings with the following remarks:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me pleasure to congratulate you on the favorable circumstances in which we are come together to celebrate this grand jubilee of our native town. The hundredth anniversary of the first settlement of Wilton, furnishes an occasion for mingling our common sympathies, and for indulging in joyful and grateful recollections. The early history of the town must be full of interest to us all. Here our fathers endured hardships and privations, and we, their
descendants, are now enjoying in peace the rich fruits of their labors. Favored by the smiles of Providence, they laid the foundation of those institutions under which the town has grown up to its present state of prosperity. I cannot but express the high gratification I feel in beholding all around me animated by feelings so much in harmony with the spirit of the occasion. And I trust that the memory of this day will long be cherished, and be ever attended with pleasing and profitable recollections.

At the request of the President, Mr. Eliphalet Putnam proceeded to announce the Toasts prepared for the occasion.

1st Toast. This Centennial gathering of the Wilton Family,— An occasion consecrated to grateful recollections, to cheering anticipations, and to social, fraternal, and Christian greetings. [Glee,— "Hail! Smiling Morn," — Sung by Mr. Charles Abbot and others.]

2d Toast. The Metropolis of New-England,— Knowing how to appreciate wisdom in council, she calls to her high places the wise and gifted of the land.

Deacon Samuel Greele, of Boston, rose and said,—

Mr. President,— I perceive by the significant nod of your head, that the sentiment just uttered has reference to myself. I furthermore understand that this nod has an official bearing, directing me to address this assembly of friends and fellow-townsmen. As I have always been in the habit of complying with that apostolic injunction, which requires us to "submit to the powers that be," I will not refuse obedience to the legitimate authorities of this day, although I had much rather be a hearer than a speaker on the present occasion.

We have been told by the orator of the day, that the first grist-mill, erected in this town, was built by a remote ancestor of mine; and that the ancient inhabitants conveyed their wheat and their corn to this mill, to be converted into flour and meal. I wish it were in the power of his humble descendant, in return for the flattering compliment paid him this day, to bring to this "feast of reason and flow of soul," as well ground, and as well bolted flour, as the good old Deacon Samuel Greele, of a former generation, gave to his customers of a by-gone century, the primitive Wiltonians of his day.

Mr. President,— this day, connected as it is, with many delightful reminiscences and associations, brings to my mind some tender, not to say sad recollections. Forty-one years ago, this day, a beloved
rent was summoned to another, and I trust, to a better world. The manner of his death,* equally sudden to himself, and unexpected by his family, is well known to the elder part of those now present. The delicate and kind ministrations of friends and neighbors, then made an impression on my youthful heart, which the finger of time can never efface. While most of those, who attended the funeral sequestes of my honored father, have, in their turn, been removed to the world of spirits, and relatives and friends have wept over their graves, it is my privilege and my happiness to behold among you, some, who at that time mingled their sympathies and their tears with those of the afflicted family. To them I would observe, that the affectionate interest, then expressed for me and mine, forms one of the links in that adamantine chain, which binds me to my native town.

I trust that these remarks, though somewhat egotistical and sombre in appearance, are not incompatible with the festivities of the occasion; for, if I have not greatly mistaken the purpose of this celebration, we have met to weave fresh garlands for the graves of the dead, as well as to express our fraternal regards for the living.

Many of the honored and lamented dead now come to my mind like warm, living realities. The two first pastors of this town, the strong minded and sincere Livermore; the meek, modest and affectionate Fiske; the generous, hospitable and exemplary Rockwood, one of the earliest physicians of this place, whose house was ever the resort of the enlightened and the good; these, and other venerable and venerated men, together with the virtuous and pious women of other times, now appear to my imagination, clothed anew in their earthy habiliments. The lessons which I received from their lips, are deeply engraven on the tablet of my memory.

My heart now prompts me to pay a passing tribute of love and respect, to the memory of one, more recently removed from you, but whose virtues are enshrined in all our bosoms. I refer to the beloved, the honored, the lamented Abbot.† His attachment to his native place, led him with others to propose and plan the Celebration in which we are now engaged. Many of the institutions of the religious society, in which he worshipped, and of the town in which he was born and in which he lived, are monuments of his warm-hearted at-

* He was instantly killed by the falling of a tree, when on his way to attend town-meeting, in the year 1798.
† Samuel Abbot, Esq. who died Jan. 1839.
tachment, as well as memorials of his enlightened zeal in the great cause of human improvement, and of Christian virtue. It was my privilege to be one of his instructors, when in early life, a member of Philips's Academy in Andover. I well recollect his untiring industry, his amiable and correct deportment, his unwavering allegiance to the dictates of duty and of conscience, which pointed him out as a pattern to the other members of that venerable seminary of learning. To adopt the expressive language of scripture, "he seems to have been sanctified even from his birth." It is fully known to you all, how well the fruits of his mature life corresponded with the buds and the blossoms of his early years. If the spirits of the "just in Heaven" take cognizance of human affairs, we trust, that his benignant spirit is now looking down on the festivities and solemnities of this day, with joyful approbation.

I have spoken of one of the reasons of my attachment to the town of Wilton. Another reason I doubtless share in common with my friends, who, like myself, have been led to seek their fortunes in other towns and cities. It was here, that we received our primary education. And let me ask, sir, what is so well adapted to develop the whole complex being of man, to give a healthy tone to the body and the mind, as attendance on the district school, with occasional labor in the field and on the farm. It is here, that the storehouse of the imagination becomes enriched with its most gorgeous imagery, and the boy is trained to those habits of industry, to that self-dependence and self-control so serviceable to the man in after life. Do you think, Mr. President, that the genius of the reverend gentleman, who has delighted us this day, by his eloquence and learning, could have taken such lofty and excursive flights, if it had been hemmed in, during early life, by the brick walls of a dusty city? I venture to assert, that he drank in the inspiration, which has welled up at this time in his own bosom, and which has made our hearts thrill with gladness and joy, from the pure fountains, which gush from your sunny hills, and which meander in purling streams through your deep valleys, and your green meadows. Do you think that another reverend gentleman, now in my eye, could have so well gratified and instructed his numerous readers, by pointing out, in a manner so peculiarly his own, the advantages and the defects of the district school, if he had not himself been an actor in some of those juvenile dramas, which he so beautifully describes?

Do you think, that the talented lady, who has given proof of the
Versatility of her genius, in the composition of the solemn hymn, just
sung with so much effect in your church, and of the merry song,
such (to speak in parliamentary language) now lies on your honor’s
able for future use, could have so charmed us by the sweet warblings
her gentle muse, if she had been fluttering and flaunting in early
in the rustling silks of the city, and promenading its Broadways
and its By-ways, instead of amusing her leisure hours, in culling the
wild flowers of the fields, and in listening to the music of the feath-
red songsters of the groves?

A knowledge of the elements of agriculture, which formed an im-
portant part of our early education, may be the means of future sup-
port, as well as an agreeable and healthy recreation to some of us,
who are now otherwise occupied. What a resource must it be to
the scholar, the merchant, the physician, the lawyer, and the clergy-
an, who have been reared on the farm,—what a resource, I repeat,
just it be to them to feel, amid the fluctuations of the times, the ca-
taces of popular favor, and the discouragements of professional life,
that, should fortune frown on their efforts for the support of themselves
and their families, they can return to their native soil, and draw nour-
ishment from that bountiful mother earth, which gave them birth.
ould this be the fortune of any of us, I now bespeak from my kind
ends, in his behalf, an interchange of agricultural labors, and other
friendly offices; and I venture to promise, on his part, earnest co-op-
ration, in building up the literary and religious institutions of the
own.

I respect the hard hand and the sinewy arm of honest labor, as
uch, sir, as I despise the hand of indolence, though it may be as
hite as the lily of the field, and as soft as the head with which it is
connected. This labor, when prompted by the pure and pervading
otive of supporting a loving wife, educating affectionate children,
d contributing to the social and religious institutions of the times,
es to the high dignity of a moral and Christian virtue.

It may likewise be said, without disparagement to other employ-
ents, that the labor of the husbandman is the basis of a nation’s
health; for without it, the merchants and the banks would all fail,
and the literary and professional men would all starve.

I love the country and its various pursuits. How often have I
nged, when visiting the ancestral mansion, where I first drew my
neath, to return to the paternal acres, to partake of the rural repast,
der the branches of the wide spreading elm; to drink water, fresh
and cool, from the " old oaken bucket," and to join in the merry song of " harvest home!"

A generation has passed, since I bade farewell to my residence in this town. I now behold those of my companions, who like myself, were then playful, beardless boys, now, with the staid and grave demeanor of manhood, filling the seats and occupying the stations of their fathers. The fathers, where are they? Alas! they have gone to their final account, and to their lasting home. But, thanks to Heaven! they have left us the imperishable inheritance of their virtues. May we bequeath to our children, and they in turn to theirs, as goodly a name, and as fair a fame, as our ancestors have bequeathed to us; so that our posterity, who may join in the second Centennial Celebration of this town, may have as good reason to hallow our memories, as we have had to hallow the memories of those, who have gone before us.

Permit me, Mr. President, once more to express my heartfelt attachment to the good old town of Wilton. I call her old, for it must be allowed, that, as she has attained her hundredth year, she is now well out of her teens, and well out of her minority. May she ever possess, as now, that regard for order, that love of learning and religion, and all those other virtues, which so well become her age, her character, and her station. She will thus be an example, worthy of imitation to her younger sisters of the Granite State, and throughout the land.

In conclusion, sir, I offer you a brief sentiment, which, I trust, will find a response in the heart of every one who hears me.

Our recollections of the beloved, the honored, the lamented Abbot.—The memory of the just and good will never perish.

3d Toast. The White Pine Trees, which his Majesty, in the town charter, reserved "for the use of his royal navy."—The people of Wilton know how to make a better use of them, by applying them—not for the destruction of life—but to promote its comforts.

Original Song, by Miss Sarah W. Livermore, sung to the tune of Yankee Doodle, by S. K. Livermore, Esq., of Milford.

This town was all a forest deep,
One hundred years ago, sir;
The vales were low, the hills were steep,
And rivers wander'd thro', sir.
A few brave men, a pilgrim band,
Sought this far-off location,—
They saw it was a goodly land,
And here they fix'd their station.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, here's the place,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
We like the right old-fashion'd ways,
They are so good and handy.

From time to time the settlers came,
And many a spot was built on;
At length the town must have a name,
And so they call'd it Wilton.
Now wake the harp, and tune the lyre,
To sing of ancient days, sir;
This rural theme the song inspire
To sound old Wilton's praise, sir.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, &c.

Those good old days our fathers saw,
Has fashion strangely alter'd;
From customs good, which then were law,
How many widely falter'd;
The aged now remember when,
All country folks must labor,
And all who lived around were then,
To all, a friend and neighbor.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, this was right,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
It help'd to make the labor light,
When neighbors were so handy.

In homespun were the people drest,
Of woollen, tow, or linen;
Their Sunday suits, which were the best,
Were neatly made by women.
And women then could wash and bake,
And also were good spinners;
The maids could ply the hoe and rake,
While matrons cook'd the dinners.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, &c.
No draught from China's sultry land,
At morning meals was seen, sir;
The black cow* gave a beverage bland,
Few drank tea, black or green, sir;
And coffee was not tasted then,
To make their cares seem lighter,
Altho', 'tis true, that most good men
Thought rum would make them brighter.

*Black Cow.—The milk of the black cow was a quaint name for bean-porridge.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, here we meet,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
With goodly cheer our friends to greet,
But not with rum and brandy.

Our fathers raised a house of prayer,
When few there were to build it,
And every Sabbath, foul or fair,
The people nobly fill'd it;
To meeting went, both young and old,
'Twas then but little trouble,
For none would keep a horse, we're told,
That could not carry double.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, &c.

So all on horseback then did ride,
Unless they went by sledding;†
And e'en the bridegroom and the bride
Rode double to the wedding;‡
And though the girls, we're told 'tis true,
Could not then dance cotillons,
We know that all the country through,
They used to ride on pillions.

Chorus—Yankee Doodle, all could dance,
Yankee Doodle dandy,
No master then was brought from France,
To make them skip more handy.

† Sledding.—Sleighs were not in use; people rode to meeting in winter on sleds.
‡ Wedding.—It was the custom for the bride to ride to the minister's behind the bridegroom to have the ceremony performed.
And now the times, we say, improve,
And learning is more plenty;
At railroad pace the people move,
And when they're five and twenty,
They've gone the rounds of learned lore—
Are fit for any station—
Then quickly pass, are seen no more,
And thus goes on the nation.

_Chorus_—Yankee Doodle, &c.

This season be a land-mark strong,
To guide us on our way, sir,
And as we pass through life along,
Let us not go astray, sir;
To good old days we'll bid adieu,
And so we'll travel on, sir;
We'll wish for all, good hearts and true,
And will wind up our song, sir.

_Chorus_—Yankee Doodle, let us sing,
Yankee Doodle dandy;
Old time is ever on the wing,
Improve it while it's handy.

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4th Toast. _The State of Maine._—The fostering mother of many sons of Wil- lon,—prosperity attend them in their adopted home.

_William Abbot, Esq. of Bangor, Me. responded;—_

I thank you, Mr. President, for the kind manner in which you have welcomed those natives of Wilton, who have come from the State of Maine, to unite in the greetings and pleasures of this interesting occasion. The welcome is received by me, and, I doubt not, by all who are embraced in it, in the same spirit with which it is given; and it adds another link to the chain which binds us to our beloved and native home. After long absence it is pleasant to revisit the scenes of our youth; and that pleasure is greatly enhanced by the cordial reception of our friends, from whom we have been so long separated. The delight we feel in renewing our acquaintance with these scenes, can scarcely be realized by those who have always remained on their native soil, and to whom these scenes have become familiar. The lofty mountains which surround this town, and the
streams which run through its valleys made, indeed, a strong im-
pression on my youthful mind; but it was not until after long absence,
that I fully felt the beauty and grandeur of its scenery. Now I per-
ceive something peculiarly interesting in the views presented from
the hills, whence we see cultivated farms, as they rise gradually from
the rivers flowing through the valleys, until they reach the tops of
the mountains, in the surrounding towns. The grand outlines re-
main faithful to my memory; while the hand of labor and taste have
filled up the picture with well-cultivated farms and convenient dwell-
ing houses; so that nature and art have combined to make Wilton
one of the most picturesque and beautiful towns in the State.

Agriculture is, and will probably forever continue to be, the prin-
cipal employment of the inhabitants of this town. No wise man
can desire to have it otherwise. There is no business better calcu-
lated to develope the physical, the moral and intellectual man than
agriculture; nor is there any which affords more pure and rational
satisfaction to the mind. There has, indeed, existed, and perhaps
there still exists, a foolish prejudice against those employments which
are carried on by manual labor, and particularly agriculture. This
has arisen from the idea which has prevailed, that education was not
necessary for a farmer. But this erroneous notion is wearing away,
and with it the prejudice against the business of a farmer. As the
community becomes more enlightened, man is regarded according to
the qualities of his heart and his intellectual cultivation, and not his
profession or employment. Let the farmer be thoroughly educated,
and let him be properly instructed in the art of agriculture, and pur-
sue his business with intelligence and industry, and the labor of the
husbandman will be no longer despised.

If any one profession or business is more respectable than another,
agriculture may lay claim to it. The first employment of man was
the cultivation of the ground; and this was conferred upon him by
God, who created him in his own image. Agriculture, therefore, can
never be justly considered as less respectable in itself than any other
calling. Adam was employed in tilling the ground, and Eve was
made a help-meet for him. Let not the fair daughters of Eve despise
their employments; but let them consider it high praise to be qualified
to perform their duty, in whatever situation they may happen to be
placed.

A century has elapsed since the first settlement of this town. What has been done by our fathers and by ourselves during this
period, now closed, is the property of the historian. No act, which
has been performed can now be altered, but must remain, for good
for evil, forever. But the future is within our control. May we
pursue the good and the true, in such manner, that when at the end
the present century, those who come after us shall unite in a
debate similar to the present, they may be justified in bestowing
on us, as high praise, as that which we now award to our an-
cestors.

Mr. President, I beg leave to offer, as an expression of my own
wishes, the following sentiment.

The Second Century of Wilton.—May it be filled with wise designs and
notious deeds.

5th Toast. The First Settlers of Wilton.— Honor and respect to the memory
of those who wandered in doubt where we walk in safety.

Rev. Abiel Abbot, D. D., offered the following remarks:

Mr. President, — I thank God that my life has been spared, and my
health is such as enables me to meet my friends here on this centennial
jubilee. I look around and ask, Where are the fathers? but nothing is
seen but their precious remembrance in their sons. They were men
whom I well remember, whom I have always held in high esteem and
veneration. Their devout and venerable appearance in this holy tem-
ple, where they religiously and constantly worshipped, is now fresh in
my memory. The impressions on my young mind of their piety and
righteousness, and of their friendly and heavenly deportment here, at
me and everywhere, were a rich blessing to me, and rendered the
memory of those venerable patriarchs most precious and lasting. I
here my sisters and their daughters, whom I hail and recognise as
sharing the resemblance of our venerated mothers, of whom I ever
think with the warmest affection and most respectful regard. They
were worthy companions and helps meet for our fathers. They were
partners in all their toils, hardships and privations. They were pa-
tient, contented, and cheerful; and by their efforts alleviated the bur-
dens of their husbands, and by their smiles encouraged them in their
hopes and trials. Their countenance and kind expressions are still
fresh in my mind, though years have elapsed, since they and their
loved companions went to their better home. They came to
houses not finished, not painted, not ceiled, as we see them now;
they had no parlor, no carpet, no curtains, no sofa; for some of these
every-day conveniences, they had no word in their vocabulary. But they were happy,—happiness is the property of mind. They took good care of the household. They wrought flax and wool; the card, the spinning wheel, and the loom, were the furniture of the house. All were clothed with domestic products; articles were also made for the market. They were healthy and strong; they and their daughters were not enfeebled by luxuries and delicacies, nor with working muslins or embroidery; tea and cake were rarely used; coffee was unknown. Their dress was plain, and adapted to the season and their business; one dress answered for the day and the week. Their living and dress produced no consumptions, as now. Our fathers and mothers were benevolent, hospitable and kind; the stranger was received, as in the most ancient time, with a hearty welcome. In their own neighborhood and town, they were all brothers and sisters. There was an admirable equality, a home-feeling and heart-feeling among all. Their visits were not formal, ceremonious and heartless, but frank, cheerful and cordial. Their sympathy for the sick, unfortunate and distressed, was expressed by their ready assistance and kindly affectioned help. When prosperous, all partook in the common joy; when sickness or calamity befell any, all were affected, the sorrow was mutual, and aid and relief, as far as possible, were afforded. They were, indeed, one family,—all members of one sympathizing body.

But what calls forth our warmest gratitude and most affectionate esteem, and is the crowning feature of their character and, in fact, comprehends their other virtues, is, they were godly women; they were religious women; they carefully observed religious institutions. The duties of the Sabbath, of family and public worship, and family instruction, were conscientiously and faithfully performed. Bad roads, unpleasant weather, want of comfortable conveyance, were hindrances to public worship easily overcome. If the snow had blocked up the road, our mothers fastened on the snow-shoe. The ox-sled was often used in winter to convey the family, especially our mothers and sisters, to the church. The Sabbath was devoted to the study of the Bible and other religious purposes. Blessed is the memory of our mothers for their early religious instruction of their children, and others committed to their care. After the service of the sanctuary, the children were called together; they read in the Primer or Testament, as they were able; they were taught to say their hymns, their prayers, and the catechism. Their prayers were repeated every night
going to bed. The mother began their instruction early; she literally brought them up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord. I reverence and thank my mother, for teaching me the catechism. Though it is hard to be understood, not fitting for babes, and in some parts erroneous, it was the best she knew,—and I thank her for teaching it, and my father for encouraging me to learn.

A deep reverence of God and sacred things was imprinted on my mind; and I have no doubt of my being a better man and better Christian for this instruction.

And much, Mr. President, very much of the prosperity, peace and high reputation of the inhabitants of this town is owing to the faithful instruction and exemplary character of our fathers and mothers. Our well-fenced and cultivated fields, your neat and well-furnished wellings, your domestic enjoyments, and the privileges of your children, are, in great measure, to be attributed to the love of truth and the practice of honesty, industry, integrity and piety, which were deeply impressed upon the minds of the young. Our fathers and others were careful to educate no domestic for the penitentiary, and their lasting honor be it said, that no one of their children has been imprisoned and punished for crime.

But, sir, the time is short, and I will proceed no farther,—only offering this sentiment:

*The Mothers of Wilton, our Sisters and their Daughters.* — May the next generation be worthy descendants of the past.

[The Fisherman's Glee sung.]


Rev. N. Whitman responded:—

Mr. President,—In rising to offer a sentiment, I beg leave to reface it by a word of explanation. This day, sir, is the anniversary of an event, which, forty-one years ago, filled this town with sudden and deep mourning. As Captain Samuel Greele was on his way to attend a town-meeting, a decayed tree by the road-side, struck by a powerful gust of wind, fell, and precipitated him from his horse to the ground, a corpse. By this providence, his family, and the whole community, were called to mourn the loss of one, who was highly respected and greatly beloved. Captain
Greele was a man of a public spirit. He adorned a Christian profession by a Christian practice. To the literary, moral, and religious welfare of his family he was ardently devoted. His eldest son, Samuel, had, at the time of his father's death, just become a member of Harvard College. Through the blessing of Heaven on the exertions and sacrifices of a mother of great energy and great worth, seconded by corresponding efforts on the part of her children, both Samuel and Augustus, the younger son, were enabled to complete a collegiate education. On the enterprise of these sons prosperity has smiled. And they have manifested a spirit and character worthy of their parentage. It adds greatly to our joy, sir, on this interesting occasion, that these sons have come, one from the metropolis of New-England, the other from the metropolis of the Empire State, to reciprocate with us fraternal sympathies and congratulations. By their permission I must crave to state a fact, which reflects honor on their character, but which their feelings might incline them to conceal from the notice, to which it is justly entitled. On the memorable spot, where Capt. Greele fell, there now stands a beautiful marble monument. It is a monument erected by filial piety to parental worth. But, sir, this is not a monument of "any private interpretation." While it reflects deserved honor on the Greele family, it also embodies the spirit of the Wilton family.

If, sir, as you have been pleased to say, "the clergy of Wilton have been ever active in the cause of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement," it is my joyful duty to say, that one principal cause of this has been, that they have been nobly sustained and encouraged in this course, by the exemplary devotion of the people to these high objects. On this characteristic trait of the people of Wilton it would give me pleasure to enlarge. But this office I yield to my immediate predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Jones, who will do the subject appropriate justice.

With these remarks, I offer, sir, the following sentiment.

*The Greele Monument.*— It eloquently proclaims the glory of Wilton,— the devotion of the parents to the best welfare of the children, and the gratitude of the children to venerated and beloved parents.


Mr. President,—I should be unworthy the honor of being even an adopted son of Wilton, did I refuse to respond to the call just
made upon me by the reverend gentleman who last addressed you, albeit, with a spirit quite too common in our profession, he has taken the liberty to put the laboring oar into another's hand, rather than by it himself, when it seemed so much more his duty than mine, and when, withal, he could have used it with much better success than can. However, I will bandy no more words with my brother, but "say my say," and make room for other sons of this ancient town — for ancient she must be considered, as she has to-day numbered her hundredth year — who have come up to this first and glorious Century Festival of their dear native town.

I rejoice, sir, to see this day, and to stand here in this goodly assemblage. It is a pious labor in which we are engaged. It is good thus to scrape away the dust of a hundred years from around the first stone our fathers planted here, to consecrate it anew with our prayers and joys and tears and hopes, and to twine about it fresh garlands of our love and veneration, for those who so nobly commenced the good work which their not degenerate sons have so successfully carried on. If they who have rested from their labors have any cognizance of human affairs — and for one I believe they have — surely they must look upon this scene with a high and holy satisfaction, and count the tears and toils and sacrifice, the story of which has been so eloquently told us to-day, a small price compared with the blessings. And when, sir, a hundred years hence, you and I and all of us here shall long have ceased from life, and other generations gather on this spot and search for this same old altar-stone, and consecrate our memories who forgot not the planters of it, may there be no cause for a shadow on our brow, as from our high estate — Heaven grant we reach it — we look down upon and bless them, our children's children's children, in their filial work.

Allusion has been made, by my brother, in answer to the sentiment which called him up, to the support which the clergy have ever received from the laity of Wilton. My own experience, Sir, goes to confirm his remark. It may be said of all places, that a judicious and successful ministry greatly depends on the character of the ministered unto, and that if \textit{they} be what they should, the ministry will be blessed. Eminently is the truth of this last assertion proved in \textit{this} place, as the concurrent testimony of those who have held the sacred office here will show. If I may be permitted to allude to the brief years which, as the religious teacher of the people who worship in this ancient house, I passed here — a period I must say on which I
reflect with as much pleasure as upon any other equal period of my life, and which owed its brevity to a dispensation of Providence, which robbed me of my health, and left me no alternative but to rest a dead weight upon the parish or to leave it — I say, if I may be permitted to refer to my own experience on this point, every hour of my ministry here afforded evidence of the readiness and ability with which every measure which I proposed for the improvement of our condition, was seconded and sustained by my people, who, better than any other I ever knew, understood and appreciated the sacred office. I rejoice to bear this public testimony to their great forbearance and faithfulness. Ever shall I have occasion to remember it while I live. The vision of that scene, which ordinarily met my eye, when I walked down this aisle at the close of the forenoon service, comes up as freshly before me as if it were yesterday. These venerable benches and the venerable men who occupied them — I see them all. I allude to the Sunday School, a blessing our fathers had not; and their sons are grateful for! Who were the teachers of that school? Yourself, sir, at the head, and others nearly as old as yourself — your compatriots in one of the humblest and yet the most glorious work that ever engaged the able head and warm heart of man. I see you still, in yonder pew, with a band of young men and maidens around you — and I see many of them here to-day, matrons and sires — hanging on your words of instruction with as much and deep interest as those words were spoken. What a relief was this to my wearied frame. What a helping of my infirmities. What a seconding of my own feeble efforts. Sir, you and I have cause for gratitude; for some of those young men and maidens are now among the most hopeful pillars and beauteous stones of this Christian temple. And not only you, sir, but many others who are this day here, and one,* alas! not here, whose memory has been so touchingly and properly alluded to this day, and of whom I dare not trust myself to speak. And indeed, sir, it would be far more difficult to say who were not, than who were the helpers of my joy, during my brief sojourn among you.

I trust I may be excused for so much that may seem personal and exclusive on such an occasion. But it is all "a family concern;" and I doubt if there be a true son of Wilton who does not rejoice to hear any other and every other son spoken of in free, frank, hearty, fraternal love.

And here are other "men of God" before us, who have minis-

*Samuel Abbot, Esq.
I doubt not their experience attests the truth of the sentiment I have endeavored to support, that the clergy of Wilton have owed their success as much to the co-operation of their parishioners as to their own zeal and talents and learning.

I wish, Mr. President, to say one word on another topic intimately connected with the clerical profession. Time was when the minister was approached with awe,—when he was regarded as the dictator to conscience, and the arbiter of all questions of faith; and whatever he said and did was acquiesced in because said and done by him. It is not so now; great changes have taken place,—and for the better? Ay, sir, for the better. If freedom of thought and the researches to which its cultivation has led, be better than a blind submission to fallible teaching, then it is for the better, and not for the worse. Behold some of the results; a more enlightened ministry, and a fuller investigation of truth on the part of the laity; Sabbath Schools, Bible Classes, and like institutions; increase of biblical knowledge, and a wider application of it to the interests of practical life. And is not this better? Not that we lack nothing. Far from it. The day is but growing into light; but is not even this, sir, better than the faint rays of the morning star? But the meridian shall come, and no human power shall hinder it, for freedom is as the path of the righteous growing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

And never could even the present measure of light have come, with the pulpit,—the chief engine in the great work of man's redemption, after the voice of Him whom we love and honor as our Saviour,—with the pulpit, I say, so hedged around with superstitious fear, that the people dared not examine for themselves. Let the pulpit be free; but let him who stands in it yield to the demand of the people for the reasons of what he utters. Let the humblest layman be encouraged to examine all he says—not indeed in a captious or fault-finding spirit, but yet with freedom. I would not depreciate my office. I deem it the most honorable ever yet conferred on man. It is enough that it is of divine ordination. But I would invest it with no false glory or sacredness. I know and feel that, if it be pure and free, and kept so by him who fills it, both it and he will command the respect and love of all good and thoughtful men.

The press, sir, in our land, is doing much for truth, but the living voice far more. I would rather every press in the land were broken, than that every living voice were hushed. In our courts of justice,
our halls of science and learning, our state and national councils, our
common schools, and last and greatest, our churches, in these, the
living voice teacheth; and with a power which vice and ignorance
and tyranny can never withstand. To all this the press is a helper;
and I respect and honor it as such. But I have placed the pulpit at
the head, because, from my soul, I believe that to it, more than to any
thing and all things beside, do we owe the civil and religious bless­
ings of this day. When the press was dumb, and no legislator
dreamed of stemming the tide of error which swept over Christendom,
bearing before it every vestige of liberty and truth—it was then, sir,
that the pulpit spoke, and in such tones that monarchs and tyrants
trembled, and the dead bones moved and came into life again, and
rose to freedom and to truth. And ever since hath it spoken, and
ever since hath its voice been heard, and pondered, and respected.
And ever, hereafter, so long as learning, and prudence, and inde­
pendence, and zeal, and a sincere, fervent piety shall clothe its min­
isters, will it speak and be heard; for it utters the voice of God, as it
spake through his Son, and still speaks through his faithful mes­sengers.

Before sitting down, Mr. President, I beg permission to offer the
following sentiment.

An enlightened and devoted Ministry and a co-operating People.—The sure
pledge of success, and the true idea of the Christian Church.

The following sentiments were furnished by Augustus Greele, Esq.,
of New-York.

The past and present Clergymen of Wilton.—Their influence,—that of the
early and latter rain. Good seed strown on good ground brings forth fruit, some
an hundred-fold, some sixty, and some thirty.

The Town of Wilton,—It has been one hundred years planting the seeds of
Industry, Morality, and Virtue,—may the coming century return her an abundant
harvest in the Intelligence, Prosperity, and Happiness of her inhabitants.

7th Toast. The Sons and Daughters of Wilton,—Be they comets or planets,
fixed stars or shooting stars, the centripetal force will sometimes bring them har­
oniously together; the cycle is one hundred years.

8th Toast. Lord Brougham.—"The Schoolmaster abroad," teaching Old
England the lessons of New England.
Mr. President, — In addition to the allusions which I have already made to particular persons and circumstances in my school experience, I would say a few words concerning my first schoolmaster. Here are many here who have most pleasant and grateful recollections of the same individual, and their hearts I doubt not will fully respond to the slight eulogium I may offer.

My earliest impressions about a "minister" were, that he was the most awful being in the world. Next to him the schoolmaster, judging from what I had heard, appeared to my imagination awful above others. With what profound dread was it then, that I took my way for the first time to the winter school; for the awful schoolmaster whom I was to meet was no other than the still more awful minister — that great, tall man, dressed in black, who preached and prayed in such solemn tones on the Sabbath. How my heart failed me and my little frame trembled as I entered the school-house door. But how different was my experience from what I anticipated. That awful man received me with so sweet a smile and spoke in such tender tones, and in all things treated me and all the rest so gently, that my feelings were at once changed to those of confidence and love. Never shall I forget the delightful impressions which this near intercourse made on my tender mind. Never after that did I see him in the pulpit with any other than feelings of respectful affection. He too fitted me for college, and through all my earlier life, my mind received good influences from him. His benignant

* See the "District School as it Was, — by one who went to it." By Rev. Warren Burton.

To the Committee of Arrangements: —

Gentlemen, — I comply only in part with your request for a sketch of my remarks at our late delightful celebration. The first portion of them excited much more alarm than any thing humorous in them really deserved, but they were of a character suited only to the circumstances and the effervescence of the occasion, and not to the permanence of print. The latter portion, likewise, I hardly deem worthy of record. But my reminiscences of an early and venerated friend, I think, may be agreeable in perusal to many of the audience, and the publication will perhaps be doing some slight justice to one who contributed not a little to the improvement of our native town.

Respectfully yours,

Warren Burton.
countenance and gladdening smile will be among the last images that will fade from my remembrance. This good man was the Rev. Thomas Beede. It is a name that will excite pleasurable recollections in many bosoms here. All such will award to him with me his just due in regard to the interests of education in this town. He did not go on exactly in the old ways in his capacity as a schoolmaster. He introduced new subjects of attention and excited an uncommon interest among his pupils. To him, also, as an examiner of the schools, they owed much. And your Lyceum, sir, which has continued to flourish to a degree beyond the fortune of similar institutions in most towns, may trace its origin and prosperity somewhat perhaps to the spirit generated by this excellent man. He established a Lyceum in this town many years ago, as early as 1815 or '16, I think. Lyceum was a name not in popular use then, and the society alluded to was not so called. It was denominated the "Wilton Literary and Moral Society," and its objects were similar to those of your present association under a different name. The members of this early Society consisted of young gentlemen and ladies, and there were a few mere boys like myself at the time, who had a literary taste, such as to admit them to companionship with their superiors. We met at first, once a week or fortnight, at Mr. Beede's house, and then in a parlor in the Buss House, as it used to be called. We should have been lost in the spaciousness of a hall. There our revered Pastor presided over us under the title of Instructer, if I rightly remember. We discussed literary and moral questions orally or by writing. Indeed, subjects were given out at each meeting to be written upon against the next, and read before the Society and then put into the hands of the Instructer to be corrected. These were to me, and I doubt not to the rest, delightful meetings. Impulses were there given which in the chain of causes must, I think, have been of valuable consequence. I rejoice that I have this opportunity of reviving the recollections of some and informing the minds of others concerning this first Lyceum of our town — the

Wilton Literary and Moral Society. — Pleasantly remembered is it on its own account — and gratefully as well as pleasantly on account of him who established and presided over it.

[Song,— The Schoolmaster.]

10th Toast. Our good Mother Massachusetts,— Who christened us by the name of Salem-Canada. Though changed our name, our relation to her is not forgotten. Loved and honored be the native home of our fathers.
Mr. President,—I shall not trespass upon your patience by attempting to make a long speech, but the sentiment just offered contains an allusion which induces me to ask a moment's attention to a document referred to by the orator of the day, and now in my possession, which seems of sufficient importance to deserve a few words of explanation at the present time. It is, sir, probably the oldest document extant relating to this town, and it makes us acquainted with one of the earliest of that series of measures, by which these pleasant hills and valleys have been reclaimed from the wild beasts and savages of the wilderness, and transformed into the habitation of industry, intelligence, and virtue. The copy of it which I hold in my hand, I took, through the courtesy of the Secretary of State, from the Records of the General Court of Massachusetts, at Boston, on Monday last. It is dated June 19, 1735, and is a vote on "A Petition of Samuel King and others, who were in the expedition to Canada in the year 1690, and the descendants of such of

_Salem Canada._

A Petition of Samuel King and others, who were in the expedition to Canada the year 1690, and the descendants of such of them as are dead, praying for a grant of Land for a Township, in consideration of their or their ancestors' sufferings in the said Expedition.

In the House of Representatives: Read and Voted that the prayer of the petition be Granted And that Mr. Samuel Chandler and Mr. John Hobson together with such as shall be joined by the Honble Board, be a Committee at the charge of the Government to lay out a Township of the Contents of Six miles square and west of the Narragansett Town called number three, and that they return a Plat thereof to this Court within twelve months for Confirmation; and for the more effectual bringing forward the settlement of the said new town, ordered the Said Town be laid out into Sixty three equal Shares, one of which to be for the first settled minister, One for the ministry, and one for the school; and that on each of the other Sixty shares the Petitioners do within three years from the Confirmation of the Plan have settled one Good family, who shall have a house built on his Home Lott, of eighteen feet square and seven feet stud at the least, and finished; that each Right or Grant have six acres of land brought to and brought to English Grass and fitted for mowing. That they settle a learned orthodox Minister and build and finish a Convenient meeting house for the public worship of God; provided that in Case any of the Lotts or Rights are not duly settled in all Regards as aforesaid, then such Lott with the Rights thereof to Revert to and be at the Disposition of the Province.

In Council Read and Concurred, and Samuel Wells, Esq., is joined in the affair.
them as are dead, praying for a Grant of Land for a Township, in
consideration of their and their ancestors' sufferings in the said Ex-
pedition."

It will be recollected that Massachusetts, at the time of the date
of this petition, included within her territorial limits the present State of
New Hampshire, and, both on that account and because most of the
original settlers of this town were natives of that State, she may with
great propriety be called, as she is in the sentiment to which I am
permitted to respond, "Our good Mother." With what judgment
and fidelity she discharged the duties of the maternal relation this doc­
ument bears honorable witness. In accordance with the prayer of the
petitioners, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered a committee
to be appointed to lay out a town six miles square, under the name of
"Salem-Canada," and to divide it into sixty-three shares, reserving
"one share for the first settled minister, one for the ministry, and
one for the school." The grantees are required "to settle a learned
orthodox minister, and build and finish a convenient meeting-house
for the public worship of God." Compare this ample provision for edu­
cation and religious instruction with what was deemed an adequate
provision for the physical comfort of the first settlers; a house smaller
than many single apartments in the dwellings of the present inhabit­
ants, viz. "eighteen feet square and seven feet stud," which each peti­
tioner was required to build within three years after the confirmation
of the plan returned by the Committee to the General Court. Who can fail
to perceive how justly "our good Mother" appreciated the superior
claims of the mind and heart above those of the body, and with what
foresight and wisdom she sought the true and lasting welfare of her
children? What monarch or state can contest with her the glory
of setting the first example of making legal provision for the educa­
tion and religious instruction of the hardy pioneers, who go forth to
subdue the wilderness and extend the domains of civilization? And
how much to her wise policy in this respect is New England indebted
for the intelligence and virtue that distinguish its inhabitants!

This document is interesting in another point of view. It con­
nects the first settlement of this town with one of the most remarka­
ble events recorded in the early history of New England, the expedi­
tion under the command of Sir William Phips, undertaken in 1690,
by the Province of Massachusetts. Its object was the conquest of
Canada, as a means of securing the Colonies against the frequent in­
cursions of the Indians at the instigation of their French allies. In
that expedition many of the petitioners were personally engaged. They who recollect the disasters that attended the ill-fated enterprise, disasters of war, disasters by fire, by tempest and by plague, and also the courage and fortitude with which they were endured, will not be slow to acknowledge, that to have voluntarily braved its dangers and sufferings argues in the petitioners no small share of that courage and energy, which fit men to encounter the hardships incident to the condition of the early settlers of the wilderness, and which they have transmitted to not a few of their descendants. The impoverishment of the Treasury of Massachusetts, after the utter failure of the expedition, led to the issue of bills of credit to pay the soldiers and to defray the other expenses that had been incurred. The depreciation of these bills, which soon took place, gave to the soldiers who had received them, an equitable claim for further remuneration. Accordingly, in repeated instances, grants of land were made by the Legislature of Massachusetts, under the general name of “Canada,” with the name of the town prefixed to which the grantees belonged. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the signers of the petition, to whom the northern part of Wilton and a part of the present town of Lyndeborough were granted under the name of “Salem-Canada,” were inhabitants of Salem and its vicinity. I beg leave to offer in conclusion this sentiment:—

The People of Wilton,—May they ever emulate the courage, energy, and patriotism of the men, who were rewarded with the grant of Salem-Canada for their sufferings in the cause of their country.

11th Toast. The Orator of the day,—Though long gone from among us, he has this day shown himself a true son of Wilton, and well acquainted with its history.

Rev. E. Peabody responded;

Mr. President,—I believe that it is deemed proper that a toast should be responded to. After having, however, I fear, more than wearied out the most generous patience, I shall not venture this afternoon to lay an additional tax upon it. I would only say with reference to the sentiment with which I have been honored, that it requires but little of filial virtue in the sons of Wilton, however far distant or long absent they may be, to remember their native place. For what have they, or rather what have they not, to remember. Here are the hills and streams on which their eyes first opened; here were the schools and religious institutions and the examples of wise and good
men to whose influence in early youth they owe all that they now have, which they most prize and cherish; here were their early companions, now widely scattered or no longer among the living; here were the friends of their parents, and here too perhaps are their parents' graves. If the spot consecrated by the affections is home, then here, however far they may have wandered, must their home continue to be. When we revisit these scenes, we still claim the privilege of saying that we return home. And when we number our own blessings, we count among the greatest of them, the fact that here we had our birth, and, however unworthy our after lives may have proved, that amidst the good influences and institutions of this place we received our first direction in the path of life.

Permit me, Mr. President, to give a sentiment in which every emigrant son of Wilton will, I know, join me.

Wilton, our birth-place,—The home of early years and ever the home of grateful memories.

12th Toast. The Emigrants of Wilton—dispersed far and wide—though not all this day with us, yet they are of us; our good wishes attend the absent, and to the present we give our "welcome home."

[Song.—The Boatman's Welcome Home.]

Remarks of Rev. A. A. Livermore, of Keene.

Mr. President,—It is pleasant to be so cordially welcomed home; yet there is one painful feeling which the emigrant, as well as the resident, finds it difficult to suppress. A name* has more than once been mentioned, which touches a cord in every heart. And though remarks have already been made upon him, who is thus brought freshly and sadly to mind, I may be permitted to dwell upon the subject a little longer. Indeed, there would be something wanting to the solemnities of this day, if he who looked forward to it with so much interest, and was so deeply engaged in preparing for its observance, should be passed by in silence, or with only a hasty notice. And yet I feel that his character cannot be set forth truly in any words I can speak, but that it has long ago been written in the fleshly tables of your hearts, and engraved in durable lines upon your memories and sympathies. For he was known and read of all men, and he is canonized in the affections of his friends and fellow-townsmen. He just lived to complete the first century of this town, and then by a

* Samuel Abbot, Esq.
udden and dreadful death was removed hence. As we commemo-
rate the past, and enter upon a new epoch, it is good for us to medi­
rate upon his life, for the lessons it teaches are suggestive and beau­
ful.

He was a good representative and embodiment of Wilton charac­
ter. In enumerating the elements of his mind, you would find the
traits for which this people have been most distinguished. More
than any other son of the place that has deceased, he might probably
be taken as the fruit and expression of the last century's doings and
nings in this humble town. Ingenuity, integrity, thoroughness,
ublic spirit, simplicity, liberality and piety were blended together in
im, and for these traits the people have been notable. But in him there
was no predominance of one over another, so as to mar the propor­
tion, but all were harmoniously combined; so that you could not
ay, here is too much, and there too little, but that all is good and
air. In his manners he was simple and unassuming; never obtruding
himself, but rather shunning notice; gentle and attentive to all. In
conversation, rich and original, bringing into play the strength of a
efined intellect, the varied stores of science, literature and religion,
and, with a keen zest for truth, a deep vein of humor. In mind, acute,
logical, thorough and intensely active. In business, prudent, ener­
getic, economical, just, and of a wise forecast. In knowledge, ac­
curate, varied, and profound. As an inventor, remarkable for his
power of reducing abstract principles in science to an easy, practical
application. As a citizen, public spirited, and ready to sacrifice pro­
perty and popularity for the good of society; foremost in every use­
ful enterprise, a friend of education, lyceums and libraries, watching
with a deep attention over the young, and taking the liveliest interest
in their intellectual and spiritual culture. As a Christian, firm and
decided in his own belief, but charitable in his opinions towards
others, fruitful in good works, unblemished in life, an observer of the
ordinances, and a strong upholder of the institutions of the gospel.
Tenderly attached to his friends, social in his feelings, he was the
joy and enlivener of the domestic circle. But why need I describe
what many feel and know. He has gone, and for him to die was
gain. But the tears of a whole town bore witness how much he was
loved and respected, how deeply mourned. All felt that the com­
munity was bereft of one of its noblest men. Yet all has not per­
ished with him. Though dead, he yet speaketh. His virtues will
inspire many hearts, and kindle, as with electric touch, the souls of
his fellow-men. He lived not to himself, nor has he died to himself. Peace be to his bright and holy memory!

But, sir, it is well to ask here, whence and how came he and such as he? What has made Wilton what it is, New England what it is? Was it a chance culture, an accidental education, that developed the minds and characters of the last century, and changed one unbroken wilderness into a highly civilized land, and reared the noblest institutions of the world? No. There was a cause. And we ought to learn it, and ponder upon it. I say there is a cause for the virtue, and activity, and happiness of our people. And that cause, I hesitate not to say, lies here. The people of this community have, with few exceptions, been trained up in happy, virtuous, holy homes. We sat, in infancy and youth, in heavenly places, and rich influences brooded over our pliant spirits as dew upon the tender plant.

True, here in New England, and especially here in Wilton, Nature has lavished her fairest scenes, and breathed from the Most High the breath of life into our souls. Yes, blessed be these hills and valleys for the choice, sweet influences they have shed upon the young communities, springing up here. Blessed be these granite mountains, that stand like vast citadels of safety around the blue ring of the horizon, and, gilded by the glories of the setting sun, carry up the thoughts to sublimity and God. Blessed be the fair skies which bend over us here with all their sparkling hosts of light and glory. Blessed be the pure breezes which sing from the northwestern hills, and bear health and exhilaration on their wings. But thrice blessed be our homes. Our homes, where love and happiness wove a charm and a spell for our hearts, never, never to be unloosed. There "heaven lay about us in our infancy." The blue sky was more dear to us, because it arched proudly over the cherished roof of home. The sun and wind and rain and snow were loved because they brought their treasures and laid them at the feet of our sanctuary. The forests and vales and roaring brooks have been sweet in association from this great central attraction.

And what made our homes in this great wilderness so happy and genial — so fitted to tempt forth both heart and mind, and develop the elastic energies of a free people? I will name, sir, two things, not because they are the only two, but because they are the most important — Woman and Religion.

Much has been said of the part woman played, or rather worked, in the grand drama of these settlements. But the theme is an inex-
What would have been the Pilgrim Fathers without the Pilgrim Mothers? Shaggy barbarians of the woods. But woman came to cheer and refine the rude settlers. She bravely dared the terrors of the wilderness to plant the pleasant amenities of social life in the log cabin. She forded rivers and penetrated forests to come nearer. She came to dwell under the shades of the vast and savage woods. Her employments were humble, but her aims lofty. "She took well to the ways of her household, and ate not the bread of idleness." Through long days and sleepless nights, she watched over her tender children. And when distant labors, or still worse, the trumpet of war, summoned her husband away from her side, she readily plied her lonely tasks, watching his return, or learned, dreadful news, that he would return no more forever. We have often heard of the horrors of the wars of that period, and got by heart the story of the labors, dangers and sufferings of our forefathers. It would be unjust to forget that those who staid at home often endured far more than those who braved the flaming lines of battle—more in heart-sickness, hope deferred, hope destroyed, and all the nameless, haunting terrors of the deep woods, where the wild beast and wilder Indian were their only neighbors for miles and miles. But why need I say more? The subject has already been anticipated. I will only say, let us never forget what heroic, much-suffering woman has done for the happy homes of New-England.

But, sir, there was another agent that helped to make us what we are as a people, that consecrated our homes as holy places, and moved our fathers' and mothers' hearts to do and dare nobly. It was religion. They brought with them the word of God as the ark of their safety, the shechinah of the Divine presence and favor. Morning and evening they offered praise to heaven from their forest dwellings. The house of God gathered them, from near and far, weekly to pay their adorations to the Great Guardian of their exposed lives, and hallow their minds with the influences of the Sabbath and the sanctuary. Every thing around and within them tended to keep alive their sense of dependence on God, and their value of the gospel of Jesus. Endangered, tempted, weary, suffering, alone, they looked to the source of comfort and strength, and found rest and courage and patience unto the end. With them religion was first, religion midst. Other lands may boast richer soils, other climates may be more bland, other mountains may yield more precious minerals, other skies may shine with softer hues, but where
shall we look for homes as pure and religious, as free and happy as in our dear New England? These have been the glory of the past century; they are the hope of the new one. Woman and religion have made them what they have been; they alone can make them what they ought to be. Guard well our homes from evil, and our nation is girded round about with a munition of rocks, and a wall of fire. Permit me to offer this sentiment.

The Homes of Wilton,—Endeared by woman, sanctified by religion; fountains of living waters, which made the wilderness and solitary place glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Remarks of Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston.

Mr. President,—I feel grateful for the kind word from the chair inviting me to address the meeting; but at so late an hour when many of our friends must be thinking of their homes, and after every topic appropriate to the occasion seems to have been touched upon by one or another of those who have already spoken, it ought, no doubt, to occur to me, and indeed it does, that the best thing I could do would be to offer a brief sentiment expressive of my hearty good wishes, and then sit down.

Nevertheless, I will venture to avail myself, for a few moments, of the opportunity afforded me; and the more readily, because I think our revered mother, whose hundredth year we are celebrating, deserves a little more commendation than she has yet received, and because, being but an adopted son, I may feel at liberty to say some things respecting her good qualities which one of her own offspring might, from a delicate sense of propriety, be reluctant to utter.

My first words, Mr. President, must declare, as fitly they should, the grateful feelings I cherish towards the inhabitants of Wilton,—from no one of whom did I ever, during the whole period of my residence here, receive any other than tokens of good will, and to not a few of whom I am indebted for acts of great kindness. And in this connexion, let me, as my heart prompts, make respectful and affectionate mention of him who ministered at this altar, both when I came, a little child, to the town, and when, in early manhood, I left it — of him who, on the spot where I now stand, poured upon my head the sacred waters of baptism, from whose hands I received for the first time the elements of the holy communion, and to whom as pastor, instructor and friend, I was for many years under obligations that cannot be cancelled. When my brother, who preceded me, pro-
enced the name of Beede, and spoke of the services he rendered to
children and youth of his flock in the early period of his minis-
ty, very many, I am sure, were the hearts in this assembly,
which, with mine, responded most feelingly and gratefully, and sent
the prayer that his last days might be his happiest.

And now, sir, while my thoughts are recurring to the advantages
enjoyed here when I was a boy, let me dwell a little on two of the
many institutions, highly creditable to this town. Lyceums, as all
now, are the boast of recent times, far and wide. Thanks to my
father before alluded to, for noticing as he did the one that existed
here, though under another name, a quarter of a century ago. Well
I remember all the initiatory steps that led to its formation, and it
was my privilege to be present at its first meeting. It is very pleasant
to me to see so many to-day, who were among its earliest members,
and who can testify to the satisfaction and improvement derived from
exercises. For one, I shall ever be thankful for the benefit I re-
ceived from it; and I rejoice to know that its salutary influences
have not ceased to be felt by others. Nor is it less gratifying to
learn that the Lyceum, as re-organized in 1830, proved interest-
ning and useful as well to the older as to the younger classes of this
community, and that, as now conducted, it is an instrument of great
good. Sunday schools too, as every one is aware, have for many years
been regarded with high favor in all parts of our country. You, sir,
need not be told, though others may, that one was in successful opera-
tion in this town so long ago as 1816. I now see before me one of
the two ladies* who had the principal agency in establishing it.
There, in the United States, was there a Sunday School at an earlier
time — one, I mean, designed for the children of the parish indis-
nominately, and having for its main object their moral and religious
culture? If any would know how well it was conducted at that
period, let me refer him to the orator of the day, for he was a
pupil. And as regards the school at the present time, it delights
me to hear that it is in a flourishing condition, having on its list,
notwithstanding the formation of two others in the town, the names
of no less than one hundred and thirty pupils and teachers, and pos-
sessing a remarkably well selected library of four hundred volumes.
May the Sunday Schools never cease to be objects of deep interest
to this whole people.

* Miss Sarah W. Livermore and Miss Phebe Abbot.
It would give me pleasure, sir, to say something of other means of intellectual, moral and religious culture, enjoyed here, as for instance, the three Churches, the ten Public Schools, the Temperance Society, the Sunday noon Reading Room, the Ministerial, Parish and Juvenile Libraries; but I pass them all by for the sake of having a moment’s time to suggest the inquiry,—deserving attention especially from the young, upon whom the future character of the town will so much depend,—whether it is not owing to considerations of the kind just noticed, far more than to any and every other cause, that we find the occasion on which we have now met, one of such high, unmingled satisfaction? Or to give the question a general bearing,—what, in the view of reason and common sense, to say nothing of Christianity, is the best ground of one’s pride and joy, as he thinks of the place where he was born or bred? Is it that the landscape around is more beautiful to look upon, or the air is purer and more invigorating, or its soil is more fertile, or its hills and valleys are covered with more numerous flocks, or its water-falls move a greater amount of machinery, or its houses rise in larger numbers and more showy magnificence, or its inhabitants multiply faster and grow rich more rapidly, than can be the boast of other places? Oh! no, sir. These, and like considerations, though, when connected with others of a higher order, they help to strengthen the regard one feels for his native town, yet do not, in any proportionate degree, excite and nourish his love and respect for it, as do its intelligence, its morality, its piety—as do those traits of character in its inhabitants which ennoble and adorn our nature. No, sir. Physical advantages, of whatever sort, are not to be compared with those of an intellectual, moral and religious kind; and therefore one’s feeling of attachment to his old home is most elevated and best founded only when the mind that is there is free and active, and knowledge abounds; when the heart that is there is pure and alive, and noble sentiments prevail; when public opinion is on the side of truth and virtue and piety, and the affairs of the town are conducted in uprightness and for the common good, and the influences of a useful education are to be traced throughout society, and the people are liberal in support of the schools, and the temples of God are the resorts of devout multitudes who in rational and fervent homage acknowledge their dependence and obligations.

Whenever such, sir, is the condition of a town, who, whether he be emigrant or resident, does not and ought not to feel very deeply,
specially at a time like this, the greatness of the privilege of having
had his birth-place and training there? Who must not be elevated
with sentiments of self-respect, of gratitude, of joy, as he dwells on
the blessing of such an allotment?

Now, Mr. President, will you allow me the liberty to say, that such
in most respects, is the town in which we have met on the present
occasion. Let not the passing stranger smile as if any thing said in
raise of Wilton; hilly, rocky Wilton; containing but forty five inhab-
tants to the square mile; without stage-coach or post office, even
recently as when most of us were entering upon mature life; having
ow but one doctor and no lawyer; and, what some may deem a still
greater deficiency, not a drop of rum to be bought at its centre; —
et not the stranger smile, I say, as if any thing said in praise of such
town, must needs partake of exaggeration. Sir, let me tell him,
that, on these steep hills, in these narrow valleys, by the side of these
rocks, there grow up noble men and noble women. And for his
better satisfaction, let him be assured that I do not speak ignorantly
on this subject. Though not a native of the place, yet I was very
young when my parents brought me to it; for ten years I lived here
constantly; during the next ten years I felt that my home was in this
town more than in any other; and ever since, I have been kept ac-
quainted with the habits of the people almost as much as if I had
continued to reside in it. Besides, — pardon, sir, this egotism, for it
is indulged in with good intent, — my opportunities for comparing
this with other communities have not been very limited. It has fallen
to my lot to sojourn, more or less, in most sections of New-England;
and recently, this very season, I have made a journey four thousand
miles south and west, have travelled in fifteen of these United States,
have visited forty cities and I know not how many towns; — and
now, after all I have seen, I am free to declare, that, in my opinion,
it would be difficult to find within the borders of the land, another
spot of territory, possessing no greater natural advantages, that sur-
passes — I might, perhaps, say, equals — this, as regards those quali-
ties of character in the inhabitants, which truly deserve the respectful
consideration of the wise and good. — Of course, no one will under-
stand me as speaking thus of all the dwellers here, indiscriminately.
In this town, as in others, — sorry am I to say it, — there are indi-
viduals, who, if noticed at all, must be spoken of in terms of reproach.
Nevertheless, in what other community, I confidently ask, are excep-
tions of this sort less frequently to be met with? Where are fewer
persons to be found voluntarily ignorant or wilfully idle or studiously perverse? Where are the burdens growing out of pauperism and crime lighter to be borne than here? What people, as a whole, more industrious and independent, or more sober-minded, orderly, peaceful and exemplary? What people more generally intelligent, moral and religious? In what town do a greater proportion of the inhabitants devote their leisure to useful reading and elevated thought? Where are schools better supported, or churches better attended? Where are the prevailing customs of the people less exceptionable, or their recreations and amusements more in accordance with reason and good sense? And as touching the great cause of Temperance, where, except here, and perhaps a very few other places, could a centennial celebration, like this, be gotten through with without the aid of strong drink? * Moreover, sir, what town in the Union, of equal population, ever, in the same number of years, sent so few of her sons to prison, or so many to college? In a word, what soil of like means and facilities for the cultivation of human minds and hearts, is trodden by men and women of better character, or covers the remains of more virtuous dead?

God knows, Mr. President, my purpose in saying these things has not been to please the inhabitants of Wilton; had such been my object, I should have chosen another method of effecting it, — aware as I must have been that their characteristic sense of modesty would be offended rather than gratified by bald commendation, offered in their presence. But I wished,— and in the motive is my apology,— I wished, by pointing out some of the intellectual, moral, and religious habits and privileges of the town, and thus fixing attention, for a moment, on the true causes of the gratitude and joy we all so deeply feel to-day, to remind this community, particularly the youthful portions of it, of their high responsibleness and many obligations; — the youthful portions of it, I repeat, for to them I meant chiefly to speak; — yes, to you, young men and young women of Wilton — to you, upon whom it will depend, in so great a degree, whether or not, this, your native town, so honorably distinguished in the past, and so richly furnished now, shall go forward, henceforth, through another century of years, improved and improving, in what deserves and gains the respect and love of the wise and good among men, and what God, from his holy heavens, looks down upon with the smiles of his approbation.

* No ardent spirits, nor even wine, were used on the occasion.
Mr. President, I beg pardon for having occupied so much time, at this late hour, and close with offering the following sentiment:—

The good people of Wilton,—Ever may the highest objects of their ambition be the worthiest distinctions alike of individuals and communities, to wit, INTELLIGENCE, PIETY, and VIRTUE.

In making up the foregoing account of the proceedings, we accidentally omitted to insert one of the regular toasts, viz.:—

"The Miller Guards,—if called to the field of their country, may their motto be, 'I'll try, sir.'"

As regards the various performances of the singing choir, the effect of which was so delightful, we, of course, could only name them in the order in which they occurred.

At intervals, during the day, the audience was very agreeably entertained with instrumental music, by a band composed chiefly of members belonging to the neighboring towns.

It may not be wholly without interest to some to be informed, that with the above exception, nearly all who contributed to render the exercises of the occasion what they were, are natives of Wilton; and that the few who had their birth-place elsewhere either are, or have been, residents in the place.

We have only to regret, that several sons of the town from abroad were prevented, by want of time, from giving utterance to the thoughts and feelings they had come prepared to express.

It was about sunset when the meeting broke up; but the multitude had been made too happy to be in haste to depart. Long did many of them linger in and around the old church, collected here and there in groups, conversing now on the high satisfactions the day had afforded, now on one and another of the many affecting scenes of former years brought vividly to mind, and seeming only to regret that the shades of evening were forcing them so soon to separate, and that it could never fall to their lot to meet on such an occasion again.

God grant, that the impressions of that blessed day may be lasting and salutary, and that all of us may so seek the true interests of our beloved town, as to cause our memories to be precious to our descendants who shall gather themselves together at its Second Centennial Celebration.
TWO

DISCOURSES,

DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 29, 1839,

ON OCCASION OF

THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE GATHERING

OF THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, QUINCY:

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

BY WILLIAM P. LUNT.

BOSTON:

JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY

M DCCC XL.

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter of the 11th inst., accompanied with the votes passed at a meeting, held on that day, of the First Congregational Society in this town, requesting a copy, for the press, of the two Discourses delivered by me, on the 29th day of September last, on occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the gathering of our Church.

I feel grateful to the Society for their kind reception of my humble endeavor to do justice to that occasion, which was so interesting to us all as a religious community.

I will cheerfully furnish a copy of the Discourses, so soon as I can prepare the manuscript for the printer.

I am, Gentlemen, with Christian regard,

Your friend and minister,

Quincy, Oct. 18, 1839.

Wm. P. Lunt.
TO

MY PARISHIONERS,

FOR WHOM THEY WERE PREPARED,

AND AT WHOSE REQUEST THEY ARE NOW PUBLISHED,

THESE DISCOURSES

ARE

Affectionately Inscribed.
Deut. viii. 11, 12, 14, 17, 18.

Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day:

Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein;

Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God:

And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth.

But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God.

Brethren and Fathers,

Our church this day† keeps a high and solemn festival. Two hundred years have elapsed since eight individuals, including the pastor and teacher, signed the original covenant,‡ by which they entered into "church-state," and became an independent ecclesiastical body in this place. From so small a beginning have we grown to our present numbers and prosperity.

* See Appendix T. † See Appendix A. ‡ See Appendix B.
Dark indeed were the prospects of our pious fathers, in this and in all the other plantations of the Colony. A wilderness to subdue; a bleak climate to endure; savage enemies to watch and resist; disguised foes of their own nation following their steps, and misrepresenting their acts and motives to the tyrants, civil and spiritual, whom they had fled from; the venerable cathedrals and churches of England exchanged for poor meeting-houses with walls of mud and roofs of thatch; all the comforts which their homes had afforded, all the tender attachments which held them to their fathers’ roofs and graves, and above all, the moral associations which had grown up in their souls, in connexion with the localities, the scenes, the institutions and customs of their place of birth, and which constituted their inner, spiritual life; — all to be forgone, and in their stead to be substituted pinching want, wasting sickness, a strange land, as yet unconsecrated to their affections by sweet memories or solemn suggestions. Such were some of the discouraging, appalling circumstances that met and surrounded our Pilgrim forefathers.* And the question naturally rises in the mind, and with this question all the instruction, and interest of the present occasion are connected, what principle was strong enough to nerve their spirits, and to sustain their spirits, in the arduous work, the almost hopeless enterprise, which they had undertaken? The true answer to this question will be furnished in the sketch I am to offer you, this day, of the history of our church.

* Many only reached this Western world to die here: or, as Cotton Mather expresses it, and for so sweet a sentence one can forgive much absurdity in that singular writer, “Many took New-England in their way to Heaven.”
There lay in the capacious minds of our fathers a great and noble design,—to rear a Christian commonwealth in "these ends of the earth." Great designs always impart strength to the mind that entertains them. But besides the conception of a noble purpose, which is like a grand picture before the imagination, those who are wise as well as enterprising settle beforehand the chances of success; and their courage and perseverance grow out of the likelihood of a favorable issue. But what strengthened our fathers, and encouraged them to proceed with the attempt to realize their sublime conception of a Christian commonwealth in the wilderness? Were there any rational grounds upon which they might raise a calculation of success? Certainly none. Had they stopped to make calculations, there would have been no New-England. The conception of a Christian commonwealth might have existed, across the Atlantic, in the minds of a few musing men, and would have died with them, never being realized in history. The question, therefore, recurs again; What supported our ancestors? For history informs us that their conception became reality; and the institutions that surround us, the life, social, civil, and religious, which we live from day to day, are so many evidences and monuments of the great reality. What supported them? The answer is, religious belief; trust in God. This was the principle upon which their enterprise was based. The sentiment that sustained them is beautifully expressed in the words of the Anthem with which the solemnities of this occasion commenced:

"Watchman! tell us of the night; What its signs of promise are."
Traveller! o'er yon mountain's height
See that glory-beaming star!

"Watchman! does its beauteous ray
Aught of hope or joy foretell?
Traveller! yes; it brings the day,
Promised day of Israel.

"Watchman! will its beams alone
Gild the spot that gave them birth?
Traveller! ages are its own;
See! it bursts o'er all the earth."

There are two interesting thoughts which occur to the mind, as we enter upon our subject. One of these is, that there is not a region on the face of the earth, that has not a religious history. That history may not, perhaps, be written. But there is no place that does not furnish materials for such a history, and few, if any, parts of the globe that do not present some monuments, to testify, more significantly and impressively than written signs or uttered syllables can ever do, to the religious thoughts, and affections, and hopes, and fears, that formerly inhabited the minds, and moved the souls of human believers and worshippers. Nor is this thought justly entertained, and fully understood, when we compress it into the proposition that the religious principle is universal. The important truth we are considering makes a livelier impression upon the mind, when we divide it into particulars, and reflect that there is, almost literally speaking, not a spot on the globe, be it mountain or plain, desert or cultivated region, rock or river or forest, that has not, in one period or another of the world's history, been set apart and held in peculiar sanctity, as a place of prayer or of devout meditation, by some family, tribe, or people, among the unnumbered generations that have, in past ages, pos-
sessed the earth. And thus the race, as a whole, have accomplished what individuals could not,—have made the "great globe which we inhabit" an altar to the God who made it, and have realized, in their united experience, the momentous truth, which every individual is taught in the abstract, as an essential doctrine of religion, but which the whole species alone can verify,—that the invisible object of human adoration is everywhere present.

Another thought naturally suggested, as we enter upon our subject, and which is kindred to the one just presented, is this;—that Religion has been the source and motive of the greatest enterprises man has ever achieved; and the origin of the most permanent monuments that human genius has been able to construct. Religion, we have reason to believe, built the Pyramids, those gigantic specimens of ancient art. And the temples, the fragments of whose beauty are strewn over the plains and hills of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, bear testimony to the depth of the sentiment which they were reared to express. It was the religious sentiment, stimulating the imagination of an Angelo and a Raphael, that produced the master-work of modern architecture, the church of St. Peter; and gave rise to those conceptions of awful majesty and divine loveliness, which were expanded and embodied in the painter's representation of the Last Judgment, and of the Madonna. It was religion which inspired the muse of the Puritan Milton, and called into immortal being the noblest creation in literature, the Paradise Lost.

Or, to select a few from among the greatest enterprises achieved by mortals. It was religion which prompted and effected the Exodus of the Israelites out
of Egypt, kept them together until they were settled in the Promised Land, and their institutions were cemented into that ancient and venerable civilization, whose central principle, conspicuous amidst surrounding darkness and prevailing idolatries, was the belief and worship of one invisible Jehovah. Or to descend from this instance, in which the sentiment was, as we believe, strengthened by miraculous occurrences. The Crusades, the discovery of America by Columbus, and the planting of permanent settlements on these shores, were all results of religion, and are all illustrations of this crowning sentiment in the human soul.

Nor was the American continent an exception to the remarks that have been made, respecting the universality of the religious sentiment. Before our pious ancestors brought out from Christian England to these shores the religion of the Bible, there was a faith and a worship, imperfect and unenlightened, it is true, living in the breasts of the savages that roamed through the forests of the West. And the red men who owned the authority of the Sachem of Naponset,* in these Massachusetts fields, had some ideas, although faint, when compared with those which our divine religion unfolds, on spiritual subjects; some elevating notions of what is "unseen and eternal;" some forms of worship to give expression to religious sentiments; and some code of moral maxims and rules, based upon spiritual sanctions, and extending to the actions of daily life.

* "The tradition is — that this Sachem (Chickatabut) had his principal seat upon a small hill or rising upland, in the midst of a body of saltmarsh, in the township of Dorchester (now Quincy) near to a place called Squantum; and it is known by the name of Massachusetts Hill, or Mount Massachusetts, to this day." See Hutchinson's Mass., Vol. I. p. 408.
It may be well, as a farther introduction of our subject, to advert to the chief causes that induced our fathers to forsake their native land, and to seek a retreat in these distant regions.

The same causes, that moved Luther in Germany to undertake the great work of Reformation, soon became active in England, the land of our ancestors. The corruptions of Popery had long before been manifest to the minds of individuals, who had given expression to their indignant convictions, but had died without seeing the hope of their souls fulfilled. At length political causes conspired with religious convictions, and in the reign of Henry VIII. the ball of Reformation was set in motion in England. Under Edward the cause made considerable and cheering progress, and the hopes of many were elated with glorious prospects of success, which were checked and turned into sadness and tears, when the intolerant Mary succeeded to the throne. To avoid the certain fate which awaited them at home, multitudes of conscientious and pious Protestants went into exile, and established churches, where they could worship in freedom, on the continent of Europe, particularly in Holland and Germany. Elizabeth succeeded to the cruel Mary, and the exiled pastors, with their devoted flocks, returned into England, with high but delusive expectations of what they would enjoy under her reign. Elizabeth discountenanced Popery, it is true; but she was tenacious of her own church, whose ceremonies and ritual, the relics of the old hierarchy, she was determined should be held in respect. In this state of things, the sect of the Puritans, to which our fathers belonged, whose leading principle was thorough reform, both in the doctrines and in the ob-
servances of the church, and the materials of which sect had been accumulating for a long time, became consolidated. The opposition of the Puritans had been at first aimed against the ceremonies, which, to their minds, savored too much of the old church. The "canonical habits" were made by the Queen essential to the exercise of the ministerial functions, and opposition to these became henceforth a virtue, and was the rallying-point of the Puritans. This led to meetings for worship in private houses, a circumstance which exposed them to the jealousy and persecutions of the government. As their sufferings increased, their attachment to their principles was strengthened, and they soon began to question the doctrines also of the English Church. During Elizabeth's reign a fourth part, at least, of the preachers in England were suspended. In 1583, she established the Court of High Commission, and conferred upon this court the dangerous power to punish at their discretion. James I. succeeded to the throne in 1603, and the severities against the Puritans were continued. By 1604 three hundred of the clergy were either silenced, or excommunicated, or cast into prison, or forced to leave their country. Holland, the land of Grotius and Arminius, must ever be held in honor by us, for furnishing a safe temporary asylum to our exiled fathers. Thither John Robinson, with his church, went in 1608, and there they lived together, until, in 1620, they removed, with the hope that their pastor would soon follow, and began the first settlement in New England at Plymouth. Under Charles I. the tyrannical measures were continued, and the abhorrence entertained by the Puritans for bishops, and whatever belonged to the hierarchy, be-
came deeper and deeper. Part of this antagonist feeling expended itself in colonizing America, and the remainder was left to grow at home, until at length it burst out in a civil war, and from a monarchy changed the English government into a commonwealth under Cromwell.

Governor Winthrop's company came over in 1630. It seems to have been their original intention* to have settled, with the fifteen hundred persons composing their colony, in some one place, and to have given it the name of Boston. But several circumstances, after their arrival, prevented this design being effected. Necessity, arising from sickness, exhaustion, and the wish to be settled before the coming on of winter, influenced them to disperse about in separate companies, and to commence distinct plantations, in places that appeared most convenient and promising. Hence the origin of the system of towns in New England, a system which has done much to favor the democratic element, which enters so largely into all our institutions. Hence arose Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, and in course of time Braintree.

In order to assist the mind to embrace, in one connected view, the numerous events, which extend over a space of two hundred years, it may not be amiss here to make a division into periods, marked and determined by the most important and interesting occurrences that have taken place in the history of this place.

It is familiarly known, that as early as 1625 a company, of which one Captain Wollaston was the head, came here, with the intention of making a permanent

* See Gov. Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.
settlement. And from him the place received the name of Mount Wollaston, which it bore for a space of fifteen years, until in 1640, May 13, (old style,) the place became a distinct town, by the name of Braintree. So early as 1625 only one permanent settlement, that at Plymouth, had been made in New England. An attempt to make one a little to the south of us, at Wessagusset, (now Weymouth,) had failed, and the members of that company had been scattered. Wollaston, after remaining here but a short time, removed south to Virginia, leaving, however, the greater part of his company, some of whom may have continued here, and mingled with the subsequent settlers; on which supposition is founded the claim which has been made for this place, as the oldest* permanent settlement in the Massachusetts colony. As the purposes of Wollaston were mercantile and not religious, and especially as those he left behind fell into great dissoluteness, and gave much annoyance, and caused great scandal to their peaceful and pious neighbors, until decisive measures were taken to punish their instigator, one Morton, it will not be to my present purpose, which is to give a sketch of the religious history of the place, to bestow further attention upon them.

The earliest incident, of an ecclesiastical character, connected with this place, is the circumstance mentioned by Governor Winthrop in his Journal, under date of Aug. 14, 1632, namely, “The Braintree company (which had begun to sit down at Mount Wollaston) by order of court removed to Newtown. These were Mr. Hooker’s company.” To them is to be traced the name†

* See Appendix C. † See Appendix C.
given to this town, when it was incorporated. This company had been but a short time in the country, and their continuance at Mount Wollaston was very brief. Cotton Mather, in his account of Rev. Thomas Hooker, remarks that his friends "came over the year before (he came) to prepare for his reception." And we learn from Winthrop's Journal,* that Mr. Hooker arrived, September 4, 1633. They remained, therefore, at Mount Wollaston, before their removal to Newtown, at most but a few months. With the exception of the single incident just mentioned, nothing of an ecclesiastical character is known in the history of this place previous to 1634, so that the first period of our church history may be reckoned from 1634, when by order of the General Court Mount Wollaston was annexed to Boston, to 1639, the year when a distinct church was gathered here.

The second period may extend from 1639, Sept. 17, O. S., the date of the gathering of this church, to 1708, Nov. 3, when the town of Braintree was, by a vote, confirmed by the General Court two days after, divided into two separate precincts; the north precinct comprising what is now Quincy, and the south including what is now Braintree and Randolph.

The third period may extend from 1708 to 1792, when the north precinct of the old town of Braintree was set off and became an independent town, by the name of Quincy.

The next period may extend from 1792 to 1824, when the town and parochial concerns were finally separated, and the parish of the Congregational Society in Quincy was organized.

With regard to the first of the periods just named, we must have recourse for information to the records of the First Church, Boston, and to books that treat of the general history of the colony at that early time.

In the second period, comprising nearly seventy years, the affairs of the church were blended with town affairs, and scanty notices of church matters are accordingly found in the Braintree town records, the earliest date in which records is 10th day of 5th month 1640, which was only about two months after the town was incorporated.

From 1708 to 1792, that is, for a period of eighty-four years, this was a separate precinct, having a precinct clerk; and two books, comprising the whole period, are preserved in good condition, which contain quite particular information respecting the affairs of the society, during the ministries of Mr. Marsh, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Briant, and part of the ministry of Mr. Wibird.

From 1792 to 1824, parish and town affairs were once more blended, and the records of the town must be consulted to gain what information is desired.

The church records consist of two books; but the oldest goes back no farther than to the commencement of Mr. Fiske's pastorate in 1672. Nothing is now left in the hand-writing of either Tompson or Flynt, the first pastor and teacher, although Mr. Hancock, in one of his century sermons, refers to a record, which he possessed, in the hand-writing of Mr. Flynt.

To begin with the first period. From 1634, Sept. 3, when Mount Wollaston was ordered by the General Court to be annexed to Boston, until 1636, those persons to whom grants of land in this place had, from
time to time, been made, were obliged to go to worship on the Sabbath at Boston. This was found to be very inconvenient, and accordingly the residents at the Mount, among whom "were many poor men having lots assigned them there, and not able to use those lands and dwell still in Boston, petitioned the town, first, to have a minister there, and after, to have leave to gather a church there."* This request was reluctantly granted; and the reason assigned for the reluctance was, that so many chief men would be removed from Boston to the injury of the church there. The matter was, however, finally compounded, by taxing the lands held here a certain rate, to be paid into the treasury of the town of Boston. The first petition of the residents at the Mount, that they might have a separate minister, was granted as early as 1636. The vote of Boston first church, granting permission to Mr. Wheelwright to preach at Mount Wollaston, seems to have been the result at which they arrived, after several meetings, and much discussion as to whether Mr. Wheelwright should be associated in the ministry with Wilson and Cotton, over the first church. This appears to have been the wish of some. Mr. Cotton, however, raised some objections to the proposal; and Mr. Cotton's objections were not likely to be resisted; so the matter was compounded again, by permitting Mr. Wheelwright† to minister at the Mount.

In a book,‡ entitled "Plaine Dealing or Newes from New England," written by one Lechford, and printed in 1642, the author, who wrote with a view to check the current that was setting against Episcopacy, and in

* See Winthrop's N. E. † See Appendix D. ‡ See Mass. Hist. Coll.
favor of the Puritans, speaks of the meetings for worship at Mount Wollaston and other places similarly situated, under the name of "chapels of ease." This high sounding Episcopal appellation would, most likely, have excited in the minds of our Puritan fathers a feeling exactly opposite to what it occasions in us. To use a more simple phrase, this was a branch of the Boston first church; and according to the writer just quoted, before an independent church was gathered in this place, "they of the Mount" came and received the sacrament at Boston; "and (he further adds) some of Braintree still receive at Boston."

And here a word may be said of the ministers (or elders, as ministers were called in early times) of the Boston church. The Pastor was the excellent John Wilson, one of the earliest Pilgrims. He came out to this country with Gov. Winthrop's company in 1630, and was elected and ordained pastor of the first church soon after their arrival. He survived two that were successively associated with him in the ministry, and died in the year 1667, at the age of 78 years. He seems to have been universally beloved and venerated in the colony. We have an interest in him, not merely as the first pastor of this church, when it was, if not a "chapels of ease," yet a branch of Boston first church; but he had a large grant of land in the north part of this town early made to him by the town of Boston, for a convenient farm. Associated with Mr. Wilson, as teacher of the first church, was the famous John Cotton, a distinguished Puritan preacher from Boston in England. He was a great light in early times. His opinions were looked upon as law, and he is spoken of by the historians of the period, as doing
more than any other individual to fix the principles of Congregationalism, and to mould into the form, which they have in the main preserved to this day, our ecclesiastical institutions and observances.

Mr. Wheelwright ministered at the Mount until 1637, Nov. 1, when he was disfranchised, and banished from the Massachusetts jurisdiction, on account of a sermon preached by him, which was judged to be seditious in its character. This sermon grew out of the Antinomian controversy, as it was called, which raged at that period in Boston, and, strange as it may seem to us, which threw the whole community, political as well as religious, into a ferment. This theological controversy was commenced by Mrs. Hutchinson,* a woman of great talent, who established meetings in her own house, at which the sermons of the preceding Sabbath were freely criticised, and theological matters generally were discussed. Mr. Wheelwright was brother-in-law to this lady, and became a powerful advocate of her views. The result of the opinions which they advanced was, that the whole community was divided between those who, in theological phrase, were said to be under a covenant of works, and those who were under a covenant of grace. On the one side Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends charged the ministers of that day, with few exceptions, with preaching up works, duties, outward morality, to the neglect of that free grace, which is set forth in the Gospel as the ground of human salvation. The charge brought by the other party against the new sect was, that faith, the spiritual frames which religion requires were insisted on, as men's sole reliance,

* See Appendix E.
while the duties of life were undervalued and represented as having no connexion with salvation; thus a way being opened for all sorts of licentiousness. Upon this ground the name was given to the new sect, of Antinomians, that is, enemies to the moral law.

It is not my intention to go into a minute examination of the opinions held by those who were styled Antinomians. But as two of the principal members of Mrs. Hutchinson’s party, John Wheelwright and William Coddington,* had estates here; one of them being, as we have seen, the first preacher at the Mount, and the other an honored name in our colonial history, and in the history of the neighboring colony of Rhode Island, of which he was the father, after he had been driven away from Massachusetts during the controversy just spoken of, it has not seemed to me proper to pass over the subject, although the difficulty of making it intelligible, by reason of the subtle metaphysical distinctions involved in it, and the peculiar technical phraseology in which the new notions were conveyed, is somewhat embarrassing. Perhaps, therefore, I cannot do better than to state, in my own language, the ideas I have formed respecting this controversy, the main point upon which it turned, and the leading principle and aim of the new sect.

The name Antinomians, it will be remembered, was given them by their opponents. They rejected it, as well as the inferences drawn by the other party from their main doctrine. So far from attaching no importance, as the name implies, to good works, to the practical parts of religion, they insisted upon their impor-

* See Appendix F.
tance most earnestly in their preaching; — whether this was consistent, logically considered, with their assumed principles or not; — and as for the lives and characters of the chief advocates of the new doctrine, it is sufficient to remind you that Wheelwright was, through a long life, esteemed and respected as one of the best of men; Coddington's name is revered in connexion with the history of a neighboring colony and state; and Henry Vane,* once governor of Massachusetts, and a cordial friend and supporter of the heresiarch of Mount Wollaston, went home to England; bore a conspicuous part in the revolutionary scenes that rocked that kingdom to its centre; was the steadfast and consistent advocate of freedom and the rights of man; and finally gave the strongest possible practical refutation of the charge of Antinomianism, in the serene fortitude and Christian magnanimity, with which he closed a virtuous life upon the scaffold.

This subject is the more appropriate to the present occasion, because the sermon, which occasioned Mr. Wheelwright's banishment from the Massachusetts colony, was preached, as I suppose, in this place. It was delivered on a fast day, which had been appointed for January 20, 1636–7, with reference to the dissensions that had sprung out of the new tenets, about three months after Mr. Wheelwright had received permission from the first church to come out and preach to the people at the Mount.

The text of this sermon is taken from Matt. ix. 15. "And Jesus said unto them, can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is

* See Appendix. G.
with them? But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.” The preacher opens the subject, suggested by these words, with asking, what is the true occasion of a fast? When ought Christians to fast? The answer, which he expands, is given in the text; “when the bridegroom shall be taken from them;” when Christ is removed. This leads to another question, what is it to remove Christ? And the answer to this carries him and his reader into the heart of his doctrine, namely, Christ is removed, in a spiritual sense, in the only sense in which he can be, since his death, whenever the peculiar doctrine of Christianity, justification by grace, by faith, is taken away, and a covenant of works, a mere code of moral rules for regulating the behavior, without any inward exercise of the spiritual principle, is substituted instead. That he was anxious to guard the doctrine from abuses into which those, who received it not aright, might easily be led, appears from his exhorting his hearers thus: “Let us have a care that we do show ourselves holy in all manner of good conversation, both in private and public, and in all our carriages and conversations; let us have a care to endeavor to be holy as the Lord is; let us not give occasion to those that are coming on, or manifestly opposite to the ways of grace, to suspect the way of grace; let us carry ourselves that they may be ashamed to blame us; let us deal uprightly with those with whom we have occasion to deal; and have a care to guide our families, and to perform duties that belong to us; and let us have a care that we give not occasion to others to say we are libertines or Antinomians.”
This certainly does not look like enmity to virtue or a disposition to disparage good works. In the conclusion of the discourse the preacher applies his doctrine to the comfort of himself and his hearers, in case a certain calamity should befall them, which in fact did befall them eventually, in the following remarkable passage; "Suppose those that are God's children should lose their houses, and lands, and wives, and friends, and lose the acting of the gift of grace, and lose the ordinances, yet they can never lose the Lord Jesus Christ; this is a great comfort to God's people. Suppose the saints of God should be banished, deprived of all the ordinances of God, that were a hard case, in some respects; but if the ordinances be taken away, Christ cannot; for if John be banished into an island, the spirit comes upon him on the Lord's day. There is amend for the ordinances, amend for banishment, if we lose the ordinances; for God he will be ordinances to us."

The passage last quoted illustrates the temper and aim of this celebrated discourse. "If we lose the ordinances, God he will be ordinances to us." This sentence contains the highest form of spiritualism. But this could not be acceptable at a period, when religion was so identified with the ordinances, faith with its symbols, and worship with usages, that whenever the latter were removed or neglected, the former were thought to be destroyed. Our fathers were remarkable for the most punctilious reverence for the established modes of expressing and cultivating the religion of the soul. They knew not, therefore, how to tolerate the sentiments of Mr. Wheelwright. The sermon, which advanced such sentiments, would be accounted bold in any
age. In the age when the preacher lived, it was considered an affront to the civil authorities, and was pronounced, by the highest tribunal known in the colony, seditious. And the author was accordingly banished.

But if we regard the circumstances of those times, the motives which brought our fathers into these distant parts of the earth, and the state generally of the religious world, we shall not, I think, fail to perceive that the Antinomian controversy grew very naturally out of those circumstances. The Puritan settlers of New England had left their native land, and had with difficulty made for themselves "a lodge in the vast wilderness." Beneath forests which had never known the woodman's axe, but had been left to fulfil their centennial life, if perchance the "strong wind" of God allowed them to waste by slow decay, and resolve themselves into their original dust; among rocks which had never echoed the strokes of man's art, which has since forced its way, through those granite gates, to the secret chambers of the earth, and brought out hidden treasures for the reward of industry; — into the midst of such desolate scenes had our pilgrim fathers come to seek a retreat, where they might enjoy, undisturbed, their faith, and a field on whose virgin soil they might scatter the seed of new institutions in church and in state. They had in fact, although not professedly, perhaps not with a clear and full consciousness of their true position, but in fact, they had separated themselves from the Church of England; their mother church in whose bosom they had been nourished, and to which they could not but look back with fond and yearning hearts,*

* See the touching and beautiful address, at parting, of the Governor and company of the Massachusetts colony, to their brethren in and of the Church
“ever acknowledging that such hope and part as they had obtained in the common salvation, they had received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts,” and expressing the wish, “that their heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for the everlasting welfare of their English brethren, when they should be in their poor cottages in the wilderness.” All this was natural, and was, doubtless, as sincerely felt, as it was beautifully expressed. But they had, in fact, cut themselves off from the institutions, civil and religious, of their native country. An ocean rolled between them and those institutions. They were subjected to new influences. The customs and modes of thinking, which had formerly surrounded them, and which had swayed, with a subtle and imperceptible influence, their daily and hourly life, were now absent. They were Puritans, and if true to the principle indicated by the name of their sect, they could not adopt the old formulas of thought, the old modes of worship, the old ceremonies and institutions which, in their view, were all corrupt and needed reform. They must, therefore, in a great measure, commence anew. And they had no pattern to work by in church or state, except what was furnished in the Scriptures, or such as their own ingenuity could devise. Mr. Wheelwright preached at this place, and the Antinomian controversy raged, soon after the commencement of the colony, when as yet everything was an experiment; before the minds of men had melted together into a firm mass, under the influence of common principles of belief, and established institutions. It was a

of England, signed by Winthrop, Coddington, and others, on board the Arbella, April 7, 1630.
transition period in society. Individual minds had been freed from the restraints of universally acknowledged principles, and set to work fervently, each one for itself; each one teeming with thoughts and projects, and seeking, in his own way and according to his measure, to realize the idea for which all had come out from the beaten paths and cleared regions of civilized life to the unbroken stillness and rude spaces of a new world. For these reasons the time of the Antinomian controversy is, to the philosophical reader, one of the most interesting periods in the history of our country. Under that hard theological phraseology, which to many, doubtless, proves "a stumbling-block, and a rock of offence," there may be traced the working of great principles* in religion and politics, which were, even at so early a period, struggling to express themselves, and to take shape, and which have since been unfolded, and have already resulted in consequences most momentous to us and to our posterity.

In fact the whole controversy was a struggle, in which were asserted anew the rights of the spiritual principle in man's nature. *Faith and works,* in theological language, are terms that correspond to two different forms of character, founded either upon personal conviction, or upon servile imitation; a mere conformity to customs and established ways of thinking, on the one side, or an independent sense of right and duty in the soul, on the other side. This is the ground upon which the

* In the discussions, that grew out of Antinomianism, the principles of religious liberty are said to have been evolved and clearly stated, by Henry Vane; to whom therefore has been awarded the high honor of being the earliest champion of civil and religious freedom.— See Upham's *Life of Vane.*
battles of successive systems of religion and philosophy have been fought age after age, and we may pre-
sume that it will continue to be so. Go back as far as the most ancient historical documents, the Scriptures, will carry you, and you find the contest ever to have been between the spiritual principle in man’s soul, and mere blind, unquestioning, mechanical conformity to usages and institutions, an irrational cleaving to institu-
tions, long after the breath of life has gone from them, and when they are only fit to be buried out of sight.

Take, for illustration, the very first sacrifices of which any account has been preserved. “Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his of-
fering he had not respect.” In the brief notice which the old Scriptures give us of that early transaction, the particular reasons are not assigned for the favor which was shown to one of these brethren, whilst the service of the other was rejected. But we cannot hesitate for a moment to assign the true reason. One of those acts was performed simply because it was enjoined, and therefore not to be omitted, while the other was a volun-
tary expression of the soul of the worshipper. In either case the mere act was nothing, of no account, except as it served to express and give form to the sentiment within. If it was the soul’s act it was accepted.

Again, — we come upon the case of Abraham. And for what is he remarkable? With what quality is his name ever associated? Faith, — he is the “father of the faithful.” From a country of idolaters, and a genera-
tion of superstitious imitators, this noble non-conform-
ist, this first of religious pilgrims, this earliest assertor of the rights of man's spiritual nature, came forth, at the divine call, from the home of his brethren and fathers, and "sojourned in a strange land." It was to vindicate the rights of conscience; to seek for a place, no matter how desolate its natural aspect, no matter how little it might bear of old familiar resemblances, where the most sacred sentiment in man's soul might have liberty to expand, and to take what shape, and to speak in what tones it might choose.

Once more,—carry your thoughts forward many years from the time of Abraham. The Israelites, his descendants, have increased to a vast host; have been brought out from Egypt under the conduct of Moses, and have been settled in the promised land; that land which the faith of their pilgrim father, Abraham, had led him to take possession of long before. The law has been given from Sinai. The civil and religious polity of the nation has been established. Institutions have grown up, and generation after generation has been born and educated, and their characters formed under these institutions. And in proportion to the punctilious respect and veneration, paid by the Israelites to their national institutions, is their want of faith, their entire lack of soul-religion. In this state of Jewish society appeared the company of the prophets, the inspired vindicators of a spiritual religion, the great reformers, not so much of the abstract truths held by the national intellect, as of the spirit of the national worship, and the principles of the national morality. They were, in the midst of a generation of formalists, the spiritualists of their age. They taught, O with what words of scorching rebuke and inspiring eloquence, the
great lesson which their contemporaries most needed, and which they were so slow to understand, that institutions have no life, except what is breathed into them from the fervent and devout soul of the worshipper; that the sacrifices which they laid upon their altars were but a cruel mockery, and the mitred and stoled priest was officiating in a vain show, unless those sacrifices were the sincere expression of humble and grateful hearts, and the priest was a mouth to the congregation, to give utterance to their faith and piety.

Advance forward still farther in the train of the ages, and you come to the most important era in the history of our race, the birth of the Saviour, and the introduction of his religion into the world. And what is the leading, the vital principle of this divine religion? Its great peculiarity consists in the vindication it so triumphantly makes of the spiritual principle in man. It is a soul-religion, not only as distinguished from forms and rites, but also and still more, as distinguished from a decent exterior, from a mere prudential conformity of the life to traditions and usages. It seeks to regenerate man; and this regeneration can only be effected by penetrating, as it does, with its light into the mind, and with its purity into the heart, and by setting up its kingdom within. The very first controversies, which this divine religion gave rise to, were conducted by the great Apostle of the Gentiles with the Judaizing Christians (as they were called) who still clung to what the apostle, in his strong, emphatic language, called the "beggarly elements" of morals and religion. And it was the exposition of that primitive interpreter of the Gospel of Jesus, which settled the foundation principle of our religion to be faith, or conviction in the soul. It
was in the midst of such controversies that our religion had its birth, and by the divine strength of this principle achieved its earliest triumphs.

Nor have the illustrations of the great principle we are considering been exhausted. Go forward with me, Christian hearers, once more; follow the course of our religion from the time when it lay in the manger at Bethlehem, worshipped in its germ and promise by the wise of the earth, through the controversies which it held with the schools of philosophy, the persecutions which it met at the hand of power, the martyrdoms that crowned and glorified its meek confessors; until it was graciously received up, by imperial condescension, to sit by the side of the Cæsars, on the throne of the world. From that day Satan triumphed, for a season, over Christ. The church was indeed exalted in human estimation. But its locks of strength were shorn off, as it lay sleeping through the night of centuries, in the harlot lap of worldly prosperity. Follow on, in imagination, until we reach the time, and a world-era that time is, of Martin Luther, that great man; great, not by reason of any offices he bore, or of inherited dominion, but great in the power of simple, unadorned Christian manhood. When he stood up to confront kings, with almost every hand and heart in Christendom against him, what was the instrument which he wielded with so much success? What was the word he uttered, that went with so much power to the souls of men? What, in fine, was the principle of the reformation? "Justification by faith." This was the doctrine, this the principle, that gave him the victory over the mightiest spiritual tyranny that has ever oppressed humanity. The Reformation was a re-vindication of the rights of the
soul. Religion had been reduced to a succession of outward observances, in which was mingled no faith. Slavish submission to authority, and the mechanical, superstitious performance of outward acts, without any reference to thought, sentiment, or principle, constituted the religion of the Christian world. It was by the principle of faith, by setting forth anew the spiritual character of the Gospel, that Luther accomplished his gigantic, and to worldly calculations, hopeless work. The works, to which, under the corrupt system of Popery, men had been taught to attach ideas of merit, were of no real, intrinsic worth. The only god that men realized was the Pope; the only law they feared the canons of the church; and their only morality consisted in conformity to superstitious usages and arbitrary appointments. The principle on which Luther depended, and which in fact insured his success, and which in theological phraseology was termed Justification by faith, went to base character upon the only sure foundation, a spiritual principle in the soul; it broke up the reverence which had been superstitiously bestowed upon human authority; it set the human mind at liberty from the bondage in which it had been held so long; it brought out the worth of the individual, and laid the foundation of the high civilization, freedom, and prosperity of Protestant Christendom.

The Puritans were the fruit which the Reformation produced in England. Their principle was to "carry out the work of the Reformation;" to purify Christianity yet more from the corruptions which had adhered to it in the course of ages. The noble sentiment of Robinson, the father of Plymouth church, was "that more light, as he was verily assured, would yet break
forth from God's word;" and however he might reverence such men as Luther and Calvin, he would not yet stop where they had finished, but would go on wherever the guiding star of God's truth should lead the inquiring mind. It was not, therefore, strange that, under such circumstances, the Antinomian controversy should have sprung up. It was not set in motion by vulgar, ignorant fanatics, the licentiousness of whose practice gave a bad odor to their high-toned sentiments. It was promoted by such men as Vane and Coddington. The most ample and honorable testimony was uniformly borne, even by those who differed from him in sentiment, to the abilities and worth of Mr. Wheelwright. Mrs. Hutchinson, who bore a leading part in the excitement of the times, was acknowledged on all sides to be a woman of uncommon powers. And even Mr. Cotton, the gifted teacher of Boston First Church, had too much sympathy with the new sentiments, to lose his respect for those who had urged those sentiments too boldly. The whole controversy was founded in an attempt to give new vitality and spirituality to the religion of the times; to resist the tendency, which is ever at work, to rely too much upon the outward manifestations of religious principle, to the neglect of the principle itself in the soul. Undoubtedly this attempt ran into extravagances of sentiment and conduct. But still the attempt was the same in kind, and had the same object, as in former times the many instances we have considered;—and the remark, therefore, may be repeated, which has already been made, that the struggle always has been, and we may presume, always will continue to be, between faith and works; between the principle of religion in the soul, and the manifestation
of it in conduct; between the sentiment of worship, and the institutions which are established to nourish and to express that sentiment; between the living spirit of faith and piety, and dead mechanical conformity to fixed usages and forms. Where faith is exclusively cultivated, religion easily degenerates into enthusiasm, and unwise, unprofitable zeal. And on the other hand, where too much stress is laid upon traditions and usages and outward morality, to the neglect of faith, or the principle of religion in the soul, hypocrisy and formality assume the place of true righteousness, which is briefly described by our Saviour as consisting in love to God and love to man.

But the length to which this discourse has been already extended admonishes me to relieve your patience. I have brought you, my hearers, no farther forward than 1639, Sept 17, (Old Style) the date of the gathering of a distinct, independent church at Mount Wollaston. Our attention has been confined to the brief, but interesting period which preceded the day whose Two Hundredth Anniversary we this day welcome. And here for the present I will close my remarks, where many of my hearers probably expected I should begin.

But we are brought, in conclusion, to the very point of time, about which the interesting associations of the present occasion cluster. Two hundred years! how much do those words contain and suggest! What an amount of blessings, civil, political, and religious, accumulated by the wisdom, the experience, and the virtue of two centuries, through the labors, the tears, the prayers, and the sacrifices of our fathers, crowns the present hour! How dependent are we, for all that we most prize, upon those who have lived, and thought,
and purposed, and struggled before us! How insignificant is the best that the individual man can effect! How has God ordained that the highest good we can possess on earth shall be inherited good, the aggregate result of the knowledge and virtues of generation after generation! How are we brought back to the solemn admonition of the text:

"Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day:

Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein;

Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God:

And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth.

But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God."
In the former part of the day, we brought forward the ecclesiastical history of this place to the time when a distinct independent church was gathered at Mount Wollaston. Our fathers had "worshipped in this mountain," as we have seen, some few years before the time from which we date the origin of our church. Those years, though few in number, were years of great interest. The individual who preached here, and several of those who adopted his sentiments, were distinguished for talents and worth, and are known in the history of the world.

* See Appendix T.
In the Journal of Gov. Winthrop, under date of September 17, 1639, the origin of this church is thus mentioned: "Mount Wollaston had been formerly laid to Boston; but many poor men having lots assigned them there, and not able to use those lands and dwell still in Boston, they petitioned the town first to have a minister there, and after to have leave to gather a church there, which the town at length (upon some small composition) gave way unto. So this day they gathered a church after the usual manner, and chose one Mr. Tompson, a very gracious, sincere man, and Mr. Flynt, a godly man also, their ministers."

Six members only whose names are subscribed to the covenant,* which is given in the first edition of Mr. Hancock’s Century Discourses, together with the pastor and teacher, composed the small church gathered at this place. "Mr. Tompson was ordained eight days after the church was gathered, namely, September 24, 1639, and Mr. Flynt the 17th of March following."†

This church was the fifteenth in order of time that was gathered in the Massachusetts colony. According to Mr. Hancock, the first deacons‡ were Mr. Samuel Bass, who had been dismissed and recommended to them from the church in Roxbury, July 5, 1640; and Mr. Richard Brackett, who was ordained, July 21, 1642. In

* See Appendix B.
† So says Mr. Hancock. What his source of information was I cannot determine, unless it was the manuscript record in the hand-writing of Mr. Flynt, the first teacher of the church, which he mentions in one of his notes. Winthrop states that Mr. Tompson was ordained, November 19, 1639. See Appendix I. Mr. Hancock says too that the church was gathered, September 16; but the authority of Winthrop, who was contemporary with the occurrence, is to be preferred.
‡ See Appendix H.
addition to these two, I find in the Boston First Church Records, under date of 12th July, 1640, this entry; "Our brother Alexander Winchester, upon the desire of the church of Christ at Mount Wollaston, now called Brain­tree, is recommended and dismissed unto them for their help in the office of deacon."

Some uncertainty exists as to the precise time when Mr. Tompson* came over to this country. There was a Rev. William Tompson, probably the same person, member of the church of Dorchester in 1636. Previous to his settlement at Mount Wollaston, he had been very useful at Acomenticus (now York in the State of Maine). He had been in the exercise of the ministry before he left England, having been settled in Lancashire. In the year 1642, upon an application of sundry persons in Virginia, that ministers of the Congregational order might be sent out to them, Mr. Tompson was selected, with two others, to go on this mission. Their preaching seems to have made a good impression upon many; but the following year they were obliged to leave and return home, by reason of an order of the government of the Virginia colony, "that such as would not conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England should by such a day depart the country." While absent on this mission, Mr. Tomp­son's wife died; and in the first Book of Records of Roxbury Church is a notice of the event in the shape of verses, supposed to be addressed to the surviving hus­band by his deceased partner. Some of the verses are free from the conceits that entered so largely into the poetry of that day, and are marked by simplicity and

* See Appendix I.
natural expression of feeling. In 1645, Mr. Tompson was appointed to accompany the forces raised by the colonies, for the war at that time threatened by the Indians. It was intended that he should preach to the troops during the war; but the dangers that threatened the colony in that quarter were averted, and there was therefore no necessity for his absence from home. Mr. Tompson is spoken of, by those who have written of our early history, as a "powerful and successful preacher," and quite a pillar in these New England churches. He is also said to have been, in his day, an author of some repute; but nothing is mentioned respecting his writings, except that he composed certain prefaces for books written by others, none of which have I succeeded in discovering. He was constitutionally inclined to melancholy, which seems to have embittered a considerable portion of his life, and to have abridged his usefulness. He died, December 10th, 1666. In the Roxbury Church Records is the following notice, which adds a few particulars to our knowledge of him: "Mr. William Tompson, Pastor to the Church at Braintree, departed this life in the 69th year of his age. He had been held under the power of melancholy for the space of eight years. During which time he had divers lucid intervals and sweet revivings, especially the week before he died, in so much that he essayed to go to the church, and administer the Lord's Supper to them; but his body was so weak that he could neither go nor ride." Thus died the first pastor of this church. He was interred here, and a stone, bearing an inscription to his memory, is to be seen in our burying place.

Mr. Henry Flynt, who was associated with Mr. Tompson as teacher of the church, came to this country in
the year 1635, and his name is found that year among the members of the Boston First Church. He was ordained, 17th March, 1639-40, and died, April 27, 1668, having survived the pastor a little over one year. He was father to the Rev. Josiah Flynt, who was pastor of Dorchester church, and grandfather of Henry Flynt Esq., who is well known as having been a tutor in Harvard University "upwards of fifty-five years, and about sixty years a fellow of the corporation." The historian of the University remarks, that "most of the educated men in New England, during a considerable part of the last century, had been under the instruction of this remarkable tutor, or of those whom he taught."*

The first race of ministers in this church, those who had been born in England and who had exercised their ministry there, had now passed away; and their successors were all educated in this country. To the death of Mr. Flynt a period of nearly twenty-nine years had elapsed since the gathering of the church. A few months after the church was gathered, and the two first ministers were settled, namely, May 13th, 1640, the petition of those who resided at the Mount was granted, and they were incorporated as a town, according to the agreement made with the town of Boston. The name of the new town, Braintree, was, doubtless, derived from the Braintree company, already mentioned, which in 1632 had begun to sit down here, and removed hence to Newtown, afterwards Cambridge. This company came from Braintree, in Essex County, England. The celebrated Mr. Hooker, who the next year came over and joined them at Newtown, had been ther min-

* See Peirce's History of Harvard University.
ister before they left England. Among the names of that company, as given in the History of Cambridge,* several occur that are at the present day familiar in this vicinity. And in order to account for the name of Braintree † being given to this town, we may either adopt the suggestion, that has been made by high authority, that that company remained here and did not remove to Newtown; or if we think the historical evidence conclusive for their removal, we may suppose that several of them returned hither, when a few years afterwards they of Newtown made complaint to the General Court for want of room, and when the great body of the company, together with their pastor, emigrated to Connecticut River, and laid the foundation of Hartford. It is certainly what we should expect, that some place among the new settlements should bear the name of a company, that had for their minister so celebrated a man as Hooker. And what place more likely to receive the appellation, than that which offered the first resting place to these Pilgrims, after their arrival in New England?

It would gratify a very natural curiosity, could we know, more particularly than we do, the condition of the town and church here, during the twenty-nine years that elapsed between the gathering of the church and the death of the teacher. But the records of the town furnish only scanty materials, and no church records of that early period are known to be in existence. In one of the volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Collec-

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* See Dr. Holmes's History of Cambridge, in Mass. Historical Collections.
† See Appendix C.
tions is a Report,* signed by three individuals, who were appointed by the General Court a committee, to inquire concerning the maintenance of the ministers of the churches in the county of Suffolk, to which county this town then belonged. They met at Braintree on the 22d of July, 1657, and collected the information they wished from the deacons of the neighboring churches. Of Braintree they made report, that they were informed by the deacons of Braintree, “that Mr. Flynt and Mr. Tompson are each of them allowed £55 per annum, paid generally in such things as themselves take up and accept of from the inhabitants; paid ordinarily yearly or within the year, the town being about 80 families, Mr. Tompson's family being three persons, Mr. Flynt’s family being about seven or eight persons. These elders depend generally upon public contribution.”

After the death of the pastor and teacher, the church here remained without any settled minister above four years.† There were unhappy divisions in the church, which seem to have occasioned great disturbances, and to have been a subject of concern to the neighboring churches. From a manuscript journal, with the use of which I have been favored, kept by the Rev. Josiah Flynt, son of the teacher of this church, some light is thrown upon the history of the interval. It appears from this manuscript, that Mr. Flynt preached to this church for some time, and, together with a Mr. Bulkley, actually received a call to settle, and that an offer was made of £60 per annum to each, besides certain privileges; but the divisions that rent the church

* See Appendix I.  † See Appendix L.
into parties prevented any settlement, and Mr. Flynt soon after accepted a call to become pastor of the neighboring church of Dorchester.

At length Mr. Moses Fiske * was sent hither, by order of the County Court held at Boston, "to improve his labors," as the order expresses it, "in preaching the word at Braintree, until the church there agree and obtain supply for the work of the ministry, or this court take further order." Mr. Fiske accordingly came, and preached for the first time, December 3, 1671. His preaching appears to have been acceptable; for several of the brethren visited him the day after the Sabbath, and thanked him for his compliance with the order of the court; and on February 24th following, he received a unanimous call to settle in this place, which he accepted. He was ordained, September 11, 1672. With him our Church Records commence. In them it is recorded, that at his ordination Mr. Eliot prayed and gave the charge, Mr. Oxenbridge and the deacons joined in the laying on hands, Mr. Thacher of Boston gave the right hand of fellowship. It is not mentioned who preached on the occasion, but it is probable that Mr. Fiske preached himself, in conformity with a practice that prevailed at that early period in New England.

Mr. Fiske was the son of the Rev. John Fiske, who came from England before 1637, was a physician and minister, and was the first minister of Wenham and Chelmsford, in which latter place he died, 1677. His son Moses, the third minister of Braintree, was graduated at Harvard College in 1662. His ministry in this town was a long one, extending over thirty-six years,

* See Appendix M.
and he appears to have enjoyed and retained the affectionate respect of his flock. He died here, August 10, 1708; and his ashes repose beside his predecessors. He left a numerous family behind him. One of his sons, Samuel Fiske, was afterwards settled as minister of the first church in Salem. I do not find that Mr. Fiske published anything during his life. He preached the sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in the year 1694; the manuscript of which sermon is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It may be mentioned as a fact honorable to the disposition of the inhabitants of this town, during the period we have just been passing over, and some indication too of the growth of the place, that among the contributions made in various places, for the erection of a new edifice for the college at Cambridge, which edifice was completed in 1677, the town of Braintree furnished the sum of £87 14s. 6d., there being only four towns in the colony that contributed a larger sum for the same purpose.

From a manuscript Diary * kept by a Mr. Fairfield, an intelligent mechanic, who resided in this town during part of the ministry of Mr. Fiske, I have selected a notice of this minister, which is the more valuable as a testimony to his good qualities from the fact, that it was inserted in a private diary, kept by a humble individual, and was not meant to be made public. "This excellent person was ordained pastor of the church in Braintree, in September 1672, in which sacred employment he continued till his dying day, a diligent, faithful labor-

* See Appendix M for some account of this Diary.
er in the harvest of Jesus Christ; studious in the Holy Scriptures, having an extraordinary gift in prayer above many good men; and in preaching equal to the most, inferior to few; zealously diligent for God and the good of men; one who thought no labor, cost, or suffering too dear a price for the good of his people. His public preaching was attended with convincing light and clearness, and powerful, affectionate application; and his private oversight was performed with humility and unwearied diligence. He lived till he was near sixty-five years of age, beloved and honored of the most that knew him. On the 18th of July, being the Lord’s day, he preached all day in public, but was not well. The distemper continued and proved a malignant fever. So that little hopes of recovery appearing, his church assembled together, and earnestly besought the great Shepherd of the sheep, that they might not be deprived of him. But heaven had otherwise determined; for on Tuesday, August 10th, he died about one in the afternoon, and was, with suitable solemnity and great lamentation, interred in Braintree in his own tomb, the 12th day.”

Such is the affectionate tribute paid to the memory of a faithful minister of Christ by one of his unpretending parishioners. How much more valuable such a witness borne to the solid worth of a man, than the most studied eulogy, composed according to the rules of art, and inscribed for the world’s eye on costly monuments!

To Mr. Fiske succeeded in the ministry in this place Mr. Joseph Marsh.* Mr. Marsh was graduated at

* See Appendix N.
Harvard College in 1705. In 1706 and 1707 he was employed as teacher of a school in Hingham, and was unanimously called to the ministry in this place, and ordained, May 18th, 1709. “He continued,” says Mr. Hancock, “his faithful labors here till his translation.” His death took place, March 8, 1725—6, in the 41st year of his age, and 17th of his ministry. His remains lie in the same tomb with those of his immediate predecessor, Mr. Fiske. His son kept a private school in this town, and the late President Adams and Josiah Quincy Jr. were among his pupils.

Mr. Marsh’s successor in the ministry was Mr. John Hancock,* whose father was minister of Lexington, and who to a venerable old age retained great influence in all the neighboring churches. Mr. Hancock was settled here, November 2, 1726, and continued in the exercise of his ministry until his decease, which took place, May 7, 1744. He died in the 42d year of his age, having discharged his sacred duties nearly eighteen years. A sermon was preached at his funeral by Dr. Gay of Hingham, who thus speaks of the qualities of the deceased pastor: “It is the death of a prophet, and of the son of a prophet we are bewailing; of an able minister of the New Testament, taken away from us in the midst of his days and growing serviceableness.—

“The Father of lights furnished him with good gifts, natural and acquired, for the work of the ministry: his prayers and sermons were judiciously composed, and gravely uttered in the language of Holy Scripture, and with a moving pathos; discovering a large and intimate acquaintance with the most substantial things of

* See Appendix O.
religion, and breathing a spirit of piety toward God, and of love to the souls of men.

"As a wise and skilful pilot hath he steered you a right and safe course, in the late troubled sea of ecclesiastical affairs, guarding you against dangerous rocks, on the one hand and on the other; so that you have escaped the errors and enthusiasm which some, and the infidelity and indifference in matters of religion, which others have fallen into."

The preacher, in the latter portion of the passage I have just quoted, alludes to the excitement which had been occasioned in this community, by the visit, to New England, of the celebrated Whitfield, whose extraordinary eloquence and zeal roused an interest in the subject of religion as extravagant and enthusiastic, as the previous torpor had been lamentable. Mr. Hancock seems to have evinced wisdom, fortitude, and faithfulness in the discharge of his duties through that trying season.

Mr. Hancock was singularly favored in some of the circumstances of his life and ministry. He transmitted to his son a name, which has been rendered, by that son’s conspicuous position and acknowledged virtues, illustrious in the eyes of the world, and which must ever be repeated in connexion with the history of Freedom in this Western Continent. And with the water of Christian baptism, he gave the name of John to another individual, who stood before kings and princes, the fearless and persevering advocate of his country’s rights, who raised himself, with the consent of millions, to the people’s throne, and who fell asleep in an honored old age, with the glad shouts ringing in his ears of a nation he had helped to redeem.
During the ministry of Mr. Hancock a new and commodious, and for the time elegant place * of worship was erected by his society, which was dedicated by the pastor in 1732, and which, after standing nearly a century, was taken down, when the more spacious and costly edifice, in which we are now assembled, was erected. In 1739, at the conclusion of the first century from the gathering of this ancient church, he collected the scattered memorials of its history, which I have on the present occasion done but little more than to repeat, and uttered those fervent prayers and benedictions, which, we will trust in God, have, amidst many imperfections incident to humanity, been in some good measure answered and realized, in the multitudes that since his time have met within the walls of the former or latter house, to hear the words of life and the messages of salvation; who have sat down together at the Lord's table to commemorate the love of a dying Redeemer; or who have been brought hither, in unconscious infancy or more unconscious death, to receive upon their brows the sign of the covenant, or to be dismissed, with the voice of supplication, through the gates of death, to the mansions of departed spirits, and to the presence of their God.

After the death of Mr. Hancock, the pulpit of this church was unsupplied by a settled pastor, for the space of a year and a half or more. The first candidate whose name is mentioned in the Precinct Records was Mr. Stevens. Mr. Benjamin Stevens, after supplying the pulpit several Sundays, was, by a unanimous vote, passed on the 22d of October, 1744, elected pastor of

* See Appendix. P.
this church, and invited to settle here in the ministry. He saw reason to decline the invitation. The call was repeated at a subsequent meeting, and was again respectfully declined. At another meeting, held 25th February, 1744–5, three gentlemen were put in nomination, Mr. Vinal, Mr. Newman, and Mr. Stevens. Mr. Stevens now had the largest number of votes; but it was apparent that there was a division in the minds of the people, and he, in his reply, proposed that the matter of his settlement, in this state of things, should be laid before a council of clergymen of the neighboring churches. The result was a final reply from Mr. Stevens in the negative. On the 29th of July, 1745, the precinct wisely voted that they would employ but one candidate, and that an invitation to supply the pulpit should be given to Mr. Lemuel Briant.* Mr. Briant was soon after elected minister of this church by an unanimous vote. He accepted the invitation in a letter which stands recorded in the North Precinct Records, and he was ordained, December 4, 1745. Mr. Briant was a native of Scituate, Massachusetts, where his ancestors had resided from a very early period in the history of the country. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1739. He has been pronounced "a man of extraordinary powers;" and the writings which I have met with from his pen prove that this praise is not without solid grounds. His sentiments in theology were liberal; and although the great majority of his society appear to have gone along with him cordially, there were some who were disturbed by the boldness with which he attacked current doctrines, and more than all, perhaps, disturbed by the singularities which

* See Appendix Q.
were only natural to him. In the year 1749 he publish-
ed a sermon, the title of which was, "The Absurdity and
Blasphemy of depreciating Moral Virtue; a sermon
preached at the West Church in Boston, June 18, 1749,"
from the text, Isaiah lxiv. 6; — "All our righteousnesses
are as filthy rags;" — in which it was the object of the
preacher to vindicate the text from the common, but,
as he esteemed it, false interpretation, as if the Prophet
meant to condemn, as utterly worthless and despicable,
all the righteousness which consisted in the best en-
deavors of the best men; whereas he explained the
Prophet as speaking in reference to the whole commu-
nity, and asserting that the Jewish nation, as a nation,
was destitute of that, which, instead of being worthless
and despicable, it was most desirable and essential that
men should acquire. This sermon could not fail to be
a signal for a theological controversy; and accordingly
one began, and was carried on between Mr. Briant, on
the one side, and Mr. Niles of the middle precinct in
Braintree, Mr. Porter of Bridgewater, Mr. Foxcroft of
Boston, and several others, on the opposite side. A
sermon, evidently intended as a reply to Mr. Briant,
was delivered by Mr. Porter in the middle precinct of
Braintree. To this sermon, which was afterwards print-
ed, Mr. Briant replied in the form of a letter addressed
to the author. This letter was answered by Mr. Porter
and his friends (or attestators, as they were rather sin-
gularly called). Mr. Briant came before the public
with a second letter; and there, I presume, the contro-
versy rested. One of the opponents of Mr. Briant in
this controversy took occasion to speak, in a deprecia-
ting tone, of Dr. Mayhew, whom he scornfully calls the
intimate friend of the pastor of Braintree First Church.
I have already stated that Mr. Briant’s sermon on moral virtue was printed after having been preached at the West Church, Boston, where Dr. Mayhew was the settled pastor. It had probably met with a favorable reception there, which occasioned the publication. But the circumstance that was mentioned in a scornful tone will excite in the minds of posterity quite another sentiment. To have been the friend of Dr. Mayhew was honorable alike to the head and heart of Mr. Briant.

Mr. Briant is the only one of your ministers, since the gathering of this ancient church, whose ashes do not repose here. He was dismissed from the pastoral care of this church, October 22, 1753, at his own earnest request that “they would release him from the burdens and labors of his office.” His health had failed him; and this seems to have occasioned the request, which was granted by his society, with thanks to him for his labors among them. He died the year following at Hingham, and was buried among his fathers at Scituate.

To Mr. Briant must be awarded the praise of being a man of first rate abilities, a bold and clear thinker, whose mind had run considerably beyond the prevalent sentiments of his day. His sermon on moral virtue was a fearless and vigorous exposure of the absurdities into which a creed had been pushed, and from which it was essential that Christianity should be vindicated, in order to save it from the neglect of thinking men. And yet it is well for us to remember, that truth in all its fulness and beauty is not to be found in the midst of the strong and angry feelings, excited by opposition and controversy. Truth shuns the confusion and agitation of controversy, and loves quiet, calm, long sustained
contemplation, during which all sides of the great theme are deliberately surveyed, and the mind, avoiding extremes, attains those well balanced opinions and moderate sentiments, which are essential features of sound philosophy and true religion.

It may seem strange to you, my hearers, that I should bring them together; but I cannot avoid instituting a comparison between Mr. Wheelwright, the first preacher at Mount Wollaston, and Mr. Briant, who, more than a century afterwards, ministered to this church. Little is hazarded in the assertion, that in point of intellect they stand in the first class of the New England clergy. They were very different, I am well aware, in the structure and tendency of their minds, and quite at variance in the creeds which they adopted and advocated, each with so much acuteness, force, and persuasiveness. But it is for this very reason that they deserve to be studied in connexion. They were placed in somewhat similar circumstances, during the respective periods in which they lived. They were both of them bold and candid, and of course imprudent, in the statement of their honest thoughts. They were both of them specimens of minds that resisted the current notions and prejudices of their times. They both of them incurred odium by the Christian manliness with which they opened and pursued the truths that broke upon their souls. Their minds ran, it is true, on very different lines of thought, and they advocated theories in morals and in theology very diverse. But each attacked what he considered the leading, most prominent error of his day; and if they were mistaken in respect to their own times, the errors which each exposed so thoroughly have prevailed at one period or another of the Christian church.
Each of them undertook to defend and illustrate a single feature of the Gospel, and it was that particular feature which each supposed to be most in danger of being overlooked or undervalued, amidst the peculiar prejudices by which he was surrounded. I have an impression, my hearers, that a true and rational and comprehensive theology might be formed, and in no way so well as by uniting together, and harmonizing, and holding in this union and harmony, the two opposite systems of thought and opinion, which Mr. Wheelwright, on the one hand, and Mr. Briant, on the other hand, held and advocated, each so honestly, fearlessly, and vigorously; and it seems to me that never more, than in the present age, was such an union as this desirable. If Christianity is to be represented to men as a mere collection of prudential maxims, or a round of punctilious observances, and if the spiritual character of it, its principle of faith, is to be forgotten and laid aside, then surely, and in proportion as we see cause to fear this result, we may take up the language of the first preacher at the Mount, and say: the time of fasting is come; the true cause for a fast is present; Christ is removed; the bridegroom is taken away; and we must mourn. And if, on the other hand, the spiritual doctrine is to be so exalted, and refined into such an impalpable mysticism, as to hide every practical principle, that ought to sway men’s lives and determine their characters, in the clouds; if the doctrine is to be so rarefied, that we cannot breathe it, or if, when we do inhale it, it can support no vitality; if it is to be pressed so far as to cast derision upon ordinances, and to dis credit those institutions which have been framed in order to build up and strengthen the moral and
religious habits and principles of a community, — I say habits and principles, not instincts and impulses; — then surely, with Mr. Briant, we shall be ready to exclaim in his nervous language, that “the perfect religion of Jesus, which contains the most refined system of morality the world was ever blessed with; which everywhere considers us as moral agents, and suspends our whole happiness upon our personal good behavior, and our patient continuance in the ways of well-doing, is turned into an idle speculation, a mysterious faith, and a groundless recumbency, everything but what in fact it is, a doctrine of sobriety, righteousness, and piety.”

Next to Mr. Briant was Mr. Wibird * in the order of ministers of this church. In the interval that occurred between the dismission of Mr. Briant and the settlement of Mr. Wibird, Mr. Barnes, afterwards the eccentric and rather distinguished Dr. Barnes of Scituate, had received an invitation to settle here, which he saw fit to decline twice. Mr. Wibird’s ministry was a long and a peaceful one. Many of my hearers must remember him, and there are probably many present, upon whose infant brows he sprinkled the water of Christian baptism. The older members of this church will not need any attempt of mine to increase the interest, which their own vivid remembrances, aided and heightened by the present occasion, must awaken in their minds.

In 1800 your present senior pastor † was associated with Mr. Wibird, a short time previous to his decease; and my venerable friend still remains, the living link that connects the humble individual, that addresses you,

* See Appendix R.
† See Appendix S.
with the long line of shepherds who have watched this flock, and who, with a single exception, gave up their breath to mingle with the air that had supported their life, and laid down their dust to mingle with the soil on which they had trodden.

Brethren and Fathers, after this sketch of the history of our church, which although extended has not, I hope, been tedious, and however imperfect, not wholly unedifying, we are brought back to our text. When the woman of Samaria said with so much natural feeling, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain," and the Saviour replied, that the time would come when they should neither in that mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father; he did not, I conceive, intend to rebuke the natural sentiment which attaches every good heart to the spot, where fathers and fathers' fathers have worshipped, in their successive generations; but only to correct and purify and expand the sentiment, that it might not degenerate into a superstitious partiality for a place, to the neglect of God's spiritual attributes, and his universal presence. And let the sentiment, so corrected and expanded, possess our minds.

And now, if I had the power to call up from their resting places, in yonder burying ground, or from more distant spots, where two of them lay down to their final repose, the bodies of the former pastors and ministers of this church; and if I could call out of the heaven, where we trust their spirits dwell, the immortal vitality that once quickened them, and could bring them in ghostly procession up this aisle to this altar,—what think ye would be the lessons that would be uttered by those ministers of Christ? Would they not say to you; Preserve the institutions which we, in our day,
exhorted men to honor. Desert not the sanctuary of your fathers. Guard with vigilant caution the sacred places where prayer was ever wont to be made. Above all, reverence the vital principles of the Gospel. If you must renounce our dogmas, do not, O do not renounce our principles. If you cannot accept our creed in every particular, because you have faithfully followed the advice of Robinson, the great light which we honored and followed, do not, O do not fall from a life of piety and Christian righteousness. It must not be. I will be assured that this occasion has a meaning to your souls, beyond what language can express. I will believe that a deep and a holy interest, an interest which nothing can destroy, is felt in this ancient church, where your fathers came before you, to receive the bread of life, and to draw water from the wells of salvation.

And, in conclusion, may I not say (and will you not, one and all, join me in the sentiment?) to those departed shepherds whose repose I have, in idea, disturbed: Go back venerated shades, to the quiet chambers, where the hands of affection laid you silently and hopefully down;—we will strive to follow in your steps; and we will hope to share with you your glory.
APPENDIX.
Then, Pilgrim, let thy joys and tears
On Time no longer lean;
But henceforth all thy hopes and fears
From Earth's affections wean.
To God! let votive accents rise;
With truth — with virtue live;
So all the bliss that Time denies,
Eternity shall give.

The two Psalms that follow were sung in the afternoon. In selecting them it was thought that the interest attaching to them as relics of old times would more than compensate for the rudeness of the versification. They were taken from a copy, bearing date 1640, (kindly furnished me by the Rev. Dr. Harris from the Library of Massachusetts Historical Society,) of the New England version of the Psalms. This was the first book printed in America. And this version of the Psalms was, doubtless, used by the Brain-tree church soon after it was gathered.

**Psalm 107.** Tune — *St. Martin’s.*

O give ye thanks unto the Lord,
Because that good is he;
Because his loving-kindness lasts
To perpetuity.

So let the Lord's redeem'd say; whom
He freed from th' enemies hands;
And gather'd them from East and West,
From South and Northern lands.

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 that was most right
He led them forth also;
That to a city which they might
Inhabit they might go.

O that men would Jehovah praise
For his great goodness then;
And for his workings wonderful
Unto the sons of men.
On the 29th of September, 1839, which date answered to Sept. 17, old style, occurred the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the gathering of the First Congregational Church in this place. The occasion, falling on a Sabbath, was noticed with appropriate services, both parts of the day. The prayer in the forenoon was offered by the senior pastor of the church, Rev. Peter Whitney; and in the afternoon, by Rev. George Whitney of Roxbury. By a special vote of the Church, passed on a previous Sabbath, the Communion, which would have taken place regularly on the first Sabbath in October, was celebrated at this time, in imitation of the course pursued by our predecessors, at the conclusion of the first century. In the forenoon the following Hymn, written for the occasion by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, was sung by the choir.

**THE HOUR GLASS.**

Alas! how swift the moments fly!
How flash the years along!
Scarce here, yet gone already by!
The burden of a song.
See childhood, youth, and manhood pass;
And age with furrowed brow:
Time was — Time shall be, drain the glass —
But where in Time is now?

Time is the measure but of change;
No present hour is found,
The past — the future fill the range
Of Time's unceasing round.
Where then is now? In realms above,
With God's atoning Lamb,
In regions of eternal Love,
Where sits enthroned I Am.
Psalm 102. Tune — Old Hundred.

My days as shadows that decline,
   And like the wither'd grass am I;
But thou, Lord, dost abide for aye,
   And thy name to eternity.

Thy years throughout all ages are,
   Thou hast the Earth's foundation laid
For elder time: and heavens be
   The work which thine own hands have made.

They perish shall, but thou shalt stand;
   They all as garments shall decay;
And as a wearing-vestiment,
   Thou shalt them change, and chang'd are they.

But thou art ev'n the same; thy years
   They never shall consumed be;
Thy servants' children shall abide,
   And their seed, 'establish'd before thee.

The last of these Psalms was read and sung, line by line, according to the ancient practice. The writer feels greatly indebted to the choir for their kind compliance with his suggestions in regard to the music, on this occasion, and for their very excellent performances both parts of the day.

B. Pages 7, 38.

The names subscribed to the covenant at the gathering of the church are as follow:

William Tompsoon, (Pastor,)
Henry Flynt, (Teacher,)
George Rose,
Stephen Kinsley, (Elder,)
John Dassett,
William Potter,
Martin Saunders,
Gregory Blicher.
MR. SAVAGE, in his valuable edition of Winthrop's New England, gives it as his opinion, but without stating his reasons for the opinion, that the settlement at Mount Wollaston, which had been made by Captain Wollaston in 1625, "was permanent, though the high authority of Governor Dudley's Narrative makes it vanish; and if permanent, must be considered the oldest of Massachusetts colony, unless Weymouth should assert a claim of vitality through its state of suspended animation."

I will endeavor to present some reasons for this opinion, although I cannot but regret that this was omitted by the learned Editor, who would have done so much more justice to the subject. It will be remembered, that after Wollaston had left his new plantation and gone to the South, Thomas Morton assumed the chief authority, and occasioned great trouble to the neighboring settlers. In 1628 an armed force was raised against him; he was arrested, and sent out of the country, and according to Gov. Dudley, the settlement at Mount Wollaston came to an end, and disappeared. It will also be borne in mind, that, in Sept. 3, 1634, it was ordered by the General Court, "that Boston shall have enlargement at Mount Wollaston and Rumney Marsh." The only question then is, whether during the six years that intervened from 1628 to 1634, there were settlers who continued in this place.

It may not be amiss to mention here that the island, which once belonged to this town, called Thomson's Island, was taken possession of by one David Thomson, in the year 1626.* He died soon after, leaving a son and heir, John Thomson, who, as soon as he came of age, presented a petition to the General Court, and had the property in the island confirmed to him and his heirs forever.

Johnson, in his Wonder-working Providence, says: "To the south-east of him (Mr. Wm. Blackstone) near an island called Thomson's Island, lived some few planters more; these persons were the first planters of those parts, having some small trading with the Indians for beaver-skins, which moved them to make their abode in those parts, whom these first troops of Christ's army" (that is, Gov. Winthrop's company) "found as fit helps to further their work."† And again the same author: "Near about this town

† Johnson, p. 37.
(Dorchester) inhabited some few ancient Traders, who were not of this select band, but came for other ends, as Morton of Merry Mount." * Prince, in his Chronology, too, in speaking of the state of the neighboring parts of the Massachusetts Bay, when Governor Winthrop's company arrived, and began their settlement at Boston, uses almost the same terms in relation to the "planters near Thomson's Island." The question occurs, Who were those planters to whom he alludes? There had been a plantation at Nantasket as early as that date, and one also at Weymouth, (Wessagussett.) 'But Mount Wollaston was nearer to Thomson's Island than either of those two places. And a probable inference may be drawn from thence, that the settlement at the Mount, begun by Wollaston, was permanent; that some of his company remained here after Morton was expelled in 1628; that these continued in this place down to the time when Mount Wollaston was, by order of court, annexed to Boston; and that they were the old planters referred to by Johnson, when he says; "About this time (1640) there was a town and church planted at Mount Wollaston and named Braintree; it was occasioned by some old planters, and certain farmers belonging to the great town of Boston."

Furthermore, in the Massachusetts Colony Records I find, under date of Nov. 7, 1632, "100 acres of land granted to Mr. Roger Ludlow, to enjoy to him and his heirs forever, lying betwixt Musquantuin Chapel and the mouth of Naponsett."

Again, a book called "New England's Prospect,"† written by Mr. Wood, and printed in London in the year 1639, gives the following description of Mount Wollaston:—"Three miles to the north of this (Wessagussett) is Mount Wolliston, a very fertile soil, and a place very convenient for farmers' houses, there being great store of plain ground, without trees. Near this place is Massachusetts fields, where the greatest Sagamore in the country lived, before the plague, who caused it to be cleared for himself." After describing several other plantations, the same writer concludes in these words; "These be all the towns that were begun, when I came for England, which was the 15th of August, 1633." From which it appears, that so early as 1633, that is, a year at least before the Mount was granted by the General Court to be a part of Boston.

* Johnson, p. 41
† Page 31
the place was so much occupied and improved, as to deserve to be mentioned by a traveller, as one of the plantations of the country.

The Hon. John Quincy Adams gives it as his opinion, "that the Braintree company, mentioned by Winthrop in 1632, as having begun to settle at Mount Wollaston, did not remove to Newtown, or at least remained, most of them, where they had begun to settle. That they were the old planters mentioned by the Wonder-working Providence, and that it was at their solicitation that the name, Braintree, the place in England, whence they came, was given to the town."* I have already stated who are meant, in my opinion, by the phrase old planters in Johnson. With respect to the question, whether the Braintree company removed hence to Newtown, or continued here, where they first sat down, the following remarks are offered. "The Braintree company, which had begun to sit down at Mount Wollaston, by order of court, removed to Newtown." Such is Gov. Winthrop's testimony. And that the company did actually remove thither is positively asserted by Dr. Holmes, who, in his History of Cambridge,† (at first called Newtown,) gives the names of that company. Among the names contained in his list are the following, namely, Jeremy Adams, John Pratt, Nathaniel Richards, Wm. Wadsworth, Richard Webb, John White; names which, at the present day, are familiar in this and the neighboring towns. But in September of 1634, the General Court was occupied with the application, made by Mr. Hooker and his friends, for permission to remove from Newtown to Connecticut River, they complaining of want of room. It seems there was at first considerable opposition to this application. The difficulty was removed for a time by "the congregation of Newtown coming and accepting such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown." My conjecture is, that at this time some of the original settlers of Newtown, belonging to the Braintree company, so called, accepted lands of Boston at Mount Wollaston, especially as it was about this time that Boston had been enlarged by the court at Mount Wollaston, and as one of the chief subjects of complaint alleged by the Newtown settlers was "their want of ac-

* See Family Memorial, by Elisha Thayer, for a letter to the author by Hon. Mr. Adams, pp. 39, 40.
† Holmes's History of Cambridge, in Mass. Historical Collections.
commodation for their cattle.” The Braintree company appears to have been divided in 1634. A portion of them, according to the supposition stated above, received grants of land at Mount Wollaston, and these gave the name of Braintree to the place, when afterwards it was incorporated as a town; — and the other division of the company subsequently journeyed to the Connecticut River, and laid the foundations of Hartford.

D. Page 19.

John Wheelwright, the founder and first minister of Exeter, came from Lincolnshire, in England, and arrived at Boston, 26 May, 1636.* It was for a long time taken for granted, that Wheelwright’s first coming to this country was earlier than the date mentioned above, upon the strength of a Deed purporting to have been given by four Indian Sachems, 17 May, 1629, by which they convey lands, within the bounds of what is now New Hampshire, to one Mr. John Wheelwright, a minister of the gospel, and to his associates, upon certain specified conditions. Belknap inserted this Indian Deed in the Appendix to his History of New Hampshire, and regarded it as genuine. It has been shown, by Mr. Savage, in his edition of Winthrop’s Journal, not to be genuine. For the clear and conclusive reasoning by which the spuriousness of the document is made out, the reader is referred to the Appendix to Savage’s Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 405. Wheelwright’s first coming to this country, then, was in 1636. I find in the Records of the First Church, Boston, that “John Wheelwright and Mary his wife were admitted members the 12th day of the 4th month, 1636.” In the same Records is also the following entry: “The 30th of the 8th month, 1636. Our brother Mr. John Wheelwright was granted unto for the preparing for a church gathering at Mount Wollystone upon a petition from some of them that were resident there.”

Under date of 1636, Aug. 24, we find the following in Winthrop’s Journal: “The inhabitants of Boston, who had taken their farms

and lots at Mount Wollaston, finding it very burdensome to have their business so far off, desired to gather a church there. Many meetings were about it. The great let was, in regard it was given to Boston for upholding the town and church there, which end would be frustrate by the removal of so many chief men as would go thither. For helping of this, it was propounded, that such as dwelt there should pay sixpence the acre, yearly, for such lands as lay within a mile of the water, and three pence for that which lay further off."

There was a grant of land made to Mr. Wheelwright, at the Mount, which is thus recorded in the Old Records of the Town of Boston.

"The 2—th of the 12th mo. 1636. — At a meeting this day of Thomas Oliver and the other overseers, it is agreed that our brother Mr. John Wheelwright shall have an allotment of 250 acres laid out for him at Mount Wollaston, where may be most convenient, without prejudice to setting up of a town there, to be laid out by Mr. Coddington and our brother Wright."

And afterwards the following: — "3d of 2d mo. 1637. Allotment of 250 acres to John Wheelwright by W. Coddington and our brother Richard Wright thus; viz. 40 acres thereof in the sunk marsh lying South and by East of the land of the said W. Coddington — 5 acres for his house lot, and 205 acres at the end of it, running with one side of the first lot, and the line of 20 acres of the planting ground allotted to be extended into the country till his full proportion of 205 acres between these two lines be run out."

Mrs. Hutchinson had already broached her new opinions, and was favored, in the promulgation of them, by her brother, Mr. Wheelwright, by Mr. Vane, then governor of the colony, and by other prominent persons; and it seems to have been on account of these opinions, that Cotton and Winthrop objected to the proposal to retain Mr. Wheelwright as one of the ministers of Boston First Church. An alarm had spread through the colony, and in the month before, that is, October, Winthrop informs us, that "the ministers of the Bay assemble in Boston to inquire respecting Wheelwright's and Mrs. Hutchinson's new opinions."

On the 20th of January, 1636–7, on occasion of a fast which had been appointed by the public authorities, Mr. Wheelwright preached his famous sermon, which occasioned finally his expulsion
from the colony. A perfect copy of this sermon, in a modern hand, exists in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society; as well as a fragment, containing about three fourths of the sermon, in a more ancient handwriting. Of this fragment Mr. Savage says, that it is "probably original." But from a note on one of the blank leaves of the manuscript, which informs that "it was left in the hand of Mr. John Coggeshall, who was a deacon of the church in Boston;" it may be inferred that it is not original, but that it was copied by, and is in the handwriting of Mr. Coggeshall, a supporter of Wheelwright, and one who was banished for his adherence to that gentleman.

I have said in the text, that I suppose this sermon was delivered at Mount Wollaston. My reason for this assertion was, that Wheelwright had already, as has been shown, received authority to minister to the church gathering at the Mount; and there occurred to me no reason for doubting, that the sermon would be delivered at the place where he ordinarily preached. It is true, that on the old manuscript is written, that the sermon was preached in Boston. This, however, is not decisive of the point, because Mount Wollaston was, at that time, a part of Boston. A stronger objection to my assertion is a passage in Welde's Tract entitled — "Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians" — printed in 1644. "That upon the said Fast (Mr. Wheelwright being desired by the Church to exercise as a private brother by way of prophecy) when Mr. Cotton teaching in the afternoon out of Esa. 58. 4, had showed that it was not a fit work for a day of fast, to move strife and debate, &c.; yet Mr. Wheelwright, speaking after him, taught as is here before mentioned," &c. If this is to be taken literally, and not as the description given by a bitter opponent, who was seeking to make out a strong case against Wheelwright, it may still be supposed, that the sermon had been delivered to his own congregation at the Mount, and then the substance of it repeated in the Boston First Church in the afternoon. I am somewhat confirmed in this conjecture by the date of the grant of land made to Wheelwright, 3d of April, 1637. When the sermon was delivered, therefore, Mr. Wheelwright, as we must infer, had no house at the Mount, and would, on that account, be more likely to preach one part of the day there, and the other part in the First Church.

It cannot be pretended, that Wheelwright never preached at all
at the Mount, because all the early historians agree in their testimo-
ny that he did.

Under date of May 24, 1637, Winthrop says; "The former gov-
ernor and Mr. Coddington, being discontented that the people
had left them out of all public service, gave further proof of it in
the congregation; for they refused to sit in the magistrates' seat,
(where Mr. Vane had always sitten from his first arrival,) and went
and sate with the deacons, although the governor sent to desire
them to come in to him. And upon the day of the general fast,
they went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount with Mr.
Wheelwright."

The Fast here mentioned was, doubtless, subsequent to the one
upon which Wheelwright's sermon was delivered. But the extract
proves that he ministered here, and if he preached on this occasion
at the Mount, why not on the fast which occured four months be-
fore?

I shall mention but one more authority out of many that exist,
to prove that Mr. Wheelwright actually preached, for some time,
at the Mount: it is Welde, in his History of Antinomianism. He
relates an incident that "fell out at Mr. Wheelwright his farewell to
those whom he used to preach unto at the Mount." Gov. Winthrop
and Mr. Welde were contemporaries with Mr. Wheelwright, and
of course their testimony as to the point under consideration is
conclusive.

But perhaps too much space has been devoted to the ques-
tion where this sermon was delivered. It is more curious than
important, after all. To illustrate the character of the sermon, I
have given two extracts from it in another place, and have endeav-
ored to explain the leading idea of the sermon. For the conse-
quences that resulted from it, we are informed by Winthrop that,
at the court which began, March 9, 1636–7, Mr. Wheelwright was
adjudged "guilty of sedition, and also of contempt." Sentence
was deferred, however. There followed remonstrances and petitions
from the governor (Mr. Vane) and other dissenters, as well as
from the Boston First Church, justifying the sermon, and con-
demning the court's proceedings. A synod was also convened,
consisting of all the ministers of the colony, by whom the theologi-
cal questions involved in the controversy were discussed. This
assembly terminated unfavorably for Mr. Wheelwright. In the
mean time a political revolution had been effected. Vane and Cod-
dington, friends of Wheelwright, had been left out of the offices
they had previously held. At length, "the General Court being
assembled in the 2d of the 9th month, and finding, upon consulta-
tion, that two so opposite parties could not continue in the same
body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send
away some of the principal, &c. Then the Court sent for Mr.
Wheelwright, and he persisting to justify his sermon, and his
whole practice and opinions, and refusing to leave either the place
or his public exercisings, he was disfranchised and banished.
Upon which he appealed to the king, but neither called witnesses,
or desired any act to be made of it. The Court told him, that an
appeal did not lie; for by the king's grant we had power to hear
and determine without any reservation, &c. So he relinquished
his appeal, and the Court gave him leave to go to his house, upon
his promise, that, if he were not gone out of our jurisdiction
within fourteen days, he would render himself to one of the magis-
trates." *

The latter part of November, 1637, was, therefore, the time
when Wheelwright left the Massachusetts jurisdiction. His friends
and adherents, who were banished at the same time, went to the
south, and purchasing the island of Aquetneck from the natives,
began the separate colony of Rhode Island. They were solicitous
that he should join them; but he bent his steps in a different di-
rection, and sitting down at the Falls of the Piscataqua, laid the
foundation of the town of Exeter, one of the earliest settlements
in New Hampshire. In the Boston First Church Records is the
following: "Mr. John Wheelwright dismissed with eight others to
the church at the Falls of Paschataqua 11th mo. 6d 1638." There
he remained, until, in 1642, according to Belknap, "the inhabitants
of Exeter, finding themselves comprehended within the claim of
Massachusetts, petitioned the Court, and were readily admitted
(Sept. 8.) under their jurisdiction. And they were annexed to the
county of Essex. Upon this, Wheelwright, who was still under
sentence of banishment, with those of his church who were resolved
to adhere to him, removed into the province of Maine, and settled
at Wells." *

* Winthrop.
In 1643, Sept. 10, Mr. Wheelwright wrote to Gov. Winthrop a letter, in which he confessed that he had pressed his theological views too far, and urged them with an undue warmth, and upon this, his sentence of banishment was soon after released. Being restored to the freedom of the colony, he removed to Hampton, where he ministered many years. In the year 1658, according to Farmer, he was in England, and was in favor with the Protector. Cromwell and he are said to have been school-fellows; and the anecdote has been handed down, that Cromwell declared Wheelwright to be the only person he ever was afraid of at football. Upon the fall of the Commonwealth, and the restoration of the royal government in England, Wheelwright returned, and settled at Salisbury, and there died, 15 Nov. 1679. "He lived," says Hutchinson, "to be the oldest minister in the colony, which would have been taken notice of, if his persecutors had not remained in power." Mr. Wheelwright, according to the same authority, was "several years in England, and lived in the neighborhood of Sir Henry Vane, who had been his patron in New England, and now took great notice of him. Vane being disaffected to Cromwell, it is not likely that Cromwell had any great esteem for Wheelwright; yet he sent for him by one of his guard, and after a very orthodox discourse, according to Mr. Wheelwright's apprehensions of orthodoxy, 'and without showing countenance to sectaries,' he exhorted him to perseverance against his opposers, and assured him their notions would vanish into nothing. This meeting effectually engaged Mr. Wheelwright in Cromwell's favor."

Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, who caused such an excitement in the colony, came over to this country in September, 1634. Her husband, Wm. Hutchinson, had a grant of land made to him at Mount Wollaston. She is described by Welde, in his book against the Antinomians, as "a woman of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold
than a man, though in understanding and judgment inferior to many women." But Welde was a Puritan, and therefore devoid of gallantry; and a bigot, and therefore without charity. Soon after she came into the country, she established meetings at her house, which were attended by persons of her own sex, at which the sermons of the previous Sabbath were criticised, the performances of the different ministers of the neighborhood compared, and points in theology discussed. The consequence was, that the colony was divided into two parties, whose relative strength was tested at the polls. Gov. Vane lost his election, and soon after returned to England; and Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents were banished from the colony. Winthrop informs us, that, after sentence of banishment had been pronounced by the court against her, "she went by water to her farm at the Mount, where she was to take water, with Mr. Wheelwright's wife and family, to go to Piscataquack; but she changed her mind, and went by land to Providence, and so to the island in the Narraganset Bay, which her husband and the rest of that sect had purchased of the Indians, and prepared with all speed to remove into." Her fate was a melancholy one. Her husband having died in 1642, she removed from Rhode Island into the Dutch country, and was killed by the Indians, with all her children, except one daughter, who was carried into captivity.

F. Page 22.

"Wm. Coddington, Esq., the munificent donor of our school lands, which now rent at £142, from which this town has reaped great benefit in good schools for many years past." * Mr. Hancock speaks in this manner of one who deserves to be remembered by the inhabitants of this place. Mr. Coddington came to this country with Gov. Winthrop, and was a man of high respectability and

* Hancock's Century Discourse. The income of the school lands, which Mr. Hancock puts at £142, sounds large. But it must be remembered, that New England paper money had depreciated very much
good estate. He and the first Edmund Quincy were among the first who received grants of land at this place, when Mount Wollaston, as it was called, formed part of the town of Boston. Mr. Coddington's grant comprised what is now known by the name of the Mount Wollaston Farm, at present belonging to the Hon. John Quincy Adams.

In the first Book of Braintree Town Records is a deed of land conveyed from Wm. Coddington, Esq. to the town of Braintree. The earliest notice I find of the application of the school fund is in the following vote.

"Feb. 1668. That the town of Braintree did consent to lay the school land, that is to say, the annual income of it, for a salary for a school-master, and to make it up £20 besides what every child must give." Mr. Benjamin Tompson, son of the first pastor, was the earliest schoolmaster I can find mention of in this place.

In the Dedication to Callender's Century Discourse, addressed to the Hon. Wm. Coddington, Esq., there is the following notice of the friend of Wheelwright, and the founder of the Commonwealth of Rhode Island.

"Your honored grandfather, William Coddington, Esq., was chosen in England to be an assistant of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, A. D. 1629, and in 1630 came over to New England with the Governor and the Charter, &c.; after which he was several times rechosen to that honorable and important office. He was for some time treasurer of the colony. He was with the chiefest in all public charges, 'and a principal merchant in Boston,' where he built the first brick house.

"In the year 1637, when the contentions ran so high in the country, he was grieved at the proceedings of the court against Mr. Wheelwright and others. And when he found that his opposition to those measures was ineffectual, he entered his protest, 'that his dissent might appear to succeeding times'; and though he was in the fairest way to be great, in the Massachusetts, as to outward things, yet he voluntarily quitted his advantageous situation at Boston, his large property and his improvements at Braintree,* for peace' sake, and that he might befriend, protect, and assist the pious people, who were meditating a removal from that colony, on account of their religious differences.

* Then Mount Wollaston.
"Here, when the people first incorporated themselves a body politic on this island, they chose him to be their judge or chief ruler, and continued to elect him annually to be their governor for seven years together, till the patent took place, and the island was incorporated with Providence Plantations.

"In the year 1647, he assisted in forming the body of laws, which has been the basis of our constitution and government ever since; and the next year being chosen governor of the colony, declined the office.

"In 1651, he had a commission from the supreme authority then in England, to be governor of the island, pursuant to a power reserved in the patent; but the people being jealous ' the commission might affect their lands and liberties, as secured to them by the patent,' he readily laid it down on the first notice from England that he might do so; and for their further satisfaction and contentment, he, by a writing under his hand, obliged himself to make a formal surrender of all right and title to any of the lands, more than his proportion in common with the other inhabitants, whenever it should be demanded.

"After that, he seems to have retired much from public business, till toward the latter end of his days, when he was again divers times prevailed with to take the government upon him; as he did particularly in 1678, when he died, November 1, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, a good man full of days. Thus, after he had the honor to be the first judge and governor of this island, 'after he had spent much of his estate and the prime of his life in propagating plantations,' he died governor of the colony — in promoting the welfare and the prosperity of the little commonwealth, which he had in a manner founded." — See Callender's Century Sermon, Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. IV.

G. Page 23.

Henry Vane descended from a family which had been long distinguished in English History. He was born in 1612, and early in life embraced the religious views held by the Puritans. Finding
his situation at home embarrassing, on account of his disaffection to the established church, he emigrated to America in 1635, and was received in Boston with every demonstration of respect. In 1636, he was elected governor of Massachusetts, being at that time twenty-four years of age. He advocated the sentiments of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, and was the head of what was called the Antinomian party. That party, however, was put down, and Vane took passage for England in August, 1637. He was a member of the Long Parliament, and a decided and consistent friend of liberty, although he disapproved of the trial and execution of King Charles. He was too pure and just not to be an object of hatred and suspicion to Cromwell, when that ambitious personage had secured to himself the supreme power. After the death of Oliver Cromwell, Vane came forth from his retirement, and became a member of Parliament, where he was instrumental, by his eloquence, in overthrowing the government of Richard Cromwell. Upon the restoration of the monarchy, Vane, who had always been a decided republican, was seized and imprisoned, and finally executed. After he had been condemned to death, it was suggested, that, by making submission to the king, his life might perhaps be saved. His noble reply was; "If the king does not think himself more concerned for his honor and word, than I am for my life, let him take it. Nay, I declare that I value my life less in a good cause, than the king can do his promise. He is so sufficiently obliged to spare my life, that it is fitter for him to do it, than for me to seek it." *

The character of Sir Henry Vane has been differently estimated by different historians. The man, however, who has received the commendation of Milton in his own age, and of Sir James Mackintosh in a subsequent period, cannot suffer materially in his fame, from those who can more easily shout fanatic, than they can appreciate his qualities. The following eloquent extract is from one of our own historians.

"At the same time came Henry Vane, the younger, a man of the purest mind; a statesman of spotless integrity; whose name the progress of intelligence and liberty will erase from the rubric of fanatics and traitors, and insert high among the aspirants after truth

* See Life of Vane, by Rev. C. W. Upham, in Sparks's Biography.
and the martyrs for liberty. He had valued the 'obedience of the gospel' more than the successful career of English diplomacy, and cheerfully 'forsook the preferments of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in their purity in New-England.' He was happy in the possession of an admirable genius, though naturally more inclined to contemplative excellence than to action; he was happy in the eulogist of his virtues; for Milton, ever so parsimonious of praise, reserving the majesty of his verse to celebrate the glories and vindicate the Providence of God, was lavish of his encomiums on the youthful friend of religious liberty."*

H. Page 38.

The following is a list of the deacons of the church, with the dates annexed, as far as these could be ascertained.

Samuel Bass, July 5, 1640, received to Communion.
Alexander Winchester, " 12, " dismissed from First Church Boston.
Richard Brackett, " 21, 1642, dism. fr. First Church Bost.
Francis Eliot, Oct. 12, 1653.
William Alice, " " "
Robert Parmenter, Nov. 2, 1679.
Samuel Tompson " " "
Thomas Bass,
Joseph Penniman,
Nathaniel Wales,
Benjamin Savil,
Moses Paine,
Gregory Belcher,
Peter Adams, Aug. 21, 1727.
Samuel Savil, " " "

John Adams, “ “ “
Joseph Palmer, “ 29, (1752 or ’53 probably.)
Moses Belcher, “ “ “
Joseph Neal, jr. “ “ “
Benjamin Bass, “ 1, 1771.
Ebenezer Adams, Nov. 3, 1773.
Jonathan Webb,
Elijah Veazie,
Jonathan Bass,
Josiah Adams,
Daniel Spear, Jan. 27, 1811.
Samuel Savil, Oct. 25, 1817.
William Spear, Nov. 22, 1835.
James Newcomb,

The present deacons are Messrs. Josiah Adams, Samuel Savil, William Spear, and James Newcomb.

The church has had two Ruling Elders; Stephen Kinsley, ordained Oct. 12, 1653,— and Nathaniel Wales, ordained Feb. 27, 1700.

I. Pages 39, 43.

Mr. William Tompson, whose name is spelt without an h, was a native of Lancashire, England. He is placed by Cotton Mather in his First Classis, including those that had been in the exercise of their ministry previous to their leaving England. We learn also from Mather, who prefers that his facts should come dancing down to posterity in rude numbers, that he was educated at Oxford, and after leaving the University, exercised his gifts, as a Christian minister, in the North of England.

"Oxford this light with Tongues and Arts doth trim;
And then his Northern town doth challenge him."
His time and strength he centred there in this;
To do good works, and be what now he is.
His fulgent virtues there, and learned strains,
Tall, comely presence, life unsoil’d with stains,
Things most on Worthies, in their stories writ,
Did him to move in Orbs of service fit.”

From the same authority we learn, that, as soon as he left the University, he distinguished himself for his zeal and eloquence in the cause of the Protestant religion, and attracted many hearers, and won many converts. In the inscription to a work, the joint production of Mr. Richard Mather, first minister of Dorchester, N. E., and Mr. Wm. Tompson, addressed to Mr. Herle, is the following passage: “Our answer, which as we have written and now published it for the truth’s sake — so in special manner in love to yourself and our dear countrymen and friends, as in other places of Lancashire, so in your parish of Winwick, wherein one of us was born, and the other was for sundry years together an unworthy minister of the Gospel of Christ.”

Cotton Mather gives Lowton as the town in which his ancestor Richard was born, but mentions his being put to school in Winwick, four miles from his father's door; so that the parish of Winwick probably included Lowton; and we may conclude, that it was Tompson who preached there. The time of his coming to New England cannot be determined with certainty. Farmer says,† that he came in the year 1637, but does not mention his reasons.

Johnson, in his “Wonder-working Providence,” and Josselyn, in his “Chronological Observations,” ‡ give 1638 as the year of his emigrating. He is mentioned by the author of “Wonder-working Providence,” under date of 1637, as coming into the country just previous to the synod held to settle the Antinomian controversy. This synod began, Aug. 30, 1637. In the Records of Dorchester Church, which I have been enabled to inspect, through the kindness of my friend, Rev. Mr. Hall, and of which a fair copy has been made by the learned Dr. Harris, formerly minister of that church, the name of Mr. Wm. Tompson is given as a member. It stands in connexion with the names of two other ministers, Mr. George

* Mather's Magnalia, Life of Tompson.
† Farmer's Geneal. Register.
‡ See these works in Massachusetts Historical Collections.
Moxon and Mr. Samuel Newman; but no date of admission is given. That church, it appears from the Records, was gathered, the 23d day of August, 1636, and the covenant was then signed by the seven original members, whose names are there given. After these follows a long list of names, without any date, and of these Mr. Tompson's name is the seventy-third in order. As it stands next to the name of Mr. Samuel Newman, we may conclude that they were admitted at the same time. Now Mather informs us, in his life of Mr. Newman, that that individual came over in the year 1638, and that “after his arrival at New England, he spent a year and half at Dorchester,* &c. From these circumstances we are led to infer, that 1638 is the earliest date that can be assigned for the admission of Mr. Tompson into the Dorchester church. The fact before mentioned, that Mather and Tompson came from the same county in England, and had been friends before their flight into the wilderness, may account for Mr. Tompson's having joined himself to Mr. Mather's church in New England. How long he resided in Dorchester is not known. But the next earliest mention of him is found in Winthrop's New England, where he is spoken of as “a very holy man, who had been an instrument of much good at Acomenticus.† This was the original name of York, in what is now the State of Maine. Mr. Tompson was ordained the pastor of the church at Mount Wollaston, the 19th of November, 1639,‡ and made freeman, 13th May, 1640. Mr. Hancock says, in a note to one of his Century Sermons, that “Mr. Tompson was ordained eight days after the church was gathered, viz. Sept. 24, 1639,” but Winthrop's authority is to be preferred. Under date of 27th of 11th month (January), 1639, a grant of 120 acres of land at Mount Wollaston was made to Mr. Tompson, free from the rate of 3s. pr. acre, which charge was one of the conditions annexed by the town of Boston to the permission they gave the inhabitants at the Mount to become a town by themselves.§ There was at the same time a grant made of 80 acres, free from the same rate, to Mr. Henry Flynt, teacher of the newly gathered church. And as late as the 29th of 5th month (July), 1644, the following grant is re-

* Mather's Magnalia.
§ Boston Town Records. First Book.
corded — "That parcel of marsh that belongeth unto the town of Boston in the three hill marsh at Braintree, which was not formerly counted to belong to Mr. Wheelwright's marsh, together with the two hillocks of upland therein, is granted to be equally divided between Wm. Tompson and Henry Flynt, Teacher of the church of Braintree." * The first mention I find of the pastor and teacher in the Braintree Town Records, which have been kindly loaned me by the present Town Clerk of Braintree, is the following:

"29th 10th month (December), 1645. At a town meeting, there being present Mr. Welde, James Peniman, Martin Sanders, Thomas Mekins, Samuel Bass, Peter Brackett. It is ordered, that the 14 acres of Town Marsh shall be improved to the Elders' use, Mr. Tompson and Mr. Flint (till) such time as the Townsmen shall see fit otherwise to dispose of it."†

One of the most important incidents in the life of Mr. Tompson was his being chosen one of three ministers to go on a mission to Virginia, in 1642, upon a request, from certain individuals in that remote colony, that competent ministers of the congregational order should be sent to preach the Gospel to them. The following extract from Hubbard's History of New England will explain the reasons and objects of this mission.

"In the same year (1642) one Mr. Bennet, a gentleman of Virginia, arrived at Boston, bringing letters with him from sundry well-disposed people there, to the ministers of New England, bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom upon experience of their gifts and godliness they might call to office. Upon these letters, (which were openly read at Boston, on a lecture-day,) the ministers there met, agreed to set a day apart to seek God in the thing, and agreed upon three, which might most easily be spared, viz. Mr. Phillips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson of Braintree, and Mr. Miller of Rowley, (these churches having each of them two ministers,) which the General Court approved of, and ordered that the Governor should commend them, by his letters, to the Governor and Council of Virginia. But Mr. Phillips not being willing to go, Mr. Knowles, his fellow-laborer, and Mr. Thompson were sent

* Boston Town Records. First Book.
† Braintree Town Records. First Book.
away, with the consent of their churches, and departed on their way, on the 7th of October, 1642, to meet the vessel that should transport them at Narraganset; but Mr. Miller, because of his bodily weakness, did not accept the call. Both the churches were willing to dismiss their ministers to that work, and the court likewise did allow and further it, for the advancement of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, not fearing to part with such desirable persons, because they looked at it as seed sown, that might bring in a plentiful harvest.

"They that were sent to Virginia were long wind bound at Rhode Island, and met with many other difficulties, so as they made it eleven weeks of a dangerous passage before they arrived there; but had this advantage in the way, that they took a third minister along with them, viz. Mr. James, (formerly the pastor of the church at Charlestown,) from New Haven. They found loving and liberal entertainment in the country, and were bestowed in several places, by the care of some honest minded persons, that much desired their company, rather than by any care of the governor's. And though the difficulties and dangers they were continually exercised with in their way thither put them upon some question, whether their call were of God or not, yet were they much encouraged by the success of their ministry, through the blessing of God, in that place. Mr. Thompson, a man of a melancholy temper and crazy body, wrote word back to his friends, that he found his health so repaired, and his spirit so enlarged, that he had not been in the like condition since he first left England. But it fared with them, as it had done before with the apostles in the primitive times, that the people magnified them, and their hearts seemed to be much inflamed with an earnest desire after the gospel, though the civil rulers of the country did not allow of their public preaching, because they did not conform to the orders of the Church of England; however the people resorted to them, in private houses, as much as before. At their return, which was the next summer, by the letters they brought with them, it appears that God had greatly blessed their ministry, for the time while they were there, which was not long; for the rulers of the country did in a sense drive them out, having made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the English Church should depart the country by such a day."*

Winthrop, from whom Hubbard took a great part of the materials of his History, mentions some additional particulars respecting this mission. "They were eleven weeks," he says, "before they arrived. They lay wind-bound some time at Aquiday; then, as they passed Hellgate between Long Island and the Dutch, their pinnace was bilged upon the rocks, so as she was near foundered before they could run on the next shore. The Dutch Governor gave them slender entertainment; but Mr. Allerton of New Haven, being there, took great pains and care for them, and procured them a very good pinnace, and all things necessary. So they set sail in the dead of winter, and had much foul weather, so as with great difficulty and danger they arrived safe in Virginia."*

It appears, from what is related concerning this mission, that, although it did not succeed, as had been anticipated, and was abruptly terminated by the order from the authorities of the Virginia colony, yet it was not wholly without fruit. Many seem to have been favorably impressed by the preaching of Tompson and his associates; and the early historians of New England mention particularly the removal of Daniel Gookins from Virginia to New England, as the result of the deep impression produced by the Puritan preachers from the North. This individual seems to have been highly esteemed in his day. He removed to this part of the country in 1644, and settled in Cambridge; was Major General of the Massachusetts Colony, and was author of "The Historical Collections of the Indians in New England."† Mather thus alludes, and in no bad strain, to the dangers and benefits that attended this mission.

"When Reverend Knowles and he, sailed hand in hand,
To Christ espousing the Virginian land,
Upon a ledge of craggy rocks near stay'd,
His Bible in his bosom thrusting sav'd;
The Bible, the best cordial of his heart,
'Come floods, come flames, (cried he,) we'll never part.'
A constellation of great converts there,
Shone round him, and his heavenly glory were.
Gookins was one of these: by Tompson's pains,
Christ and New England a dear Gookins gains."‡

† See Mass. Hist. Collections, where this work has been printed.
‡ Mather's Magnalia, Life of Tompson.
Mr. Tompson met with a severe bereavement in the death, during his absence, of his wife, who is described as "a godly young woman, and a comfortable help to him, being left behind with a company of small children, she was taken away by death, and all his children scattered, but well disposed of among his godly friends."*

In the First Book of Records of First Congregational Church, Roxbury, with the loan of which I have been favored, are entered some verses, occasioned by the death of Mrs. Tompson. They are in the form of a consolatory address, supposed to be made by the deceased wife, from the world of spirits, to her surviving husband. They will be regarded, of course, rather as a curious relic of the past, than as presenting any very strong claims to poetical merit. The lines, however, which are italicised are expressed in natural and simple language, which was uncommon in the metrical attempts of that day.

"An Anagram of Mrs. Tomson, which Mr. [here some words are obliterated in the manuscript] Mr. Tomson to Virginia, she dying in his absence, when he was sent to preach Christ to them.

Abigayll Tomson.

I am gon to al blys.

The blessed news I send to thee is this,
That I am gone from thee unto all bliss, —
Such as the saints and angels do enjoy,
Whom neither devil, world nor flesh annoy;
The bliss of blisses. I am gone to him,
Who as a bride did for himself me trim.
Thy bride I was, (a most unworthy one,)
But to a better bridegroom I am gone,
Who doth account me worthy of himself,
Though I were never such a worthless elf.
He hath me clad with his own worthiness,
And for the sake thereof he doth me bless.
Thou didst thy part to wash me, but his grace
Hath left no spot nor wrinkle in my face.
Thou little think'st, nor canst at all conceive,
What is the bliss that I do now receive.
When oft I heard thee preach and pray and sing,
I thought that heaven was a most glorious thing.

And I believe, if any knew, 't was thou
That knew'st what manner thing it was, but now
I see thou sawest but a glimpse, and hast
No more of heaven, but a little taste
Compared with that which here we see and have,
Nor can'st have more till thou have past the grave.
Thou never told'st me of the tithe, nor yet
The hundredth thousand thousand part of it.
Alas! (dear soul,) how short is all the fame
Of these third heavens where I translated am.

Oh if thou ever loved'st me at all,
Whom thou didst by such loving titles call,
Yea, if thou lovest Christ, as who doth more,
Then do not thou my death too much deplore.
Wring not thy hands, nor sigh, nor cry, nor weep,
Because thine Abigail is fell'n asleep:
'Tis but her body, which shall rise again,
In Christ's sweet bosom doth her soul remain.
Mourn not as 'if thou hast no hope of me,
'Tis I, 'tis I have cause to pity thee.
O turn thy sighing into songs of praise
Unto the name of God, let all thy days
Be spent in blessing of his grace for this,
That he hath brought me to this place of bliss.
It was a blessed, a thrice blessed snow,
Which to the meeting I then waded through.
When pierced I was upon my naked skin,
Up to the middle the deep snow within,
There never was more happy way I trod,
That brought me home so soon unto my God;
Where we do always hallelujahs sing
Unto that blessed and eternal king,
Where I do look for thee to come ere long
To sing thy part in this most joyful song;
Instead of Braintree church, conducting me
Unto a better church, where now I see
Not sinful men, but Christ, and those that are
Fully exempt from every spot and scar
Of sinful guilt; where I no longer (need)
Or word or seal my feeble soul to (feed),
But face to face I do behold the lamb
That down from heaven for my salvation came,
And hither is ascended up again,
Me to prepare a place wherein to reign.
Mr. Tompson married, for a second wife, Anne, the widow of Symon Crosbie of Cambridge. The date of this second marriage of Mr. Tompson I have not ascertained, but suppose it to have been in 1646 or 1647. Their only child, Anna Tompson, was born March 3, 1648.*

The next notice I have met with of Mr. Tompson is connected with the Synod, which was convened at Cambridge in 1648, and which framed the platform of Church Discipline for our Congregational churches. "Mr. Allen of Dedham preached out of Acts 15, a very godly, learned, and particular handling of near all the doctrines and applications concerning that subject, &c.

"It fell out about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seat, where many of the elders sate behind the preacher. It came in at the door where people stood thick upon the stairs. Di¬vers of the elders shifted from it, but Mr. Tompson, one of the elders of Braintree, a man of much faith, trode upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a small pair of grains, until it was killed. This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by divine providence, it is out of doubt, the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The serpent is the devil; the Synod, the representative of the churches of Christ in New England. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him, and crushed his head."†—The incident here related so gravely, together with the remarks made upon it by such a man as Winthrop, furnishes a singular illustration of the character of our fathers.

For several years before his death, Mr. Tompson’s happiness and usefulness appear to have been destroyed, by a fixed melancholy, probably constitutional, and which amounted at times to mental alienation. He left off his public labors as a preacher, in the year 1659, about seven years before his death.‡

The state of his mind, in the latter portion of his life, doubtless incapacitated him for the management of his temporal affairs, as

* Braintree Register of Births, Deaths, &c. A copy of this old Register was made several years since for President John Adams, and is now in the possession of Hon. John Q. Adams, to whom I am indebted for the use of it.
‡ This fact I ascertained from one of the old documents, in the archives of the State, so conveniently arranged by Mr. Felt.
well as the discharge of his official duties. In the archives of the State is a document entitled, "A proposal for the issue of the complaints presented by the beloved brethren, the Deacons of the Church of Braintree, in reference to our beloved sister Mrs. Tompson, yet standing member of the Church of Cambridge, drawn up by the Elders and some brethren of that church who had an hearing thereof at Cambridge, October 15, 1661." — This unhappy difference between Mrs. Tompson and the officers of the Braintree Church seems to have continued. After the decease of her husband, she presented a petition, in 1668, to the General Court, in which she complains of certain moneys being withheld, that were due to her husband for his services, and asks for relief, although she "humbly craves, that she may not be interpreted to accuse the Church of acts of any injustice or neglect in the place where she lives." — In this connexion it may be mentioned that in the Dorchester Church Records is the following entry:

"The 26 (1) '65.

"The day abovesaid, at the motion of Mr. Mather, there was a contribution for Mr. Tompson at Braintree, unto which there was given in money £6. 0s. 9d., besides notes for corn and other things, above 30s.; and some more money was added afterwards to the value of 8s. 3d."

It is not easy to account for Mr. Tompson's becoming so reduced in his circumstances. Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," has a passage which bears upon the subject. "This Town" (he is speaking of the town then recently incorporated at Mount Wollaston, by the name of Braintree) "hath great store of land in tillage, and is at present in a very thriving condition for outward things, although some of Boston retain their farms from being of their Town, yet do they lie within their bounds, and how it comes to pass I know not; their officers have somewhat short allowance; they are well stored with cattle and corn, and as a people receives so should they give. The Reverend Mr. Tompson is a man abounding in zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and of an ardent affection, in so much that he is apt to forget himself in things that concern his own good," &c.

And yet from the Report of the Committee,* appointed by the

* See Massachusetts Historical Collections, 3d Series, Vol. I.
General Court, to inquire concerning the maintenance of ministers in the County of Suffolk, it appears that the salary allowed their ministers in Braintree, was, considering the size of the place, quite as good as in the neighboring towns. That Committee, consisting of Thomas Savage, Eleazer Lusher, John Johnson, met 22d of July, 1657. According to their report Hingham, having about one hundred families, allowed £90 pr. annum. Weymouth, £100 pr. annum, with 60 families. Dorchester, £100, 120 families. Roxbury, to Mr. Elliot and Mr. Danforth each £60, 80 families. Dedham £60, 166 families. Medfield, £50 pr. annum, 40 families. Hull, £40 pr. annum, 20 families. The Report likewise mentions that the mode of raising the salaries in Braintree was by public contribution, and for this reason, perhaps, the amount raised was liable to vary from time to time.

Death at length came to deliver the pastor from his outward straits, and to relieve his mental distress. It is gratifying to be assured, that before his departure, the cloud, that had settled upon him for years, lifted, and he enjoyed a brief season of peace. He died, December 10, 1666; according to his grave-stone, which is still standing in the burying place in this town, with the following inscription: “Here lies buried the body of the Rev. Mr. William Tompson, the first Pastor of Braintrey Church, who deceased December 10, 1666, Ætatis suæ 68.

“He was a learned, solid, sound divine, Whose name and fame in both England did shine.”

Although this is, doubtless, the true date of his death, there is a singular diversity on this point, in contemporary notices of the event, which serves to show how difficult it is to attain to historical exactness, where exactness is of more moment than in the present instance. The Roxbury Church Records, in noticing the event, make it occur the 12th of 10th mo. ’66. Hobart’s manuscript Journal * has the following entry: “Dec. 9, 1666, Mr. Tompson, minister at Braintree, died 9 day.” The Braintree Register of Births, Deaths, &c., Mr. Adams’s copy, gives 10th mo. 10, 1666. Mr. Hancock, in a note to one of his Century Discourses gives the date December 10, 1668, which is manifestly a mistake, and probably a misprint.

* Journal of Mr. Peter Hobart, first Minister of Hingham, kindly procured for me, with other old manuscripts, by Solomon Lincoln, Esq. of Hingham.
Mr. Tompson is described by Mather, in his Magnalia, as "a very powerful and successful preacher; and we find his name sometimes joined in the title page of several books, with his countryman, Mr. Richard Mather, as a writer." Since the Discourses in this Pamphlet were written, I have succeeded in finding in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society one work, the joint production of these two individuals. It bears the following title: "A modest and brotherly answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book against the Independence of Churches, wherein his four arguments for the government of Synods over particular Congregations are friendly examined and clearly answered. Together with Christian and loving animadversions upon sundry other observable passages in the said Book.

"All tending to declare the true use of Synods, and the power of Congregational Churches, in the points of electing and ordaining their own officers.


"Sent from thence after the assembly of Elders were dissolved, that last met in Cambridge, to debate matters about church government. London, 1644."

From the Inscription prefixed to this work a quotation has already been made in the first part of the present note.

The children of Mr. Tompson, according to Farmer,* were William, Samuel, Joseph, Benjamin, and a daughter who married William Very. William, if there was a son by this name, which I question, and Samuel must have been born in England. Mr. Savage, in his Edition of Winthrop, says that "the Braintree Records mention the birth of his son Joseph, 1 May, 1640, Benjamin, 14 July, 1642, and the death of his wife in January, 1642." This is manifestly a mistake, and should be 1643, as Farmer has it. I have not been able to find, in Mr. Adams's copy of the Braintree Register, the births or the death mentioned above. The daughter's name was Anna, and she was born 1 mo. 3, 1648.† This was a child by his second wife. The others were the children of his first wife, "his beloved Abigail." — There was a Wm. Thompson graduated

* Farmer's Genealogical Register.  
† Braintree Register.
at Harvard College, 1653, and him Farmer thinks to have been a son of the Pastor of Braintree.* He became a preacher and was invited to settle at Springfield, and appears to have been living in 1698. In the Suffolk Probate Records is a Document, entitled, "Articles of agreement between Mrs. Anna Tompson, widow of Mr. Wm. Tompson of Braintree, and Mr. Tompson's children, concerning the estate," &c. In this Document, dated 2 May, 1667, Samuel is spoken of as the oldest son of Mr. Tompson, and no William is mentioned. This leads me to think that Farmer was in an error on this point. Samuel was a Deacon of the Braintree Church. He was married to Sarah Shepard, 25 April, 1656, by Mr. Brown of Watertown.† He was voted town Clerk in the year 1690.‡ The same year he made the following entry: "Samuel Tompson sen., who is aged, the 16th Feb. 1690, 60 years, recorded his children which he had, by Sarah his wife,” &c. § It appears then that he was born himself in the year 1630, and was about 7 years of age when his father emigrated to New England. His death is noticed thus; "Samuel Tompson sen., Deacon of Br. Church, for 16 years, and standing elected for a ruling elder, died, 18 June, 1695 AÆt. 64 yrs.”|| He was also Representative 14 years.¶ His grave stone is to be seen in our burying ground. Edward Tompson, ordained minister of Marshfield, 14 Oct. 1696, was son of the preceding, and not of Benjamin, as Farmer asserts.

"Joseph, son of the Rev. Wm. Tompson, was born at Braintree, 1 May, 1640, married Mary Brackett, 24 July, 1662, and soon after settled in Billerica, where he was a schoolmaster, captain, selectman, town clerk, deacon of the church many years, and in 1699, 1700, and 1701, a representative to the General Court. He died, 13 Oct. 1732, AÆ. 92."**

Benjamin, son of the Rev. Wm. Tompson, was born at Braintree, 14 July, 1642, and graduated at Harvard College, 1662.†† He was town Clerk of Braintree in 1696. He kept a school in this town many years. He was a poet, and "author of the verses in praise of Whiting, which are, probably,” says the Editor of Winthrop, ‡‡ "the best in the Magnalia.” His death is thus mentioned in the Braintree Register.† Braintree Register. †† Ibid. ** Ibid. ‡‡ Winthrop’s N. England, Savage’s Note to p. 313. Vol. I.
tree Register: "Mr. Benj. Tompson, practitioner of physic for above 30 years, during which time he kept a grammar school in Boston, Charleston, and Braintree, having left behind him a weary world, 8 children, 28 grand-children, deceased 13 April, 1714. And lieth buried in Roxbury, Æt. 72. Benjamin, the youngest son of Rev. Wm. Tompson, by his beloved Abigail, who died while Mr. Tompson was in Virginia with the Rev. Mr. Knowles."

Whether Mr. Tompson's first wife, who died in his absence, was buried in Braintree, I do not know. There is no stone remaining here to her memory. His second wife died Oct. 11, 1675, and lies buried beside him.*

"It is supposed," says Mr. Savage, "that the celebrated Benjamin Tompson, Count Rumford, was descended from this first Pastor of Braintree."† It is not agreeable to be obliged to question the statement, but Farmer has traced the Count's descent from a different family, and who will dispute with Farmer on such a point?

Mr. Tompson died intestate. There is in the Suffolk Probate Office an inventory of his effects,‡ which corresponds too closely with Mather's lines:

"Braintree was of this Jewel then possesst,
Until himself he labored into rest,
His Inventory then, with John's was took;
A rough Cont, girdle, with the sacred Book."

K. Page 40.

The account given by Mather, in his Magnalia, of Mr. Henry Flint (or Flynt, as it is found most frequently spelt) is very meagre. It amounts to but little more than that his reverence for John Cotton was so great, that, having twins, he called one of them John, and the other Cotton. According to Johnson, he arrived here in the year 1635. "He was admitted of Boston Church, 15 November, this year (1635) a fortnight after Vane."§ In a manuscript

* Braintree Register.
‡ The old Suffolk County, it will be remembered, included Braintree.
Journal of Rev. Josiah Flynt, son of the first Teacher of Braintree,*
I find the following entry: "Mr. Henry Flint came to New England 2, (12)m. 1635." I know not how to reconcile this with the date of his admission into the Boston church, except by supposing that by the 12th mo. (which was February) was intended that which closed the year 1634, according to the computation then in use. And I am confirmed in this supposition, by what is added, namely, "was ordained Teacher of the church of Braintree 1640." He was in fact ordained, 17 March, 1639-40. This part of the manuscript was, I suppose, written by Henry Flynt, Esq. The year then commenced, it will be borne in mind, with March, so that February closed the year, instead of being, as now, the second month of a new year.

From what part of England Mr. Flynt came can be known only by inference. Thomas Flynt, of Concord, says Farmer, "brother of the Rev. Henry Flynt, came from Matlock in Derbyshire, and settled in Concord, in 1637."† We may take for granted, therefore, that the minister of Braintree came from the same place. He was admitted Freeman,‡ 25 May, 1636. During the Antinomian excitement, he seems to have favored the new views, perhaps out of deference to Mr. Cotton, whom he is said to have admired so much; and if so, he followed the example of Cotton still further, and evinced his prudence, by abjuring the doctrine of Mr. Wheelwright, when he and his principal friends had been obliged to leave the colony. "There is entered," says Mr. Savage, § "so late as 13 May, 1640, the submission of Mr. Henry Flynt. But the victory over him was well deserving of notice, as he was a distinguished young man, then chosen minister at Braintree, where his settlement, which should have taken place at the same time with Tompson's, 24 Sept. 1639,|| was delayed till 17 March after. No doubt this postponement was, to afford him liberal opportunity for this recantation." And it will be perceived by the following extract from the "Wonder-working

* This manuscript belonged to the Rev. Dr. Holmes, the American Annalist, and is now in the hands of his widow, from whom it was procured for my use by the kindness of Miss Quincy.
† Farmer's Genealogical Register.
‡ Ibid.
|| This date is a mistake. Winthrop gives the date of Tompson's ordination, Nov. 19, 1639. Vol. I. p. 324.
Providence," that Mr. Flynt was honored as one of the instruments for correcting the heterodoxy that had prevailed at the Mount, in the time of Wheelwright. "They had formerly one Mr. Wheelwright to preach unto them, (till this government could no longer contain them,) they, many of them, in the mean time, belonging to the Church of Christ in Boston, but after his departure, they gathered into a church themselves; having some enlargement of land, they began to be well peopled, calling to office among them, the reverend and godly Mr. Wm. Tompson, and Mr. Henry Flynt, the one to the office of a Pastor, the other of a Teacher; the people are purged, by their industry, from the sour leaven of those sinful opinions that began to spread, and if any remain among them, it is very covert."*

It has been mentioned, in another place, that he had a grant of 80 acres of land at the Mount, made to him by the town of Boston, in the year 1639 - 40.† And again is the following: "29th, 5th mo. 1644. The land within the common fence at Braintry, near the Knight's Neck, belonging to Boston, is hereby sold unto Matson, James Penniman, Moses Payne, Francis Eliot, for 5s. per. acre, be it more or less, to be paid in corn or cattle, within one month, into the hands of Mr. Henry Flynt, of Braintry, for his own use, on consideration of his late great loss, through the hand of God's Providence, by fire."‡

Mr. Flynt is not spoken of, by any of the historians who mention him, as an author, nor have I been able to discover anything in his hand-writing, or in that of his associate, the Pastor of Braintree Church. Mr. Hancock has the remark: "During the time of Mr. Tompson's and Mr. Flynt's ministry, there were 204 adult members of this church. I have also a record, in Mr. Flynt's manuscripts, of baptisms from April 30, 1643, to March 1, 1667 - 8, though I am jealous there were some omissions; the whole number amounts to 408. I cannot find any account of baptisms in the time of vacancy between Mr. Flynt's death and Mr. Fiske's settlement."§

The manuscripts which Mr. Hancock refers to above are not now, and have never been in the possession of either of the present ministers of the church. In a conversation with Dr. Harris, formerly the respected Pastor of Dorchester First Congregational Church, I un-

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* Johnson's Wonder-working Providence. † Boston old Town Rec. ‡ Boston old Town Records. § Hancock's Century Sermon.
derstood him to say that Mr. Welde, formerly Pastor of what is now Braintree Church, had those records in his possession; but when he obtained them, and for what purpose, was not explained. They are probably now irrecoverably lost. As curious and interesting relics of old times, their loss must be regretted.

Mr. Flynt died, 27 April, 1668, having survived the Pastor, Mr. Tompson, a little over a year and four months, and his remains lie in our burying ground. A stone over them bears the following inscription: "Here lies interred the body of the Rev. Mr. Henry Flynt, who came to New England in the year 1635: was ordained the first Teacher of the Church of Braintrey, 1639, and died, April 27, 1668. He had the character of a gentleman remarkable for his piety, learning, wisdom, and fidelity in his office. By him, on his right hand, lies the body of Margery, his beloved consort, who died, March 1686–7. Her maiden name was Hoar. She was a gentlewoman of piety, prudence, and peculiarly accomplished for instructing young gentlewomen; many being sent to her from other towns, especially from Boston. They descended from ancient and good families in England."

This inscription, I suspect, was written in Mr. Hancock's time, perhaps by Mr. Hancock himself. He says in a note to one of his Century Discourses: "Mr. Flynt's monument is still to be seen, though much gone to decay, but I hope to see the tomb of the prophet rebuilt."* This note, taken in connexion with the modern style of the inscription, leads me to infer that the old inscription had been effaced by time, and that this was composed anew or at least re-written. The age of Mr. Flynt, at his death, is not given on his tomb stone. But in the Roxbury First Church Records, there is entered a notice of the event in these words:

"27, 2m., '68. Mr. Henry Flynt, Teacher to the church at Braintrey, aged 61, deceased." He was, therefore, about 32 years of age when he was settled in Braintree, and eight or nine years younger than the Pastor. The following is a notice of his death by his son Josiah: "On 27, 2m., 1668, it pleased the Lord to take away my honored father, Mr. Henry Flynt, Teacher of the church of Braintrey."†

The date of Mrs. Flynt's decease, which is not given in full, in

the inscription upon the stone, is thus settled by contemporary manuscripts. "Mrs. Margery Flynt died, 10 March, 1686-7, about 6 of the clock in the morning, and was buried the 12th." "1687, March 10, Mrs. Flynt deceased at Braintree, Thursday."*

Morton, in his Memorial, makes respectful mention of Mr. Flynt, as "a man of known piety, gravity, and integrity, and well accomplished with other qualifications fit for the work of the ministry."

Mr. Flynt's children † were as follows, viz. Dorothy, born July 21, 1642; Annah, born Sept. 11, 1643; Josiah, born Aug. 24, 1645; Margaret, born June 20, 1647; Joanna, born Feb. 18, 1648; David, born Jan. 11, 1651; Seth, born April 2, 1653; Ruth, born Jan. 31, 1654; Cotton and John, born Sept. 16, 1656. Of these, Margaret, David, and the twins, Cotton and John, died in infancy. Dorothy was married to Mr. Samuel Shepperd, minister of Rowley, and son of Rev. Thos. Shepperd of Cambridge, April 30, 1666, by Capt. Gookins. Annah, or Hannah, which is doubtless the same, was married to John Dassitt, Nov. 15, 1662, by Major Millar. Joanna was married to Mr. Noah Numan (Newman), probably son of Rev. Samuel Newman, minister of Rehoboth, and his successor there in the ministry. They were married, Dec. 30, 1669, by Capt. Gookins. Seth and Ruth were, one about 15 and the other 14 years old, when their father died. Josiah ‡ graduated at Harvard College, 1664, preached some time in Braintree, after his father's decease, and was ordained at Dorchester, 27 Dec. 1671, and died 16 Sept. 1680, aged 35. To his manuscript journal I have before referred. The three first pages of said manuscript contain a family record in different hands, partly by himself, and partly perhaps by his son, Tutor Flynt. His widow, Mrs. Esther Flynt, § died July 26, 1737, aged 89, and was buried at Braintree. Henry Flynt, Esq. || son of Rev. Josiah Flynt, died Feb. 13, 1760, aged 85 years. He had been a Tutor in Harvard University upwards of fifty-five years, and about sixty years a Fellow of the Corporation, familiarly called Father Flynt. He was never settled in the ministry, but preached as occasion required; and he published a volume of sermons, which were received acceptably by the public. He lived a bachelor, and

* Rev. Josiah Flynt's manuscript Journal and Hobart's Diary.
|| This account of Tutor Flynt is taken from Peirce's Hist. of Harv. Univ.
was noted for his facetiousness and humor mingled with gravity. It was proposed in some parish to invite him to take the pastoral charge of it; but objections were made to him on the ground, that he was believed not to be orthodox. Being informed of this judgment of the good people respecting his religion, he coolly observed, "I thank God they know nothing about it." In his last sickness, Dr. Appleton asked him, if he was entirely willing to leave the world. "No," said he, "I cannot say that I am"; but after a short pause, he added, "I don't care much about it." A room is still shown, in the house now owned and occupied in this town by Daniel Greenleaf, Esq., which goes by the name of Flynt's study, and which was used as such by him, when Judge Edmund Quincy, who married Dorothy, the sister of Tutor Flynt, occupied the house. There is, in the possession of President Quincy, of Harvard University, a manuscript diary of Tutor Flynt, and likewise a table, proved to be his by having a single drawer, exactly of a size to admit said diary.

It has already been stated, that the maiden name of the wife of Rev. Henry Flynt of Braintree was Hoar. She was probably sister of President Hoar. Mistress Joanna Hoar,* probably their mother, died a widow at Braintree, Dec. 21, 1664. "Leonard Hoar,† the third President of Harvard College, at which he graduated, in 1650, went to England, was a physician and clergyman, and settled as the latter, at Wensted, in Essex. He was ejected from office for nonconformity, and returned to New England, 1672, and in July was elected president, but resigned, 15 March, 1675, and died at Braintree, 28 Nov. same year. His widow, a daughter of Lord Lisle, married Mr. Usher, of Boston, and died 25 May, 1723." She is thus spoken of by Mr. Hancock: "His aged and pious relict, the late Madam Usher, was brought hither from Boston, and interred in the same grave, May 30, 1723, according to her desire." † The monument over their remains still stands in our burying ground, and bears this inscription:

"Three precious friends under this tomb-stone lie,
Patterns to aged, youth, and infancy.
A great mother, her learned son, with child;
The first and least went free, he was exil'd.

In love to Christ, this country, and dear friends,
He left his own, cross'd seas, and for amends
Was here extoll'd, envied, all in a breath,
His noble consort leaves, is drawn to death.
Strange changes may befall us ere we die,
Blest they who well arrive eternity.
God grant some names, O thou New England's friend,
Don't sooner fade than thine, if times don't mend."

There is contained in the Mass. Historical Collections a letter, dated March 27, 1661, from Dr. Leonard Hoar, then in England, to Josiah Flint, his nephew, at that time about 15 years of age, and a Freshman in Harvard College. Edmund Quincy and Joanna Hoar, (probably a sister of Dr. Hoar and of Mr. Flynt's wife,) were married, July 26, 1648.*

Mr. Flynt, the teacher of Braintree church, was possessed of a comfortable estate for those times. He made a will, a copy of which I have taken from the Suffolk Probate office.

"The Will of Henry Flynt, the 24th day of 11th mo. (January) 1652.†

"Concerning my children and estate. 1. Until my wife or any of the children marry, I leave all my estate in the power and to the wisdom and discretion of my wife for her comfort and bringing up of the children. 2. If she should be called away by death, before the children be grown to take some care of themselves, and of one another, then I leave it to her wisdom to make choice of the next person to whom she may commit the care of children and estate. 3. To my son Josias I give my dwelling house, with those two lots it stands upon, which I bought of Richard Wright and Mr. Moses Paine deceased, together with all that land of mine now in the occupation of Wm. Vezie, after the decease of his mother. 4. I give to my son Seth, my great lot, and half my books, if it please God to make him a scholar. 5. If he be brought up to some other course of life, then his brother Josias to have them all, and to allow him for half in some pay suitable to his condition. 6. To my daughters, I appoint each of them an hundred pounds, if my estate will reach it. 7. If any of my children marry whilst my wife doth live and continueth unmarried, I leave it to her wisdom what por-

* Braintree Register
tion to give at present, though I intend that finally all my young children should be made equal. 8. For the present, I know not what portion of my estate to assign to my wife, in case God call her to marriage, otherwise than as the law of the country does provide in that case, accounting all that I have too little for her, if I had something else to bestow upon my children."

"Richard Brackett, æt. 56 years, or thereabouts, deposed saith, that about four days before the late Mr. Henry Flynt departed this life, himself and Mrs. Joanna Quinsey being with him, they heard him say he had made and written his Will, which being now produced under Mr. Flynt's own hand, which they well knew to be so, and the sum and substance thereof he himself repeated to them, only said that his son Josias being grown up should be his Executor, with his wife Executrix.

"Taken upon oath by the said Richard Brackett before the Governor, Capt. Gookin; and recorded 2 July, 1668, who allowed of the Will hereby proved.

"Edward Rawson."

In the absence of anything else, either written or printed, from the pen of Mr. Flynt, I have thought the above Will might be inserted here as a relic of old times.

L. Page 43.

"After the decease both of the Pastor and Teacher," observes Mr. Hancock, "the church fell into unhappy divisions, one being for Paul, and another for Apollos, (as is too often the case in destitute churches,) and were without a settled ministry above four years, viz. from April 27, 1668, to Sept. 11, 1672."*

The following extract, from the manuscript of Rev. Josiah Flynt, before alluded to, may help to explain the causes of the dissensions which continued for so long a time.

* Hancock's Cent. Discourse.
"On 6. 3mo. 1668. * Persons (D. B. and U. Q. †) came to me to desire me from several of the church, though not from the whole, to exercise in Braintree church.

"On 10. 3mo. '68. The Elder came to me to go to meeting, but went away before, and made a proposition to the church whether they were willing I should preach. Many uncomfortable expressions passed about, but at last Deacon Bass and D. El. ‡ came, in the name of the church, to desire me to come and preach, to which not knowing any thing I yielded.

"On 11. 3mo. The church set apart a day to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer.

"On 13. 4mo. I preached again in Braintree.

"On 26. 4mo. The church passed a vote to call Mr. Woodw: § and me to probation.

"On 14. 5mo. Mr. Eliott, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Stoughton, and Mr. Torry came, being desired by the church to give advice about the vote.

"20. 5mo. The vote of the church was brought to me, in the name of the church, by Deacon Bass, Capt. Brackett, Mr. Paine, Mr. Quinsey, Goodman Faxon.

"27. 5mo. The Messengers came to me again, and brought the vote the Elders' letter.

"23. 6mo. The Elders forementioned sent a letter to the church, which was read publicly.

"6. 9mo. The church set apart.

"13. 9mo. The church had a meeting.

"16. 9mo. The messengers of the church came for a determinate answer.

"17. 9mo. The church of Christ at Cambridge village sent me a call.

"23. 9mo. Messengers came from Cambridge village for my answer.

"26. 9mo. I gave an answer to N. Town || in writing.

"29. I gave my answer to Braintree church according to the vote.

"It will be remembered, that March was the first month of the year.

† These abbreviations probably stand for Deacon Bass or Brackett and Uncle Quinsey.

‡ Deacon Eliot, probably. § Woodward, perhaps.

|| The ancient name of Cambridge was Newtown.
13. 10\textsuperscript{mo}. I engaged to help the church wholly for the winter.

12. 12\textsuperscript{mo}. The church had a meeting.

28. 1\textsuperscript{mo}. 1669. Being a Sabbath day, the church had a very uncomfortable debate after a solemn admonition.

9. 2\textsuperscript{mo}. 1669. Deacon B.* and Goodman Sheaf came to speak with me.

11. 2\textsuperscript{mo}. I gave a full answer to the church at Cambridge village.

24. 2\textsuperscript{mo}. I gave in answer to the church, that I desired relief, being oppressed in body and mind.

6. 3\textsuperscript{mo}. '69. The church had a meeting.

22. 3\textsuperscript{mo}. Many if not most of the church went away to Milton to hear Mr. Th.†

20. 4\textsuperscript{mo}. Being a Sabbath day, there was a very uncomfortable debate in the church.

18. 5\textsuperscript{mo}. Some of the brethren desired a time of solemn seeking of God jointly by fasting and prayer: it was denied.

23. 5\textsuperscript{mo}. Some of the church set apart a day of fasting and prayer. This day there was an awful division.

25. 5\textsuperscript{mo}. God sent a very solemn, awakening message to the church by Mr. Eliot from 6. Jer. 29. 30.

The honored Major Lusher‡ and Rd. Mr. Allin sent letters to the church to advise them to unity and peace, certifying the thoughts of some of the Elders to send in a council uncalled for.

2. 6\textsuperscript{mo}. '69. The church had a meeting, disannulled their last vote, and passed a new vote.

They sent Deacon Bass, Mr. Q.§ Goodman Bel:|| and Faxon to desire my help constantly. I deferred my answer. Deacon Bass, Mr. Paine, and Mr. Quinsey went to carry the vote of the church to Mr. B.¶ Mr. Bulkley delayed his answer till the commencement, 10. 6\textsuperscript{mo}. '69, and then desired further time.

22. 6\textsuperscript{mo}. Mr. Bulkley came to us.

8. 7\textsuperscript{mo}. '69. The whole town met to consider what they would allow.

3. 9\textsuperscript{mo}. The church had a meeting.

15. 9\textsuperscript{mo}. The church had a meeting, and concluded to allow

* Deacon Bass, probably. † Mr. Thatcher, probably.
‡ This person belonged to Dedham, and was prominent in his day.
§ Quinsey. ¶ Belcher. † Mr. Bulkley.
60 pounds pr. annum to each, and the use of the town land for a pasture. The Elder with the greatest part of the church came to certify us of it.

**"16. 11mo.** The church stayed after meeting, and agreed to meet on 6th day following.

**"21. 11mo.** The church met and acknowledged several things scandalous and offensive, one to another.

**"7. 12mo.** I helped the church again wholly for a while.

**"1. 1mo. 1670.** The church (moved by Mr. Bulkley) set apart a day for public prayer and fasting.

**"28. 1mo.** The church had a meeting, and passed an act of election for Mr. Bulkley and me. Deacon Bass, Mr. Paine, Mr. Quinsey, and Goodman Belcher came as messengers to us, but said nothing of the matter of the vote, for it was not single.

**"31. 1mo.** The messengers came to Mr. Bulkley and afterward to me. We jointly desired time to consider.

**"3. 2mo. 1670.** The church of Dedham writ a letter, and chose messengers to come and inquire in this church's state the next S.*

**"19. 2mo.** I gave my judgment, if not my answer, to the vote, it being proposed to me in general by the Elders. Dedham messengers hearing what was done by the church on 28. 1mo. were prevented coming this day to us.

**"20. 2mo.** Some of the church (having heard of a writing given by their brethren and accepted by Mr. B.,† which raised a strong jealousy in them that they had engaged him to themselves) sent a messenger, Capt. Brackett, to certify Mr. B. how the matter stood.

Letters were sent to Dedham, Cambridge, Roxbury, Weymouth, to this purpose:

**"Rd. and Beld.** As we presume you have not been wholly ignorant of or void of sympathy with us in our distress,‡——

**"24. 2mo.** Mr. Eliott preached here, and prevented much evil intended.

**"12. 3mo.** The Question about the vote was by Mr. Bulkley propounded to the Elders.

**"15. 3mo.** Mr. Phil.§ helped the church, and so moderated their spirits.

* Sabbath, probably. † Bulkley, probably. ‡ The letter missive is left in the manuscript incomplete. § Phillips, perhaps.
The church had a meeting, and concluded jointly to send to six churches for their messengers.

"5. 4mo. The church had debate, wherein much provocation to God and each other did appear. They sent to Mr. Bulkley, but he refused to come, till the meeting of the Council was over."

It seems, also, by a document contained in the manuscript journal of Mr. Josiah Flynt, that he had been charged, by certain of the brethren of Braintree church, with uttering "divers dangerous heterodoxies, delivered, and that without caution, in his public preaching." The matter was referred to several highly respected individuals, who vindicate him from the charge which was brought against him.

Mr. Flynt received a call from Dorchester, and was settled over the church in that town, in the year 1670. He died there in 1680.

Mr. Peter Bulkley, who was candidate at the same time with Mr. Flynt, was probably a son of the first minister of Concord.

Moses Fiske, it has already been stated, was the son of Mr. John Fiske, the first minister of Wenham and Chelmsford. His father was born in England in 1601, and was educated at Cambridge. He came to this country in 1637, bringing with him a large property. He lived three years at Salem, preaching to the church, and instructing a number of young persons. When a church was gathered in Enon, or Wenham, Oct. 8, 1644, he was settled there as minister. In 1656 he removed to Chelmsford, then a new town, with the majority of his church. He died, Jan. 14, 1677. He was a skilful physician, as well as an excellent minister.*

The occasion and reasons of Mr. Moses Fiske's first visit to Braintree, with an account of the formation of the connexion that resulted from it, are given below, as I find them recorded in his own hand-writing.†

* See Allen's Biographical Dictionary, and Mather's Magnalia.
† Braintree Church Records. Book I.
"Being ordered by the Court, and advised by the reverend Elders and other friends, I went up from the honored Mr. Edwd. Tyng's, with two of the brethren of this church, sent to accompany me (2. 10 mo., 1671) being the Saturday, to preach God's word unto them, a transcript of which order, &c. follows verbatim.

"At a County Court held at Boston, by adjournment, the 23d of Nov. 1671. The Court having taken into consideration the many means that have been used with the Church of Braintree, and hitherto nothing done to effect, as to the obtaining the ordinances of Christ amongst them, this Court therefore orders and desires Mr. Moses Fiske to improve his labors in preaching the word at Braintree, until the Church there agree and obtain supply for the work of the ministry, or this court take further order. This a true copy, as

"Attest, Freegrace Bendall, Clerk.

"3. 10. 71. After evening exercise was ended, I apologized as to my coming, &c.

"4. 10. 71. About 20 of the brethren came to visit at Mr. Flynt's, manifesting (in the name of the church) their ready acceptance of what the Honored Court had done, (having received and perused their order, with letters sent to their Townsmen respecting their duty towards their minister,) and thanking me for my compliance therewith.


"14. 2. 72. Having advised, I gave the church, after evening exercise was finished, (being often urged thereto,) an answer of acceptance, through God's assistance, understanding the concurrence of the neighbors which was partly expressed, partly tacit.

"5. 3. 72. The Church passed a vote of Election (3 or 4 suspending, who after acceptance, &c., manifested their hearty concurrence).

"18. 6. 72. This day joined with this church, (having obtained letters of recommendation and dismissal from the Church of Christ at Chelmsford, by means of Capt. Brackett and Deac. Eliot sent to that end,) Deacon Bass being desired pro tempore to be the mouth of the Church. Also I gave my answer of acceptance to their call to office, the Rev. Elders and others advising and often renewing their request to that end.
"11. 7. 72. This was the day of my solemn espousals to this Church and Congregation, being elected to the office of a Pastor to them. The churches present, by their messengers, were these; three at Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Weymouth, six churches. Mr. Eliot prayed and gave the charge; Mr. Oxenbridge and the Deacons joined in the laying on hands; Mr. Thatcher gave the right hand of fellowship. Dep. Gov. Leverit, Mr. Danforth, Mr. Tynge, and Mr. Stoughton were present."

In the Town Records,* in connexion with the subject of providing a house for the Minister, a vote is found directing that a bargain with Mr. Samuel Tompson should be concluded for his house, orchard, &c., and then the following:

"At the same Town meeting (18 June, 1672) it was voted that the town of Braintree would give to Mr. Moses Fiske the just sum of £60 in money, as by a town rate, and he to make provision for himself as housing, or else to live in a town house provided for the ministry. And the house and land bought by the town, of brother Saml. Tompson, being about 5 acres and a half, or 6 acres, to be fenced, and housing set in good repair."

And again the following:

"1674, Oct. 26. At a public town meeting it was voted and consented to by the major vote, that our Pastor, Mr. Moses Fiske, should have £80 for this year — 74, in wood part and corn, at the country rate price,† which was barley 4s., pease 4s., Indian 3s., malt 4s."

"Mr. Fiske died here, Aug. 10, 1708, in the 66th year of his age, and 36th of his pastorate. In the time of his ministry 147 members were added to the church, including himself. Baptisms 779. No baptisms recorded in the time of vacancy."‡ On his tomb stone, which is still standing in our burying place, is this inscription:

"Braintree! Thy prophet's gone, this tomb inter
The Rev. Moses Fiske his sacred herse.
Adore heaven's praiseful art that formed the man,
Who souls not to himself, but Christ oft won:
Sail'd through the straits with Peter's family,
Renown'd, and Gaius' hospitality,
Paul's patience, James's prudence, John's sweet love,
Is landed, enter'd, clear'd, and crown'd above."

* Braintree Town Records, Book I.
† "Country rate;" that is, the rate at which the articles specified were taken in payment of taxes.
‡ Hancock's Cent. Disc.
His will and an inventory of his estate I have found in the Suffolk Probate Records.

Mr. Fiske was twice married. His first marriage is thus recorded:

"Mr. Moses Fiske of Braintree and Mrs. Sarah Symmes, daughter of Mr. Wm. Symmes of Charleston, married 9, 7 mo. 1671 by Capt. Gookin, assistant." By this wife, he was favored with fourteen children, whose names, and the dates of whose births are thus recorded:

"The names of the children of Rev. Mr. Moses Fiske, by Mrs. Sarah, his wife, entered 29 Jany., 1695-6, viz.

Mrs. Mary born 25 Aug., 1673.
" Sarah " 22 Sept., 1674.
" Martha " 25 Nov., 1675, and died 28 same mo.
" Anna " 17 Aug., 1677, died 9 June, '78.
" Elizabeth " 9 1679.

Mr. John " 29 May, 1681, died, 5 Aug., same yr.
" Moses " 19 July, 1682.
" John " 26 Nov., 1684.
" William " 2 Aug., 1686.
" Samuel " 19 Feb., 1687, died 4 March.
" " " 6 Apr., 1689.

Mrs. Ruth " 24 Mar., 1692, died 6 June.
Mr. Edward " 20 Oct., 1692, died 25 of the same.

Mrs. Sarah, wife of Mr. Moses Fiske, died 2 Dec. 1692. Mr. Fiske's second wife was Mrs. Anna Quinsey. She was the daughter of the Rev. Thos. Shepard of Charlestown. Their marriage is thus recorded: "Rev. Moses Fiske and Mrs. Anna Quinsey married 7 Jany. 1700 by Samuel Sewall Esq." — By her he had two children, namely, Mr. Shepard, son of Rev. Moses Fiske and Anna, born 19 April, 1703, and Mrs. Margaret, born 16 Dec. 1705. Mr. Fiske's second wife died, 24 July, 1708, less than three weeks before his own decease.

Of Mr. Fiske's children, it will be seen by the list already given, six died in infancy. The eldest daughter, Mary, married Rev. Joseph Baxter, minister of Medfield, and a native of Braintree.

* Braintree Reg. † Ibid. ‡ Fairfield's Diary § Braintree Reg.
Sarah is mentioned in her father's will, as "late consort of Rev. Thos. Ruggles." Ann Fiske was married to Rev. Joseph Marsh,* the successor of her father in Braintree, by Colonel Edmund Quinsey, Esq., 30 June, 1709. Elizabeth is called in the will, Elizabeth Porter. Of Moses and William I find no account; and nothing respecting John, with the exception of his admission to the church, 26, 6 mo. 1705. In Fairfield's Diary, it will be seen that a John Fiske preached in Braintree in 1710, and there graduated at Harvard College one of this name in 1702. Samuel graduated at Harvard College in 1708. He was chosen, says Mr. Lincoln,† 11 Feb. 1716–17, minister of Hingham, as successor to Mr. Norton, but did not see fit to accept. He was ordained over the First Church in Salem, Oct. 8, 1718, and was afterwards minister of the Third Church in Salem, and died 7 April, 1770, aged 81.

Shepard, son of Mr. Fiske by his second wife, was "graduated at Harvard College 1721, was a physician at Killingly, Conn. and at Bridgewater, Mass., died 14 June, 1779, AŒ. 77;" Margaret Fiske was married to Rev. Nathan Bucknam of Medway, January 23, 1727–8, by Mr. Hancock."

I do not know that any of Mr. Fiske's writings were ever published. He preached the sermon before the Artillery Company, on the day of their annual election, June 4, 1694, and the original sermon, in the hand-writing of the author, is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The text is taken from Eph. vi. 14: "Stand (therefore)." The preacher applies the text to the spiritual warfare which every Christian must carry on in this world under his great Captain General, Jesus Christ.

A passage taken from the conclusion of this discourse will answer as a specimen.

"Take the whole armor of God, put it on, wear it and use it. You'll need every piece of it. You cannot stand without it; the girdle of truth, breastplate of righteousness, &c., that you may withstand, and having done all may stand; stand so. See that you stand true and faithful to Jesus Christ and to his word. Keep the word of his patience. Stand by the Gospel ministry, for by it the powers of darkness are vanquished and kingdom of Satan destroyed. This opens a magazine of arms and furniture for your

souls. God's word is the Tower of David, wherein there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of the mighty.

"What remains but that you, Gentlemen Soldiers, my fellow soldiers in the spiritual warfare, who have called me to this work, and desired to inquire of God this day, be true to the Captain of your salvation, your Lord and ours. Take courage and go on in your military discipline, that you may be as those children that resemble their Captain and their King; like those that could handle the sword, and were expert in war. This Captain of salvation, who is the Prince of peace, is a man of war; the art military is of God. This art is taught by him who is the Captain of the Lord's Host. 'Tis observable that some of the most renowned worthies in the spiritual warfare have been expert commanders in the art military. Abraham had his trained soldiers. Moses, the Captain of the wilderness, led the Israelites and kept them in a military posture. And David, who was a man after God's own heart, was a brisk and brave commander. Labor for the courage, skill, and conduct, which may make able and expert soldiers and commanders, and read Ps. cxlvii. 7, 8.

"Finally, Be strong, O Zerubbabel, be strong O Joshua; be strong, O all ye Christian soldiers; watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men; be strong; be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. Let me add this word, and I have done. You that are the Governors of Judah, and those of the tribe of Levi, my brethren and fathers, who are set for the defence of the Gospel, you all that have listed under the Lord Jesus, your leader in the Christian warfare, of what calling and employment soever, lift up your heads, and go on manfully, and prosecute this holy war against the enemies of God and your souls; fight it out to the last; that when you come to die, you may with that great warrior be able to say: 'we have fought a good fight, we have finished our course, we have kept the faith; henceforth is laid up a crown of righteousness which God shall give,' &c. Amen."

It is rather a singular fact, and this seems to be the place to mention it, that in the Inventory of Mr. Fiske's estate, one item is as follows: "His armor."

Fairfield's Diary has been already alluded to. It was presented to the Library of the Historical Society, by Rev. Dr. Harris. The author of the Diary appears to have been a mason by trade. The
manuscript consists of memoranda respecting the places where he worked, and notices of such events and occurrences as seemed important to the writer. It does not contain much of any great value. But the true antiquary, like the true lover of the angle, makes much of a nibble in the waters of the past, if he can catch no fish. And so I give an extract from said Diary. It runs forward, as will be observed, a little distance into Mr. Marsh's ministry.

"1697, May 13. A fasting day, our Church in Braintree renewed Covenant.

"Dec. 17. I watched with Mr. Quinsey.

"1697-8, Jany. 8. Mr. Quinsey died, a pious and godly man, a Justice of the Peace for this County, and Lt. Col. of this Reg.

"Jan. 10. Helped dig Mr. Quinsey's grave, frost is one and near two feet thick.

"Jan. 11. Made an end of digging, bricked the grave — weather warm.

"Jan. 12. Mr. Quinsey decently buried — three foot companies and one troop at his funeral.

"1697-8, April. We, in Braintree, chose a Committee to seat persons in the meeting house. Deacon Wales, Deacon Bass, Mr. Hobart, Martin Saunders, John Ruggles, sen. They did the work, though not to general satisfaction. The first Sabbath in April people took their places, as many as saw good so to do.

"1699, Sept. 16. I carted stones for Mr. Quinsey's tomb.

"Sept. 19.

"As to this Sept. past I did not hear of any great matter, only the woods swarmed much with bears — many were killed, and more escaped.

"Oct. 5. Went to Boston to lecture. Mr. Fiske preached.


"June 19. Meeting to nominate deacons.

"Novem. 30. Among ourselves died several, the most considerable of whom was Mrs. Elizabeth Quinsey, widow of Lt. Col. Edmd. Quinsey Esq., she was sick many weeks and underwent much sorrow and dolor; and after all fell asleep quietly in the Lord, and was with great solemnity interred, Dec. 5, 1700."
1700 - Jan. 7. Mr. Fiske married to Mrs. Anna Quinsey.

Jan. 8. I was at Mr. Fiske's, he brought home his bride.

Jan. 26. A day of fasting and prayer in Braintree. Mr. Wales ordained a ruling elder of the Church in Braintree.

1704, July 9. Sabbath, Mr. Fiske sick, Mr. Veasy preached forenoon, Mr. Flynt afternoon.

July 16. Mr. Loring preached all day in B., Mr. Fiske being sick.

July 23. Mr. Ransom of Mendon preached all day.

Nov. 10. I was at home all day, the meeting at my house, Mr. Fiske read a sermon of his own, 1 Cor. ii. 32.

1704 - 5, Jan. In this month past we had two Church meetings in Braintree which occasioned much debate and some misapprehension, about Church discipline; by reason whereof we had much sinful discourse in this town; for, as the wise man saith, in the multitude of words there wants not sin: which words and debates caused such differences as that it was the beginning of the separation of the Town and Church, and the erecting a meeting house and forming a Congregation at Monatoquod. Nine of the church withdrew from the Lord's table, and in many things acted so disorderly, as that it occasioned a council of the elders and messengers of nine churches, who met in the old meeting house in Braintree, May 7, 1707. Mr. Nehemiah Hobart of Newtown was chosen moderator. The disorders among us call for tears and lamentations, rather than to be remembered.

1705, March 16. Died, the Rev. Mr. Edward Thompson, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Marshfield; he died very suddenly, æt. near 40 yrs.

1706, May 2. A new house was raised in Braintree, for a meeting house. The matter hath been hitherto carried on in a way of great contention and disorder.

1707, April 27. The Sabbath, at night a council chosen to hear our aggrieved brethren.

May 7. We being involved in troubles, here in Braintree, called a council of nine churches, who assembled the 7th day here in B. What the issue was, we shall take notice of afterwards.

1707, Sept. 10. Mr. Adams was ordained at the new church in the south part of Braintree.

1708, July 25. The Sabbath, Mr. Fiske sick, Mr. Flynt preached all day.
“July 26. Opened Mr. Fiske's tomb.

“July 27. At Mr. Fiske's all day about the funeral of Mrs. Fiske.

“On the 24th of this month died, in Braintree, Mrs. Anna Fiske, the wife of Mr. Moses Fiske, in the 45th year of her age.

“1708, Aug. 10. Mr. Fiske died, Æt. 65 yrs.

“All the beginning of this month the Rev. Mr. Moses Fiske, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Braintree, lay sick of a sore malignant fever; and on the 10th day, being Tuesday, about one of the clock P. M. he died, willingly, patiently, blessed God, and forgave all his enemies. To say all that might be said of this holy man, far exceeds my poor ability. He was the youngest son of Mr. John Fiske, Pastor of the Church in Chelmsford. [Then follows his character which has been given in the second Discourse.] He was, with suitable solemnity and great lamentation, interred in Braintree, in his own tomb, the 12th day, where lie entombed with him the bodies of his two wives, Sarah, the daughter of Wm. Syms Esq., of Woborn. She died Dec. 2, 1692; by her he had 14 children, she died in the 40th year of her age.

“His 2d wife was Anna, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Thos. Shepard of Charlestown; by her he had two children; she died, July 24, 1708. Æt. 45 yrs.

“1708, Sept. 15. A day of fasting in B. on account of Mr. Fiske's death. Mr. Danforth and Mr. Thacher carried on the day's work.

“Nov. 25. A Thanksgiving, we having no minister, I heard Mr. Adams the first time.


“ 31. “ " Marsh "

“Nov. 15. A church meeting to call a minister.

“P. M. A meeting of the inhabitants.

“Nov. 23. A precinct meeting.

“Dec. 13. I warned a meeting to consult about receiving Mr. Marsh.

“Dec. 16. At Mr. Fisk's all day helping to prepare for Mr. Marsh; he came at night attended with the most of the inhabitants of this precinct.

“1708 - 9, Jan. 17. A general town meeting to vote what to give Mr. Marsh.

“Jan. 28. A precinct meeting voted to give Mr. M. £100. £70 pr. annum.

March 14. A meeting of this precinct, Mr. Marsh gave an answer of his acceptance.

1709, May 4. A fast in our church, in order to ordination.

May 18. Mr. Marsh ordained.

On the 18th day was ordained, here in Braintree, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Marsh, to the office of a Pastor over the church in the North Precinct, a person of singular accomplishments, both natural and acquired.

July 3. The Sabbath, sacrament, the first time Mr. Marsh administered.

July 31. The Sabbath, Mr. Flint preached from 11. Matt. xxviii.

Aug. 5. Ceiled Mr. Quinsey's pew.

Oct. 2. The Sabbath, this day I heard a choice sermon on Ps. xix. and 12. 'Who can understand his errors;' which hath caused me to reflect on the past sinful errors of my life, all which I beg of God to forgive me. This day also Mr. Marsh preached on Isai. 55. and 7., wherein I was encouraged to return to the Lord, that I may obtain pardon and forgiveness.

1709–10, Feb. 19. Sabbath, sacrament. The advice of the ministers read for reconciliation. The South Church's acknowledgment read and accepted.

March 8. A fast on the account of the late disturbances in the town and Church. Mr. Danforth and Mr. Thacher of Milton preached.

March 19. Sabbath, Mr. Adams preached in our meeting house.

1710, April 30. The Sabbath, a gathering to print two sermons.

Aug. 13. Mr. Mayhew preached from ii. Heb. 3.

Aug. 20. Mr. John Fiske preached.

Oct. 29. Sabbath, Mr. John Fiske preached.

Mrs. Mary Baxter, wife of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Baxter, died, after a long and sore sickness, March 29, 1711. She was the eldest daughter of the Rev. Mr. Moses Fiske, died in the 38th year of her age.

Mrs. Helen French, the mother of Wm. Veasie, and daughter of Rev. Mr. Wm. Tompson, deceased, died, Apr. 23. Aet. 85 yrs. 1711, an aged saint."
(Who is meant by the person last mentioned, I cannot satisfy myself.)

The most important ecclesiastical occurrence, during Mr. Fiske’s ministry, was the division of the Town into separate Precincts; and this seems to have been the only occurrence that disturbed the tranquillity of his ministry. The first mention of the subject in the Town Records is as follows: *

"Nov. 25, 1706. Proposed, that, whereas there were two meeting houses erected in this Town, whether the South End shall be a congregation by themselves for the worship and service of God. It was then voted by the major part of said inhabitants on the affirmative."

And again:

"Nov. 3, 1708. The inhabitants of Braintree being met, &c. It was then voted, that there should be two distinct precincts or societies in this Town, for the more regular and convenient upholding of the worship of God."

The separation of the town into two precincts was agreed to and confirmed, by the General Court, Nov. 5, 1708. But before this result was reached, there had been much excitement and controversy. It appears from Fairfield’s Diary, an extract from which has been given, that as early as in January, 1704–5, there had been "much debate and some misapprehensions about church discipline," and this he considers "the beginning of the separation of the town and church, and the erecting a meeting house and forming a congregation at Monatoquod." The writer of the Diary probably exaggerated the influence of this difference, in producing a division of the town. The heat that grew out of this difference very likely hastened the time of doing what, from necessity, must soon have been accomplished. The south part of the town had increased, and it must have been very inconvenient for those who resided there to come so far to meeting. At all events, the difficulties and dissensions were so great, that a council of elders and messengers was called, as the Diary states. The decision of this Council I have found in the archives of the State, together with the several petitions and counter petitions, from both parties, to the General Court. They are among the old documents which Mr. Felt has disposed
and arranged so faithfully, and so conveniently for the purposes of reference. The papers are too long to be inserted here, nor is it important to do so, even if there were abundant space. The controversy affected Mr. Fiske's comfort, inasmuch as there was a legal question involved, namely, whether they of the south end of the town, who withdrew, were liable for their proportion of Mr. Fiske's salary, which had been voted at the regular town meeting. Fairfield gives May 2, 1706, as the date of "a new house being raised in Braintree for a meeting-house." This was more than two years before they were allowed, by the civil authority, to be a distinct precinct, and this circumstance would lead one to presume, that there was haste and irregularity in the matter, which they fully acknowledged afterward in an address to the General Court, a copy of which is before me.

In one of their petitions they state the reasons which moved them to take the step they did. They say: "The old meeting-house in the said town being built many years ago, when the town was small, was accommodated, for both situation and measure, to the circumstances of the town in that day, and is altogether inconvenient for the town, that is, the whole town, in its present circumstances, and as it is now situated, in two distinct parts, considerably distant one from the other, and not large enough to contain, with comfort, above two thirds of the inhabitants. The aforesaid inhabitants of the south end of the town, finding it very irksome, especially in the winter, to come so far as most of them come to meeting, and through such bad ways; whereby the Lord's day, which is a day of rest, was to them a day of labor rather; and knowing that the inhabitants of their part of the town, for numbers, did almost if not altogether equalize the other part, who did of themselves, when there were few if any inhabitants in the south part, maintain two worthy ministers at once to their satisfaction, have made their application to the town, at sundry times, for near a dozen years, at their general town meeting, that they would consent to have a larger meeting-house built for the whole, which might contain all the inhabitants, and might be something nearer to them, the other being now at one end of the town. But the other end of the town have wholly refused to gratify them in this their reasonable desire, and this notwithstanding there was a clear vote that there should be a new house built, so long ago as the year 1695, which now stands
upon record." The paper from which the extract above given has been made bears date, Nov. 25, 1706.

Having proceeded so far as to build a house for public worship, the next step taken by the inhabitants of the south part of the town was to gather a church, in a regular way, and to ordain a minister, which was done, Sept. 10, 1707. Mr. Hugh Adams was their first pastor. Having accomplished this much, they next petition the General Court, to determine the limits of the two precincts. They ask that their precint may be settled according to the "line of division already laid out and run between the two military companies in Braintree, there being in the north part of the town Col. Edmund Quincy's company, containing seventy-two families, and in the south part of the town Capt. John Mills's company, consisting of seventy-one families." It may excite a smile to be informed that this petition is dated: "From (Naphtali, if your Honors please so to name our neighborhood, from Gen. xxx. 8., Matt. iv. 15, 16, or) South Braintree, Oct. 28, 1707." However appropriate this name might have been at first; we cannot but rejoice that it does not remain, to remind posterity of the "great wrestlings" between the sister churches. The excitement that had grown out of this division of the town gradually subsided; a reconciliation was effected soon after the settlement of Mr. Marsh in the North Precinct; and the harmony of the two parts of the town was completed, by Mr. Adams's officiating in the north meeting-house, which he did, according to Fairfield's Diary, March 19, 1709–10.

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Mr. Joseph Marsh, the fourth minister of Braintree Church, was graduated at Harvard College in 1705. I have not been able to ascertain where he originated. The earliest notice I have discovered of him is the date of his admission to the Cambridge church. He was admitted, according to the records of that church, Nov. 28, 1703, and is mentioned as "Joseph Marsh, student." In one of the volumes of old papers and documents at the State
House in Boston, is an order passed by the General Court, 26 May, 1708, upon complaint being made that the town of Tivertown (then belonging to Massachusetts) did not comply with the law and provide themselves with a minister. This order directs "that Mr. Joseph Marsh, minister, be treated with and obtained, if it may be, and sent to the said town." There is also in the same volume, a petition from Mr. Marsh, dated Feb. 7, 1709, which states that he had preached in Tivertown ten Sabbaths, and having received a call to settle in Braintree, had obtained a substitute in the former place. Mr. Marsh was the first minister after the town was divided into two precincts. And the North Precinct Records contain the following vote.

"Feb. 14, 1708–9. Then voted by the freeholders and other inhabitants of the North End Precinct, regularly assembled, to raise the sum of £70 per annum, to be given to the Rev. Mr. Joseph Marsh, upon his settlement with us in the work of the ministry, during the time of his performance of that service, beginning the 1st day of March next.

"Then also it was voted to give to the said Mr. Joseph Marsh £100 upon his settlement with us, and that to be final for said settlement."

The following extract from the Braintree Town Records will show what was the condition of the town at that time.

"Aug. 31, 1708. The real estate of this town, being valued at the yearly income, amounted to the sum total of £691 6s. The personal; oxen 219, cows 738, horses 190, sheep 1375, swine 78 in number. The polls 195 in number."

Mr. Marsh was ordained, May 18, 1709, and continued minister of the church till his death, which occurred, March 8, 1725-6, in the 41st year of his age, and the 17th of his ministry in Braintree. He lies buried, says Mr. Hancock, in the same tomb with Mr. Fiske. "The number of members added to the church under his ministry, including himself, is 102. Baptisms, 288. In the vacancy between his death and the settlement of his successor, there were 8 baptisms."

Mr. Marsh married Anne Fiske, daughter of his predecessor, as has already been stated in another note, 30 June, 1709. His children by her were Joseph, born 7 Dec. 1710; Hannah, born 10 Feb. 1715–16; Anne, born 15 April, 1722; Anne, born 23 Oct.
1724.* Besides these the Church Records contain, in his handwriting, the baptism of his daughter Mary, Feb. 2, 1718. Joseph kept for many years a private classical school in this town. Of Hannah nothing has been discovered. The first Anne probably died in infancy. Anne Marsh the second was married to Col. Josiah Quincy, by Mr. Wibird, July 11, 1762. Mary Marsh was married to Rev. Jedediah Adams of Stoughton, by Mr. Briant, May 19, 1746. The widow of Mr. Marsh survived him many years. In the will of his successor, Mr. Hancock, is a small legacy of £5 to "Mrs. Ann Marsh, relict of my Rev. Predecessor." I have met with no publication by Mr. Marsh. Under date of April 30, 1710, is the following entry in Fairfield's Diary. "The Sabbath. A gathering to print two sermons." From this one would be led to infer that two of Mr. Marsh's sermons were printed at that time.

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Mr. John Hancock, the fifth minister of the church, was son of the Rev. John Hancock, for a long time minister of that part of the town of Cambridge now called Lexington. His father seems to have been highly respected, and so great was his influence, that he went in the neighboring churches by the name of Bishop Hancock. In the Records of Cambridge First Church, it is entered: that John Hancock, Student, was admitted to full communion, Dec. 21, 1718. The subject of this note graduated at Harvard University in 1719. The following is taken from the Braintree North Precinct Records. "June 29, 1726. At a meeting this day, an unanimous call was given to Mr. Hancock to settle in the work of the ministry. A yearly salary was at the same time voted of £110, in good and lawful bills of public credit on this Province, for his support. And a settlement of £200, in good and lawful bills of public credit, was also voted." Mr. Hancock's answer to the invitation to settle in Braintree is contained in the Precinct Records, dated from Cam-
bridge. The account of his ordination that follows is extracted from the first book of our Church Records, and the original is in his own hand-writing.

"On Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1726. Mr. John Hancock was ordained the Pastor of the church of Christ in the North Precinct of Braintree, by the solemn imposition of the hands of the presbytery. The churches sent unto and desired to be present at the solemnity were the churches of Cambridge, Lexington, Dorchester 1st Church, Milton, Braintree South Church, Weymouth 1st Church, and Hingham 1st Church. The Rev. Mr. John Danforth made the first prayer. My honored father, the Rev. Mr. Hancock of Lexington, preached the sermon from 24 Luke, 49. The Rev. Mr. Thacher gave the charge; and the Rev. Mr. Danforth the right hand of fellowship. The Rev. Mr. Niles, and Mr. Appleton, laying on hands. His letter of dismission from the church of Cambridge was read at the same time by the Rev. Mr. Hancock. The auditory was very numerous."

Mr. Hancock continued in the ministry in this place until his death, which occurred, May 7, 1744, in the forty-second year of his age. He lies in the same tomb with Mr. Fiske and Mr. Marsh; but there is no inscription to his memory. This ought not so to be. Mr. Hancock married the widow of Mr. Samuel Thaxter of Hingham. Her maiden name was Mary Hawke. By her he had three children, whose baptisms are thus recorded by his own hand:

"Mary Hancock, my first-born, April 13, 1735. John Hancock, my son, Jan. 16, 1736–7. Ebenezer Hancock, my son, Nov. 22, 1741." Mary was born 8 April, 1735. John, 12 Jan. 1736–7, and Ebenezer, Nov. 15, 1741.*

John Hancock, son of the minister of Braintree, was graduated at Harvard College, in 1754. His fortune, which he received from his uncle Thomas Hancock Esq., was ample, and the use he made of it liberal and patriotic. His manners were popular. He espoused with ardor the cause of his country, in the commencement of the revolutionary conflict. He was early made conspicuous by the denunciation levelled against him in connexion with his co-patriot, Samuel Adams. He was president of that Congress, which made the Declaration of Independence, and was the first to affix
his name to that memorable instrument. He was afterwards Governor of his native State for many years. The house in which he lived in Boston is now occupied by his nephew, and still stands, amidst surrounding improvements, an interesting and venerable relic of the past.

The name of Hancock is not only illustrious in the political annals of our country, but is honorably associated with the University. The Hon. Thomas Hancock of Boston, son of the Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, gave a legacy of £1000 sterling to the "President and Fellows of Harvard College, the whole income to be applied to the support and maintenance of some person, who shall be elected by the President and Fellows, with the approbation and consent of the overseers, to profess and teach the oriental languages, especially the Hebrew, in said College." Thus arose "the first Professorship founded in New England, or in America, by one of its sons." *

Mr. Hancock of Braintree, in his will, besides the legacy to the widow of his predecessor, which has been noticed in another place, left £10 to the First Church in Braintree; and to Harvard College, Sir Wm. Temple's works, 2 small folio vols.

The whole number of Baptisms during Mr. Hancock's ministry, was 355. Up to 1739, according to his own account, in one of his Century Sermons, there had been added to the church, including himself, 105.

Several individuals, of high and deserved celebrity, have been nurtured in the bosom of our church. John Hancock, as has been said, was baptized here by his father. John Adams, the second President of the United States, was son of a Deacon of the Church, was baptized by Mr. Hancock, Oct. 26, 1734-5, became, Jan. 3, 1773, a member of the Church, and was, to the close of his life, a devout and constant worshipper, in the place where his fathers had worshipped before him. The Quincys, from the earliest times, have lent their influence to support, and their virtues to adorn, the institutions of religion here, as well as the institutions of government and learning on a wider theatre. Judge Edmund Quincy, who died abroad in the service of his country, is affectionately mentioned in a sermon preached by Mr. Hancock, after the intel-

* See Peirce's History of Harvard College.
ligence was received of his death. John Quincy was for forty years representative of this town in the General Court, and for many years in succession Speaker of the House of Representatives. His name, which appears, in the Town and Precinct Records, in connexion with all public meetings, was given to this North Precinct of Braintree, when, in 1792, it was set off and incorporated as a distinct town. And that name is borne by an individual now living, who has ensured to it "a perpetual memory."

During Mr. Hancock's ministry a new meeting-house was erected by the Society. The circumstance is thus related by himself in the Records of the Church:

"Braintree, July 27, 1731.

"This day the First Parish in this town began to raise and rebuild an house for the public worship of God. And through the divine goodness, the house was finished and dedicated, Oct. 8th, 1732, in peaceable times. The text preached upon at the dedication, was, Is. lx. 13. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was then administered. Upon this Sabbath also we began to read the Holy Scriptures in public. The portion then read was 1 Kings S ch. The Sabbath following we began the book of Job and the Gospel of St. Matthew.

"Deo Optimo, maximo, laus et gloria. Madam Norton then presented to the Church a very handsome velvet cushion for the pulpit."

The completion of the first century from the gathering of the Church occurred also during Mr. Hancock's ministry, and furnished an interesting occasion which he noticed appropriately. In the Church Records is the following in his hand-writing.

"The first Church of Christ in Braintree was embodied, Sept. 17th, 1639. *

"N. B. On Sept. 16, 1739, being Lord's day, the first Church in Braintree, both males and females, solemnly renewed the covenant of their fathers, immediately before the participation of the Lord's Supper. The text preached upon at the solemnity was lxiii. Is. 7."

The two Discourses, delivered on that interesting occasion, were,

* This date is altered in the Records, perhaps by Mr. Hancock himself, to 16th. The testimony of Winthrop, however, who was living and probably present at the transaction, fixes the date to the 17th beyond question.
by request of his parishioners, published the same year, with notes which furnish valuable information respecting the history of the church to which he ministered so faithfully. A second edition of these Discourses, with short additional notes, was published at the suggestion of the elder President Adams, in 1811. Besides these well known Century Discourses, Mr. Hancock, in the year 1738, on the 23d of April, preached a funeral Sermon, which was subsequently printed, on the "death of the Hon. Edmund Quincy Esq., one of his Majesty's Council, and of the Judges of the Circuit, and agent for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, at the Court of Great Britain, who died, of the small pox in London, the 23d of Feb., 1737-8, in the 57th year of his age." The following sentence, taken from this Sermon, is happily expressed: "The late honorable Edmund Quincy was a gentleman of bright intellectual accomplishments, vailed from his youth up under a great deal of modesty, yet manifest to such as have the discerning of spirits." "My own loss," he says in another part of the Sermon, "in the death of your honored father is none of the least. Very pleasant hast thou been unto me. We took sweet counsel together, and walked to the house of God in company. Alas my father! my father! my father!

"In his affectionate and acceptable letter to me, dated London Jan. 31, 1737, in the concluding part of it are these words, namely, 'My respects to my friends of the church and town, in whose good wishes I doubt not but I have an interest.'

"And in token of his peculiar affection to this church, whereof he was a leading member for many years, he has left us an acceptable legacy in his last will and testament.* He loved us, and how was his heart engaged in building us a synagogue?"

Mr. Hancock's other publications, so far as I have been able to discover, were:

1. "A Discourse upon the good work, delivered at the Monthly Tuesday Lecture in Pembrook, Sept. 7, 1742."

2. "The danger of an unqualified ministry, represented in a Sermon preached at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. John Bass, to the Pastoral care of the Church of Christ in Ashford, in the Colony of Connecticut, Sept. 7, 1743."

* See Note P. in Appendix.
It is the object of this note to give some account of the several houses for public worship that have, from time to time, been erected by the First Congregational Society in this place. Mr. Hancock, in one of his Century Discourses, makes the following remark: "This is the third house, in which we are now worshipping, that we and our fathers have built for the public worship of God." As it seems to me altogether improbable, that Mr. Hancock should have included any other house besides those which had been erected for the use of his own Society, I understand his remark literally. There have, therefore, been four meeting-houses erected for the use of the First Congregational Society. The old stone meeting-house, which stood near the site now occupied by the Second Congregational Church, instead of being the first, as it has been frequently called, was, if I am right, the second house. My reasons for this supposition, besides the construction put upon Mr. Hancock's language, are these. First, — it is improbable, and not according to the course taken in other towns in the Colony, that a structure, capable of standing nearly a century, as that house did, should have been erected by the first settlers in this place. The first meeting-house in Boston* was erected in 1632. "Its roof was thatched, and its walls were of mud." That frail and humble structure, corresponding so well with the condition of the settlers in so early a period, did not stand long, for we learn from Winthrop,+ that in 1639 the old meeting-house was sold, "being decayed and too small," and in 1640, that is, only eight years after the first was erected, they built a new house. The case was the same in Hingham, and we may conclude that all the little plantations would be led from necessity to adopt a similar course.

Second. It is rather remarkable that no mention is made, in the Braintree Town Records, of the building of the old stone meeting-house, and I have been disappointed in finding no certain evidence of the date of its erection. But the vane which belonged to that meeting-house has been preserved, and a wood cut, representing it faithfully, is given in another part of this pamphlet. It will be seen that it bears date 1666. This may have been merely the time when

* Emerson's History of First Church Boston.
the vane was put up; but the more probable inference seems to be, that this was the year when the house itself was erected. However we may decide upon this point, it is clear, I think, that the old stone meeting-house, humble as it was in its appearance and accommodations, was preceded by another yet more humble. Where that first house stood cannot be determined perhaps; probably, however, on the same spot where the stone meeting-house stood. For in the old Braintree Records, in mentioning the laying out of the "Country High-way," from Weymouth to Dorchester, which was done 25th 12 mo., 1640, Braintree meeting-house is spoken of, and the road, when it reached Braintree meeting-house, was laid out on both sides of it, leaving the meeting-house in the middle of the road. The old stone meeting-house was without pews, except such as were, in the course of time, built, for their own convenience, by individuals. Votes, similar to the following, occur frequently in the Town Records. "Jany. 6, 1700–1. Then voted that the Rev. Mr. Moses Fiske should have liberty to build a pew by the S. E. window in the meeting-house, he leaving convenient passage." The house was furnished with seats, and the men were separated from the women; and the business of "seating the house," as it was called, that is, of assigning to the worshippers the seats they were to occupy, was attended with great difficulty, and was the occasion of complaint on the part of those who thought too low a seat in the synagogue had been assigned to them.

A description of some of the practices of our fathers, by a writer who visited New England soon after its settlement, may be found interesting, and may be pertinent in this connexion. He thus speaks of their mode of worship.

"The public worship is in as fair a meeting-house as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have been at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lord's day, they come together at Boston by ringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an hour. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a chapter; then a Psalm is sung, whichever one of the Ruling Elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes extempore exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing. "About two in the afternoon, they repair to the meeting-house again; and then the Pastor begins, as before noon, and a Psalm
being sung, the teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a chapter, also before his sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

"After that ensues Baptism if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacon's seat, the most eminent place in the church, next under the Elder's seat.

"Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, 'Brethren of the Congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer.' — The Magistrates and chief Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seat, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattel, they set it or lay it down before the Deacons, and so pass another way to their seats again. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money. I have seen a fair gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the communion. Which moneys and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the ministers, and the poor of the Church, and the Church's occasions, without making account ordinarily.*

"Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates, and not by the Ministers. At burials, nothing is read, nor any funeral Sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present."†

When to the account, given above, we add that a drum was, in the earliest times, used as a substitute for a bell, to call the people together, and an hour glass stood before the preacher, instead of a clock, to warn him when to leave off "handling his subject," we may form some idea of the customs that prevailed in the days of our fathers. The two following votes also, selected from the Brain-tree North Precinct Records, prove that we have escaped some annoyances to which our pious fathers were exposed. "March 17, 1728—9. The Precinct then having debated upon the disturbance made by dogs in the meeting-house on Sabbath days, to prevent the

* Lechford's Plain Dealing, pp. 76, 77, 78.  † Ibid. p. 94.
same, They then voted, that Joseph Parmenter should have twenty shillings, provided he would take care and pains in that matter, by beating and keeping of them out.

"March 30, 1730. It was voted that Joseph Parmenter should have twenty shillings for his service as Precinct clerk, and clearing the meeting-house of snow, the year past, there having been cart loads of snow blown in."

As early as 1695, in November, a vote was passed at a regular town meeting, that a new meeting-house should be built. The house contemplated by this vote would have been for the whole town. This is the vote to which the inhabitants of the south part of the town refer, in their memorial to the General Court, setting forth their reasons for withdrawing themselves from the north part of the town, and building a house for their own separate accommodation. The vote passed in 1695 was not carried into effect, but the old house was repaired, and was occupied for worship, until a new one was at length built, in Mr. Hancock's day, for the accommodation of what had become the North Precinct of Braintree. The extracts that follow, from the Precinct Records, show that there were several places thought of where the house should be built.

"Dec. 22, 1729. After some considerable debate upon the question, whether the Precinct did judge it needful to have a new meeting house, they then voted in the affirmative.

"Jan. 5, 1729-30. Then, after a considerable debate of the Precinct about a place where to set the said meeting-house, a vote was asked whether it should be set at Col. Quincy's gate; it passed in the negative.

"Then whether where the old meeting-house stands or near unto it; it passed in the negative.

"After more debate upon a place where the said meeting-house should be set, the moderator was desired to ask a vote, whether the Precinct would set it at the ten miles stone, or near unto it; it passed in the affirmative.

"Jany. 13, 1730-31. The question where the meeting-house should be placed was again discussed at the meeting. The question was put whether the said house should be erected on the training field, within the said Precinct, as near to the west corner of the land of Ensign Saml. Baxter, as the land would admit of; it passed in the affirmative."
The old stone meeting-house was allowed to stand, until, Feb. 18, 1747–8, a vote passed to sell it to the highest bidder. It was sold to Serg. Moses Belcher and Mr. Joseph Nightingale for £100 old tenor. The wooden meeting-house which was dedicated in 1732, and which stood during the larger portion of Mr. Hancock's ministry, the whole of Mr. Briant's, the whole of Mr. Wibird's, and the larger portion of Mr. Whitney's, was repaired at different times, particularly in 1806, when it was considerably enlarged, to meet the wants of the Parish.

On the 11th day of April, 1826, a committee was appointed by the Parish, to whom was referred the subject of erecting a new meeting house of stone. This committee reported, 6th of Nov. 1826, in favor of such a house, and their Report was, at the same time, almost unanimously accepted. A building committee was chosen, and on the 9th of the ensuing April, 1827, ground was broken for the cellar of the new Church. On the 11th of June, 1827, the corner stone was laid with appropriate solemnities. A prayer was offered, and an address was made by the Pastor, Rev. Mr. Whitney.* Hon. Thomas Greenleaf, Chairman of the Building Committee, made some interesting remarks, and read the inscription on the plate, which was deposited in a lead box, together with the several deeds of land presented to the town by the late President Adams. The inscription is as follows:

"A temple for the public worship of God; and for public instruction in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. Erected by the Congregational Society in the Town of Quincy; the stone taken from the granite quarries, given to the town by the Hon. John Adams, late President of the United States.

This stone was laid June 11th, 1827, in the fifty-first year of American Independence.

The Rev. Peter Whitney, Pastor of the Society.

John Quincy Adams, President of the United States.

Levi Lincoln, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

John Whitney, Danl. Spear, John Souther,
Selectmen of the Town of Quincy.

Building Committee.—Thos. Greenleaf, Chairman, Noah Curtis,
John Souther, Lemuel Brackett, Daniel Spear.

* See Whitney's History of Quincy.
Alexander Parris, Architect.
William Wood, Master Builder.

MEMORANDA.
The population of the town estimated at 2000. That of the United States at 13,000,000.
Engraved by Hazen Morse."

Worship was held in the old house, for the last time, on Sunday 12th October, 1828. In the afternoon a farewell sermon, from the words, 'Your fathers, where are they; and the Prophets, do they live forever?' was preached, and the occasion is described as very interesting and affecting.* The following notice of the Dedication of the new Church is taken from the Church Records. "The stone Congregational Church in Quincy was dedicated to the worship and service of the one only living and true God, on Wednesday, the 12th of Nov. 1828. Rev. Dr. Gray offered the Introductory Prayer. Rev. Mr. Brooks read selections from Scripture. Rev. Dr. Lowell offered the Dedicatory Prayer. The Pastor of the Church, Rev. Mr. Whitney, preached from Gen. Ch. 28. 17v. Rev. Dr. Porter offered the concluding prayer."

The following beautiful Hymn, from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Pierpont, was sung on the occasion, and will be thought worth preserving.

"When thy Son, O God, was sleeping
In death's rocky prison bound,
When his faithful ones were weeping,
And the guards were watching round;
Then thy word that strong house shaking,
Rent the rocky bars away,
And the holy sleeper waking
Rose to meet the rising day.

Where thy word, by Jesus spoken,
In its power is heard e'en now,
Shake the hills, the rocks are broken,
As on Calvary's trembling brow;
From the bosom of the mountain,
At that word, these stones have burst,
And have gathered round the fountain,
Where our souls may quench their thirst.

* Journal of F. A. Whitney.
Here the water of salvation
Long hath gushed a liberal wave;
Here, a Father of our nation
Drank, and felt the strength it gave.
Here he sleeps,—his bed how lowly!
But his aim and trust were high;
And his memory, that is holy,
And his name, it cannot die.

While beneath this Temple's Portal
Rest the relics of the just,
While the light of hope immortal
Shines above his sacred dust,
While the well of life its waters
To the weary here shall give,
Father, may thy sons and daughters,
Kneeling round it, drink and live."

The church is built of granite, with a pediment in front, supported by four Doric pillars, the shaft of each being a single block. It contains 134 pews on the lower floor, and 22 in the galleries. According to the very full and clear report of the Building Committee, contained in the Parish Records, the work included in the original estimate, made by the architect, was performed at a cost $3000 within that estimate. The total cost of the building, with the improvements around it, was $30,488,56, to which must be added the sum of $4350 voted to be paid to the proprietors of pews in the old meeting-house, and the cost of the furnace. The debt incurred by the erection of so costly an edifice was, finally, in the year 1833, wiped off.

Under the portico of this church lie, in a granite tomb, the remains of President John Adams and Abigail his wife. And in this connexion I cannot forbear giving the following letter, a copy of which is inserted in the Parish Records.

"Quincy, 8 Sept. 1826.


"Gentlemen: — Upon the decease of my late honored father, I have considered it a duty devolving upon me, to erect a plain and modest monument to his memory; and my wish is that, divested of
all ostentation, it may yet be as durable as the walls of the Temple, to the erection of which he has contributed, and as the rocks of his native town, which are to supply the materials for it.

"This purpose may be most advantageously effected, if the inhabitants of the town, in their corporate capacity, should accede to the proposition which I now make to them through you, and upon which I request you to take their sense as speedily as may be convenient.

"I propose that when the Congregational Society in this town shall determine to commence the erection of the Temple, they should adopt a resolution authorizing you to conclude with me an agreement, whereby at my expense, a vault or tomb may be constructed, under the Temple, wherein may be deposited the mortal remains of the late John Adams and of Abigail, his beloved and only wife. And that within the walls of the Temple, at a suitable place to be approved by me, a tablet or tablets, of marble or other stone, may be adapted to the side of the walls, with a view to durability, and with such obituary inscription or inscriptions as I shall deem proper.

"The assent of the town to this modification in the construction of the Temple, I suppose to be necessary, or at least expedient. But the time when the Temple itself shall be built must, I conceive, depend upon the Congregational Society and Church under the Pastoral care of the Rev. Peter Whitney.

"In proceeding to carry into effect the objects of the Donations to the town, I believe great attention will be due to keeping these distinctions in mind. The town and the parish (by which I mean the Congregational Society and Church) are distinct corporations, and consist of persons partly the same, and partly different. The Temple, when erected, will, doubtless, be the property of the parish, subject to that of the individual pew holders; but the Donations being to the town, their assent seems to be necessary even to fix the time for the erection of the edifice.

"I have many reasons for desiring that this may be undertaken without delay; and among the rest, that both my parents may not remain, for an indefinite time, without a stone to tell where they lie. Should the town and the parish both assent to my present proposal, I shall be anxious to know when the latter would propose to commence the building. Should they approve my design, I shall take
no measures for erecting a monument elsewhere; which I propose to do, should they see any inconvenience in the acceptance of my offer. It will be necessary that the agreement should be in writing; perhaps by indenture, to fix the property of the vault or tomb, and of the tablets.

"I am, very respectfully, your friend,

"(Signed) John Quincy Adams."

According to Mr. Adams's request, expressed in the above letter, an indenture was made, a copy of which is contained in the Parish Records, by which was conveyed to John Quincy Adams a "portion of the soil in the cellar, situated under the porch at the entrance of the said Temple, and partitioned off by walls, being the central division of the said cellar under the porch, and containing fourteen feet in length and fourteen in breadth." By the same indenture liberty was also granted to affix to any part of the walls of the Temple tablets with obituary inscriptions. Accordingly, on the east end of the edifice, at the side of the pulpit, a mural monument was erected, surmounted by a bust of John Adams from the chisel of Greenough. On the tablets beneath the bust are the following inscriptions.

*Libertatem, Amicitiam, Fidem Retinebis.*

D. O. M.

Beneath these walls
Are deposited the mortal remains of

JOHN ADAMS,
Son of John and Susanna (Boylston) Adams; Second President of the United States;
Born 18 October, 1735;
On the Fourth of July, 1776, he pledged his Life, Fortune, and Sacred Honor To the Independence of his Country;
On the third of September, 1783, he affixed his seal to the definitive Treaty with Great Britain, which acknowledged that Independence, and consummated the redemption of his pledge; On the Fourth of July, 1823, he was summoned To the Independence of Immortality, and to the Judgment of his God.
This house will bear witness to his piety; This Town, his birth-place, to his munificence; History to his Patriotism; Fertility to the depth and compass of his mind.

At his side
Sleeps till the Trump shall sound

ABIGAIL,
His beloved and only wife, Daughter of Wm. and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith; In every relation of life a pattern, Of Filial, Conjugal, Maternal, and Social virtues;
Born Nov. 11 1744,
Deceased 28 Oct. 1818, Æt. 74.
During an union of more than half a century They survived, in harmony of sentiment, principle, and affection, The tempests of civil commotion; Meeting undaunted, and surmounting The terrors and trials of that Revolution Which secured the Freedom of their Country; Improved the condition of their times; And brightened the prospects of Futurity To the race of man upon Earth.
From lives thus spent thy earthly duties learn,
From Fancy's dreams to active Virtue turn;
Let Freedom, Friendship, Faith, thy soul engage,
And serve like them thy Country and thy age.

At a Parish Meeting held Feb. 16, 1837, permission was granted, by an unanimous vote, to individuals, to place an organ in the meeting-house, for the use of the Society.

The Organ, which was procured, had previously belonged to Trinity Church in Boston, and was disposed of when the worshippers in that Church furnished themselves with a more powerful instrument.

The following is a list of the sacred vessels belonging to the Church, with the inscriptions they bear, namely:

A small cup, having two handles, and marked on the bottom "Joanna Yorke 1685 B. C."

A small cup, of the same form as the preceding, bearing a coat of arms on the surface, and marked on the bottom, "B. C. 1699."

A small cup, of the same form as the preceding, plain on the surface, with the following inscription: "The gift of Deacon Samuel Bass, Wm. Veazey, Jno. Ruggle, David Walesby, 1694."

A high cup marked below the rim: "The gift of William Needham to Braintree Church 1688."

A high cup without mark or date, but apparently very old.

A high cup marked: "The gift of Mrs. Mehetable Fisher to the First Church of Christ in Braintree 1741."

A cup marked: "The gift of the Honble. Edmund Quincy Esq. to the First Church in Braintree, Feb. 23d, 1737-8."

A tankard marked: "The gift of the Honbl. John Quincy Esq. to the First Church of Christ in Braintree, 1767."

A tankard marked: "The Gift of Mrs. Sarah Adams (Relict of Mr. Edward Adams late of Milton) to the First Church in Braintree." There is no date added, but the Church Records fix the time Nov. 4, 1770.

"Four large-sized Flagons, marked as follows: "Presented by Daniel Greenleaf to the Congregational Church in Quincy 1828."

Three Plates marked thus: "Presented to the First Congregational Church in Quincy, by Deacon Josiah Adams, Deacon Daniel Spear, and Deacon Samuel Savil, 1828."
A Baptismal Vase having this inscription: "Presented to the Congregational Church in the town of Quincy, by Mrs. Eliza Susan Quincy, 1828."

The two volumes of Scriptures, used in the pulpit, contain the following:

"To the Church and Congregational Society of the Town of Quincy, this Bible, for the use of the Sacred Desk, is respectfully presented by Josiah Quincy."

"Boston, Oct. 1808."

"New bound and divided into two volumes, Oct. 1828."

Q. Page 50.

Lemuel Briant, the sixth minister of the Braintree First Church, was born about the year 1722. He was a native of Scituate, Mass., where his ancestors had resided from a very early period. His father, Thomas Briant, Esq., says Mr. Dean, "was an able and useful man as a magistrate; but tradition speaks of some singularities. He was the father of Lemuel Briant, a man of extraordinary powers and singularities, who died 1754, and was buried at Scituate." He was graduated at Harvard College in 1739. Where he pursued his theological studies I have not learned; perhaps in his native town, for he was admitted to full communion with the church in Scituate, July 5, 1741. Before coming to Braintree it appears that he preached some time in Worcester.

At a precinct meeting held in the North Precinct of Braintree, Sept. 16, 1745, Mr. Briant was elected, by an unanimous vote, minister of the church. And on the 23d day of September, same year, "the Precinct voted that there shall be allowed and paid unto the Rev. Mr. Lemuel Briant (if he settles with them in the work of the ministry) one hundred pounds in bills of credit on this province of the last emission; fifty pounds to be paid at the end of the first year after his ordination; the other fifty pounds to be paid at the end of the second year, as an encouragement towards his settling with them in the aforesaid work."
And they then voted, "that there shall be allowed and paid unto
him, the said Mr. Lemuel Briant, fifty pounds per year in bills of
credit on this province of the last emission, for two years after his
first settling with them; and at the end of two years there shall be
an addition made of twelve pounds and ten shillings in bills of the
like emission, or in other bills equivalent, as a yearly salary during
his performing the work of the ministry among them."

It appears, by an entry in the Church Records, that at a meeting
of the First Church in Braintree, held Sept. 15, 1745, it was voted,
"That the church will forego the privilege of preceding the other
qualified inhabitants in the choice of their minister; and will join
with the other inhabitants of the said Precinct, pursuant to a war­
rant made out for assembling them on the 16th instant, in order to
the choice of a gospel minister to settle among them."

The following account of his ordination, in Mr. Briant's hand­
writing, is taken from the Church Records. "Wednesday, Dec.
11th, 1745, Lemuel Briant was ordained the Pastor of the 1st
Church of Christ in Braintree. The churches sent to were, The
Church at Lexington. The 2d Church in Scituate. The 2d in
Braintree. The 1st in Hingham. The first in Scituate. The
Church in Milton. The 1st in Stoughton. The Church in Dor­
chester. The 1st in Weymouth. The Rev. Mr. Bourne of Scitu­
ate began with prayer. The Rev. Mr. Eells of Scituate preached
from 2 Cor. iv. 5. The Rev. Mr. Niles of Braintree gave the
charge. The Rev. Mr. Taylor of Milton the right hand of fellow­
ship."

It has been said that Mr. Briant was not examined, at his ordina­
tion, as to his Creed.*

Mr. Briant's ministry in Braintree was comparatively brief, and
his peace was disturbed by a religious controversy which, as we
shall presently see, was occasioned by one of his publications, and
which raged for several years. Indeed his life was a short one.
Oct. 22, 1753, a precinct meeting was called, one object of which
was; "To take into serious consideration the matter of the Rev.
Mr. Briant's petition, bearing date Oct. 10, 1753, inscribed to the
North Parish in Braintree; more especially that clause in the peti-

* Bradford's Biography of Dr. Mayhew. This fact is stated in the Report,
made by a committee of his society, which will be noticed in the proper
place.
tion which earnestly desires that you will make way for the settling a minister, by dismissing your present Pastor from the burdens and labors of his office; and if the parish, after mature consideration had on the premises, shall think it advisable and that it will be for the best, (all things considered,) both for the parish and for our Rev. Pastor, to grant him a dismissal; or if otherwise the Parish shall think best to wait patiently some time longer, to see if it may not please God in his good Providence to restore our Rev. Pastor to his former state of health."

At the meeting, John Quincy, Esq. was chosen Moderator. "Then the vote was put whether they would proceed according to the warrant; it passed in the affirmative. Then the vote was put whether they would grant to the Rev. Mr. Briant his request in respect to his dismissal, and it passed in the affirmative. A committee was chosen, Edmund Quincy, Esq., Major Joseph Crosby, Deacon Parmenter, Mr Josiah Quincy, and Deacon Moses Belcher, to acquaint the Rev. Mr. Briant with the proceedings of the meeting, viz. that they have dismissed him from his ministerial office in this place; and to return him thanks for his labors in the ministry among us." *

Mr. Briant did not long survive his removal from this place. He died the following year, at Hingham, according to the author of the Description of Scituate in the Massachusetts Historical Collections.† His will, however, I have found, in the Suffolk Probate Records. It is dated 21st of August, 1754, and in it he styles himself Lemuel Briant, Gent. of Boston. The will was examined and proved Oct. 8, 1754. Mr. Briant was buried at Scituate, his native place, and the Rev. Mr. May of that town has been kind enough to procure for me the following inscription from his grave stone. "Here lies interred, the body of the Rev. Mr. Lemuel Bryant, who departed this life, October the First, 1754. Aged 32 years."

In the interval between Mr. Hancock's death and Mr. Briant's settlement there were 31 baptisms. During Mr. Briant's ministry, there were 155 baptisms and 60 admitted to the church.

Mr. Briant had two sons; Lemuel, born July 16, 1749, and Joseph, born Nov. 23, 1751.

From Mr. Briant's publications one would be justified in pro-

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* North Prec. Records.  
† Hist. Coll. 2d series, Vol. IV.
nouncing him a man of strong native abilities, of a capacious and vigorous intellect. He was a bold thinker, and fearless and independent in his judgment. His wit was pungent; he had considerable command of language and skill in the management of an argument; and he was capable of giving forcible, pointed, and felicitous expression to his thoughts. In theological speculations he had advanced considerably beyond the prevalent opinions of his day, and was one among that small but honored company of New England divines, who had been able to extricate their minds from the dogmas of Calvin, and to discover and appreciate the native worth of simple, primitive Christianity. And here seems to be a suitable place to quote from the letter of President John Adams to Dr. Morse, which has been so frequently published. The letter is dated, Quincy, May 15, 1815.

"Dear Doctor,

"I thank you for your favor of the 10th, and the pamphlet enclosed, entitled, 'American Unitarianism.' I have turned over its leaves, and found nothing that was not familiarly known to me. In the preface, Unitarianism is represented as only thirty years old in New England. I can testify as a witness to its old age. Sixty-five years ago, my own minister, the Rev. Lemuel Bryant; Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church in Boston; the Rev. Mr. Shute, of Hingham; the Rev John Brown, of Cohasset; and perhaps equal to all, if not above all, the Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians. Among the laity how many could I name, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers! But at present I will name only one, Richard Cranch, a man who had studied divinity, and Jewish and Christian antiquities, more than any clergyman now existing in New England."

Some account of the controversy, in which Mr. Bryant was engaged with neighboring ministers, may be expected in this note.

In the year 1749, as I have already stated, Mr. Bryant published his sermon on moral virtue. This sermon had probably been preached in various places in the course of the author's exchanges. We know that it was preached in Scituate, the native place of the writer. Mr. Dean, in his History of that town, gives the following anecdote.

"Mr. Lemuel Bryant of Quincy, (Braintree,) who had gone
somewhat before the age in liberal speculations, preached for him (Mr. Eels of Scituate) on a certain day, and delivered a sermon, which he afterwards printed, on the text, 'All our righteousnesses are filthy rags,' and explained the text in the manner which would now be generally acceptable, showing that the formalities of a corrupt generation of the Jews were therein described, and not the moral virtues of true worshippers, which led Mr. Eells to say, 'Alas! Sir, you have undone to-day, all that I have been doing for forty years;' and Bryant, with his accustomed wit and courtesy, replied, 'Sir, you do me too much honor in saying, that I could undo, in one sermon, the labors of your long and useful life.' An aged and highly intelligent gentleman, who related this anecdote to us twenty years since, also remarked, that Mr. Eells preached a series of sermons afterward, with a view to correct Mr. Bryant's errors, but it was not easy, remarked the same gentleman, to discern much difference between his doctrine and that of Mr. Bryant." *

Under the first head of his discourse our author accumulates circumstances to show the great degeneracy into which the Jewish people had sunk; and to prove that "the drift and design of the Prophet's discourse is not to depreciate true righteousness;—but to convince them that they were utterly destitute of it," &c. He finishes his picture of the corruption of the Prophet's time in the following striking manner: "I will only add, that all their crying abominations were committed among them under the greatest aggravations, while they enjoyed superior advantages of excelling in virtue; while they had the constant instructions and warnings of God's Prophets to the contrary; while God, by a variety of signal providences both merciful and afflictive, endeavored to engage them in their duty and obedience; finally, while they themselves pretended to be the most precise people under heaven; so that in fact they made their religion a cloak for their immoralities, and imagined all was well, that they were very pious good people, though they lied, stole, committed adultery, swore falsely, and in short, in common life practised all manner of villainy, so long as they could say, (which was the common cant of the times,) The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are we.'"

Under the second head of discourse Mr. Briant endeavors to

* Dean's History of Scituate, p. 199.
prove that the text was not "designed to be a just character of the personal righteousness of truly good and holy men."

This our author argues from "the nature, use, and importance of true righteousness, considered as the image of God, the substance of Christianity, the product of the spirit, the ornament of great price in the sight of God, of particular and universal influence on human happiness, in their present, and in their future eternal state," and draws the inference that the Scriptures never could have designed to undervalue this righteousness.

Under the third head of discourse Mr. B. points out "some of the dangerous consequences of admitting this sense of the text;" that all such attempts to depreciate moral virtue will "minister to the growth of infidelity, and of vice among professed Christians, and to the great disquiet of sincere, good Christians, who are the proper heirs of comfort." All these points he illustrates in his peculiarly bold and impressive style. With respect to the influence of such a doctrine in favoring infidelity, I cannot avoid quoting a portion of his remarks.

"But if this be Revelation and Grace, to vilify human nature, and disparage all our improvements in those divine virtues wherein essentially consists all our glory and felicity; if the Scriptures are used to affront human reason, and debauch men's manners, and the most glorious dispensation of the Gospel in particular, instead of teaching us to deny ungodliness, and every worldly lust, and to live soberly, righteously, charitably, and devoutly in this present world, be conceived of only as a scheme calculated to allow men the practice of their vices here, with impunity hereafter; if this be the liberty and peculiar privilege of the saints to be discharged from their obligations to obey their master, and they that break his commandments stand fairer for his grace, than they who conscientiously keep them, for fear they should trust to what they do; so far, I say, as any take their conceptions from such corruptions of Christianity, they must necessarily be prejudiced against it. 'Thunder we ever so loud, without any previous lightning, 'He that believeth not shall be damned,' it will signify nothing, for they will be damned before they will believe.'

Such is an imperfect analysis of this remarkable Sermon:—remarkable it deserves to be called on several accounts; for its intrinsic excellences, for the clear thinking, the freedom from mistiness, preju-
dice, and cant, the perfect independence of mind, the strength and pungency of style, which it displays. But it was not suited to find much popular favor at that day, and must wait many years before the sentiments it advocated should be in harmony with the public mind. The distinctness with which it stated the opinions of its author, and exposed the absurdities into which the popular creed had run, startled those who had quietly settled themselves with the conviction that Calvinism was something very good, without ever having examined thoroughly what it was, or what it led to.

Mr. Briant was replied to by several ministers. The Rev. Samuel Niles, at that time Pastor of the Second Church in Braintree, published a Sermon entitled; "A Vindication of divers important Gospel Doctrines, and of the Teachers and Professors of them against the injurious reflections and misrepresentations contained in a late printed Discourse of the Rev. Mr. Lemuel Briant's, Entitled, &c., by Samuel Niles, Pastor of a Church in Braintree."

The copy I have seen is without date,* but was probably delivered and printed soon after Mr. Briant's Sermon appeared. But Mr. Briant's chief opponent was Mr. Porter, who was a minister in Bridgewater. "He died," says Allen in his Biographical Dictionary, "in the hope of the Christian, March 12, 1802, in the 87th year of his age, and the 62d of his ministry, having been enabled to preach till near the close of his life. He was a man of respectable talents, of great prudence, and of a blameless life." —In 1750 he published a Sermon entitled, "The absurdity and blasphemy of substituting the personal righteousness of men in the room of the surety-righteousness of Christ, in the important article of Justification before God. A Sermon preached at the South Precinct in Braintree, Dec. 25, 1749. By John Porter A. M., Pastor of the 4th Church of Christ in Bridgewater." — He took for his text the same passage of Scripture that Mr. Briant had discoursed from, and doubtless intended a refutation of the doctrine of the Pastor of the First Church in this town. This Sermon is the production of a mind strongly and apparently with sincerity attached to the system of Calvin, but narrow in the compass of its thoughts, and far inferior to the mind of his opponent. Mr. Porter undertakes to interpret the text as meant by the Prophet to be applied to the right-

* Allen's Biography says it was published in 1752.
eousness of the very best men, and consequently including the Prophet himself and his own character. He adduces three arguments for this interpretation. 1st. He asserts that the word righteousness is never, in the Scriptures, used to designate the hypocritical performances of bad men, but uniformly applied to good acts. Secondly, the word all makes the assertion of the text universal. And thirdly, the word our in the text strengthens, in the author's apprehension, his second argument, and shows that the Prophet includes himself in the declaration. With a person who had no greater expansion of mind than to make such interpretations of Scripture as these, it would seem there could be but little room for serious argument.

In 1750, Mr. Briant published a Letter entitled, "Some friendly remarks on a Sermon lately preached at Braintree, 3d Parish, and now published to the world, by the Rev. Mr. Porter of Bridgewater; from those words in Isaiah 64. 6, &c. in a letter to the author, to be communicated to his attestators, by Lemuel Briant." At the conclusion of Mr. Porter's Sermon there had been added an "attestation," as it was called, signed by five brother clergymen, who were, doubtless, orthodox after the straitest sect, in which they express their entire agreement with the sentiments of Mr. Porter, and lament the "dreadful increase of Arminianism and other errors in the land, among ministers and people." Mr. Briant, in his Letter assumes and maintains throughout a strain of raillery which must have been annoying to his adversaries who felt its keen edge, and which provoked them to charge him, in reply, with trifling with the subject. For this charge there was no foundation in what he had written. He was playing with them and with their argument, which must have seemed to him trifling in the extreme. But a bigoted man will always be prone to identify his opinions so closely with religion itself, that what is aimed only at him is easily referred by him to the subject, and his opponent forthwith is set down as a trifler and blasphemer.

"It must be acknowledged," says Mr. Briant, in the course of his Letter, "with all gratitude, that there has of late years been a remarkable out-pouring of the good old Berean spirit; and the perils, that in times of ingorance and implicit believing have attended freedom and plainness of speech, (which is an essential branch of that holiness that becomes God's house forever,) are very considerably
abated." It may aid us in understanding the meaning of this passage, if we bear in mind who were the ministers at that day of the neighboring churches, Dr. Gay and Dr. Shute of Hingham, Mr. Eells of Scituate, were all anti-Calvinistic, and Dr. Mayhew of West Church, Boston, anti-Trinitarian, one of the boldest and most candid advocates of a liberal and rational theology. With these men Mr. Briant associated; and although he was, both from nature and choice, less prudent than some of them, yet they could not fail to sympathize with him in the views he advanced.

Mr. Briant rallies his opponent upon his differing from Calvin, his great master, in his interpretation of the text. He quotes Calvin's Commentary on the passage, giving the original Latin, and an English version of his own, and teases him with a variety of ironical explanations of this oversight, concluding with saying: "And then again, to be honest with you, I confess I have not sometimes been without my doubts whether or no the language in which Calvin wrote might not a little startle you. There being some in all ages, like those in Dr. South's, who, he says, always looked upon Latin to be the language of the Beast."—"Alas! alas! that one of his youngest children should rise up at this day against him, and find so many elder brethren to countenance, attest, and support this his disobedience and rebellion against him; that the cause of good old Mr. Calvin should be so wounded in the house of so many of his best friends"—He concludes thus; "Dear Sir, I presume not to subscribe myself (according to old style) your brother in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel; for fear you should imagine I have not faith enough for any fellowship. But you will allow me, I trust, the privilege of a Heathen (if sound and serious) to declare that I am your fellow creature and hearty well-wisher,

"Braintree, May 22, 1750."

After an interval of some time, Mr. Porter appeared before the public, to vindicate his Sermon, and to answer Mr. Briant's Letter. There was added to Mr. Porter's Letter "an Appendix by one of the attestators," longer than the Letter itself. The Appendix is subscribed by John Cotton, Halifax.

The chief object of Mr. Porter and Mr. Cotton, in the Letter and Appendix, seems to be, to draw off Mr. Briant's attention from the single point of controversy between them, namely, that which had
been suggested by Mr. Briant's Sermon, and by charging him with being heterodox on all the chief doctrines of the Calvinistic creed, to render him an object of popular distrust. They especially dwell long upon what they call the *prevarication* of Mr. Briant, in saying, that the only point in dispute between him and his opponents was in regard to the interpretation of the particular text which he takes for his Sermon; and the appendix particularly is a labored endeavor to show that Mr. Briant is unsound and Arminian in his notions upon all the main doctrines of Christianity. Mr. Foxcroft, whom Mr. Briant had designated harshly "as a verbose, dark, Jesuitical writer," added a note to the appendix, in which he charges Briant with being not merely Arminian, but Socinian; and states his reasons in the shape of inferences drawn from his writings. There was much in the *tone* assumed by these three writers calculated to excite a just indignation on the part of him whom they attacked. He replied to them in a piece dated, Braintree, April 15, 1751, and entitled, "Some more friendly remarks on Mr. Porter and Company. In a second Letter to him and two of his abettors, namely, Mr. Cotton, appendix writer, and Mr. F-xcr-ft, marginal noter. Wherein the persons, sentiments, and arguments of the Triumvirate are treated with the utmost deference that truth and faithfulness could possibly admit of." This Letter is remarkable for clear thinking and vigorous diction, for pointed wit and pungent satire, for controversial adroitness, and close logic. He confines himself, in this reply, to showing that the inferences which his opponents had made respecting his opinions, so far as they were drawn from his Sermon, (and this he contended was the subject-matter of dispute between them,) were wholly unauthorized and gratuitous; and this he does so fully as to leave them in the unenviable predicament of having brought charges against him upon no better ground than conjecture and suspicion.

There were some members of Mr. Briant's Parish and Church that were much disturbed by his liberal views of Theology, although there can be no doubt that "the body of the church and people"* accorded perfectly with their Pastor. Yet the minority were not content, until they had called an Ecclesiastical Council consisting of seven Churches, namely, The old South Church in Boston, the Second Church in Braintree, the two Churches in Wey-

* These words used in the Report of Proceedings of Council.
mouth, the First Church in Stoughton, the Second Church in Bridgewater, and the Church in Hanover. The Council met again, by adjournment, Jan. 9, 1753. Mr. Briant still declining, as he had done previously, to acknowledge their authority, or to be present at their sessions. There were eight subjects of complaint against him. The first related to his Sermon on Moral Virtue, which they pronounced just cause of offence to the aggrieved party, that is, the minority of the First Church. The second complaint related to Mr. Briant's absenting himself, as was alleged, from public fasts. The third complaint was, that Mr. Briant took no proper measures to clear himself of several scandalous sins charged upon him. The fourth ground of complaint was, that Mr. Briant disclaimed and renounced the Assembly's Catechism, and substituted another (Mr. Pierce's) in its stead. The fifth related to Mr. Briant's "recommending Mr. John Taylor's Book to the prayerful perusal of some of his brethren." The sixth was connected with the suspension of a member of Mr. Briant's Church. The seventh and eighth articles related to Mr. Briant's alleged refusal to call a church meeting, at the request of the aggrieved brethren, and to the Church's easy concurrence with their Pastor in what were called his errors, particularly in laying aside the Assembly's Catechism.

In their printed Report, a copy of which is before me, the ex parte Council pronounced the several complaints, recited above, to have some foundation; but, at the same time, they express the opinion, that the "aggrieved brethren" of the Church had gone too far in their high charges against the majority of the Church. They conclude their Report with "their best advices" to the two parties.

This Council effected as much as Councils ever effect, that is, nothing at all, except it may be, to increase the difficulty in which they intermeddled. One of the articles, it will be observed, consisted, not indeed of direct charges against Mr. Briant's moral character, but of a complaint that he did not take sufficient pains to clear himself of charges which had been brought against him. The charges that were made against him are doubtless to be ascribed in part to that bigotry which, as is well known, is too apt to refer any deviations from the popular standard of religious opinions, to depravity of heart and life, and in part to Mr. Briant's eccentricities, and his defiance of public sentiment in his bold publication of his theological views.
The charges that were brought against their Pastor, in the Report of the Council, were deemed worthy of notice by the Church; and they appointed a Committee, in March, 1753, whose duty it should be "to inquire into the grounds of those slanderous reports that had been spread abroad, respecting themselves, and the Rev. Mr. Lemuel Briant, their Pastor." The Report, made by this Committee, I have seen. It is signed by J. Quincy, Joseph Crosby, Moses Belcher, Edm. Quincy, John Bass, Moses Belcher, Joseph Neal, J. Palmer, Richard Brackett, and is dated, Braintree April 14, 1753. This Report is drawn up with ability, and expressed in temperate but firm language. It justifies the Pastor in the course he had taken with respect to Church discipline, and his refusing to acknowledge, in any way, the Council. It denies the truth of the charge brought against Mr. Briant of a neglect of fasts. The following extract from the concluding portion of this Report will be read by many, with interest, as embodying a spirit of freedom and liberality worthy of Protestants and Christians.

"Third. As the several scandalous immoralities, charged upon Mr. Briant, have never been proved in any one instance, so the Church ought to adhere to their vote relating to this case, and all the world besides, until they know better, ought to be in perfect charity with him.

"Fourth. Though Mr. Briant has too much neglected catechising, yet he is now ready (as soon as his health permits) to teach our children such parts of the catechism as he apprehends agreeable to the Scriptures. Nor can we think that any Christian Society ought to be so attached to any human composure, as to make it a crime in their Pastor to prefer pure Scripture instruction to it.

"That we have no evidence of Mr. Briant's having made any particular profession of his faith at his ordination, or that any such thing was required of him by the Council then present; or if he had made any such profession, it could not destroy his right of private judgment, nor be obligatory upon him, any further than it continued to appear to him agreeable to reason and Scripture.

"And fifth. That our Rev. Pastor's recommending Mr. John Taylor's book to the prayerful perusal of one or more of his Parishioners, upon supposition of its being erroneous, was worthy a Protestant minister; and we cannot but commend our Pastor for the pains he takes to promote a free and impartial examination into
all articles of our holy religion, so that all may judge, even of themselves, what is right.

"As to the supposed doctrinal errors charged upon Mr. Briant, we shall not presume to condemn him, although he may differ from some of us; because, as he has an undoubted right to judge for himself, so we do not apprehend the difference in opinion between him and any of this Society so great, as to justify any breach or schism in the Church, or to cause any uncharitable censures from men of a Christian disposition.

"We have made our above Report according to the best evidences we have been able to collect. We hope none will hereafter charge us with vindicating our Pastor, or any one else, in immoral practices, or in contemning the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Religion; for we not only profess the most religious regard for the sacred Scriptures, but also for the practice of virtue; and we hope that the aggrieved will, each one for himself in particular, consider whether his conduct, towards this Society, and their Pastor, has been such as became the Gospel of peace, and thereupon repent and amend in every instance wherein he finds himself to have erred; and that we may all sit down together in peace and charity, and worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

R. Page 55.

Mr. Anthony Wibird, the seventh minister of the Church, was a native of Portsmouth, N. H. He was a graduate of Harvard University, in the year 1747. He was chosen, Oct. 8, 1754, by a unanimous vote, Pastor of the Braintree First Church. At first it was voted that he should receive a settlement of £133 6s. 8d. lawful money, and £80 yearly salary. He declined the invitation; but being requested to reconsider the matter, he accepted the offer finally made him, which was, that he should receive £100 salary and no settlement. The following account of Mr. Wibird's ordination is in the Church Records, in his own hand-writing.

"Wednesday, February the fifth, 1755, Anthony Wibird was ordained Pastor of the 1st Church of Christ in Braintree. The
Churches sent to, were the 2d and 3d Churches in said Town, the Rev. Mr. Niles pastor of the 2d, and the Rev. Mr. Taft pastor of the 3d; to the Rev. Messrs. Sewall and Prince of Boston; to the 1st Church in Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Appleton pastor; to the 1st Church in Portsmouth, the Rev. Mr. Langdon pastor; the Rev. Mr. Bowman pastor of the Church in Dorchester; the Rev. Mr. Robbins, pastor of the Church in Milton; the Rev. Mr. Smith of Weymouth; the Rev. Mr. Gay of Hingham; and the Rev. Mr. Dunbar pastor of a Church in Stoughton. The Rev. Mr. Langdon began with prayer. The Rev. Mr. Appleton preached from those words in the 10th Levit. 3d. I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified. The Rev. Mr. Gay gave the charge. The Rev. Mr. Dunbar the right hand of fellowship."

In the interval between Mr. Briant's dismission and Mr. Wibird's settlement, there were seventeen Baptisms. During Mr. Wibird's ministry there were 781 Baptisms, and 221 were admitted to full communion.

"For many years previous to his death he was unable, from bodily infirmities, to attend upon the duties of his office." * The present Senior Pastor of the Church, Rev. Peter Whitney, was settled as colleague with him, Feb. 5, 1800. Mr. Wibird died, June 4, 1800, in the 46th year of his ministry, and his remains lie in the same tomb with Mr. Hancock; but there is no inscription to his memory. In the Church Records is the following notice of the event.

"Died June 4, Rev. Anthony Wibird, Senior Pastor of the Congregational Church in Quincy, aged 72. His funeral was attended on the 7th, when the Rev. Mr. Williams of Weymouth made the prayer, and the Rev. Mr. Weld of Braintree preached, from those words of the Apostle Paul, 'I have finished my course.'"

During Mr. Wibird's ministry the North Precinct of Braintree was made a separate town. The subject of dividing the Town had been considered many years before it took place. In the North Precinct Records I find the following:

"Feb. 9, 1756. Voted, that it was their mind to be separate from the other two Precincts in Braintree.

"Voted, that it was their mind that the town of Braintree should be divided into two townships."

* Whitney's History of Quincy.
A Committee was chosen at the same time, to consider this matter, namely, Hon. John Quincy Esq., Mr. Josiah Quincy, Major Joseph Crosby. After this we find no further notice of the subject till 1792, when what was once the North Precinct of Braintree became incorporated as a distinct town, by the name of Quincy.

"Rev. Anthony Wibird was requested to give a name to the place. But he refusing, a similar request was made to the Hon. Richard Cranch, who recommended its being called Quincy, in honor of Col. John Quincy, who had been the owner of the Mt. Wollaston farm, which had given the first civilized name to the place." *

Mr. Wibird was never married. He seems to have been a man of some singularities. He never published anything that I can discover. He is said to have possessed considerable literary taste, and to have read poetry with fine expression.

Since writing the above, I am informed by Lemuel Brackett Esq., that it is his impression, that Mr. Wibird preached an Election Sermon, which was thought highly of at the time it was delivered. Mr. Brackett also states that Mr. Wibird took pains in learning a method of short hand-writing; so that his manuscripts, could any have been procured, would probably have been illegible and useless.

S. Page 55.

Rev. Peter Whitney, the eighth minister of the First Congregational Church in Quincy, (formerly Braintree,) was a native of Northborough, Mass., where his father was a settled minister many years. He graduated at Harvard University in 1791, and having kept school in Hingham some time, was settled in the ministry in this town, Feb. 5, 1800. The services at his ordination were performed by the following clergymen: Introductory prayer, by the Rev. Prof. Ware of Cambridge, then minister of Hingham; Sermon, by Rev. Mr. Whitney of Northborough; Ordaining prayer by Rev. Dr. Fiske of West Cambridge; Charge by Rev. Mr. Cum-
mings, of Billerica; Right hand of fellowship by Rev. Mr. McKean of Milton; Concluding prayer by Rev. Mr. Harris of Dorchester.

Mr. Whitney has published the following sermons, viz.
Sermon at the Ordination of Perez Lincoln at Gloucester in 1805.

In 1835, June 3d, the present writer was installed. The services at his installation were conducted as follows, viz.
Introductory prayer and selections from the Scriptures were by Rev. Mr. Whitney of West Roxbury; Sermon by Rev. Mr. Frothingham of the First Church, Boston; Prayer of installation by Rev. Peter Whitney of Quincy; Charge by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; Right hand of fellowship by Rev. Mr. Cunningham of Dorchester; Address to the society by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston; and Concluding prayer by Rev. Mr. Huntoon of Milton.

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The four wood cuts contained in this pamphlet represent objects directly associated with the early history of our church. They are from drawings made by Mr. George W. Beale, Jr.

The first in order is the oldest of the communion vessels, having the following inscription: "Joanna Yorke 1685. B. C."

The second is the vane that belonged to the old stone meeting house, that stood near the ground occupied at present by the Second Congregational Church. It will be observed that it bears date 1666. It now stands opposite the mansion-house of Hon. John Quincy Adams, where it was placed by his father, President John Adams, a few years before his death.

The third is a sketch of the hill, belonging to the farm of Hon. Mr. Adams, which gave the original name to this plantation, before it became a town. The hill still bears the name of Mount Wollaston.
The fourth represents the gravestones, still standing in our burial-place, of the first Pastor and Teacher of Braintree Church. The one to the left, Mr. Tompson's is, I presume, the original stone. The other is probably modern. Mr. Hancock has the following note to one of his Century Discourses. "Mr Flynt's monument is still to be seen, though much gone to decay, but I hope to see the tomb of the prophet rebuilt." What Mr. Hancock suggested was, most likely, done soon after.

I will venture to express the hope that the monument that covers the remains of Mr. Fiske, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Hancock, and Mr. Wibird may be rebuilt.
HALF CENTURY SERMON,

DELIVERED ON

SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1842,

AT

JAMAICA PLAIN.

By THOMAS GRAY, D. D.
Minister of the Congregational Church there.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY I. R. BUTTS....NO. 2 SCHOOL STREET.
1842.
NOTICE.

The following Discourse was intended exclusively for the audience to whom it was addressed. Desirous to preserve the facts it contained relative to their origin as a Society, they have requested its publication. Some parts are here thrown into notes, that then occupied a place in the body of the Discourse—information being the only thing intended. It is still hoped that this consideration will both account for, and justify, a minuteness, which to a stranger may appear unnecessary, but to a Parishioner, will be interesting like family portraits estimable only to the domestic circle, whose ancestry they transmit. To that Society to whom the author has so long and so happily ministered, he now affectionately and respectfully inscribes it, with his most earnest prayers for their temporal and immortal welfare.

Jamaica Plain, April 28, 1842.
1. Brethren, my heart's desire, and prayer to God, for you all is, that you may be saved.

2. I wish, above all things, that thou mayest prosper, and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth.

3. I rejoiced greatly when the brethren came and testified of the truth that is in thee, even that thou walkest in the truth.

4. Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, which have witnessed of thy charity before the Church. I have no greater joy than to see my children walking in the truth.

5. We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake, and be at peace amongst yourselves — holding fast the possession of your faith, without wavering — for faithful is he that hath promised.

6. Be not as children tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive you. But proving what is that good, and perfect, and acceptable will of God.

7. Wherefore, give the more earnest heed to the things thou hast heard, lest at any time thou let them slip. For if the word spoken
by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape so great salvation?

8. Gird up the loins of your minds then, and be sober, and hope to the end. Grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

9. For if ye do these things, ye shall never be moved; and so an abundant entrance shall be ministered unto you into the kingdom of our God.

10. Brethren, I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. 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 at that day. And not to me only, but unto all them also, that love his appearing.

[Then sung 511th Hymn, C. M., from 5th verse.]

5. If I a faithful servant am,
   Of Jesus and of God,
   I need not fear the closing scene,
   Nor dread the appointed road.

6. This scene will all my labors end;
   This road conduct on high;
   With comfort I'll review the past,
   And triumph though I die.
SERMON.
SERMON.

JOB 14: 6.

TILL HE SHALL ACCOMPLISH, AS A HIRELING HIS DAY.

The days of our years, says the Sacred Poet, are threescore years and ten. This is the appointed time to man upon earth. And afterwards the faded look, the grey hairs gathering thick upon him, the bald head, the dimmed eye, the deafened ear, and the faultering step—all admonish him that his tabernacle of clay is beginning to totter, and must shortly fall—that it is now almost time to be at home, and that the short residue of his continuance here, to use the strong expression of another, is an encroachment upon eternity.

The sweet psalmist of Israel adds—Yet if by reason of strength they be fourscore years. Some persons, from vigorous constitution, continued activity and elastic spirits, never suffering themselves to grow old in mind, however they may in years—and every man may prolong his term of activity and of youth on the one hand, by wholesome energies, or on the other, contract them and become old, by self-indulgence and sluggishness—never suffering himself, as the wise saying is, "to rust out, but to wear out"—working while the day lasts, be that day longer or shorter, reach their fourscore years; and some even go beyond that period; yet, is that strength labor and sorrow, and it is soon cut off and we fly away. But if any one give vent to morbid feelings, he will find himself, even while a young man, shrivelled up into an old one. As a man thinketh so will he always be. And if he be not slothful in
business, but fervent in spirit serving the Lord, by continued service to his fellow-beings around him, lie, in the truest sense, will be young, even while far advanced in years, and bring forth fruit too in old age. And more than one, I this moment see before me, who answers to this enviable description.

Now that period of most vigorous activity, and, certainly, of most extensive usefulness, assigned to man, by the psalmist in our text, I have already past. And a day or two since I completed a ministry of fifty years among you,—forty-nine and one month of which, I have been your ordained minister. Fifty years since, I preached my first sermon to this Society. The fulfilment of previous engagements alone prevented my remaining then, as requested. But I promised to make no further ones and afterwards to return. The small pox, however, in the mean time, had broken out, and in the general alarm, the doors of this church were closed, till November the 11th, when I resumed my ministry here, and accepted a call on the 24th day of the next month to settle down in this place, with a small handful of people,—a people of exhausted means, but of noble hearts; and here I have ever since continued, and have now accomplished, "for weal or for wo," as a hireling my day.

To me, therefore, this is among the most solemn and thoughtful events of my life. I have ever been conservative in my feelings—I never forsook a friend, unless he had first forsaken me. I never forgot old friends in the accession of new ones, though the former may have passed away. And did not this occasion touch my heart, I should be destitute of the best affections of our nature. In the mouldering away of any ties that do not bind us to suffering, there is always something that is painful. But in the decay of those that "form one of the most tender relations of life—relations, which time has rendered venerable, and recollection hallowed; which friendship made sweet, and religion sacred, I freely own that it saddens my heart," and casts a shade around its gladness. These ties though not now severed, yet, I full well know, are one by one, gradually loosening. I have, heretofore, seen many whom I loved both of my earlier and later days, gathered peaceably to the tomb, and monuments of their worth were then erected, and still remain fresh in my heart.

I see a few others waiting, till their discharge shall come. Every
returning Sabbath, I discern around me, the faces of many of you, whom I look upon as my spiritual children, whose fathers and mothers, in by-gone days, were dear to me, and I to them. Many of you in your infancy I folded in my arms, and carried to the Baptismal Font; and gave you back again to Him from whom you came, in covenant blessings never to be broken. And not a few of whom, I may hope one day to present before the "mercy seat," and say, these are the children thou gavest to me. I can express no better wish for them, than that they may be true scions of the original stock. For though it had its imperfections, as has every thing below the skies, it had along with them its all powerful redeeming qualities, worthy of the Pilgrim Fathers. And my mind still lingers fondly with cherished affection on their virtues, and it is my earnest prayer, that I may be worthy one day to be associated again, and to rejoice together with them in that brighter world, which is far removed from the power of chance, and from the reach of change.

From time immemorial a custom has prevailed in our churches, of delivering on an occasion like this, an appropriate discourse, containing a minute history of the Society, during the preceding half Century; by means of which, the history of the town, the county, the Commonwealth, and finally the country may be preserved, and perpetuated in durable records. But we live in times, when the love of change, "inscribed upon all mortal things, has taken so boundless a sweep, as seems aiming to subvert all that is venerable in our institutions, long hallowed by sacred recollections," consecrated by holy associations, or grateful to the memory of our fathers; so that now, even a fifth part of the former period is considered as the long ministry;— and if any one continue twenty years with a people, with whom the connection, formerly, lasted, like that of man and wife, "till death them did part;" it is thought high time to give a similar discourse. And a similar one I gave six years since, in the forty-fourth year of my ministry; not from the slightest distrust I ever entertained, even for a moment, of your fidelity or affection, but simply, because I considered it possible, if not even probable, that I might not live to reach the arrival of this day. And anxious that the history of this Parish, fully known in all its facts, by no one living, so much as by myself, from its earliest foundation, might be rescued from oblivion. I will here repeat part of it.
The Third, or Jamaica* Plain Parish in Roxbury, had its origin in the piety of an amiable female. I refer to Mrs. Susanna, wife of Benjamin Pemberton. She was the daughter of Peter Faneuil, Esq., who, in 1740,† erected and gave to the Town of Boston, the far famed Hall which still bears his name; and who built, also, the dwelling-house, now standing here, recently known as late Dr. John Warren’s Country Seat. This house Mrs. Pemberton with her husband, first occupied somewhere about the year 1766, or ’7. Finding her situation too far removed from any place of public worship to render her attendance convenient, she proposed to her husband who possessed ample means, and had no children, or very near relations, to enter into the then very arduous undertaking of forming a new Parish out of the second, which extended almost to his own dwelling—of erecting this church, where we are now assembled, at his own expense, and of settling a minister therein, in whom they could alike enjoy the benefits of a social friend and a religious guide.

This Society, at that time, constituted a part of the second or Upper Parish, under the pastoral care of Rev. Nathaniel Walter, the limits of which extended not above eighty rods below the spot which this church now occupies. The proposed object Mr. Pemberton at length accomplished, in union with some little aid obtained from a few individuals who, by work performed by themselves on the building, or by contributing for the object the sum of £25 sterling, purchased to themselves pews here, and by paying what was then thought a considerable sum to the Upper Parish, to reconcile them to the separation. But their meeting-house being, at the time, very much decayed, and the erection of a new one becoming shortly necessary, favored the division more than any other circumstance. Nor did Mr. Pemberton neglect to avail himself of this advantage. He proposed to give by four instalments the sum of £533.6.8 sterling, to which Jamaica Plain Society agreed to add by similar instalments £133.1.6 sterling, amounting in the whole to £666.7.8. This was to aid the second Parish in rebuilding on the spot, where their present meeting-house stands, about one mile or more further from

* See Appendix, Note A.
† He deceased in 1742, the year in which Faneuil Hall was finished.
our own, than the site which the old one occupied, and adjoining
the burying ground on the hill — and that they might continue to
pay their usual proportion of the parish charges till the incorpora-
tion of said new Society. The second parish meanwhile, was to
consent to, and aid the separation of all the population on this side
their old meeting-house, at the General Court in case of oppo-
sition. Besides which this church agreed to relinquish all their
right in the property of the second church, and the furniture of the
communion table. After due consideration the proposals were ac-
cepted, and the boundary lines of each parish being previously
agreed on, a petition for an act of incorporation was presented in
1771, two years after the erection of this church; and on the year
following, 1772, the petition was granted, and the parish incorpo-
rated with the full and usual privileges of all other parishes.

In the month of September 1769, this house was raised, and in
the course of a year completed with thirty-four square pews; and
three long seats for the poor, on each side the broad aisle next the
pulpit on the ground floor. There were five narrow long pews in
the front gallery against the wall, yet standing, and long seats for
the singers below them, who then occupied the corner of the north-
east gallery.

The late Rev. Joseph Jackson of Brookline, on the 31st of De-
cember, 1769, preached in it before its completion, the first sermon,
and administered the first communion. His morning text was from
Psalm lxv. 4th verse. “Blessed is the man whom thou choosest
and causest to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts.
We shall be satisfied with the goodness of thine house, even thy
holy temple.”

In the afternoon his text was from 1 Chron. xxii. 19th verse.
“Now set your hearts and your soul to seek the Lord your God.
Arise, therefore, and build ye the sanctuary of the Lord God, to
bring the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and the holy vessels of
God into the house that is to be built to the name of the Lord.”

The separation from the Second Parish, after various difficulties
and delays, was, in the beginning of 1772, completely effected;
and thirty-five persons, with their estates, were incorporated into a
distinct parish by the name of “The Third Parish or Precinct in
Roxbury.”
The Rev. William Gordon, a Scotchman by birth, author of the History of the American Revolution, being highly recommended to Mr. Pemberton, having preached here for a short time previous, received a unanimous invitation June 5, 1772, to the pastoral charge of this flock, which he accepted July 3d following, and was installed over it on Monday morning, 6th of same month and year. On that occasion he preached his own sermon from 1 Cor. ix. 36th and 37th verses: "I therefore so run, not uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air. But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." Late Dr. Pemberton of Boston, gave the charge, and Mr. Jackson of Brookline extended the fellowship of the churches.

On the 13th of January, 1773, Benjamin Pemberton conveyed to the parish, under certain conditions, the house your present pastor now occupies, for the sole use and improvement of the then present and future ministers of this church.*

The parish thus so far established, in May following, 1773, nine persons with their estates, and Mr. Pemberton at their head, all belonging to the first or lower parish, were, by an act of the General Court, separated from that, and united to ours, and the number then consisted of forty-four families.

It could scarcely be expected that these things should be accomplished,—a parish separated and new formed, without creating, at first, more or less unpleasant feelings in the minds of some, or calling forth harsh reflections from the lips of others. But if this ever were the fact, a perfect harmony has long since subsisted between the members of the three different societies.

The next thing contemplated was the union of this with the Upper Parish for an act of incorporation into a distinct town by themselves. For this object a simultaneous meeting was held in both parishes June 9th, 1777, in which it was voted unanimously that a petition be presented to the great and General Court, setting forth the situation of the said town, and the difficulty of attending town meetings, and praying the honorable Court to set off and incorporate said two precincts or parishes into one distinct or

* Appendix, Note B.
separate town by the name of Washington." But the records of neither parish contain any further information on the subject.

In the summer of 1775 one or more regiments were stationed on the Plain, and many of the soldiers quartered in different houses upon the inhabitants.

Governor Barnard's, now Mr. John Low's hill and grounds, with all the others surrounding, were covered with pitched tents. Commodore Joshua Loring was compelled to leave his home, furniture, and every thing belonging to it, by flight. The house was confiscated, and converted into a hospital for a regiment, together with the estates likewise of Governor Barnard and Captain Hallowell; and on the grounds of each many soldiers of the regiments stationed here were buried, who died of the small pox and other diseases. That on Commodore Loring's estate remains undisturbed, back of the dwelling-house, to this day. That on Governor Barnard's, which was near the little fish-pond on the rising ground towards the opposite road, has long since been ploughed over and destroyed; in doing which, the workmen have at times interfered with, and disturbed some of the coffins. That on Capt. Hallowell's estate is no longer visible.

During the American Revolution, April 1st, 1778, the General Court or Provincial Congress held, for a time, their session in this house, on account of the prevailing small pox in Boston, and invited Dr. Gordon to officiate as Chaplain. But they became offended at his prayers, which they thought were rather intended to dictate the measures they ought to pursue, than to implore the divine direction of them. They therefore dismissed him; and finding accommodations difficult to be had here, adjourned to Boston,* the 30th. This gave great umbrage to the Doctor, and the more so, as many of his particular friends, and some who were even boarders with him at the time, voted for his dismissal.

In July, 1783, his late Excellency John Hancock, presented the first bell that was placed in our steeple. It had lately been removed from the new brick church, North-end, Boston.

For a long time, the Society had been desirous of obtaining a cemetery for the dead, nearer than those in either of the other par-

* Here they continued till May 27th, and on the 30th adjourned to Watertown.
ishes, and wished its location back of our church, where it now is. But Dr. Gordon strenuously and successfully resisted, contending that its putrefaction would injure the known healthiness of the inhabitants,—that it ought to be placed in the outskirts of the parish, in some retired situation, as far as possible apart from any population. But on the 14th of March, 1785, when the subject came before the parish meeting, “it was put to vote whether the ground behind the meeting-house stable, when wanted, shall be appropriated to a burying-yard, to bury the dead of the said parishioners?” past in the affirmative. Dr. Gordon, notwithstanding, still resisted, and contended that the parish had no legal right to appropriate ground which they merely hired of the School Trustees* for such a purpose. Nor was it so appropriated till after he left the parish in 1786.

In September, 1788, a difficulty first arose in respect to the waters of Jamaica Pond being drawn off for the supply of a corn mill, so far as to affect the wells of the inhabitants of the Plain, who considered them as altogether supplied by the pond. This difficulty terminated in a lawsuit; John Marston, owner of the mill, plaintiff, and Martin Brimmer, David S. Greenough, and Capt. Daniel McCarthy, defendants (unsuccessful.) Afterwards, in 1795, Mr. Marston sold his mill and privileges in the waters of the pond, which had been granted by the town of Roxbury for said mill, to the Aqueduct Corporation, for supplying the town of Boston with Jamaica Pond water.†

With Rev. Dr. William Gordon, who on October 19th, 1807, finished his ministry and his life together, at the advanced age of eighty years, in his parish in Nevis Huntingtonshire, England, this society was happy and united for the space of near fourteen years; when, conceiving it advantageous to his interest to return to England, that he might publish his history of the American Revolution, on terms more favorable than he could in this country, on the 6th October, 1785, he proposed a dissolution of his pastoral connection. His wishes met with some opposition from his parishioners at first; but, “when he would not be persuaded, they ceased, saying the will of the Lord be done.” On March 17th,
1786, it was accordingly dissolved, with the usual testimonials. His farewell sermon was preached from Phil. i. 27th and 28th verses: "Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ, that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, and that you stand fast in one spirit with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel; and in nothing terrified by your adversaries; which to them is an evident token of perdition, but unto you of salvation, and that of God."

During his connection with this society, he was a zealous politician, but not always equally prudent or judicious. Whilst here, he published a few political sermons, and one or two religious tracts. As a preacher he was popular, upright in his intentions, and respectable in his profession.

From this time, the people here were "as sheep without a shepherd." And in August following (1786) his departure, the parish, by committee, held some communication with Rev. Samuel West, then minister of Needham, upon the subject of his settling here, it being understood at the time that he contemplated a removal. After some further communications upon the subject, it was on both sides for a time suspended, and afterwards finally dropped. March 12th, 1789, having previously received an invitation, he was installed over the Church and Society of Hollis Street, Boston.

Various causes now prevented a re-settlement, and a vacancy ensued of seven years. The necessary expenses incurred by the past war, had greatly impoverished the people; and the parish, small as it then was, felt the burden of meeting its necessary expenses, and complained of it. Its pastor had gone, and its great patron, Mr. Pemberton, having previously become offended with Dr. Gordon, relative to a trifling circumstance,* in which he thought himself treated with indignity by Dr. Gordon, had bequeathed by will his whole property, including this very church itself, and most of the pews in it, in trust for the benefit of the poor of the town of Boston, which, by previous promise, was at his death to have been left to the parish for the sole support of its future ministers,—pressed, also, by Dr. G. for the payment of back salary still due him,—unable to liquidate past, and much

* Appendix, Note E.
more to incur new expenses,—all these considerations combined, led to a proposal in September, 1788, of a reunion with the Second or Upper Parish for one year, by way of trial; provided their minister, the Rev. John Bradford, officiate one half the time in this church. Committees from both societies were chosen to confer upon the subject; but having met, the ideas of each relating to the terms, were so wide apart, that the proposal was relinquished altogether, and the pulpit supplied by occasional preaching only,—sometimes by subscription, at others by a general tax, and very often the doors of the church were closed, and the parishioners scattered in whatever direction they preferred. The society notwithstanding displayed a steadiness and propriety of conduct, during the whole of this period, truly worthy of commendation, in that, while many societies had been torn in sunder by sectarians, and the peace and order of families destroyed by unnatural divisions on religious subjects, where union ought invariably to exist, it preserved itself from all such difficulties, and continued to walk firm and undeviating in the order and fellowship of the gospel.

On Sunday morning, April 22d, 1792, your present pastor first preached here from Luke ii. 14th verse: "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and good will towards men." Soon after the small pox broke out in Boston and the vicinity, so as to require a general inoculation, and the public services of this temple were, for a time, suspended. As soon as possible they were resumed, and officiating occasionally here, till accepting an invitation the parish had extended to him to become their pastor, he was ordained over this religious society in the afternoon of March 27th, 1793, the parish consisting of only fifty-four families.

Rev. Joseph Eckley, of Boston, preached the sermon from 2 Cor. i. 24: "Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy."

September 25th, 1810, late Dr. John Warren, of Boston, presented the two volumes of the Pulpit Bible we still make use of.

In 1815, Dr. Belknap's Sacred Poetry was introduced in place of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns, which had been previously used here.

March 24th, 1817. The subject of a separation of this parish together with the upper, from the town of Roxbury, was a second
time agitated, and a committee of five persons chosen to investigate
the propriety of an application to the General Court for an act of
incorporation into a distinct town.*

The parish still increasing, this church underwent an enlarge­
ment May 12, 1820, of thirteen feet in clear back, and complete
repair within and without in its present form, new pulpit, new long
pews instead of the former square ones, excepting those on the
wall, new ceiling of the whole church, by means of which addition
thirty pews on the lower floor were given, besides ten in the galleries.

On the 29th May, 1821, the bell which had been presented to
the society by late Gov. John Hancock, in 1783,† was removed,
and the present one placed in its stead.

In 1825 the burying yard was enlarged. Same year, Sep­tember
25th, Ebenezer May, of Paris, France, who was born here,
sent to us a large pulpit folio Bible, for the acceptance of this so­ciety, with a request that it might be kept in the pulpit.

March 29th, 1830, the pews were first voted to be assessed in
this church, instead of a parish tax on real and personal es­
tates for the support of the ministry, as had heretofore been the case.

In the summer of 1831, the erection of Eliot Hall commenced,
and on the 17th day of January, 1832, being completed, it was
dedicated in the afternoon by prayer.‡

July 22d, 1832, our delightful organ first poured forth its sweet
tones of melody in this church.§

In 1833 the whole cemetery was greatly beautified, by trees be­
ing placed in it, and enclosed within iron railing, obtained partly
by subscription, but principally from the munificence of a generous
individual.||

February 10, 1836, Rev. George Whitney, of West Roxbury,
was installed here at 2 o'clock, P. M.

July 3, 1836, Mr. Greenwood's selection of hymns was intro­duced by previous vote of the parish.

In order to the completion of our history I have only to add now
the few recent occurrences already as familiarly known to your-
selves as to me. And if I have already, or in so doing may be again compelled to speak in the first person oftener than I have been accustomed to do, or even approve, my only apology must be found in the occasion, and its consequent personality.

Five or six years since an English gentleman * accidentally residing here, purchased an estate bordering upon Jamaica Pond, and conceived the plan of gathering an Episcopal Church. There were, at the time, not more than five or six families of that denomination among us, and all but two of them worshipped with us.

After a time a religious service in the Episcopal mode was held in a private house by some few clergymen of that order. Soon after a cellar and foundation were prepared for a small church, but failed in further progress, through deficiency of means; both Trinity and St. Paul’s churches in Boston, though solicited, withholding their aid, considering the object to be premature.

At length a gentleman in Brookline, being willing to unite and aid in the erection of a building, a site was purchased, and a small chapel, called St. John’s Chapel, erected thereon. It commenced building Sept. 22, 1840, and was consecrated on Sunday evening, July 25, 1841.

Two rival candidates were next selected for the Rectorship, but a decided difference in preference having prevailed among the friends of each, a disruption took place, and left the society disabled from proceeding. An Episcopal clergyman finally purchased the church, became its rector, and divine service is still held there.

The great increase of the city of Boston, and consequently of its vicinity, has largely contributed, within a few years past, to swell the population of what is called Jamaica Plain Parish, and greatly enhanced the value of estates thereon. Persons of different religious denominations; some of the Catholic, some of the Swedenborgian, some of the Methodist, some of the Universalist, and some of the Baptist name, have recently found their residence among us. One gentleman from Boston of the latter denomination,† in union with some others from Brookline, previously established here, projected the formation of a Baptist Society. And in December, 1840, the village hall was obtained for Sunday ser-

* Mr. Charles Beaumont.  † Mr. John Moffat.
vices therein, and on 13th of same month these services commenced. Since that period, a site has been purchased in view of the erection of a meeting-house. It is said, however, to be suspended at present in consequence of some disunion. But neither that, nor the other has at all injured our own society. On the contrary, a new interest and impulse seems to have been imparted therefrom. Both the societies carry with them our kind feelings and prayers for their spiritual improvement, and for their success in doing good, and promoting the cause and interests of our common master.

We are perfectly willing that every one may worship God as seemeth meet unto him, as we do ourselves.

"And censuring none, are zealous still
To follow as to learn God's will."

It will never be our fault then, I trust, so far as in us lieth, if we do not live peaceably and in love, too, with them, and with all men, honoring every where such as bear the stamp of Jesus.

I would here simply remark, as a somewhat curious coincidence, but not conveying the smallest reproach, that the three individuals with whom the three societies now here originated, have been successively disappointed, not in the loss, but in the very attainment of the object itself. The founder of this society is the person of his own selection and settlement as his minister; the founder of the Episcopal Church in the result as just stated; and the originator of the Baptist society has already quitted it from some dissatisfaction. Not one of the three originated with the old Roxbury inhabitants, who have never been remarkable for their love of restless innovation, of perpetual novelty, or unceasing changes in religion; but sought the good old tried paths, and walked safely and surely and quietly in them. But times have now changed, and men with them. And both the times and men, too, require perhaps that now it should be otherwise, and we unhesitatingly acquiesce in the result.

But for ourselves, we love this habitation of our God, this temple where his honor dwelleth. Our fathers worshipped in this place. Its interests, therefore, are or ought to be identified with every thing that is holy, lovely and venerable in our recollections;
and sooner shall our right hand forget its cunning, and our tongues cleave to the roof of our mouths, than we forget thee, thou fair city of our God.

In the review of the half century now gone, we are insensibly led to observe the incessant changes in the characters and conditions of individuals, of families and societies.

The whole scenery of our lives is perpetually shifting, and there are endless variations in the aspect of every thing with which we are conversant upon earth.

Different maxims are adopted, different plans pursued, different opinions entertained. As each successive wave upon the sea shore obliterates the former, so does each generation the manners, opinions and habits of the last. And they are almost as different from the past as though they pertained to a different race.

Our days, too, upon earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding. The earth is continually opening her bosom even to the slightest tread. How soon, too, does the feeble age of infancy give way to the sportive amusements of childhood. The bloom and freshness of youth and beauty but scarcely appear before they begin to fade; and after a few short years of maturity and vigor are passed, the evil days arrive, when we are compelled to say, we have no pleasure in them, and then God changes our countenances and sends us away. And what changes have I not seen in them! What changes the most painful and unlooked for, did not even a single day bring forth before both your eyes and my own in the sudden removal of my so much loved colleague!*

The lapse of a few years only deprives us of the society we had been accustomed to value and enjoy. Old friends and acquaintance are withdrawn from our side; and if our pilgrimage be protracted upon earth, we are left solitary and alone in the midst of a new generation that know and understand us not.

Brief as the period of my residence with you seems to have been, and it appears to me only as a short dream of the night, I have lived to see consigned to their final resting place, every man in this society who was head of a family when I came into it, and every woman of the same, with the exception of four only, — all of whom are far advanced in the vale of years; and I have been co-

* Rev. George Whitney died April 2, 1842. See Appendix, Note J.
temporary, also, in many instances (even within five miles) with three or four of the several successors of christian ministers, who, I trust, are now in heaven. All the members of the Council, both clergymen and laymen, who ordained me here, have long since passed into the land where all things are forgotten; the last of them (Rev. Dr. Porter) nine years since. And I now stand the oldest ordained minister connected with a parish without a colleague, and who still preaches, of all christian denominations, throughout the commonwealth with the exception of one only,* and yet it seems to me as though I myself were but of yesterday.

A new society has arisen up and yet another and another since my residence here, in the place of the old; and instead of the fathers I see only six pews now occupied, on the same spot in this house by their descendants. Strangers to them fill their seats, and the places that once knew them will know them no more forever. My own immediate family has had its sad bereavements, too, and it is not with me, as it once was.

But standing this day as I do between the congregation of the living and the dead, I have every cause of cheerfulness and grateful recollections. The lines have fallen to me in pleasant places, yea, and I have a goodly heritage. I thank God for his unmerited mercies. Without boasting of startling achievements, (for I never sought such,) we have gone on for half a century in a quiet, unostentatious way, such as I always have loved, and always shall,—quiet, unostentatious!

Ours, has been a singularly favored society. Peace has spread over us her brightest banner. God grant that celestial dove may here fix her lasting abode, and bless you and your children's children, long after I shall be gathered to the dust of my fathers, and have no further concern in any thing that is done under the sun.

What traces of change in society, likewise, has the past fifty years left behind them!

When I first came amongst you, this was a quiet, retired, moral little village, and there was not a single allurement, either to physical, moral or religious intemperance or excess to be found within

* Rev. Dr. Peter Eaton, of Boxford, Mass., my College mate.
its limits. The simplicity of manners, too, remind of Goldsmith's Deserted Village, —

“Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain,  
Where health and virtue cheered the laboring train.”

Fashionable manners, in all their endless forms and fickleness, were unknown here then. The good dames’ visits were made at an early hour in the afternoon, (sometimes by two o’clock,) each with her “knitting work,” still going on, while engaged in social converse; and at dusk rolling up their work, and returning home, refreshed from their social intercourse, to their domestic enjoyments and duties, which they wisely and justly considered as paramount to all others. Their firesides never tired them, nor did they wish or want any other winter evenings’ entertainments than they found around their own happy hearths. Sweet homes, indeed! filled with well behaved, rosy, industrious boys, and lively, healthy, blooming girls, as full of godly sincerity as they were of godly simplicity, all of whom more than supplied the want of any other amusement. There was godliness with contentment, which is great gain; and there was more, too, of true happiness in those humble dwellings, than all the modern refinement of art, of wealth or fashion combined, can now boast, or ever impart. Sweet days, indeed, in the recollection as they were in the enjoyment! But these happy hours must return no more. They are numbered with the years before the flood.

“*These were thy charms, sweet village, joys like these,  
With sweet succession, taught e’en toil to please;  
These round thy bowers, their cheerful influence shed,  
These were thy charms, but all these charms are fled.*”

Goldsmith.

There seemed, also, perfect union of purpose and action in almost every person and every thing. And in this respect, and only respect, in which men have any right to expect, or ever will realize it if they do, “they had all things in common.” Whenever a new dwelling was contemplated, the whole neighborhood volunteered its services, prepared and stoned the cellar and well, and gave often days of labor to aid and speed on the object.

There existed, also, at that time, but one religious sentiment and
feeling. Like the early Christians, to them there was one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who was above all, and through all, and in all, and one Savior, Jesus Christ the Redeemer of the world. Or, if any difference of opinion did exist amongst them, they who had it, had it to themselves. And so it continued till within a very short period. All met and worshipped together in this place. But the fashion of the world passeth away, and here we have no continuing city.

In this whole town there were only three churches and three ministers, all of one heart and of one mind, brothers literally in every kind feeling and affection, and as perfectly known, loved and understood by each other, as though they had been actual brothers.

Now there are eleven churches and eleven ministers, and fifteen other clergymen besides, making in amount twenty-six, and of almost as many varying creeds,—most of them scarcely known to each other even by name, though residing so near, much less by neighborly, or social and friendly intercourse, as formerly.

But we of this society have enjoyed freedom from all those religious contentions and disputes, which do so much mischief everywhere, and have broken in pieces so many of the fairest societies around us; and whenever we could no longer agree, we have peaceably separated.

And I owe it in truth and gratitude to say to you this day, my friends, (and I should prove myself an ingrate if I did not,) that your uniform fidelity to all your engagements, your past kindness to me and mine for so many revolving years, your respectful attention to my ministry, your public spirit, your generous sympathies in all my distresses, your moral and religious deportment, ever since my settlement among you have riveted you all to my heart, and will forever endear the memory of my relation to you to my last hour.

Unkindnesses I have received none from any of you, and for all the countless favors you have shown me, the recollection of which I shall carry with me to the grave, may God reward you seven fold into your bosoms. And I doubt not that he will reward you; for they were intended to promote the cause of truth and goodness through my humble means, and my most fervent prayers and best wishes will always be yours.

I had fondly hoped it would have been my happiness, when-
ever God should see fit to call me to account of my stewardship, to leave you not as sheep without a shepherd, but in the hands of one who I knew loved you, and deserved your love in return; and who I trusted would never lead you into worldly philosophy for Christian truth; but ask for you the light of Christ, and seek and ask none other for you or himself; and I prayed that his years might be many, and useful and happy to himself, and your joy be full and complete in him here, and glorious hereafter. But God has ordered it otherwise. He destroyeth the hope of man, and has removed from beneath me that pillar upon which I had so fondly leaned.

My bright hope has now vanished away, and I am left alone to encourage and sustain both you and myself in our painful conflicts. He was indeed a burning and a shining light, and for a season we rejoiced in it. He had fulfilled much, but promised more. Alas! that God has quenched that light in darkness, and that it shall no more cheer our earthly path. Yet has it arisen bright in the heavens, and shall for ever continue its cloudless splendor there. Let us be thankful that we enjoyed it so far, and consider him who has now gone from us not as lost to us forever, but as still living about us and for us, and interested in our welfare, and as a part of that treasure we have laid up for ourselves in heaven.

My friends, on this occasion a thousand awakening reflections crowd upon my mind. I have reached the appointed age of man. I have administered fifty years at this altar the word, and broken to you the bread of life. How successfully or otherwise my ministry has been, can be ascertained only at the great rising day. I lament that it has not accomplished more, and that it has fallen so short both of my own wishes and duties, and of your prayers and my own. Yet at this moment (and why should I conceal it?) I enjoy a gladdening testimony that, however defective I may have been, my heart condemns me not in my habitual desires or labors to do what I could. Nor do I recollect a single instance during that period,—and this is a thoughtful one of my life,—that I ever did not cheerfully sacrifice self-convenience and self-indulgence to the faintest call of sorrow, or of parochial duty, affection or service to the humblest of my people as much as to the most exalted; and that my most earnest desires and efforts have been to
promote amongst them all a spirit of calm, unostentatious piety to God, of love, kindness and good will to the whole family of man. I am not aware that I have forgotten or neglected any one. If I have, the omission was perfectly unintentional. And I hope that all my imperfections, of which I know I have sufficient, may be viewed with christian charity, and consigned to that oblivion into which I myself must shortly pass. It would have been gratifying to me this day to have seen some more visible fruit of my labors. But it is best that I should not. God often orders that one shall sow the grain, and another come afterwards and reap the crop. But if the crop be insured, all that could be desired is effected.

I say nothing of the few who honor Christ at his sacred altar, or of my regret, too, which I deeply feel, at the neglect of the institution of christian baptism, which seems to extend to most of our churches. Such a growing indifference to the institutions of the gospel is, to my mind at least, nearly allied to a sickly condition of the religious character; and when the christian Sabbath, the christian church and christian ministry, are considered of doubtful authority, all christian piety will soon be swept away with them. Outward forms, let what will be said to the contrary, notwithstanding, are still the great avenues to the heart and affections; and if these go not along with our religion its wheels will drag heavily along. Yet it is hard to persuade myself that the neglect in either instance, I am speaking of, has arisen among you from apathy. I rather apprehend it has been grounded in too much fear,—which time and correct knowledge are now destroying, and I hope ere long may be totally destroyed. And my firm belief is, that this people have been as moral and religious as in most societies, where, under religious fanaticism and extravagance, throngs have crowded the altar for a time, but soon have fallen away, and left cold indifference behind.

The present is indeed, in a singular degree, an age of feverish excitement and excess in almost every thing,—fashionable, scientific, political, moral and religious. There is abroad a restless agitation, a morbid desire of innovation, and after all still craving something new; and unsatisfied with it when possessed, till melancholy increases as men advance in years, "like shadows lengthening towards the close of the day."

Men, it appears to me, are leaving reason and common sense
(the best sense of any other) in search of wonders and miracles to be performed. I am not constitutionally formed for any of these things, and should think it my duty to repress it, if I were.

In my opinion, they destroy the independence of every man's own mind, which he ought sacredly to maintain; they fetter his own thoughts and sentiments, cramp them, and embody them in party opinions and over-heated actions, however remote from his own, and produce a sort of temporary insanity. And men say and do, in an excited state of feeling, what they repent of in their calmer and wiser judgment.

So in religion, I have no sympathy with religious excitements, and far less with religious ostentation. The design of true religion is to repress the passions, not to excite them; for excited passions are by thousands often mistaken for solid principles,* and mere animal impulse for sacred truth; and under their blinding and bewildering influence you find men setting up for teachers where they ought only to be learners. And it requires no prophetic eye to see, and no prophetic tongue to foretell that, every thing in science, or religion, or politics, carried to excess, must ere long produce reaction, and finally give way to the very opposite extreme, and then the marble insensibility of death succeeds. Whatever is got up in excess, (be it what it may,) reason and common sense, whenever they return, will finally put down. Mere animal excitement in every thing must soon exhaust itself; and, if there be not strong principle behind it, the end will be worse than the beginning. These are truths which every observing man must often have witnessed, and when you who are now young shall see these things come to pass, as you all certainly sooner or later will, then will you understand "that a prophet has been among you."

In all cases, to my mind, a substitution of expedients for principles is, to say the least, neither a judicious or durable course. "Whenever in any thing excitement is made the great instrument of success, and the people led blindfold along by sympathy, like a herd of animals moved by an impulse they are unable to explain, and some not to understand, then its fruit in the end will be disappointment," † and what in the spirit of moderation would have proved

* See Appendix, Note K. † Rev. E. S. Gannett's Election Sermon.
a rich blessing, dwindles away into an ultimate evil. How wise the apostle's declaration, "Let your moderation be known unto all men."

Many of the vices of the world are nothing more than virtues abused. Extravagance is generosity carried to excess. Too much frugality degenerates into covetousness, worldly wisdom into low cunning, benevolence into servility, humility into meanness, and all fanaticism and enthusiasm in the abuse of the religious sentiment.

"In a late similar excitement in Boston, a person met a Christian neighbor, who took him by the hand, and besought him to go to these meetings, and become a Christian. I have done so, said he, and have got religion. I am at last a Christian. You are a Christian, then, all at once, said the other. You profess to act strictly on Christian principles. I am glad of it. I congratulate you. Suppose now we have a settlement of our little accounts between us. Pay me that thou owest. No, said this new born child of grace, turning away on his heel, religion is religion, and business is business."

Now what a profanation of religious truth is here! God deliver you, my friends, from such a delusion, and never, O never forget that you serve God, and are religious in various ways,—each of which, though not the whole, is, nevertheless, an essential branch of the whole. We serve God as truly in the virtues of a good life,—in correct morals, exemplary manners, and honest, honorable, upright conduct in our transactions with our fellow-men, as when we bow in God's temple. Fidelity to our trusts, and punctuality in our engagements, industry in our business, from motives of Christian faith and obedience, domestic economy, an old fashion virtue, indeed, (but not the less valuable for that,) the punctual discharge of our debts, and guarding men from the miseries and delusions of wild fanaticism, and teaching them a truly Christian rational faith and a holy practice, these are genuine religion. And whoever would separate these duties, would sever in sunder what God and Christ, reason and virtue have joined together. He lives most in accordance with his immortal destination, and is after all the best Christian, who has proved himself the most virtuous man; who lives the best life of piety to God, and of truth, and justice, and honesty to men.

* Rev. M. I. Mott's Sermon, published March 27, 1842.
But error so often assumes the shape of truth, evil of good, and good of evil, that what comes to us wearing the garb of virtue, is often found to be real vice.

Extraordinary religious meetings on *week days* seldom accomplish a good, but often a bad purpose. The Scriptures in this, as in every other respect, give the wisest direction, "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all that thou hast to do. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, and in it thou shalt do no manner of work." And if people will reverence that day in the manner they ought to do, instead of visiting abroad and receiving visits at home, they will find full enough to exercise their practice during that week at least. Frequent religious discussions usually end either in infidelity on the one hand, or fanaticism on the other, and generate a restless, unsatisfied faith. Besides which, they bewilder the judgment, and heat the temper, oftener than they inform the mind or improve the character. And that unnatural thirst that is always craving after something more is nearly allied to the drunkard's thirst, "always dry, because he has drunk too much already."

As to sectarian opinions I have not the least sympathy with any of them. And in all my preaching I have aimed, as far as I consistently could with a sense of truth and duty, to avoid all questions of doubtful disputation.

No man differs from another on religious subjects, if he feel a deep interest in them, and leaves him with exactly the same kindly feelings with which he met him. Besides which, they serve to enkindle bitterness, and to extinguish that charity and good will which Jesus Christ came on earth to promote.

Such results I daily witness, and witness often, even among men of great learning and of deep piety. And, with this conviction every day more and more fully confirmed, it has been my object to avoid religious speculations, and to dwell with constancy on the practical duties of piety and of life, not to feed your minds with chaff or husks that the swine do eat, but to inculcate the calm, retired, noiseless, practical duties of life, such as come home to every man's feelings and conscience in the daily and even hourly walks of business, in all his various circumstances, stations and conditions. My aim, in short, has been to be a herald of righteousness, of peace and truth, to show you the bitter evils of sin, that
always have and always will follow from it; and the sweet fruits of a virtuous course, — to make men kinder, better, — better husbands, better wives, better children, better neighbors and friends, more sympathetic in all the relative, calm, social, domestic, and the noiseless religious duties of life and of love. This to my mind is the best of all other religions. He that doeth these things shall never be moved. And your candor and kindness have always encouraged, strengthened, and gladdened all my labors for their promotion.

Before long now, the darkness of the night must close around, and hide me from the face of day. Understand me, then, it is for your own sakes, that you may be better edified under other and fresher instructions, and continue in union and affection, that I now express to you my earnest desire that the recent painful void we all feel, and which God, no doubt for the wisest, though to us mysterious purposes, has made among us, may be supplied as soon as convenient. A new interest will thereby be excited, which cannot be felt in me. I know full well, that the pulpit services of any one who has reached seventy years, and preached fifty, cannot be desirable, especially to the younger, which constitutes the larger portion of every society. God can do as well without me as with me; and be assured that I shall cordially cooperate with you in the desirable object of seeing you all happy and united again, in a faithful successor to him who has gone from us forever. But I do earnestly beseech that you may settle a serious, religious believer in the Bible, as God's own word, every day becoming more evident; and that you will assemble on his holy Sabbaths, not as you would go to a theatre to be amused, as with a sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal, (as I fear is the case with a great many,) not for excitement of the passions, but for the cultivation of solid, deep-rooted principles; for one ounce of good principle is worth tons of passionate or ostentatious parade.

God has promised to be with his church even to the end of the world, and upon this promise we may unhesitatingly rely. You will not be alone, therefore, for God is with you; and I hope, if he permit, to be with you, too, till your joys shall be fulfilled. You will not forget, however, that new domestic obligations, new cares, and new duties now devolve upon me, and that he who provideth not for his own, especially for those of his own household hath
denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* But I hope cheerfully to follow Providence, wherever its guidance may lead me. And you will all live alike in my heart and affections as long as life remains, and be constantly borne in my prayers to the throne of the heavenly grace. Let me press upon you, then, this day, to remember how ye have received, and to hold fast and repent, that no man take your crown. And now that these services are fast diminishing, and will be so greatly abridged, till the "last link is broken," O give me the happiness to behold you stedfast and immovable in your Christian faith and charity, even in that faith once delivered to the saints,—not as children carried about by every wind of divers and strange doctrines, by the sleight of men. But remain fixed, steady, unchanged in your good old fashioned principles and holy walk with God. Hold fast the form of sound words, and mistake not, substitute not a false philosophy after the rudiments of men, and not after Christ, as his truth. Remember that He is the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building fitly joined growth into an holy temple in the Lord. He is the finisher as well as the author of your faith, and you are complete in him, wanting nothing. For his religion is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. He alone it is that should come, nor will we ever look for another. Hold fast, therefore, that which is good. And whatsoever things are pure, lovely, honest and of good report, if there be any virtue or any praise, think of these things. Wherefore, I will not be negligent, brethren, to put you in remembrance of them, though ye already know them, and I trust are established in their truth; yet I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir up your pure minds by putting you in remembrance, knowing that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as the Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me.

Finally, my brethren, the time is short. After a few more suns shall have arose and set, a few more moons have waxed and waned, a few more years have revolved their short round, every individual who now hears me will have completed the period of his probation, and have passed to other scenes, and, I pray, to higher services in that temple on high, not made with hands, eternal in the heav-

* Immediately after divine service the society met and unanimously voted back to the surviving minister the same salary they had given to his colleague, with an additional sum, to what he had relinquished at the installation of Mr. W.
ens. There the faithful shepherd and the redeemed flock shall meet again, and no withering years, or blasting mildew shall interrupt, nor rising cloud shall cast a shade around its everlasting sun. "Mutual congratulations shall there burst from every tongue, and thrilling joys shall vibrate from every heart. One shall be the burden of each exalted song; one the ascription of ceaseless praise;" and all those who have been wise upon earth shall shine forth as the brightness of the firmament, and they who have turned many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever in the kingdom of our God.

My friends! you have listened to my instructions, and received my sympathies and counsels. Leave me not, till I have blessed you.

And now may God Almighty, even the God of our fathers bless you, and grant you everlasting welfare. May your souls improve under the means of religious instruction he may grant you. And when you die, may you be presented without spot before the face of God.

Let me bless you yet again. Brethren, peace be to this hallowed temple of our God. Peace be to your families and children, to your habitations, and to all that you have. And whether the remainder of my days be upon earth longer or shorter, this will be my final parting counsel, and the last prayer that breathes from my quivering lips, "Live in peace and the God of love and of peace be with you."

And now, O God, —

Accept the poor remains of life,
And health, which thou dost give;
And when my work on earth is done,
Receive my spirit to thy throne!

[The following prayer was then offered.]

Father of mercies and God of all grace! send down thy spirit, we beseech thee, all powerful from above, to give efficacy to thy
word, which has, at this time, been announced unto us, — and suc-
cess to all the means, here employed for the promotion and exten-
sion of the kingdom of Christ among us. Pour out the best of thy
blessings, we entreat thee, upon this beloved flock of our Lord
Jesus Christ. May peace be ever within these walls, and all those
who love her prosperity prosper, and be gathered at last into the fold
of Christ. And let blessings without number be upon their heads
long after he who now offers this supplication in their behalf, shall
have passed into other worlds, and be remembered no more upon
earth.

Let all, we entreat thee, who now do, or may hereafter minister
at this altar, be clothed with purity, with peace and truth. And
he, who is still waiting for whatever further services thou hast yet
in reserve for him to perform, be ever girded about with the breast-
plate of righteousness. May his usefulness be as protracted as his
life, and may he be found at the last amongst those who have been
faithful to the death; which we humbly ask in the name of Jesus
Christ, through whom, to thyself, be all honor and glory forever.
Amen.

[The services were then closed by singing the 512th Hymn, L. M.]

1. How blest is he whose tranquil mind,
   When life declines, recalls again
   The years that time has cast behind,
   And reaps delight from toil and pain.

2. So when the transient storm is past,
   The sudden gloom and driving shower,
   The sweetest sunshine is the last,
   The loveliest is the evening hour.
Jamaica Plain is one of the loveliest spots almost any where to be found. It is four miles and a half south-west of Boston, from State street. The soil is light and gravelly, easy to cultivate, the surface black loam, not more, generally, than six inches deep. The land abounds in brooks and springs. Jamaica Pond, or lake, as it is now called, covers about one hundred and sixty acres, and in its deepest place is from sixty to seventy feet; and supplies, by means of an aqueduct, the city of Boston with water perfectly clear, and so soft as to be excellent for washing, and for all culinary purposes. The Plain itself is environed by beautifully sloping hills, and forms a perfect basin, so sheltered from the east winds, that they do not reach it for some hours after they are keenly felt in Boston, and then so mitigated as renders it peculiarly favorable to the comfort and restoration of persons afflicted with pulmonary complaints. On account of its peculiar healthiness, it has been denominated the American "Mont Pelier." Malthus, in his Treatise upon population, remarks that "there are some villages in England where the annual deaths are fewer than in any other places in the known world, in which the mortality is so small as one in sixty, or one in seventy-five." (Vol. i. p. 168.) He makes his calculations for twenty years on the average in Europe, and at the south in America. But for forty-nine years last past, it is ascertained from the most accurate data, that during that whole period, the annual deaths have averaged only as one to ninety-nine and forty-sixtieths, including accidental ones.

Large quantities of hay and vegetables of all kinds are raised here, and disposed of in the Boston markets. The whole parish, indeed, seems like one perfect garden, resembling the best cultivated villages.
near London. The inhabitants are principally wealthy and respectable farmers. There are here several gentlemen's elegant seats, beautifully situated on the banks of the lake, and elsewhere, together with cottages of private gentlemen, who retire, every evening, from their business in the city, and pass as much of their time as consists with it, in this delightful spot, and in the summer season it is always crowded with boarders. Something of the steady population, therefore, is fluctuating.

The First Parish in Roxbury, or Rocksborough, as it was originally called, is the parent of all the others throughout the town. From it originated the second in Spring street, and from that principally the third, or Jamaica Plain Parish.

Jamaica Plain, from its proximity to the pond, was originally called the "Pond Plain." How it changed its name has never been really ascertained. There are many legends upon this inquiry, but none of them entirely satisfactory. One is, that it was so baptized in consequence of gentlemen from Jamaica spending their summers here; which circumstance, if true, might at once account for it. But it cannot be ascertained, that any other than Timothy Penny, Esq., who came to this country not earlier than 1767, ever had a residence here; whereas, Hugh Thomas, April 7th, 1677, ninety years previous, conveyed his property for the benefit of a school, "to the people at the "Jamaica end of the town of Roxbury.

Another more probable, but not altogether satisfactory account is, that a gentleman by the name of ————, from some unknown cause, disliking his wife, quitted London, informing her that he was going to Jamaica on business. Hearing nothing from him for a very long period, she at length embarked for Jamaica, in expectation of finding him there. But, to her great surprise, she could not learn that he had ever been at the island. And a vessel from that place, going direct to Boston, she took passage, arrived safe, and having frequently related the circumstance, at length obtained accidental intelligence that an Englishman had for some time past been residing with a poor family in Roxbury, "at the Pond Plain," where, most unwelcomely to himself, she actually found him. The story of his saying he was going to Jamaica, was so often and ludicrously told, that the inhabitants derisively, at first, called it Jamaica Plain, which name it has since retained.

The last, and to me most probable account I have heard was, that the Indians, who at that time were numerous here, used frequently
to go to the street in Roxbury for rum, and having accidentally met with some Jamaica spirit, that greatly pleased them, they would always afterwards inquire for it, saying, "Indian love Jamaica;" in consequence of which, the retailers called them Jamaica folks, or Indians; from which circumstance, the name became gradually familiar, and all the inhabitants of this part of the town at length acquired the name of Jamaica Plain people, instead of Pond Plain folks, as they had been usually called before.

Note B. Page 10.

The house had been removed in 1760 from its former site, where now stands the mansion of the late D. S. Greenough, Esq., built by Commodore Joshua Loring the same year, of whom Mr. Pemberton purchased it for that object.

Note C. Page 12.

On July 10th, 1689, Rev. John Eliot, the first minister of Roxbury, gave by deed about seventy-five acres of land "for the support of a school and schoolmaster at that part of Roxbury, commonly called Jamaica or Pond Plain, for teaching and instructing the children of that end of the town, and to no other use, intent or purpose, under any color or pretence whatever." [Benjamin P. Williams's Address, delivered at the Dedication of Eliot Hall, on Jamaica Plain, January 17th, 1832.]

This school in The Life of John Eliot, by Convers Francis, published in Boston by Hilliard, Gray & Co. in 1836, p. 313, is said, "by his (Eliot's) active agency to be a school of high character, established in Roxbury, for the support of which he bequeathed a considerable part of his own property. This free school was the admiration of the neighboring towns; and Mather states, as the result of its influence, that Roxbury had afforded more scholars, first for the college, and then for the public, than any other town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New-England."

Now Mather was altogether mistaken. The school to which he alluded was endowed not by John Eliot, but by Thomas Bell, and was given to the whole town, not to a single portion of it, in 1671,
for a grammar school.* Nor has there ever been an individual prepared for college in the *Eliot School*. No other than the English common town school branches have been taught in it to this day. As an historical fact, I deem it important to correct the mistake (and a strange one indeed) of Mather, as quoted in the above life of Eliot.

Eliot Hall, on Jamaica Plain, erected in 1831, was built from the income of funds arising from John Eliot’s donation of lands, and therefore bears his name. He died in Roxbury, May 26, 1690, aged eighty-six years, and was buried in the tomb with his wife in the old burying-place, at the foot of Roxbury street, the full and satisfactory evidence of which I have in my possession, though so often and so long disputed and said, as of Moses, that no man knoweth his sepulchre.

Dr. Gordon thought that the fee simple of land for a burying-place should be in the parish, or it would be a violation of moral right otherwise so to appropriate it. He was a man of high moral sense, and by means of it sometimes incurred offence. While he had enough of the *fortiter in re*, he lacked greatly the *suaviter in modo*.

When the late Gov. John Hancock was treasurer of Harvard College, there was great delay on his part in the settlement of his accounts.† Late Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, of Brattle Street Church, Boston, and Dr. Gordon talked freely together of it, and it was finally agreed between them, that at the next Overseer’s meeting he should introduce a motion for the immediate settlement of the treasurer’s accounts, and which Dr. C. was to second. But Dr. Gordon spoke so plainly his mind of the “*gross neglect*” of the treasurer, though so often urged to do it,” that the manner was thought by Dr. C., who was perfectly mild and polite in every thing, to be *as gross*, and therefore he forbore to utter a syllable upon the subject, and it passed off at that meeting in perfect silence. This circumstance so greatly offended Mr. Hancock, that he removed immediately from the Plain into Boston, and dropped all future intercourse whatever with Dr. Gordon.‡

The estate he then left, now the property of Nathaniel Curtis, Esq., was purchased by Gov. Hancock of the late Dr. Lemuel Hayward, of Boston, by exchange for seven or eight shares on Long Wharf,

* See R. G. Parker’s Sketch of the Grammar School in Roxbury, 1826.
† See Josiah Quincy’s History of Harvard College, 1840.
Boston, then valued at fifty dollars per share,— all of which, a few years since, at Dr. Hayward's death, were appraised at one hundred thousand dollars.

March 12, 1781, the following votes were passed at a parish meeting. In order to show the immense depreciation of the then paper currency, I here transcribe.

"Voted, to raise the sum of £15,000, lawful money, to pay Dr. William Gordon's salary, fire-wood, and other necessary charges for said precinct. Also, voted to Nathaniel Brewer £90, lawful money, (£300,) for taking care of the meeting-house last year." Both which votes greatly surprised me. But my surprise was soon at an end, when I found, at a subsequent meeting held June 26, following same year, "voted £200 (£666 66) to William Gordon, in hard money, instead of the £15,000 in paper, which was voted him at the last annual meeting. And to Nathaniel Brewer £1 12s., (£5 33,) instead of the £90, lawful money, voted him at the last meeting for taking care of the meeting-house the year past."

Note D. Page 12.

The following is a copy of the vote passed at a meeting of the town of Roxbury, August 4, 1796.

At a legal meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Roxbury, held at the meeting-house in the Easterly Parish, on Thursday, fourth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

The second article in the warrant being read and considered, the town thereupon unanimously voted, That the waters of Jamaica Pond belong to the town, and are and ever have been held under their direction and at their disposal, and that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the design now attempting to be carried into execution by the Aqueduct Corporation, of drawing water from Jamaica Pond, (so called,) for the purpose of conveying the same to the town of Boston, by subterraneous pipes, if carried into effect, will be a daring attack upon the rights and property of the said town of Roxbury, will operate to the great injury of the town, and more especially to such of its inhabitants as are proprietors, or live upon Jamaica Plain, the value of whose estates, we conceive, will be materially affected thereby. And the Selectmen, to wit, Hon. John Read, Esq., Mr. John Davis, Mr. Jacob Weld, Ebenezer Seaver, Esq., and Mr. John
Williams, together with Hon. John Lowell, Dr. Thomas Williams, Deacon David Weld, Major Ebenezer Whiting, David S. Greenough, and Martin Brimmer, Esqrs., be a committee in behalf of the town, with full power to use all lawful means to prevent any waters being drawn from said pond for the purpose aforesaid, and to prosecute any person or persons, or society who shall draw the said waters for the purpose aforesaid, or for any other purpose, not heretofore expressly granted at a legal town meeting.

A true copy. Attest, 

Stephen Williams, Jr.

Town Clerk.

Note E. Page 13.

The trifling circumstance here alluded to, was this: Dr. Gordon one morning calling on Mr. Pemberton, fastened his horse to the front fence, which had been newly painted. He requested him to remove him to a tree near by, which Dr. G. declined doing. Mr. P. then called his servant, and ordered him to do it. Dr. G. peremptorily forbid him; and when Mr. P. repeated his order, left the house and refused to go in. This gave so much umbrage, that he changed his former intentions towards this parish, in behalf of the town of Boston, to whose poor he willed the whole of his property; and refused, during his last illness, to converse with, or even to see Dr. Gordon. "How great a fire a small spark kindleth."

Note F. Page 15.

On the 14th of May following, the committee reported an annual saving of $352 48 to this parish by a separation. A further investigation was voted, and a further report made in April, 1818, confirming the first, and recommending a committee of conference with the second parish, to join in a petition to the next General Court, for a separation of both from the First Parish, and an act of incorporation into a distinct town. This report was unanimously accepted, and a committee chosen for the conference, and the parish adjourned to the second Monday in May following. The report was published, and the meeting again adjourned to second Monday in November, when it was voted yet again to adjourn the meeting to March, 1819, for further investigation. But the committee declining further service, the meeting was accordingly dissolved.
February 10, 1838, p.m. three o'clock, the parish by previous notice assembled at Eliot Hall upon the subject of a separation of this and the Upper Parish from the town of Roxbury for the third time, Committees were appointed respectfully to invite the union and co-operation of the Upper Parish, and to obtain the consent of the Lower Parish for the accomplishment of that object. Then adjourned to Monday evening, February 19th, seven o'clock. Met again February 19th, and adjourned to Thursday Evening, February 22d. Met February 22d, and adjourned to Thursday evening, March 1st.

On Friday morning, February 23d, a petition was presented to the General Court for the separation, by S. G. Goodrich, Senator of Norfolk, with the signatures of all present at the meeting, and a committee appointed to obtain more.

March 22d, 1838, a public town meeting was held, our separation refused, and a committee of the Selectmen and others appointed to attend the General Court's committee, and by all lawful means to oppose it.

The Court's committee had two meetings in the State House, to hear both parties. Gen. William H. Sumner and David S. Greenough for the parish, Judge S. Leland and Mr. Simmonds for the town. The meetings were held in the afternoons of Tuesday, 20th, and Wednesday, 28th inst.

The subject of the separation was finally laid over to the next session of the General Court in January, 1839, for further consideration, and has not since been called up.

Note G. Page 15.

This bell, weighing one thousand pounds, was cast at Canton, Mass., by Joseph Revere, Esq., obtained partly by subscription, together with the proceeds of the other, and $140 remaining in treasury, overplus from sale of new pews in 1820.

Note II. Page 15.

On this occasion Benjamin P. Williams, Esq. delivered an appropriate address, which is published.

Order of services at the dedication of Eliot Hall, Jamaica Plain, on Tuesday, January 17, 1832: 1. Introductory Prayer, by Rev.
Great source of Light, we hail the rays
On darkling man whose glory turns;
Those beams that wander from the blaze
Which round God's bright pavilion burn.

There in that ever radiant beam,
The sacred tree of knowledge grew;
Fresh watered by a holier stream
Than Siloam's fountain ever knew.

That tree of life's eternal fruit,
A mightier than the Hebrew gave,—
And sent to lave its living root,
A purer stream than Horeb's wave.

And may it flow, forever fair,
Here, as it flowed in days of yore;
When God's own spirit kindled there,
And bade its living waters pour.

Lord, speed that ray with power to save.
From heart to heart, from clime to clime,
Above the stars, beyond the grave,
Through countless worlds, and endless time.

May unborn thousands here repose
In wisdom's light their upward wings;
And drink from every wave that flows,
Eternal life's undying springs.

Note I. Page 15.

This organ was built and put up by William Goodrich, organ-builder at Lechmere Point, Cambridge. Obtained by subscription. The committee for its selection were Joseph Curtis, Benjamin P. Williams, Esqrs., Benjamin Bussey, Esq. who subscribed fourth part of the whole expense, and Dr. Thomas Gray, Jr., of Boston, and who for a time first played it.
Previous to his invitation to settle here, I had long cherished that hope; in consequence of which, after some conversation with individual friends upon the subject, I submitted the following letter:

**Jamaica Plain, Sept. 28, 1835.**

My dear Friends and Parishioners,— It is now towards forty-four years since my ministry commenced amongst you, (forty-three almost of which I have been your ordained pastor,) and I can certainly bear the most unequivocal testimony to your uniform affection, fidelity, kindness and good feeling. My only wish is that I were more worthy of such expressions of them, as I have received, and am still constantly receiving from you all. In looking back upon the years I have already so happily passed with you, and forward to those few that must now remain of my life, (for at my age, almost sixty-four, I can even at the longest expect them to be few,) and feeling occasional interruptions of my physical strength, which I must expect now to increase rather than to diminish, remind me that I am nearly approaching the age of man, when a preacher ceases to be interesting, at least to the younger portion of his audience. And having, withal, understood, from various individuals of my society, of the acceptableness of Rev. Mr. George Whitney, as a preacher amongst you, (and who is now at liberty,) believing, too, that if he should be as acceptable to you all as I learn he is to many, it would be adding a new and strong link to the chain of union and love, which for so many revolving years has bound our society together in one,— and finally feeling, moreover, that a popular young man might be a considerable acquisition to my parish, and especially one with whom I should still labor side by side in perfect harmony and affection during the remainder of my ministry,— all these considerations have, after very mature deliberation, brought me to the conclusion of making to you the following proposition, which I know you will receive and decide on with the same frankness and candor in which I make it, and which on every occasion I have uniformly experienced from you.

The proposition is this,— that, provided it should meet the wishes of my society to have Mr. George Whitney united with me, as colleague or associated pastor, and without the least additional expense whatever to the parish, I shall fully and gladly meet those wishes; and in order for their accomplishment, will relinquish all my salary.
land, &c., now granted me, with the reservation to myself only of the east part of the parsonage, and a privilege in the barn for my horse and chaise; and will continue still to officiate as large a portion of the time as health and convenience allow; but most of all, as I think would be grateful to your own wishes.

Gentlemen of the committee, I make this communication through you to the parish, and will thank you to communicate the same to them, in such a manner as may enable them to take the subject of it into as early consideration as may consist with their convenience.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect, very truly,
Your sincere and affectionate Pastor,

Thomas Gray.

To Joseph Curtis, Nathaniel Curtis, and Charles W. Greene, Esqrs.
Committee of the Third Parish in Roxbury.

P. S. Brethren, if my proposal meets your approbation, then I wish further to state to you, that, provided any dissatisfaction should hereafter arise, either on the part of the parish or the pastor, three month's notice on either side being given, the parochial connection may be dissolved. And this proviso can be inserted in the call to Mr. Whitney for settlement.

October 15, 1835.

A parish meeting being hereupon called, and the above letter laid before them, after due consultation and deliberation of its purpose, it was voted unanimously to accede to the proposition it contained. I was requested to communicate the result to Mr. Whitney, who, on the 16th instant, sent a written reply of accordance on his part to the parish committee. Another committee was then chosen in addition to the standing parish committee, consisting of Major B. P. Williams, Deacon Joseph Weld, John Prince, John James, Stephen M. Weld, Dr. L. M. Harris, Paul Gore, Moses Williams, and John Ashton, to call and consult with Mr. Whitney and myself upon the time suitable for his installation, and to make the necessary arrangements therefor. The 10th of February, 1836, was fixed upon, as at that time Mr. Whitney's engagement with the Upper Parish would cease.

Order of services at the installation of Rev. George Whitney, as colleague pastor with Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D., over the religious society on Jamaica Plain, on Wednesday, February 10, 1836:

Lord! at thine altar-stone,
In humble trust and reverence low we bow;
Thy presence and thy smile be with us now,
O thou Almighty One.
A people’s vows we bring,
A people’s prayers and praises swell on high,
Breathing from pure hearts warm and fervently,—
Accept the offering.

Father! in prayer we come,—
Come with the shepherd to thy people given
This day, to teach the way to thee and heaven,
O guide their pathway home.
Come with the tried and known,
And proved of many a year, through joy, through wo,—
Bless thou their mingled labors here below,
With a celestial crown.

Come with the young heart’s prayer;
In its Spring freshness on thy shrine to lay,
As flowers ere yet the dew is dried away,
To Thee that heart we bear.
While manhood’s deeper tones,
With sweeter accents mingling as they rise,
Send up a people’s voices to the skies,—
Bless now thy supplicant ones.

And to yon bending sky,
The glorious footstool of thy throne of light,
Before whose splendor seraphs veil their sight,
We bear our songs on high,
Through the Redeemer’s love,
Our mortal prayers with their’s we mingle now,
In hushed and trembling silence while we bow,—
This rite, O bless above.


After the public services, the council returned to the parsonage,
and in the evening the whole parish, old and young, assembled there, to exchange their mutual congratulations. Six years afterwards these congratulations were changed into mourning. Mr. Whitney had recently exerted himself beyond his strength, and though frequently warned against it, his elastic spirits still led him onward. In March he returned home from his last visit to his father of a day or two, with his wife, unwell, — resorted to his sick chamber, from which he returned no more to bless and cheer us. He expired after twelve days illness of affection of the liver; and has now found his place with the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven. Four days previous to his death, as I entered his chamber in the morning, I found him looking for a hymn "he said had been running all night in his head" with these words, which were all he could recollect, —

"Must venture through the parted deep,  
Beside the liquid wall."

I told him I well remembered and would find it. It was in Belknap's selection, I thought; not in our Hymn-book, where he was seeking it. I found it and gave it to him. He read it with great seeming satisfaction, laid down the book, and read it several times in the course of that day. It was so applicable to himself that he felt it. It appeared to me so prophetic of the event that I here give it entire.

When overwhelm'd with pain and grief,  
Beneath thy chastening rod;  
Deprived of comfort and relief,  
We look to thee, our God.

Wilt thou for ever cast us off?  
And will thy wrath prevail?  
Hast thou forgot thy tender love?  
And will thy promise fail?

But faith forbids this hopeless thought,  
And checks this doubting frame;  
We know the works thy hand has wrought,  
Thy hand is still the same.

Long did the sons of Jacob lie,  
By Egypt's yoke oppressed;  
Did'st thou refuse to hear their cry,  
And give thy people rest?

In thine own way, thy chosen sheep  
Must hear thy mighty call;  
Must venture through the parted deep,  
Beside the liquid wall.
Strange was their journey through the sea,
A path before unknown!
Terrors attend their wondrous way,
But mercy leads them on.

Though trackless waves of ocean hide
Thy footsteps from our sight;
We'll follow where thy hand shall guide,
For thou wilt lead us right.

MEMORANDA.

In 1771 Mr. John Morey, one of the newly incorporated parish, presented the clock which ornaments the front gallery; and which, in 1820, had the present face substituted for the old one.

In 1772, Sir William Pepperell, then residing on late Gov. Bar­nard's estate, presented a Bible for the use of the pulpit.

April 1, 1800, the trustees of Eliot School voted to accept the petition to open a road through the twelve acres (Eliot land) back of our meeting-house, which was done accordingly the beginning of November following, — called Eliot Street.

1811, the first tomb was built in our cemetery.

November 15, 1818, Mrs. Abagail Brewer gave by will certain lands on Jamaica Plain for the support of a female school, under the direction and control of the trustees of Eliot School. Principal of her donation estimated at near three thousand dollars.

1821, trustees of Eliot School commenced the sale of trust lands.

March 17, 1823, the parish voted to purchase of the Eliot School Trustees, at the price of one thousand dollars, the ground on which stand this church, burial-ground and parsonage. And in December 31, 1829, the church voted to contribute nine hundred dollars from its funds towards the liquidation of that debt.

May, 1829, our Sunday School commenced its operations under Miss Lucretia Williams, superintendent.

April 1, 1835, Thomas Street, so called in honor of Hugh Thomas, a benefactor of the school, was laid out.

September 26, 1836, the burying-ground was enlarged for location and construction of new tombs.

January 17, 1838, the Village Hall, for lyceum lectures, &c., first
opened. From two hundred to two hundred and forty gentlemen and ladies were present.

The whole number of deaths in this place within my own and Mr. Whitney's ministry, for fifty years past, has been 375; 207 females, and 168 males,—making a preponderance of 39 females.

Of baptisms, from the first formation of this society to the present time, for seventy-three years, 664; 358 females,—making a preponderance of 52 females.

Of marriages solemnized by myself, 287 couple; 574 persons.

March 9, 1831, instead of having the church covenant publicly read, as heretofore, to persons joining this church, voted, that hereafter the signing of the covenant be deemed sufficient to constitute any one a church member, without being publicly propounded.

The following is the covenant to be signed:

"In the presence of Almighty God, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, declare our serious belief in the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, as the only rule of our religious faith and practice, and promise to conform to them in that sense which appears to us to be their purpose and design. And uniting ourselves, as we hereby do, to the church of Jesus Christ, we resolve, by our lives and example, to recommend his ordinances to universal observance and attachment."

In 1777 William Burroughs left by will £20 ($66 66) to the third church in Roxbury, to be at interest till doubled, and then the annual income to be appropriated to such poor members, if such there be, as the minister and deacons think best.

He gave, also, half an acre of land in Burroughs Street, so called, on the Plain, for a parsonage, provided the parish build a house upon it, within five years after his death; which not being done, the land became forfeited to his legal heirs.

In 1773 Samuel Scarborough left in his will the sum of £10 ($33 33) to the third church in Roxbury.

Plate belonging to the church, 1842:

Silver tankard, "presented by Samuel Scarborough, April 9, 1773;" silver tankard, "presented by Ebenezer Pemberton, in his will;" silver tankard, "presented by William Burroughs, 1777;" silver tankard, "presented by Deacon Nathaniel Weld, January 12, 1806;" two silver cups, "presented by Elizabeth Gray, June 16, 1799;" two large silver flagons, "presented by Benjamin Bussey, July, 1831;" two plated dishes, purchased by the church, August 3, 1820; one plated christening basin, purchased by the church, December 7, 1815.