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JUBILEE OF THE CONSTITUTION.
THE JUBILEE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

ON TUESDAY, THE 30th OF APRIL 1839;

BEING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

INAUGURATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

AS

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON THURSDAY, THE 30th OF APRIL, 1789.

BY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL COLMAN,
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M DCCC XXXIX.
Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1839,
By JOSEPH BLUNT,
For the New York Historical Society,
In the District Court of the Southern District of New York
When in the epic fable of the first of Roman Poets, the Goddess mother of Æneas delivers to him the celestial armour, with which he is to triumph over his enemy, and to lay the foundations of Imperial Rome, he is represented as gazing with intense but confused delight on the crested helm that vomits golden fires—

"His hands the fatal sword and corslet hold,  
One keen with temper'd steel—one stiff with gold  
He shakes the pointed spear, and longs to try  
The plated cuishes on his manly thigh;  
But most admires the shield's mysterious mould,  
And Roman triumphs rising on the gold"—

For on that shield the heavenly smith had wrought the anticipated history of Roman glory, from the days of Æneas down to the reign of Augustus Cæsar, contemporaneous with the Poet himself.
FELLOW-CITIZENS AND BRETHREN, ASSOCIATES OF
THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Would it be an unlicensed trespass of the imagination to conceive, that on the night preceding the day of which you now commemorate the fiftieth anniversary — on the night preceding that thirtieth of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, when from the balcony of your city-hall, the chancellor of the state of New York, administered to George Washington the solemn oath, faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and to the best of his ability, to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States — that in the visions of the night, the guardian angel of the Father of our country had appeared before him, in the venerated form of his mother, and, to cheer and encourage him in the performance of the momentous and solemn duties that he was about to assume, had delivered to him a suit of celestial armour — a helmet, consisting of the principles of piety, of justice, of honour, of benevolence, with which from his earliest infancy he had hitherto walked through life, in the presence of all his brethren — a spear, studded with the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence — a sword, the same with which he had led the armies of his country through the war of freedom, to the summit of the triumphal arch of independence — a corslet and cuishes of long experience and habitual intercourse in peace and war with the world of mankind, his cotemporaries of the human race, in all their stages of civilization — and last of all, the Constitution of the United States,
a SHIELD embossed by heavenly hands, with the future history of his country.

Yes, gentlemen! on that shield, the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES was sculptured. (by forms unseen, and in characters then invisible to mortal eye,) the predestined and prophetic history of the one confederated people of the North American Union.

They had been the settlers of thirteen separate and distinct English colonies, along the margin of the shore of the North American continent: contiguously situated, but chartered by adventurers of characters variously diversified, including sectarians, religious and political, of all the classes which for the two preceding centuries had agitated and divided the people of the British islands—and with them were intermingled the descendants of Hollanders, Swedes, Germans, and French fugitives from the persecution of the revoker of the Edict of Nantes.

In the bosoms of this people, thus heterogeneously composed, there was burning, kindled at different furnaces, but all furnaces of affliction, one clear, steady flame of LIBERTY. Bold and daring enterprise, stubborn endurance of privation, unflinching intrepidity in facing danger, and inflexible adherence to conscientious principle, had steeled to energetic and unyielding hardihood the characters of the primitive settlers of all these Colonies. Since that time two or three generations of men had passed away—but they had increased and multiplied with unexampled rapid-
ity; and the land itself had been the recent theatre of a ferocious and bloody seven years' war between the two most powerful and most civilized nations of Europe, contending for the possession of this continent.

Of that strife the victorious combatant had been Britain. She had conquered the provinces of France. She had expelled her rival totally from the continent over which, bounding herself by the Mississippi, she was thenceforth to hold divided empire only with Spain. She had acquired undisputed control over the Indian tribes, still tenenting the forests unexplored by the European man. She had established an uncontested monopoly of the commerce of all her colonies. But forgetting all the warnings of preceding ages—forgetting the lessons written in the blood of her own children, through centuries of departed time, she undertook to tax the people of the colonies without their consent.

Resistance, instantaneous, unconcerted, sympathetic, inflexible resistance like an electric shock startled and roused the people of all the English colonies on this continent.

This was the first signal of the North American Union. The struggle was for chartered rights—for English liberties—for the cause of Algernon Sidney and John Hampden—for trial by jury—the Habeas Corpus and Magna Charta.

But the English lawyers had decided that Parliament was omnipotent—and Parliament in their omnipotence, instead of trial by jury and the Habeas Corpus, enact-
ed admiralty courts in England to try Americans for offences charged against them as committed in America—instead of the privileges of Magna Charta, nullified the charter itself of Massachusetts Bay; shut up the port of Boston; sent armies and navies to keep the peace, and teach the colonies that John Hampden was a rebel, and Algernon Sidney a traitor.

English liberties had failed them. From the omnipotence of Parliament the colonists appealed to the rights of man and the omnipotence of the God of battles. Union! Union! was the instinctive and simultaneous cry throughout the land. Their Congress, assembled at Philadelphia, once—twice had petitioned the king; had remonstrated to Parliament; had addressed the people of Britain, for the rights of Englishmen—in vain. Fleets and armies, the blood of Lexington, and the fires of Charlestown and Falmouth, had been the answer to petition, remonstrance and address.

Independence was declared. The colonies were transformed into States. Their inhabitants were proclaimed to be one people, renouncing all allegiance to the British crown; all co-patriotism with the British nation; all claims to chartered rights as Englishmen. Thenceforth their charter was the Declaration of Independence. Their rights, the natural rights of mankind. Their government, such as should be instituted by themselves, under the solemn mutual pledges of perpetual union, founded on the self-evident truths proclaimed in the Declaration.

The Declaration of Independence was issued, in the
excruciating agonies of a civil war, and by that war independence was to be maintained. Six long years it raged with unabated fury, and the Union was yet no more than a mutual pledge of faith, and a mutual participation of common sufferings and common dangers.

The omnipotence of the British Parliament was vanquished. The independence of the United States of America, was not granted, but recognised. The nation had "assumed among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station, to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitled it"—but the one, united people, had yet NO GOVERNMENT.

In the enthusiasm of their first spontaneous, unstipulated, unpremeditated union, they had flattered themselves that no general government would be required. As separate states they were all agreed that they should constitute and govern themselves. The revolution under which they were gasping for life, the war which was carrying desolation into all their dwellings, and mourning into every family, had been kindled by the abuse of power—the power of government. An invincible repugnance to the delegation of power, had thus been generated, by the very course of events which had rendered it necessary; and the more indispensable it became, the more awakened was the jealousy and the more intense was the distrust by which it was to be circumscribed.

They relaxed their union into a league of friendship between sovereign and independent states. They constituted a Congress, with powers co-extensive with the
nation, but so hedged and hemmed in with restrictions, that the limitation seemed to be the general rule, and the grant the occasional exception. The articles of confederation, subjected to philosophical analysis, seem to be little more than an enumeration of the functions of a national government which the congress constituted by the instrument was not authorized to perform. There was avowedly no executive power.

The nation fell into an atrophy. The Union languished to the point of death. A torpid numbness seized upon all its faculties. A chilling cold indifference crept from its extremities to the centre. The system was about to dissolve in its own imbecility—impotence in negotiation abroad—domestic insurrection at home, were on the point of bearing to a dishonourable grave the proclamation of a government founded on the rights of man, when a convention of delegates from eleven of the thirteen states, with George Washington at their head, sent forth to the people, an act to be made their own, speaking in their name and in the first person, thus: "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

This act was the complement to the Declaration of Independence; founded upon the same principles, carrying them out into practical execution, and forming
with it, one entire system of national government. The Declaration was a manifesto to the world of mankind, to justify the one confederated people, for the violent and voluntary severance of the ties of their allegiance, for the renunciation of their country, and for assuming a station themselves, among the potentates of the world—a self-constituted sovereign—a self-constituted country.

In the history of the human race this had never been done before. Monarchs had been dethroned for tyranny—kingdoms converted into republics, and revolted provinces had assumed the attributes of sovereign power. In the history of England itself, within one century and a half before the day of the Declaration of Independence, one lawful king had been brought to the block, and another expelled, with all his posterity, from his own kingdom, and a collateral dynasty had ascended his throne. But the former of these revolutions had by the deliberate and final sentence of the nation itself, been pronounced a rebellion, and the rightful heir of the executed king had been restored to the crown. In the latter, at the first onset, the royal recreant had fled—he was held to have abdicated the crown, and it was placed upon the heads of his daughter and of her husband, the prime leader of the conspiracy against him. In these events there had been much controversy upon the platform of English liberties—upon the customs of the ancient Britons; the laws of Alfred, the Witenagamote of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Great Charter of Runnymede with all its numberless confirmations. But the actors of those times had never ascended to the first
foundation of civil society among men, nor had any revolutionary system of government been rested upon them.

The motive for the Declaration of Independence was on its face avowed to be "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." Its purpose to declare the causes which impelled the people of the English colonies on the continent of North America, to separate themselves from the political community of the British nation. They declare only the causes of their separation, but they announce at the same time their assumption of the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, among the powers of the earth.

Thus their first movement is to recognise and appeal to the laws of nature and to nature's God, for their right to assume the attributes of sovereign power as an independent nation.

The causes of their necessary separation, for they begin and end by declaring it necessary, alleged in the Declaration, are all founded on the same laws of nature and of nature's God — and hence as preliminary to the enumeration of the causes of separation, they set forth as self-evident truths, the rights of individual man, by the laws of nature and of nature's God, to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness. That all men are created equal. That to secure the rights of life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. All this, is by the laws of nature and of na-
ture's God, and of course presupposes the existence of a God, the moral ruler of the universe, and a rule of right and wrong, of just and unjust, binding upon man, preceding all institutions of human society and of government. It avers, also, that governments are instituted to secure these rights of nature and of nature's God, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of THE PEOPLE to alter, or to abolish it, and to institute a new government—to throw off a government degenerating into despotism, and to provide new guards for their future security. They proceed then to say that such was then the situation of the Colonies, and such the necessity which constrained them to alter their former systems of government.

Then follows the enumeration of the acts of tyranny by which the king, parliament, and people of Great Britain, had perverted the powers to the destruction of the ends of government, over the Colonies, and the consequent necessity constraining the Colonies to the separation.

In conclusion, the Representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies, are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the
state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. The appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world, and the rule of right and wrong as paramount events to the power of independent States, are here again repeated in the very act of constituting a new sovereign community.

It is not immaterial to remark, that the Signers of the Declaration, though qualifying themselves as the Representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, yet issue the Declaration, in the name and by the authority of the good people of the Colonies—and that they declare, not each of the separate Colonies, but the United Colonies, free and independent States. The whole people declared the Colonies in their united condition, of RIGHT, free and independent States.

The dissolution of allegiance to the British crown, the severance of the Colonies from the British empire, and their actual existence as Independent States, thus declared of right, were definitively established in fact, by war and peace. The independence of each separate State had never been declared of right. It never existed in fact. Upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the dissolution of the ties of allegiance, the assumption of sovereign power, and the institution of civil government, are all acts of transcendant author-
ity, which the people alone are competent to perform—and accordingly, it is in the name and by the authority of the people, that two of these acts—the dissolution of allegiance, with the severance from the British empire, and the declaration of the United Colonies, as free and independent States, were performed by that instrument.

But there still remained the last and crowning act, which the People of the Union alone were competent to perform—the institution of civil government, for that compound nation, the United States of America.

At this day it cannot but strike us as extraordinary, that it does not appear to have occurred to any one member of that assembly, which had laid down in terms so clear, so explicit, so unequivocal, the foundation of all just government, in the imprescriptible rights of man, and the transcendant sovereignty of the people, and who in those principles, had set forth their only personal vindication from the charges of rebellion against their king, and of treason to their country, that their last crowning act was still to be performed upon the same principles. That is, the institution, by the people of the United States, of a civil government, to guard and protect and defend them all. On the contrary, that same assembly which issued the Declaration of Independence, instead of continuing to act in the name, and by the authority of the good people of the United States, had immediately after the appointment of the committee to prepare the Declaration, appointed another committee, of one member from each Colony, to pre-
pare and digest the form of *confederation*, to be entered into between the Colonies.

That committee reported on the 12th of July, eight days after the Declaration of Independence had been issued, a draught of articles of confederation between the Colonies. This draught was prepared by John Dickinson, then a delegate from Pennsylvania, who voted against the Declaration of Independence, and never signed it—having been superseded by a new election of delegates from that State, eight days after his draught was reported.

There was thus no congeniality of principle between the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. The foundation of the former were a superintending Providence — the rights of man, and the constituent revolutionary power of the people. That of the latter was the sovereignty of organized power, and the independence of the separate or dis-united States. The fabric of the Declaration and that of the Confederation, were each consistent with its own foundation, but they could not form one consistent symmetrical edifice. They were the productions of different minds and of adverse passions — one, ascending for the foundation of human government to the laws of nature and of God, written upon the heart of man — the other, resting upon the basis of human institutions, and prescriptive law and colonial charters. The corner stone of the one was right — that of the other was power.

The work of the founders of our Independence was thus but half done. Absorbed in that more than Her-
culean task of maintaining that independence and its principles, by one of the most cruel wars that ever glutted the furies with human wo, they marched un­daunted and steadfast through that fiery ordeal, and consistent in their principles to the end, concluded, as an acknowledged sovereignty of the United States, pro­claimed by their people in 1776, a peace with that same monarch, whose sovereignty over them they had abjured in obedience to the laws of nature and of nature's God.

But for these United States, they had formed no Constitution. Instead of resorting to the source of all constituted power, they had wasted their time, their talents, and their persevering, untiring toils, in erecting and roofing and buttressing a frail and temporary shed to shelter the nation from the storm, or rather a mere baseless scaffolding on which to stand, when they should raise the marble palace of the people, to stand the test of time.

Five years were consumed by Congress and the State Legislatures, in debating and altercating and ad­justing these Articles of Confederation. The first of which was:—

"Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and in­dependence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Observe the departure from the language, and the consequent contrast of principles, with those of the Declaration of Independence.

Each state RETAINS its sovereignty, &c.—where
did each State get the sovereignty which it *retains*? In the Declaration of Independence, the delegates of the Colonies in Congress assembled, *in the name and by the authority of the good people of the Colonies*, declare, not each Colony, but the *United* Colonies, in fact, and of right, not *sovereign*, but free and independent States. And why did they make this declaration in the name and by the authority of the one people of all the Colonies? Because by the principles before laid down in the Declaration, the people, and the people alone, as the rightful source of all legitimate government, were competent to dissolve the bands of subjection of all the Colonies to the nation of Great Britain, and to constitute them free and independent States. Now the people of the Colonies, speaking by their delegates in Congress, had not declared *each* Colony a sovereign, free and independent State—nor had the people of each Colony so declared the Colony itself, nor could they so declare it, because each was already bound in union with all the rest; a union formed de facto, by the spontaneous revolutionary movement of the whole people, and organized by the meeting of the first Congress, in 1774, a year and ten months before the Declaration of Independence.

*Where, then, did each* State get the sovereignty, freedom and independence, which the articles of confederation declare it *retains*? — not from the whole people of the whole union— not from the Declaration of Independence — not from the people of the state itself. *It was assumed by agreement between the legislatures*
of the several States, and their delegates in Congress, without authority from or consultation of the people at all.

In the Declaration of Independence, the enacting and constituent party dispensing and delegating sovereign power, is the whole people of the United Colonies. The recipient party, invested with power, is the United Colonies, declared United States.

In the articles of confederation, this order of agency is inverted. Each state is the constituent and enacting party, and the United States in Congress assembled, the recipient of delegated power—and that power, delegated with such a penurious and carking hand, that it had more the aspect of a revocation of the Declaration of Independence than an instrument to carry it into effect.

It well deserves the judicious inquiry of an American statesman, at this time, how this involuntary and unconscious usurpation upon the rights of the people of the United States, originated and was pursued to its consummation.

In July, 1775, soon after the meeting of the second revolutionary Congress, and a year before the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Franklin had submitted to their consideration, a sketch of articles of confederation between the colonies, to continue until their reconciliation with Great Britain, and in failure of that event, to be perpetual.

The third article of that project provided "that each colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit, of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and
peculiar jurisdictions within its own limits; and may amend its own constitution, as shall seem best to its own assembly or convention.” Here was and could be no assertion of sovereignty.

This plan appears to have been never discussed in Congress. But when, on the 7th of June, 1776, the resolution of independence was offered and postponed, another resolution was submitted and carried for the appointment of a committee of one member from each colony, to prepare and digest a form of a confederation.

The third article of the draught reported by that committee, was in these words:

“Each colony shall retain as much of its present laws, rights, and customs, as it may think fit, and reserve to itself the sole and exclusive regulation and government of its internal police, in all matters that shall not interfere with the articles of this confederation.”

The first article had declared the name of the confederacy to be the United States of America.

By the second, the colonies “unite themselves, so as never to be divided by any act whatever,” and entered into a firm league of friendship with each other.

From the 12th of July to the 20th of August, 1776, the report of the committee was debated almost daily, in a committee of the whole house, and they reported to Congress a new draught, the first article of which retained the name of the confederacy.

The second left out the warm-hearted Union, so as never to be divided by any act whatever, and only severally entered into a firm league of friendship for
special purposes. By the third, "Each state reserves to itself the sole and exclusive regulations and government of its internal police in all matters that shall not interfere with the Articles of this Confederation."

The gradual relaxation of the fervid spirit of union which had quickened every sentence of the Declaration of Independence, is apparent in these changes of phraseology and omission.

The articles reported by the committee of the whole were laid aside on the 20th of August, 1776, and were not resumed till the 7th of April, 1777.

They were then taken up, and pertinaciously and acrimoniously debated two or three times a week till the 15th of November, 1777, when they were adopted by Congress in a new and revised draught.

And here the reversal of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence was complete, and the symptoms of disunion proportionally aggravated. The first article instead of the name declared the style of the confederacy to be the United States of America. Even in this change of a single word, there was the spirit of disunion; a name being appropriately applied to the unity, and a style to the plurality of the aggregate body.

An alteration still more significant was the inversion in the order of the second and third articles. In all the former draughts, in the sketch presented by Dr. Franklin in 1775, in the draught reported by the select committee in July, 1776, and in that reported after full debate by the committee of the whole house to Con-
gress, on the 20th of August, 1776, the union had been constituted in the second article, and the reservation of separate rights not interfering with the articles of the confederation, had been made in the third.

But now the reservation of separate rights came first in order, appeared as the second article, and instead of being confined to internal police, and all matters that shall not interfere with the articles of this confederation, was transformed into a direct assertion of sovereignty, not in the people of each state, but in each state. And thus it was that each state had acquired that sovereignty, which the third article, now made the second, declared it retained. It was a power usurped upon the people, by the joint agency of the state legislatures and of their delegates in Congress, without any authority from the people whatever. And with this assertion of sovereignty, each state retained also every power, jurisdiction and right, not by the confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled. And then came limping on in the third article, degraded from its place as the second, the firm league of friendship of these several states with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare.

In the debates upon these articles of confederation, between the 7th of October, and the 17th of November, the conflict of interests and of principles between the people of the whole Union, and each of the states, was strongly marked. The first question was upon the mode of voting in Congress
It was moved that in determining questions, each state should have one vote for every fifty thousand white inhabitants.

That each state should have a right to send one delegate to Congress for every thirty thousand of its inhabitants—each delegate to have one vote.

That the quantum of representation of each state should be computed by numbers proportioned to its contribution of money or tax laid and paid into the public treasury.

These propositions, all looking to a representation proportional to numbers or to taxation, that is, to persons or property, were all rejected, and it was resolved that in determining questions each state should have one vote.

Then came the question of the common charges and expenses. The first proposition was that they should be proportioned to the number of inhabitants of each state. Then to the value of all property, excepting household goods and wearing apparel, both of which were rejected, and the proposition was fixed according to the quantity of land granted and surveyed, with the estimated improvements thereon.

But the great and insurmountable difficulty, left altogether unadjusted by these articles of confederation, was to ascertain the boundaries of each of these sovereign states. It was proposed that these boundaries should be ascertained by them; for which purpose the state Legislatures should lay before Congress a description of the territorial lands of each of their respect-
ive states, and a summary of the grants, treaties, and proofs, upon which they were claimed or established.

It was moved that the United States, in Congress assembled, should have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such states as claimed to the South sea; and to dispose of all land beyond the boundary so ascertained, for the benefit of the United States.

And that the United States in Congress assembled, should have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such states, as claimed to the Mississippi or South sea, and to lay out the land beyond the boundary so ascertained, into separate and independent states, from time to time, as the numbers and circumstances of the people might require.

All these propositions were rejected, and the articles of confederation were sent forth to the sovereign, free and independent states for ratification, without defining or ascertaining the limits of any one of them; while some of them claimed to the South sea, and others were cramped up within a surface of less than fifteen hundred square miles.

It is further remarkable that in the progress of these debates, the institution of an executive council, which in all the previous draughts had been proposed, was struck out, and instead of it was substituted a helpless and imbecile committee of the states, never but once attempted to be carried into execution, and then speedily dissolved in its own weakness.
Such was the system, elaborated with great, persevering, and anxious deliberation; animated with the most ardent patriotism; put together with eminent ability and untiring industry, but vitiated by a defect in the general principle—in the departure from the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence; the natural rights of man, and the exclusive, sovereign, constituent right of the people.

The result corresponded with this elementary error. The plan of confederacy was sent forth to the state Legislatures with an eloquent and pathetic letter, pointing out the difficulties and delays which had attended its formation, urging them candidly to review the difficulty of combining in one general system the various sentiments and interests of a continent divided into so many sovereign and independent communities. Assuring them that the plan proposed was the best which could be adapted to the circumstances of all, and that alone which afforded any tolerable prospect of general ratification; and urging its immediate adoption in the following deeply affecting and impressive admonition:—

"We have reason to regret the time which has elapsed in preparing this plan for consideration. With additional solicitude we look forward to that which must be necessarily spent before it can be ratified. Every motive loudly calls upon us to hasten its conclusion.

"More than any other consideration, it will confound our foreign enemies, defeat the flagitious practices of the disaffected, strengthen and confirm our friends, sup
port our public credit, restore the value of our money, enable us to maintain our fleets and armies, and add weight and respect to our councils at home, and to our treaties abroad.

"In short, this salutary measure can no longer be deferred. It seems essential to our very existence as a free people; and without it we may soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, to liberty and safety—blessings which from the justice of our cause, and the favour of our Almighty Creator, visibly manifested in our protection, we have reason to expect, if in an humble dependence on his divine providence, we strenuously exert the means which are placed in our power."

In this solemn, urgent, and emphatic manner, and with these flattering and sanguine anticipations of the blessings to be showered upon their country by this cumbersome and complicated confederacy of sovereign and independent states, was this instrument transmitted to the state Legislatures; and so anxious were the framers of it for the sanction of the states at the earliest possible moment, that it was recommended to the executive of each of the states to whom it was addressed, if the Legislature was not assembled at the time of its reception, to convene them without delay.

Not such however was the disposition of the several state Legislatures. Each of them was governed as it naturally and necessarily must be by the interests and opinions predominating within the state itself. Not one of them was satisfied with the articles as they had
been prepared in Congress. Every state Legislature found something objectionable in them. They combined the enormous inconsistency of an equal representation in Congress of states most unequal in extent and population, and an imposition of all charges, and expenses of the whole, proportioned to the extent and value of the settled and cultivated lands in each. A still more vital defect of the instrument was that it left the questions of the limits of the several states and in whom was the property of the unsettled crown-lands, not only unadjusted, but wholly unnoticed.

The form of ratification proposed by Congress, was that each of the state Legislatures should authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the Articles; and in their impatience for a speedy conclusion, two motions were made to recommend that the states should enjoin upon their delegates invested with this authority, to attend Congress for that purpose, on or before the then ensuing first of May or tenth of March.

These however did not prevail. This extreme anxiety for the prompt and decisive action of the states, upon this organization of the confederacy, was the result of that same ardent and confiding patriotism so unforeseeing, and yet so sincere, which could flatter itself with the belief that this nerveless and rickety league of friendship between sovereign, independent, disunited states, could confound the foreign enemies of the Union, defeat the practices of the disaffected, support the credit of the country, restore the value of their depreciating money, enable them to maintain
fleets and armies, and add weight and respect to their counsels at home, and to their treaties abroad.

This fervid patriotism, and all these glowing anticipations were doomed to total disappointment. Seven months passed away, and on the 22d of June, 1778, Congress proceeded to consider the objections of the states to the articles of confederation. Those of Maryland were first discussed and rejected. Those of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, followed, and all shared the same fate. No objections were presented by New Hampshire or Virginia. Delaware and North Carolina had no representation then present, and Georgia only one member in attendance.

On the 9th of July, 1778, the Articles were signed by the delegates of New Hampshire, Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina.

The delegates from New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, informed Congress that they had not yet received powers to ratify and sign. North Carolina and Georgia were not represented—and the ratification of New York was conditional that all the other states should ratify.

The delegates from North Carolina signed the Articles on the 21st of July, 1778. Those of Georgia on the 24th of the same month. Those of New Jersey on the 26th of November, 1778. Those of Delaware on the 22d of February, and 5th of May, 1779—but Maryland held out to the last, and positively refused
the ratification, until the question of the conflicting claims of the Union, and of the separate states to the property of the crown-lands should be adjusted. This was finally accomplished by cessions from the claiming states to the United States, of the unsettled lands, for the benefit of the whole Union.

Is it not strange again that it appears not to have been perceived by any one at that time that the whole of this controversy arose out of a departure from the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the substitution of state sovereignty instead of the constituent sovereignty of the people, as the foundation of the Revolution and of the Union. The war from the beginning had been, and yet was, a revolutionary popular war. The colonial governments never had possessed or pretended to claim sovereign power. Many of them had not even yet constituted themselves as independent States. The Declaration of Independence proclaims the natural rights of man, and the constituent power of the people to be the only sources of legitimate government. State sovereignty is a mere argument of power, without regard to right — a mere reproduction of the omnipotence of the British parliament in another form, and therefore not only inconsistent with, but directly in opposition to, the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

The cessions of the claiming states of the crown lands to the Union, originated the territorial system, and eventuated in the ordinance for the government of the North Western Territory. It also removed the insuperable ob-
jection of the State of Maryland to the articles of con-
fection, and her delegates signed them on the 1st of
March, 1781, four years and four months after they had
been submitted by Congress to the sovereign states,
with a solemn averment that they could no longer be
defered; that they seemed essential to the very ex-
istence of the Union as a free people; and that with­
out them they might be constrained to bid adieu to
independence, to liberty, and safety.

But the dispute relating to the jurisdiction and prop­
erty of the crown lands, was only one of a multitude of
stumbling blocks which were perpetually crossing the
path of the new nation, in the collisions between the
principles of the Declaration of Independence and the
sovereignty of the separate states. In the adjustment of
that, both the systems were substantially set aside. For
the claiming states, by the cessions themselves, aban­
donied their pretensions, so far as that interest was con­
cerned, to the rights of independent state sovereignty,
and the Congress of the confederation by an enactment
of the ordinance for the government of the North West­
ern Territory, assumed an authority which had not been
delegated to them, either by the constituent sovereign
people, or by the separate sovereign states.

The articles of confederation had withheld from Con­
gress, the power of regulating the commerce of the
Union, and of levying money by taxation upon the peo­
ple; yet they were authorized to make war and con­
clude peace — to contract debts and bind the nation by
treaties of commerce. The war was raging in its
most inveterate fury, and to defray its indispensable charges and expenses, the only power of Congress was to issue requisitions to the states, which their sovereign power complied with, or disregarded, or rejected, according to their sovereign will and pleasure.

So seldom had this been to furnish the required supplies, that even before the first ratification of the articles of confederation, on the 3d of February, 1781, it had been resolved that it be recommended to the several states, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a power in Congress, to levy for the use of the United States, a duty of five per cent. ad valorem, at the time and place of importation, upon all foreign goods, wares, and merchandise of foreign growth and manufactures, imported after the 1st of May, 1781; also a like duty upon all prize-goods, to be appropriated to the discharge of the principal and interest of the debts contracted on the faith of the United States, for the support of the war.

Indispensably necessary! But according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the state legislatures themselves had no authority to confer this power upon Congress. It was taxation—one of the powers which the people alone are competent to bestow, and which their servants, the state legislatures, if they possessed it themselves, had no right to delegate to any other body.

Upon the principles of state sovereignty—power without right, this authority might have been conferred upon Congress by the state legislatures, and several of them did enact laws for bestowing it. But by the arti-
cles of confederation, no alteration of them could be ef-
fected without the consent of all the states, and Rhode
Island, the smallest state in the Union, inflexibly held
out in the refusal to grant the indispensably necessary
power. Virginia granted and soon repealed it. Con-
gress issued bills of credit as long as they had any
credit; but all the states did the same till their bottom-
less paper depreciated to a thousand for one, and then
vanished by a universal refusal to receive it. Congress
issued four successive requisitions upon the states, for
their respective quotas to pay the debts and current ex-
spenses of the Union. Not one of the states paid one
half the amount of its contribution. Congress bor-
rowed money in France, in Spain, in Holland, and
obtained it there when they could not raise a dollar
at home, and they were compelled to resort to new
loans to pay the interest upon those that had pre-
ceded.

Under the pressure of all these distresses, the cause
of independence was triumphant. Peace came. The
United States of America were recognised as free and
independent, and as one People took the station to which
the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them
among the powers of the earth. But their confederacy
of sovereign states was as incompetent to govern them
in peace as it had been to conduct them in war. The
first popular impulse to union had carried them through
the war. As that popular impulse died away, the
confederation had supplied its place with hope and
promise, the total disappointment of which, though dis-
covered before the peace, was providentially not permitted to prevent its conclusion.

Peace came. The heroic leader of the revolutionary armies surrendered his commission. The armies were disbanded, but they were not paid. Mutiny was suppressed; but not until Congress had been surrounded by armed men, demanding justice, and appealed in vain for protection to the sovereign state within whose jurisdiction they were sitting. A single frigate, the remnant of a gallant navy, which had richly shared the glories, and deeply suffered the calamities of the war, was dismantled and sold. The expenses of the nation were reduced to the minimum of a peace establishment, and yet the nation was not relieved. The nation wanted a government founded on the principles of the Declaration of Independence—a government constituted by the people.

The commerce, navigation, and fisheries of the nation, had been annihilated by the war. But as a civilized nation cannot exist without commerce, an illicit trade with the enemy had sprung up towards the close of the war, highly injurious to the common cause, but which Congress had not the power to suppress. The same causes had given rise to another practice not less pernicious and immoral, by which privateersmen ransomed the prizes captured from the enemy at sea—that is, by releasing the captured vessel for a contribution taken in bills upon the owner of the prize, which were punctually paid, thereby converting the trade of the privateer into a species of gambling piracy.
These practices ceased with the peace. But the commerce of the United States, for want of a regulating power, was left at the mercy of foreign and rival traders. Britain immediately took advantage of this weakness, declined entering into any commercial treaty with us, which Congress had proposed, and brought to bear upon the American trade all the weight of her navigation laws. Massachusetts and Virginia made the experiment of counteracting laws, the only effect of which was to exclude a little remnant of their trade from their own ports, and to transfer it to the ports of neighbouring states.

On the 18th of April, 1783, Congress renewed the demand upon the states, for authority to levy an impost duty, specific on sundry articles of importation, and five per cent. ad valorem on others, to raise not quite one million of dollars, or about two fifths of the annual interest accruing upon the public debt; and that the states should themselves establish some system for supplying the public treasury with funds, for the punctual payment of the other three fifths of the annual interest; and also, for an alteration in the articles of confederation, changing the proportional rule of contribution of the states, from the surface of settled land to the numbers of population.

And on the 30th of April, 1784, Congress recommended to the state legislatures to vest the United States in Congress assembled, for the term of fifteen years, with powers to prohibit importations of merchandise in foreign vessels of nations with whom the United
States had no treaties of commerce, and to prohibit for­
eigners, unless authorized by treaty, from importing into
the United States, merchandise, other than the produce
or manufacture of their own country. In other words,
to enact a navigation law.

None of these indispensably necessary powers were
ever conferred by the state legislatures upon the Con­
gress of the confederation; and well was it that they
never were. The system itself was radically defective.
Its incurable disease was an apostasy from the principles
of the Declaration of Independence. A substitution of
separate state sovereignties, in the place of the constit­
uent sovereignty of the people, as the basis of the con­
federate Union.

But in this Congress of the confederation, the master
minds of James Madison and Alexander Hamilton,
were constantly engaged through the closing years of
the Revolutionary War, and those of peace which im­
mediately succeeded. That of John Jay was associa­
ted with them shortly after the peace, in the capacity
of Secretary to the Congress for Foreign Affairs. The
incompetency of the articles of confederation for the
management of the affairs of the Union at home and
abroad, was demonstrated to them by the painful and
mortifying experience of every day. Washington,
though in retirement, was brooding over the cruel in­
justice suffered by his associates in arms, the warriors
of the Revolution; over the prostration of the public
credit and the faith of the nation, in the neglect to pro­
vide for the payment even of the interest upon the pub
lic debt; over the disappointed hopes of the friends of freedom; in the language of the address from Congress to the States of the 18th of April, 1783—"the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature."

At his residence of Mount Vernon, in March, 1785, the first idea was started of a revisal of the articles of confederation, by an organization of means differing from that of a compact between the state Legislatures and their own delegates in Congress. A convention of delegates from the state Legislatures, independent of the Congress itself, was the expedient which presented itself for effecting the purpose, and an augmentation of the powers of Congress for the regulation of commerce, as the object for which this assembly was to be convened. In January, 1786, the proposal was made and adopted in the Legislature of Virginia, and communicated to the other state Legislatures.

The Convention was held at Annapolis, in September of that year. It was attended by delegates from only five of the central states, who on comparing their restricted powers, with the glaring and universally acknowledged defects of the confederation, reported only a recommendation for the assemblage of another convention of delegates to meet at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, from all the states and with enlarged powers.

The Constitution of the United States was the work of this Convention. But in its construction the Convention immediately perceived that they must retrace their steps, and fall back from a league of friendship
between sovereign states, to the constituent sovereignty of the people; from power to right—from the irresponsible despotism of state sovereignty, to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. In that instrument, the right to institute and to alter governments among men was ascribed exclusively to the people—the ends of government were declared to be to secure the natural rights of man; and that when the government degenerates from the promotion to the destruction of that end, the right and the duty accrues to the people, to dissolve this degenerate government and to institute another. The Signers of the Declaration further averred, that the one people of the United Colonies were then precisely in that situation—with a government degenerated into tyranny, and called upon by the laws of nature and of nature's God, to dissolve that government and to institute another. Then in the name and by the authority of the good people of the Colonies, they pronounced the dissolution of their allegiance to the king, and their eternal separation from the nation of Great Britain—and declared the United Colonies independent States. And here as the representatives of the one people they had stopped. They did not require the confirmation of this Act, for the power to make the Declaration had already been conferred upon them by the people; delegating the power, indeed, separately in the separate colonies, not by colonial authority, but by the spontaneous revolutionary movement of the people in them all.

From the day of that Declaration, the constituent
power of the people had never been called into action. A confederacy had been substituted in the place of a government; and state sovereignty had usurped the constituent sovereignty of the people.

The Convention assembled at Philadelphia had themselves no direct authority from the people. Their authority was all derived from the state legislatures. But they had the articles of confederation before them, and they saw and felt the wretched condition into which they had brought the whole people, and that the Union itself was in the agonies of death. They soon perceived that the indispensably needed powers were such as no state government; no combination of them was by the principles of the Declaration of Independence competent to bestow. They could emanate only from the people. A highly respectable portion of the assembly, still clinging to the confederacy of states, proposed as a substitute for the Constitution, a mere revival of the articles of confederation, with a grant of additional powers to the Congress. Their plan was respectfully and thoroughly discussed, but the want of a government and of the sanction of the people to the delegation of powers, happily prevailed. A Constitution for the people, and the distribution of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, was prepared. It announced itself as the work of the people themselves; and as this was unquestionably a power assumed by the Convention, not delegated to them by the people, they religiously confined it to a simple power to propose, and carefully provided that it should be no more
than a proposal until sanctioned by the confederation Congress, by the state Legislatures, and by the people of the several states, in conventions specially assembled, by authority of their Legislatures, for the single purpose of examining and passing upon it.

And thus was consummated the work, commenced by the Declaration of Independence. A work in which the people of the North American Union, acting under the deepest sense of responsibility to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, had achieved the most transcendent act of power, that social man in his mortal condition can perform. Even that of dissolving the ties of allegiance which he is bound to his country — of renouncing that country itself — of demolishing its government, of instituting another government, and of making for himself another country in its stead.

And on that day, of which you now commemorate the fiftieth anniversary — on that 30th day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, was this mighty revolution, not only in the affairs of our own country, but in the principles of government over civilized man, accomplished.

The revolution itself was a work of thirteen years— and had never been completed until that day. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, are parts of one consistent whole, founded upon one and the same theory of government, then new, not as a theory, for it had been working itself into the mind of man for many ages, and been especially expounded in the writings of Locke, but
had never before been adopted by a great nation in practice.

There are yet, even at this day, many speculative objections to this theory. Even in our own country, there are still philosophers who deny the principles asserted in the Declaration, as self-evident truths—who deny the natural equality and inalienable rights of man—who deny that the people are the only legitimate source of power—who deny that all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed. Neither your time, nor perhaps the cheerful nature of this occasion, permit me here to enter upon the examination of this anti-revolutionary theory, which arrays state sovereignty against the constituent sovereignty of the people, and distorts the Constitution of the United States into a league of friendship between confederate corporations. I speak to matters of fact. There is the Declaration of Independence, and there is the Constitution of the United States — let them speak for themselves. The grossly immoral and dishonest doctrine of despotic state sovereignty, the exclusive judge of its own obligations, and responsible to no power on earth or in heaven, for the violation of them, is not there. The Declaration says it is not in me. The Constitution says it is not in me.

The confederacy of sovereign states has made itself known by its fruits; but there is one observation so creditable to our revolutionary fathers, that it ought never to be overlooked. The defects of the confederacy were vices of the institution, and not of the men by
whom it was administered. The jealousy of delegated power pervaded every part of the articles of confederacy, and indeed, almost all the separate constitutions. The prevailing principle of every provision made under the influence of this distrusting maxim, was that the same power should not long be intrusted to the same hands—but it never extended to the exclusion of any person from office, after a designate term of service in another. One of the articles of confederation had interdicted every person from holding the office of a member of Congress more than three years in six. But any member excluded by the expiration of his limited term of service in Congress, was eligible to any other station in the legislative, executive, or judicial departments of his state, or to any office, civil or military, within the general jurisdiction of Congress.

In point of fact, the great measures by which the revolution was commenced, conducted, and concluded, were devised and prosecuted by a very few leading minds, animated by one pervading, predominating spirit. The object of the Revolution was the transformation of thirteen dependant and oppressed English colonies, into one nation of thirteen confederated states. It was as the late Mr. Madison remarked to Miss Martineau, an undertaking to do that which had always before been believed impossible. In the progress to its accomplishment, obstacles almost numberless, and difficulties apparently insurmountable, obstructed every step of the way. That in the dissolution and re-institution of the social compact, by men marching over an untrodden path to
the very fountains of human government, great and dangerous errors should have been committed, is but an acknowledgment that the builders of the new edifice were fallible men. But at the head of the convention that formed the Constitution, was George Washington, the leader of the armies of the Revolution—among its prominent members were Benjamin Franklin and Roger Sherman, two of the members of that memorable committee who had reported the Declaration of Independence—and its other members without exception, were statesmen who had served in the councils of the Union, throughout the Revolutionary struggle, or warriors who had contended with the enemy upon the field.

The Signers of the Declaration of Independence themselves, were the persons who had first fallen into the error of believing that a confederacy of independent states would serve as a substitute for the repudiated government of Great Britain. Experience had demonstrated their mistake, and the condition of the country was a shriek of terror at its awful magnitude. They did retrace their steps—not to extinguish the federative feature in which their union had been formed: nothing could be wider from their intention—but to restore the order of things conformably to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and as they had been arranged in the first plans for a confederation. To make the people of the Union the constituent body, and the reservation of the rights of the states subordinate to the Constitution. Hence the delegation of
power was not from each state retaining it sovereignty, and all rights not expressly delegated by the states, but from the people of each and of all the states, to the United States in Congress assembled, representing at once the whole people and all the states of the Union.

They retained the federative feature pre-eminently in the constitution of the Senate, and in the complication of its great powers, legislative, executive, and judicial—making that body a participant in all the great departments of constituted power. They preserved the federative principle and combined it with the constituent power of the people in the mode of electing the President of the United States, whether by the electoral colleges, or by the House of Representatives voting by states. They preserved it even in the constitution of the House, the popular branch of the Legislature, by giving separate delegations to the people of each state. But they expressly made the Constitution and constitutional laws of the United States paramount not only to the laws, but to the constitutions of the separate states inconsistent with them.

I have traced step by step, in minute and tedious detail, the departure from the principles of the Declaration of Independence, in the process of organizing the confederation—the disastrous and lamentable consequences of that departure, and the admirable temper and spirit, with which the Convention at Philadelphia returned to those principles in the preparation and composition of the Constitution of the United States.
That this work was still imperfect, candour will compel us all to admit, though in specifying its imperfections, the purest minds and the most patriotic hearts differ widely from each other in their conclusions. Distrustful as it becomes me to be of my own judgment, but authorized by the experience of a full half century, during which I have been variously and almost uninterruptedly engaged in both branches of the Legislature, and in the executive departments of this government, and released, by my own rapid approach to the closing scene of life, from all possible influence of personal interest or ambition, I may perhaps be permitted to remark, that the omission of a clear and explicit Declaration of Rights, was a great defect in the Constitution as presented by the Convention to the people, and that it has been imperfectly remedied by the ten Articles of amendment proposed by the first Congress under the Constitution, and now incorporated with it. A Declaration of Rights would have marked in a more emphatic manner the return from the derivative sovereignty of the states, to the constituent sovereignty of the people for the basis of the federal Union, than was done by the words, “We the people of the United States,” in the preamble to the Constitution. A Declaration of Rights, also, systematically drawn up, as a part of the Constitution, and adapted to it with the consummate skill displayed in the consistent adjustment of its mighty powers, would have made it more complete in its unity, and in its symmetry, than it now appears, an elegant edifice, but encumbered with
superadditions, not always in keeping with the general character of the building itself.

A Declaration of Rights, reserved by the constituent body, the people, might and probably would have prevented many delicate and dangerous questions of conflicting jurisdictions which have arisen, and may yet arise between the general and the separate state governments. The rights reserved by the people would have been exclusively their own rights, and they would have been protected from the encroachments not only of the general government, but of the disunited states.

And this is the day of your commemoration. The day when the Revolution of Independence being completed, and the new confederated Republic announced to the world, as the United States of America, constituted and organized under a government founded on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, was to hold her course along the lapse of time among the civilized potentates of the earth.

From this point of departure we have looked back to the origin of the Union; to the conflict of war by which the severance from the mother-country, and the release from the thraldom of a trans-Atlantic monarch, were effected, and to the more arduous and gradual progression by which the new government had been constructed to take the place of that which had been cast off and demolished.

The first object of the people, declared by the Constitution as their motive for its establishment, to form a more perfect Union, had been attained by the establish-
ment of the Constitution itself; but this was yet to be demonstrated by its practical operation in the establishment of justice, in the ensurance of domestic tranquility, in the provison for the common defence, and in securing the blessings of liberty to the people themselves, the authors of the Constitution, and to their posterity.

These are the great and transcendantal objects of all legitimate government. The primary purposes of all human association. For these purposes the confederation had been instituted, and had signally failed for their attainment. How far have they been attained under this new national organization?

It has abided the trial of time. This day fifty years have passed away since the first impulse was given to the wheels of this political machine. The generation by which it was constructed, has passed away. Not one member of the Convention who gave this Constitution to their country, survives. They have enjoyed its blessings so far as they were secured by their labours. They have been gathered to their fathers. That posterity for whom they toiled, not less anxiously than for themselves, has arisen to occupy their places, and is rapidly passing away in its turn. A third generation, unborn upon the day which you commemorate, forms a vast majority of the assembly who now honour me with their attention. Your city which then numbered scarcely thirty thousand inhabitants, now counts its numbers by hundreds of thousands. Your state, then numbering less than double the population of your city at this day, now tells its
children by millions. The thirteen primitive states of the revolution, painfully rallied by this constitution to the fold from which the impotence and dis-uniting character of the confederacy, was already leading them astray, now reinforced by an equal number of younger sisters, and all swarming with an active, industrious, and hardy population, have penetrated from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and opened a paradise upon the wilds watered by the father of the floods. The Union, which at the first census, ordained by this Constitution, returned a people of less than four millions of souls; at the next census, already commanded by law, the semi-centurial enumeration since that day, is about to exhibit a return of seventeen millions. Never since the first assemblage of men in social union, has there been such a scene of continued prosperity recorded upon the annals of time.

How much of this prosperity is justly attributable to the Constitution, then first put upon its trial, may perhaps be differently estimated by speculative minds. Never was a form of government so obstinately, so pertinaciously contested before its establishment — and never was human foresight and sagacity more disconcerted and refuted by the event, than those of the opposers of the Constitution. On the other hand its results have surpassed the most sanguine anticipations of its friends. Neither Washington, nor Madison, nor Hamilton, dared to hope that this new experiment of government would so triumphantly accomplish the purposes which the confederation had so utterly failed to effect. Washington—
far from anticipating the palm of glory which his admin-
istration of this government was to entwine around his
brow, transcending the laurel of his then unrivalled mil-
itary renown, in the interval between the 4th of March,
when the meeting of the first Congress had been sum-
moned, and the 14th of April, when he received from
them the notification of his election as President of the
United States, thus unbosomed to his friend Knox the
forebodings of his anxious and agitated mind. "I feel,"
wrote he, "for those members of the new Congress,
who hitherto have given an unavailing attendance at
the theatre of action. For myself, the delay may be
compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I tell you,
(with the world it would obtain little credit,) that my
movements to the chair of government will be accom-
panied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is
going to the place of his execution. So unwilling am
I, in the evening of life, nearly consumed in public cares,
to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties,
without that competency of political skill, abilities, and
inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm.
I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the peo-
ple and a good name of my own, on this voyage, but
what returns can be made of them, Heaven alone can
foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise:
these, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake
me, although I may be deserted by all men: for of the
consolations which are to be derived from them, under
any circumstances, the world cannot deprive me."

One of the most indubitable tests of the merit of hu-
man institutions for the government of men, is the length of time which they endure; but so fluctuating is the character of nations and of ages, as well as of individuals, that in the history of mankind before our own age, this durability of human governments has been exclusively confined to those founded upon conquests and hereditary power. In summing up the character of William the Conqueror, the Scottish historian, Hume, remarks, that "though he rendered himself infinitely odious to his English subjects, he transmitted his power to his posterity, and the throne is still filled by his descendants; a proof," says the historian, "that the foundations which he laid, were firm and solid, and that amidst all his violence, while he seemed only to gratify the present passion, he had still an eye towards futurity."

The descendant from William the Conqueror, who filled the throne of Britain when the Scottish historian made this remark, was the person whom his American subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, unseated from that portion of his throne which ruled over them; and in discarding him they had demolished the throne itself for ever. They had resolved for themselves and their posterity, never again to be ruled by thrones. The Declaration of Independence had promulgated principles of government, subversive of all unlimited sovereignty and all hereditary power. Principles, in consistency with which no conqueror could establish by violence a throne to be trodden by himself and by his posterity, for a space of eight hundred years. The foundations of government laid by those who had burnt by fire and scattered to the
winds of Heaven, the ashes of this conqueror’s throne, were human rights, responsibility to God, and the consent of the people. Upon these principles, the Constitution of the United States had been formed, was now organized, and about to be carried into execution, to abide the test of time. The first element of its longevity was undoubtedly to be found in itself—but we may, without superstition or fanaticism, believe that a superintending Providence had adapted to the character and principles of this institution, those of the man by whom it was to be first administered. To fill a throne was neither his ambition nor his vocation. He had no descendants to whom a throne could have been transmitted, had it existed. He was placed by the unanimous voice of his country, at the head of that government which they had substituted for a throne, and his eye looking to futurity, was intent upon securing to after ages, not a throne for a seat to his own descendants, but an immovable seat upon which the descendants of his country might sit in peace, and freedom, and happiness, if so it please Heaven, to the end of time.

That to the accomplishment of this task he looked forward with a searching eye, and even an over-anxious heart, will not be surprising to any who understands his character, or is capable of comprehending the magnitude and difficulty of the task itself.

There are incidental to the character of man two qualities, both developed by his intercourse with his fellow-creatures, and both belonging to the immortal part of his nature; of elements apparently so opposed and
inconsistent with each other, as to be irreconcilable together; but yet indispensable in their union to constitute the highest excellence of the human character. They are the spirit of command, and the spirit of meekness. They have been exemplified in the purity of ideal perfection, only once in the history of mankind, and that was in the mortal life of the Saviour of the world. It would seem to have been exhibited on earth by his supernatural character, as a model to teach mortal man, to what sublime elevation his nature is capable of ascending. They had been displayed, though not in the same perfection by the preceding legislator of the children of Israel;—

"That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed
In the beginning, how the heavens and earth
Rose out of Chaos;"

but so little were they known, or conceived of in the antiquity of profane history, that in the poems of Homer, that unrivalled delineator of human character in the heroic ages, there is no attempt to introduce them in the person of any one of his performers, human or divine. In the poem of his Roman imitator and rival, a feeble exemplification of them is shadowed forth in the inconsistent composition of the pious Æneas; but history, ancient or modern, had never exhibited in the real life of man, an example in which those two properties were so happily blended together, as they were in the person of George Washington. These properties belong rather to the moral than the intellectual nature of man. They
are not unfrequently found in minds little cultivated by
science, but they require for the exercise of that mutual
control which guards them from degenerating into arro-
gance or weakness, the guidance of a sound judg-
ment, and the regulation of a profound sense of respon-
sibility to a higher Power. It was this adaptation of the
character of Washington to that of the institution over
the composition of which he had presided, as he was
now called to preside over its administration, which
constituted one of the most favorable omens of its
eventful stability and success.

But this institution was republican, and even democ-
ocratic. And here not to be misunderstood, I mean by
democratic, a government, the administration of which
must always be rendered comfortable to that predomi-
nating public opinion, which even in the ages of heathen
antiquity, was denominated the queen of the world: and
by republican I mean a government reposing, not upon the
virtues or the powers of any one man — not upon that
honour, which Montesquieu lays down as the funda-
mental principle of monarchy — far less upon that
fear which he pronounces the basis of despotism; but
upon that virtue which he, a noble of aristocratic peer-
age, and the subject of an absolute monarch, boldly pro-
claims as a fundamental principle of republican govern-
ment. The Constitution of the United States was re-
publican and democratic — but the experience of all
former ages had shown that of all human governments,
democracy was the most unstable, fluctuating and short-
lived; and it was obvious that if virtue—the virtue
of the people, was the foundation of republican govern-
ment, the stability and duration of the government must depend upon the stability and duration of the virtue by which it is sustained.

Now the virtue which had been infused into the Constitution of the United States, and was to give to its vital existence the stability and duration to which it was destined, was no other than the concretion of those abstract principles which had been first proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence — namely, the self-evident truths of the natural and unalienable rights of man, of the indefeasible constituent and dissolvent sovereignty of the people, always subordinate to a rule of right and wrong, and always responsible to the Supreme Ruler of the universe for the rightful exercise of that sovereign, constituent, and dissolvent power.

This was the platform upon which the Constitution of the United States had been erected. Its VIRTUES, its republican character, consisted in its conformity to the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and as its administration must necessarily be always pliable to the fluctuating varieties of public opinion; its stability and duration by a like overruling and irresistible necessity, was to depend upon the stability and duration in the hearts and minds of the people of that virtue, or in other words, of those principles, proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

With these considerations, we shall be better able to comprehend the feelings of repugnance, of pain, of anguish, of fearful forebodings, with which Washington had consented to be placed at the head of this new and
untried experiment to consolidate the people of the thirteen then disunited states into one confederated and permanent happy Union. For his own integrity and firmness he could answer; and these were sufficient to redeem his own personal responsibility—but he was embarking on this ocean of difficulty a good name already achieved by toils, and dangers, and services unparalleled in human history—surpassing in actual value the richest diadem upon earth, and more precious in his estimation than the throne of the universal globe, had it been offered as an alternative to his choice.

He knew the result would not depend upon him. His reliance was upon the good providence of Heaven. He foresaw that he might be deserted by all mankind. The Constitution itself had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation. The people only of eleven of the thirteen primitive states had sanctioned it by their adoption. A stubborn, unyielding resistance against its adoption had manifested itself in some of the most powerful states in the Union, and when overpowered by small majorities in their conventions, had struggled in some instances successfully, to recover their ascendancy by electing to both Houses of Congress members who had signalized themselves in opposition to the adoption of the Constitution. A sullen, embittered, exasperated spirit was boiling in the bosoms of the defeated, then styled anti-Federal party, whose rallying cry was state rights—state sovereignty—state independence. To this standard no small number even of the ardent and distinguished
patriots of the Revolution had attached themselves with partial affection. State sovereignty—unlimited state sovereignty, amenable not to the authority of the Union, but only to the people of the disunited state itself, had, with the left-handed wisdom characteristic of faction, assumed the mask of liberty, pranked herself out in the garb of patriotism, and courted the popular favour in each state by appeals to their separate independence—affecting to style themselves exclusively Republicans, and stigmatizing the Federalists, and even Washington himself their head, as monarchists and tories.

On the other hand, no small number of the Federalists, sickened by the wretched and ignominious failure of the Articles of Confederation to fulfil the promise of the Revolution; provoked at once and discouraged by the violence and rancour of the opposition against their strenuous and toilsome endeavours to raise their country from her state of prostration; chafed and goaded by the misrepresentations of their motives, and the reproaches of their adversaries, and imputing to them in turn, deliberate and settled purposes to dissolve the Union, and resort to anarchy for the repair of ruined fortunes—distrusted even the efficacy of the Constitution itself, and with a weakened confidence in the virtue of the people, were inclining to the opinion, that the only practicable substitute for it would be a government of greater energy than that presented by the Convention. There were among them numerous warm and sincere admirers of the British Constitution;
disposed to confide rather to the inherent strength of the government than to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, for the preservation of the rights of property and perhaps of persons—and with these discordant feelings and antagonizing opinions, were intermingled on both sides individual interests and ambitions, counteracting each other as in the conduct and management of human affairs they always have and always will—not without a silent and secret mixture of collateral motives and impulses, from the domestic intercourse of society, for which the legislator is not competent to provide, and the effect of which not intuition itself can foresee.

The same calm, but anxious and even distrusting contemplation of the prospect before him, and of the difficulties and dangers which he was destined to encounter in his new career, followed him after he received the annunciation of his election, and the summons to repair to his post. The moment of his departure from the residence of his retirement, was thus recorded in his diary: “About ten o’clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations, than I have words to express, set out for New York—with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations.”

His progress from Mount Vernon to New York, was one triumphal procession. At Alexandria, at Georgetown, at Philadelphia, at Trenton, at Brunswick, at the
borders of the state of New Jersey, at Elizabethtown Point, he was surrounded, addressed, escorted, by crowds of his grateful, confiding, hoping, affectionate fellow-citizens, of all classes, of both sexes, of every age and condition, showering upon him in every variety of form demonstrations of the most enthusiastic attachment. Corporations of magistrates addressed him in strains of pious, patriotic, and fervid eloquence. The soldiers of their country, in the prime of life, in the pride and pomp of war, but in the circumstance of honourable peace, preceded him as a guard of ornament and of glory. At his passage over the Schuylkill bridge, a crown of unfading laurel was unconsciously to himself, dropped by a blooming boy from a thickly laurelled arch upon his head. At Trenton, he was welcomed by a band of aged matrons commemorating his noble defence of them, thirteen years before on that spot, at the turning tide of the War of Independence—while their virgin daughters strewed the path before him with flowers, and chanting a song like that of Miriam, hailed him as their protector, who had been the defender of their mothers. A committee of Congress met him on his approach to the Point, where a richly ornamented barge of thirteen oars, manned by thirteen branch pilots of your own harbour, prepared by your forefathers, then the inhabitants of your bright-starred city, was in waiting to receive him. In this barge he embarked. But the bosom of the waters around her, as she swept along, was as populous as had been the shores. The garish streamers floated upon the gale—
songs of enchantment resounded from boat to boat, intermingled with the clashing of cymbals, with the echoing of horns, with the warbling of the flute, and the mellowing tones of the clarionet, weakened, but softened as if into distance, by the murmur of the breeze and the measured dashing of the waters from the oars, till on reaching your city! . . . . . but let his own diary record the emotions of his soul: "The display of boats,"—I quote from his biographer, the lamented late Chief Justice Marshall,—"which attended and joined on this occasion, some with vocal, and others with instrumental music on board, the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people, which rent the sky as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as PAINFUL (contemplating the reverse of this scene, which may be the case after all my labours to do good) as they were pleasing."

How delightful is it, my beloved countrymen, on this festive day of jubilee, commemorating that day so pregnant with your weal or wo, and with that of your children's children, how delightful is it at the distance of fifty years from that day of promised blessings and of anticipated disappointments, to reflect that all the fairest visions of hope were to be more than realized, and all the apprehensions of wary prudence and self-distrusting wisdom more than dissipated and dispelled.

Yes, my countrymen, we have survived to this day of jubilee, and the only regret which shades the sober certainty of waking bliss, with which he who now ad-
dresses you, turns back the retrospective eye upon the long career between that time and the present, is the imperfection of his power to delineate with a pencil of phosphorus, the contrast between the national condition of your forefathers at that day, as it had been allotted to them by the articles of confederation, and your present state of associated existence, as it has been shaped and modified by the Constitution of the United States, administered by twenty-five biennial Congresses, and eight Presidents of the United States.

By the adoption and organization of the Constitution of the United States, these principles had been settled:

1. That the affairs of the people of the United States were thenceforth to be administered, not by a confederacy, or mere league of friendship between the sovereign states, but by a government, distributed into the three great departments—legislative, judicial, and executive.

2. That the powers of government should be limited to concerns interesting to the whole people, leaving the internal administration of each state, in peace, to its own constitution and laws, provided that they should be republican, and interfering with them as little as should be necessary in war.

3. That the legislative power of this government should be divided between two assemblies, one representing directly the people of the separate states; and the other their legislatures.

4. That the executive power of this government should be vested in one person chosen for four years, with certain qualifications of age and nativity, re-eligible
without limitation, and invested with a qualified negative upon the enactment of the laws.

5. That the judicial power should consist of tribunals inferior and supreme, to be instituted and organized by Congress, but to be composed of persons holding their offices during good behaviour, that is, removable only by impeachment.

The organization and constitution of the subordinate executive departments, were also left to the discretionary power of Congress.

But the exact limits of legislative, judicial, and executive power, have never been defined, and the distinction between them is so little understood without reference to certain theories of government, or to specific institutions, that a very intelligent, well-informed and learned foreigner, with whom I once conversed, upon my using the words executive power, said to me, "I suppose by the executive power, you mean the power that MAKES the laws." ... Nor is this mistake altogether unexampled, even among ourselves; examples might be adduced in our history, national and confederate, in which the incumbents both of judicial and executive offices have mistaken themselves for the power that makes the laws—as on the other hand examples yet more frequent might be cited of legislators, and even legislatures, who have mistaken themselves to be judges, or executives supreme.

The legislative, judicial, and executive powers, like the prismatic colours of the rainbow, are entirely separate and distinct; but they melt so imperceptibly into
each other that no human eye can discern the exact boundary line between them. The broad features of distinction between them are perceptible to all; but perhaps neither of them can be practically exercised without occasional encroachment upon the borders of its neighbour. The Constitution of the United States has not pretended to confine either of the great departments of its government exclusively within its own limits. Both the senate and the house of representatives possess, and occasionally exercise, both judicial and executive powers, and the president has at all times a qualified negative upon legislation, and a judicial power of remission.

To complete the organization of the government by the institution of the chief executive departments and the establishment of judicial courts, was among the first duties of Congress. The constitution had provided that all the public functionaries of the Union, not only of the general but of all the state governments, should be under oath or affirmation for its support. The homage of religious faith was thus superadded to all the obligations of temporal law, to give it strength; and this confirmation of an appeal to the responsibilities of a future omnipotent judge, was in exact conformity with the whole tenor of the Declaration of Independence—guarded against abusive extension by a further provision, that no religious test should ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. The first act of the Congress, therefore, was to regulate and administer the oaths thus required by the Constitution.
The Constitution had already "formed a more perfect union" of the people of the United States; but it was not yet consummated or completed. The people of Rhode Island had taken no part in the formation of the Constitution, and refused their sanction to it. They had virtually seceded from the Union. North Carolina had been represented in the Convention at Philadelphia, but her people had refused to ratify their constitutional act.

Recent events in our history, to which I wish to make no unnecessary allusion, but to which the rising generation of our country cannot and ought not to close their eyes, have brought again into discussion questions, which, at the period to which we are now reverting, were of the deepest and most vital interest to the continued existence of the Union itself. The question whether any one state of the Union had the right to secede from the confederacy at her pleasure, was then practically solved. The question of the right of the people of any one state, to nullify within her borders any legislative act of the general government, was involved in that of the right of secession, without, however, that most obnoxious feature of the modern doctrine of nullification and secession—the violation of the plighted faith of the nullifying or seceding state.

Rhode Island had not only neglected to comply with the requisitions of the confederation-Congress to supply the funds necessary to fulfil the public engagements; but she alone had refused to invest the Congress with powers indispensable for raising such supplies. She had refused to join in the united effort to revivify the sus-
pended animation of the confederacy, and she still defied the warning of her sister states, that if she persevered in this exercise of her sovereignty and independence, they would leave her alone in her glory, and take up their march in united column without her. North Carolina, not more remiss than her sister states in the fulfilment of her obligations, after joining them in the attempt to draw the bonds of union closer together by a new compact, still refused to ratify it, though recommended by the signature of her own delegates and under a similar admonition. Rhode Island and North Carolina still held back. The Union and Washington marched without them. Their right to secede was not contested. No unfriendly step to injure was taken; no irritating measure to provoke them was proposed. The door was left open for them to return, whenever the proud and wayward spirit of state sovereignty should give way to the attractions of clearer-sighted self-interest and kindred sympathies. In the first acts of Congress they were treated as foreigners, but with reservations to them of the power to resume the national privileges with the national character, and when within two years they did return, without invitation or repulsion, they were received with open arms.

The questions of secession, or of resistance under state authority, against the execution of the laws of the Union within any state, can never again be presented under circumstances so favourable to the pretensions of the separate state, as they were at the organization of the Constitution of the United States. At that time
Rhode Island and North Carolina might justly have pleaded, that their sister states were bound to them by a compact into which they had voluntarily entered, with stipulations that it should undergo no alteration but by unanimous consent. That the Constitution was a confederate Union founded upon principles totally different, and to which not only they were at liberty to refuse their assent, but which all the other states combined, could not without a breach of their own faith establish among themselves, without the free consent of all the partners to the prior contract. That the confederation could not otherwise be dissolved, and that by adhering to it, they were only performing their own engagements with good faith, and claiming their own unquestionable rights.

The justification of the people of the eleven states, which had adopted the Constitution of the United States, and of that provision of the Constitution itself, which had prescribed that the ratification of nine states should suffice to absolve them from the bonds of the old confederation, and to establish the new Government as between themselves, was found in the principles of the Declaration of Independence. The confederation had failed to answer the purposes for which governments are instituted among men. Its powers or its impotence operated to the destruction of those ends, which it is the object of government to promote. The people, therefore—who had made it their own only by their acquiescence—acting under their responsibility to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, absolved them-
selves from the bonds of the old confederation, and bound themselves by the new and closer ties of the Constitution. In performing that act, they had felt the duty of obtaining the co-operation to it, of a majority of the whole people, by requiring the concurrence of majorities in nine out of the thirteen states, and they had neither prepared nor proposed any measure of compulsion, to draw the people of any of the possibly dissenting states into the new partnership, against their will. They passed upon the old confederation the same sentence, which they had pronounced in dissolving their connexion with the British nation, and they pledged their faith to each other anew, to a far closer and more intimate connexion.

It is admitted, it was admitted then, that the people of Rhode Island, and of North Carolina, were free to reject the new Constitution; but not that they could justly claim the continuance of the old Confederation. The law of political necessity, expounded by the judgment of the sovereign constituent people, responsible only to God, had abolished that. The people of Rhode Island, and of North Carolina, might dissent from the more perfect union, but they must acquiesce in the necessity of the separation.

Of that separation they soon felt the inconvenience to themselves, and rejoined the company from which they had strayed. The number of the primitive States has since doubled, by voluntary and earnest applications for admission. It has often been granted as a privilege and a favour. Sometimes delayed beyond
the time when it was justly due—and never declined by any one State entitled to demand it.

Yet the boundary line between the constitutional authority of the General Government, and that of the separate States, was not drawn in colours so distinct and clear, as to have escaped diversities of opinion, and grave and protracted controversy. While the people of distant lands, of foreign races, and of other tongues, have solicited admittance to the North American Union, and have been denied, more than once have serious and alarming collisions of conflicting jurisdiction arisen between the General Government, and those of the separate states, threatening the dissolution of the Union itself. The right of a single state, or of several of the states in combination together, to secede from the Union, the right of a single state, without seceding from the Union, to declare an act of the General Congress, a law of the United States, null and void, within the borders of that state, have both been at various times, and in different sections of the Union, directly asserted, fervently controverted, and attempted to be carried into execution. It once accomplished a change of the administration of the General Government, and then was laid aside. It has occasionally wasted itself in abortive projects of new confederacies, and has recently proceeded to the extremity of assembling a Convention of the people of one state in the Union, to declare a law of the United States unconstitutional, null, and void. But the law was nevertheless executed; and in this, as in other instances, a temporary turbulent resistance against the
lawful powers of Congress, under the banners of State sovereignty, and State rights, is now terminating in a more devoted adherence and willing subserviency to the authority of the Union.

This has been the result of the working of the Institution, and although now, as heretofore, it has been effected by means and in a manner so unforeseen and unexpected, as to baffle all human penetration, and to take reflection itself by surprise; yet the uniformity of the result often repeated by the experience of half a century, has demonstrated the vast superiority of the Constitution of the United States over the Confederation, as a system of Government to control the temporary passions of the people, by the permanent curb of their own interest.

In the calm hours of self-possession, the right of a State to nullify an act of Congress, is too absurd for argument, and too odious for discussion. The right of a state to secede from the Union, is equally disowned by the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Nations acknowledge no judge between them upon earth, and their Governments from necessity, must in their intercourse with each other decide when the failure of one party to a contract to perform its obligations, absolves the other from the reciprocal fulfilment of his own. But this last of earthly powers is not necessary to the freedom or independence of states, connected together by the immediate action of the people, of whom they consist. To the people alone is there reserved, as well the dissolving, as the constituent pow-
er, and that power can be exercised by them only un­
der the tie of conscience, binding them to the retributive 
justice of Heaven.

With these qualifications, we may admit the same 
right as vested in the people of every state in the Union, 
with reference to the General Government, which was 
exercised by the people of the United Colonies, with 
reference to the Supreme head of the British empire, 
of which they formed a part—and under these limita­
tions, have the people of each state in the Union a 
right to secede from the confederated Union itself.

Thus stands the RIGHT. But the indissoluble 
link of union between the people of the several states 
of this confederated nation, is after all, not in the right, 
but in the heart. If the day should ever come, (may 
Heaven avert it,) when the affections of the people of 
these states shall be alienated from each other; when 
the fraternal spirit shall give away to cold indifference, 
or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, the 
bands of political association will not long hold togeth­
er parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of con­
ciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better 
will it be for the people of the disunited states, to part 
in friendship from each other, than to be held together 
by constraint. Then will be the time for reverting to 
the precedents which occurred at the formation and 
adoption of the Constitution, to form again a more per­
f ect union, by dissolving that which could no longer 
bind, and to leave the separated parts to be reunited by 
the law of political gravitation to the centre.
While the Constitution was thus accomplishing the first object declared by the people as their motive for ordaining it, by forming a more perfect union, it became the joint and co-ordinate duty of the legislative and executive departments, to provide for the second of those objects, which involved within itself all the rest, and indeed all the purposes of government. For justice, defined by the Institutes of Justinian, as the constant and perpetual will of securing to every one his right, includes the whole duty of man in the social institutions of society, toward his neighbour.

To the establishment of this JUSTICE, the joint and harmonious co-operation of the legislative and executive departments was required, and it was one of the providential incidents of the time, that this zealous and hearty co-operation had been secured, by that over-ruling and universal popularity with which the Chief Magistrate was inducted into his most arduous and responsible office.

It has perhaps never been duly remarked, that under the Constitution of the United States the powers of the executive department explicitly and emphatically concentrated in one person, are vastly more extensive and complicated than those of the legislative. The language of the instrument, in conferring legislative authority is, "All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." But the executive trust it committed in unrestricted terms: "THE executive power shall be vested
in a President of the United States of America.” The legislative powers of Congress are, therefore, limited to specific grants contained in the Constitution itself, all restricted on one side by the power of internal legislation within the separate States, and on the other, by the laws of nations, otherwise and more properly called the rights of war and peace, consisting of all the rules of intercourse between independent nations. These are not subject to the legislative authority of any one nation, and they are, therefore, not included within the powers of Congress. But the executive power vested in the President of the United States, confers upon him the power, and enjoins upon him the duty, of fulfilling all the duties and of exacting all the rights of the nation in her intercourse with all the other nations of the earth. The powers of declaring war, of regulating commerce, of defining and punishing piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences AGAINST THE LAW OF NATIONS, are among the special grants to Congress, but over that law itself, thus expressly recognised, and all-comprehensive as it is, Congress has no alterative power. While the power of executing it, is conferred in unlimited terms upon the President of the United States.

The exercise of this more than dictatorial power is indeed controlled, first, by the participation of the Senate in the conclusion of treaties and appointments to office. Secondly, by the reservation of the discretionary power of the House of Representatives, to refuse the supplies necessary for the executive action. And
thirdly, by the power reserved to the house to impeach the President for mal-administration, and to the senate to try that impeachment, and sentence him to removal and to disqualification for official station for ever. These are great and salutary checks upon the abusive application of the granted power. But the power is not the less granted.

And herein was the greatest and most pernicious deficiency of the articles of confederation, most effectively supplied. The Congress of the confederation had no executive power. They could contract, but they could not perform. Hence it was impossible for them to establish justice in the intercourse of the nation with foreign states. They could neither exact the justice due to the country, nor fulfil the duties of justice to others, and this was the reason assigned by the British government for declining to regulate the commerce between the two countries by treaty.

The establishment of justice in the intercourse between the nation and foreign powers, was thus pre-eminently committed to the custody of one man, but that man was George Washington.

How far the establishment of justice, by the administration of the affairs of the nation, abroad and at home, was accomplished by the Constitution of the United States, can be estimated only by a review of the history of fifty years. For this, neither the time nor the limits within which this discourse must be circumscribed, will permit more than a rapid and imperfect summary.

The relations of the United States with the other pow-
ers of the world, were then slight and of trifling im­por­tance, in comparison with what they were destined to be­come. In their colonial state their commercial inter­course had been restricted almost exclusively to the mother-country.s Their political relations were only those of a subordinate dependance of a great empire.

The Declaration of Independence recognised the Eu­ropean law of nations, as practised among Christian na­tions, to be that by which they considered themselves bound, and of which they claimed the rights. This sys­tem is founded upon the principle, that the state of na­ture between men and between nations, is a state of peace. But there was a Mahometan law of nations, which considered the state of nature as a state of war — an Asiatic law of nations, which excluded all foreign­ers from admission within the territories of the state — a colonial law of nations, which excluded all foreigners from admission within the colonies — and a savage Indian law of nations, by which the Indian tribes within the bounds of the United States, were under their protec­tion, though in a condition of undefined dependance upon the governments of the separate states. With all these different communities, the relations of the United States were from the time when they had become an independ­ent nation, variously modified according to the opera­tion of those various laws. It was the purpose of the Constitution of the United States to establish justice over them all.

The commercial and political relations of the Union with the Christian European nations, were principally
with Great Britain, France, and Spain, and considerably with the Netherlands and Portugal. With all these there was peace; but with Britain and Spain, controversies involving the deepest interests and the very existence of the nation, were fermenting, and negotiations of the most humiliating character were pending, from which the helpless imbecility of the confederation afforded no prospect of relief. With the other European states there was scarcely any intercourse. The Baltic was an unknown sea to our navigators, and all the rich and classical regions of the Mediterranean were interdicted to the commercial enterprise of our merchants, and the dauntless skill of our mariners, by the Mahometan merciless warfare of the Barbary powers. Scarcely had the peace of our independence been concluded, when three of our merchant-vessels had been captured by the corsairs of Algiers, and their crews, citizens of the Union, had been pining for years in slavery, appealing to their country for redemption, in vain. Nor was this all. By the operation of this state of things, all the shores of the Black sea, of the whole Mediterranean, of the islands on the African coast, of the southern ports of France, of all Spain and of Portugal, were closed against our commerce, as if they had been hermetically sealed; while Britain, everywhere our rival and competitor was counteracting by every stimulant within her power every attempt on our part to compound by tribute with the Barbarian for peace.

Great Britain had also excluded us from all commerce in our own vessels with her colonies, and France,
notwithstanding her alliance with us during the war, had after the conclusion of the peace adopted the same policy. She was jealous of our aggrandizement, fearful of our principles, linked with Spain in the project of debarring us from the navigation of the Mississippi, and settled in the determination to shackle us in the development of the gigantic powers which, with insidious sagacity, she foresaw might be abused.

Notwithstanding all these discouragements, the inextinguishable spirit of freedom, which had carried your forefathers through the exterminating war of the Revolution, was yet unsuppressed. At the very time when the nerveless confederacy could neither protect nor redeem their sailors from Algerine captivity, the floating city of the Taho beheld the stripes and stars of the Union, opening to the breeze from a schooner of thirty tons, and inquired where was the ship of which that frail fabric was doubtless the tender. The Southern ocean was still vexed with the harpoons of their whalemen; but Britain excluded their oil, by prohibitory duties and the navigation act, from her markets, and the more indulgent liberality of France would consent to the illumination of her cities by the quakers of Nantucket, only upon condition that they should forsake their native island, and become the naturalized denizens of Dunkirk.

In the same year, when the Convention at Philadelphia was occupied in preparing the Constitution of the United States for the consideration of the people, two vessels, called the Columbia and the Washington, fitted out by a company of merchants at Boston, sailed upon
a voyage combining the circumnavigation of the globe, discovery upon the shores of the Pacific ocean, and the trade with the savages of the Sandwich Islands, and with the celestial empire of China, all in one undertaking. The result of this voyage was the discovery of the Columbia river, so named from the ship which first entered within her capes, since unjustly confounded with the fabulous Oregon or river of the West, but really securing to the United States the right of prior discovery, and laying the foundation of the right of extension of our territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.

All this however was but the development of national character in the form of private enterprise. The foreign affairs of the Union when President Washington assumed the administration of the executive power, were in a state of chaos, out of which an orderly and harmonious world was to be educed.

In conferring the executive power upon the President of the United States, the Constitution had left its subordinate organization partly to the discretion of Congress. It had spoken of heads and chief officers of the executive departments, but without defining their offices, or prescribing their functions. Under the Revolutionary Congress, the executive power, such as it was, had been exercised by committees of their own body. Under the confederation Congress, by Secretaries of Foreign Affairs and of War, and successively by a single financier, and by a board of Commissioners of the Treasury.
The first Constitutional Congress, in the true spirit of the Constitution itself, instituted three executive departments, each with a single head, under the denomination of Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, of the Treasury, and of War. There was no Home Department, a deficiency which has not yet been supplied—but on reconsideration, the first Congress at their first session, combined the duties of the Home Department with those of Foreign Affairs, by substituting a Department and Secretary of State in the place of a Department and Secretary of Foreign Affairs. There was no navy—not so much as a barge—and of course no Navy Department, or Secretary of the Navy. That was to be created, and the Department was instituted in the second year of the succeeding administration.

In the interval, until the organization of the new departments, the Secretaries of Foreign Affairs and of War, of the confederation Congress, continued by order of President Washington to execute the duties of their respective offices.

During the first Congress also, the Judiciary Department was organized by the establishment of a Supreme Circuit, and District Courts. The Ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory was adapted to the newly constituted Government, as was the establishment of the Post Office.

In the erection of the Executive Departments a question arose, and was debated with great earnestness and pertinacity, in both houses of Congress, the de-
cision upon which, in perfect conformity with the spirit of the Constitution, settled the character of that instrument as it has continued to this day. The Constitution had prescribed that the President should *nominate*, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, should *appoint*, all the officers of the United States, with the exception that Congress might by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they should think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. The Constitution had also provided, that the President should commission *all* the officers of the United States—and that the judges both of the supreme and inferior courts should hold their offices during good behaviour. But it had prescribed no term of duration to executive offices, civil or military, nor how, nor by whom, nor for what, they should be removable from office. The institution of the first Executive Department gave rise to that question. After a long and able discussion, it was ultimately settled, that by the investment of the executive power in the President, and the duty imposed upon him to take care that the laws should be faithfully executed, the discretionary power of removing all subordinate executive offices must necessarily be vested in him; and the law was accordingly so expressed. It must be admitted that this, like all other discretionary powers, is susceptible of great abuse—but while exercised as it always must be, under the powerful influence of public opinion, its abuse cannot be so pernicious to the welfare of the community, as would be
a tenure of ministerial office, independent of the superior, responsible for its faithful execution.

Another, and perhaps a still more important character was given by President Washington to the government of the United States, in all their relations with foreign powers, by the principle which he assumed, and the example which he set to his successors, of referring the ministers from foreign powers, to the head of the Department of State, for all direct negotiations with which they might be charged by their governments.

The Count de Moustier happened at that time to be the Minister of France to the United States. He had been appointed by the unfortunate Louis XVI., in the last days of his absolute power. A spark, emitted from the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, had fallen into the powder-magazine of monarchy, and inexpressibly terrible was the explosion about to ensue. Among the last evidences of the anti-republican spirit of the Bourbon dynasty, was an effort of this plenipotentiary minister to degrade the Chief Magistrate of the newly constituted Republic to an official level with himself, a minister of the second rank, commissioned by an European king. Immediately after the inauguration of President Washington, the Count de Moustier addressed a note directly to him, requesting a personal interview. On receiving for answer that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was the officer with whom his official communications should still be held, he persisted in his application for
a personal conference with the President, who uniting firmness of purpose with undeviating courtesy of forms, indulgently granted his request. He received the Count in a private interview, and listened for an hour to an argument, fortified by a confidential private letter which the royal envoy had the assurance to deliver to him, in which, under the base pretension of a supposed unfriendly disposition of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs towards France, he urged the adoption of a practice of direct inter-communication between the President of the United States and himself, in all his diplomatic negotiations, without the intervention of any third person whomsoever.

With a perfect preservation of patience and of good humour, the President answered his reasoning and referred him again for his future official transactions to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who, he assured him, entertained no feelings towards France but such as would render entire justice to her rights and her representative. The Count de Moustier fell back into his proper station, and very soon after was recalled by his master, and had his place supplied by the representative of another shade in the transition of France from an arbitrary monarchy to a portentous and short-lived nominal democracy.

The pretension that the President of the United States was to be considered by the ministers of foreign nations, not as the chief magistrate of the country, but as ranking as a minister of state, subordinate to the sovereign in European governments, was not confined to the
Count de Moustier. It was afterward reproduced in still more offensive form, by the first minister from France in her republican transformation. It was then again repelled and finally withdrawn. Since then the President of the United States, in their intercourse with foreign nations represents them as their chief, and the ministers of foreign powers negotiate with the Secretary of State under his direction, and instructions.

At the same time, President Washington fully understood that by the investment of the executive power, he was authorized to enter directly into negotiation with foreign nations, formally or informally, through the department of State, or by agents privately accredited by himself at his discretion. The state of the public relations of Great Britain was then such as rendered it proper for him to resume the political intercourse with her government, in the direct, personal, and informal, rather than the regular official manner. Shortly after the conclusion of the peace of independence, the confederation-Congress had appointed a minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, and had authorized a treaty of commerce on the most liberal terms, to be negotiated with her. The minister had been graciously received; but mutual reproaches, too well founded on both sides, of a failure to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty of peace, had left a rankling of animosity on both sides. The British government had declined to conclude a commercial treaty, while the engagements of the treaty of peace remained unfulfilled; and the impotence of the confederation-Congress disabled them from the fulfil-
ment of the stipulations on our part — particularly with regard to debts, the payment of which had been suspended by the Revolutionary war. After a fruitless mission of three years, the minister of the United States had returned home, and no minister from Great Britain had been accredited to the Congress in return. Immediately after the close of the first session of the first constitutional Congress, during which the judicial department of the government had been organized, and John Jay, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the preceding Congress, appointed Chief Justice of the United States, and before Thomas Jefferson, appointed Secretary of State in his absence, had repaired to his post, President Washington, on the 13th of October, 1789, wrote two letters to Gouverneur Morris, then in France, but recently before, a member of the Philadelphia Convention which had formed the Constitution, and at an earlier date, a member of the confederation-Congress. One of these letters was to serve him as a credential to hold conferences with the cabinet ministry of Great Britain, and the other a letter of instructions upon the topics to be discussed with them.

The glance of a moment at the relative position of the two countries at that time, will disclose to an attentive observer the peculiar propriety of the mode adopted by President Washington, and of the selection of the agent for entering upon this negotiation. It will serve also to illustrate the wisdom of the extensive grant of the executive power in the Constitution of the United States, to a single hand. The self-respect of
the nation would have been humiliated in the eyes of the world, by the public and formal appointment of a second minister, after the return home of the first, without the reciprocation of courtesy by the appointment of a minister from Great Britain to the United States. There was no diplomatic intercourse between the two countries; yet there were great interests involving the peace between them, and urgently calling for adjustment. The commercial intercourse between them was very considerable; but for want of a countervailing power of regulation on our part, it was left at the mercy of the orders of the British king in council, the predominating spirit of which influenced by the loyalist refugees of the Revolution, was envious, acrimonious, and vindictive. The forts on the Canadian lakes, the keys to our western territories, and the stimulants to savage warfare, were withheld, in violation of the treaty of peace; while by the institution of the judicial courts of the Union, the door was open for the recovery of British debts, and the pretext for the detention of the posts was removed. It was necessary to advise the British government of the change which had been effected in our national institutions, and of the duty of the new government to exact justice from foreign nations, while ready to dispense it on the part of the nation to them. Yet, as peace was of all external blessings, that of which our country at that juncture most needed the continuance, it was a dictate of prudence to take no hasty public step which might commit the honour of the country and complicate the entanglement from which she was to be extricated.
Mr. Morris was a distinguished citizen of the United States, already in Europe—well known in England, where he had relatives in the royal service. He had been an active member of the Convention which had formed the Constitution—a secret mission committed to him would attract no premature public notice by any personal movement on his part, and whatever the result of it might be, the government of the United States itself would be uncommitted in the eyes of the world, and free to pursue such further course, as justice might require, and policy might recommend.

Mr. Morris executed his trust with faithfulness and ability. In personal conference with the Duke of Leeds, then the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and with William Pitt, first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by correspondence with the former, he made known to the British government the feelings, purposes, and expectations of the newly organized government of the United States with regard to Great Britain—and he ascertained the dispositions, the doubts and the reluctances of the British cabinet toward the United States. They still declined the negotiation of a treaty of commerce. They parried, by counter-complaint of the non-execution of the treaty of peace, the demand for the surrender of the western posts—but they promised, with no small hesitation, some supercilious courtesy and awkward apologies for delay, the appointment of a Minister to the United States.

This negotiation occupied more than one year of
time—and in February, 1791, just before the expiration of the first Constitutional Congress, President Washington communicated to the Senate in secret session the fact of its existence, and the correspondence by which it had been conducted. In the Message transmitting these documents to the Senate, he said: "I have thought it proper to give you this information, as it might at some time have influence on matters under your consideration."

While the negotiation was in progress, a controversy respecting the northeastern boundary of the United States bordering upon the British provinces, then confined to the question of what river had been intended in the treaty of peace, by the name of the St. Croix, was kindling a border war, and complicating the difficulties to be adjusted by negotiation.

In the summer of 1791, the promised Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain to the United States, was sent in the person of Mr. George Hammond, who had been the secretary to David Hartley, in the negotiation of the definitive treaty of peace in 1783. Mr. Hammond however had only powers to negotiate, but not to conclude—to complain, but not to adjust—to receive propositions, but not to accept them. With him a full discussion was had of all the causes of complaint subsisting between the parties. In the meantime a change had come over the whole political system of Europe. The principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, as at the foundation of all lawful government, had been sapping the founda-
tions of all the governments founded on the unlimited sovereignty of force—the absolute monarchy of France was crumbling into ruin; a wild and ferocious anarchy, under the banners of unbridled Democracy was taking its place, and between the furies of this frantic multitude, and the agonies of immemorial despotism, a war of desolation and destruction was sweeping over the whole continent of Europe. In this war all the sympathies of the American people were on the side of France and of freedom, but the freedom of France was not of the genuine breed. A phantom of more than gigantic form had assumed the mask and the garb of freedom, and substituted for the principles of the Declaration of Independence, anarchy within and conquest without. The revolution of the whole world was her war-cry, and the overthrow of all established governments her avowed purpose.

Under the impulses of this fiend, France had plunged into war with all Europe, and murdered her king, his queen, his sister, and numberless of his subjects and partisans, with or without the forms of law, by the butchery of mock tribunals, or the daggers of a blood-thirsty rabble. In this death-struggle between inveterate abuse and hurly-burly innovation, it is perhaps impossible even now to say which party had been the first aggressor; but France had been first invaded by the combined forces of Austria and Prussia, and under banners of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, had become an armed nation to expel them from her borders. The partialities of the American people still sympathized
with France. They saw that her cause was the cause of national independence. They believed her professions of liberty, equality, and fraternity; and when the same Convention which had declared France a republic, and deposed and put to death her king, declared war against the kings of Great Britain and Spain, shocked as they were at the merciless extermination of their ancient great and good ally, they still favoured at heart the cause of France, especially when in conflict under the three-coloured banners of liberty, equality, fraternity, with their ancient common enemy of the Revolutionary war, the British king, and with their more recent, but scarcely less obnoxious foe, the king of Spain.

At the breaking out of this war, Washington and his administration, and with them, the Constitution, and peace and existence of the Union, were brought into a new, critical, and most perilous position. From the very day of his inauguration, notwithstanding his unparalleled personal popularity, a great, active, and powerful opposition to his administration had arisen, consisting at first almost universally of the party which had opposed the adoption of the Constitution itself—then known by the name of anti-federalists. The most plausible and the most popular of all the objections to the Constitution, had been the accumulation of power in the office of the President. His exercise of those powers was watched with a jealous and suspicious eye—trifles lighter than air in his personal deportment and his domestic establishment, were treasured up, and doled out in whispers and surmises, that he was affecting the state, and adopt-
ing the forms of a monarchy, and when this war be-
tween the new-born republic of France, and our old ty-
rant, George the Third, blazed out, the party opposed
to Washington’s administration, seized upon it, to em-
barrass and counteract his policy, by arraying the pas-
sions of the people, their ardent love of liberty, the
generous feeling of their national gratitude, their still
rankling resentments against the beldame step-mother
Britain, and their soreness under the prevaricating
chicanery of Spain, at once in favour of France and
against Washington.

The treaty of alliance with France, of 6th February,
1778, had stipulated, on the part of the United States,
a guarantee to the king of France of the possessions of
the crown of France in America — and one of the first in-
cidents of the war of republican France with Britain,
was a British expedition against the French colonies in
the West Indies.

By the laws of nations, the duty of the United States
in this war was neutrality — and their rights were those
of neutrality. Their unquestionable policy and their
vital interest was also neutrality. But the maintenance
of the rights, depended upon the strict performance of
the duties of neutrality.

A grave question immediately presented itself,
whether the guarantee of the French possessions in
America to the king and crown of France in 1778, was
so binding upon the United States, as to require them
to make good that guarantee to the French republic
by joining her in the war against Great Britain.
The neutrality of the United States was in the most imminent danger. The war between France and Britain, and Spain and the Netherlands, was a maritime war. In the spasms of the Revolutionary convulsion, the new republic had sent to the United States an incendiary minister, with a formal declaration, that they did not claim the execution of the guarantee in the treaty of 1778, but stocked with commissions for a military expedition against the Spanish territories on our western borders, and for privateers to be fitted out in our ports, and to cruise against all the nations with which France was at war.

All the daring enterprise, the unscrupulous ambition, the rapacious avarice floating in the atmosphere of this Union, were gathering to a head, and enlisting in this cause of republican France. The commissions for the military expedition against Louisiana, were distributed with so little secrecy, that the whole conspiracy was soon detected, exposed, and defeated. But the privateering commissions were accepted in many of our seaports, and citizens of the United States sallied forth from their harbours, under the shelter of neutrality, in vessels, built, armed, equipped, and owned there, against the defenceless commerce of friendly nations, and returned in three days, laden with their spoils, under the uniform of the French republic, her three-coloured cockade, and her watchwords of liberty, equality, and fraternity — transformed into French citizens, by the plenipotentiary diploma, and disposing of their plunder under the usurped jurisdiction of a French republican consul.
At this crisis Washington submitted to his confidential advisers, the heads of the Executive Departments, a series of questions, involving the permanent system of policy, to be pursued for the preservation of the peace, and the fulfilment of the duties of the nation in this new and difficult position. The measure immediately contemplated by him as urgently required, was the issuing a proclamation declaring the neutrality of the United States in the war, just kindled in Europe; but the obligation of the treaties with France, and particularly that of the guarantee, were specially involved in the propriety and the particular purport of the proclamation. On this occasion, a radical difference of opinion equally dividing the four members of the administration, not upon the expediency of the proclamation, but upon the contingent obligation of the guarantee, aggravated intensely the embarrassments and difficulties which the temperance, the fortitude, and the good fortune of Washington were destined to encounter and to surmount.

The conduct of Great Britain, the leading party to the war with republican France, served only to multiply and to sharpen the obstructions with which his path was beset, and the perplexities of his situation. In the origin of the war, the first fountains of human society had been disturbed and poisoned. The French Convention had issued a decree, stimulating the people of all the countries around her to rebellion against their own governments, with a promise of the support of France. They had threatened an invasion of En-
gland, in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity, to fraternize with the people of the British Islands in a revolt against their king; and strange and incredible as it may sound in your ears, there were elements within the bosoms of the British islands, of no considerable magnitude, prepared to join and assist the threatened invader in this unhallowed purpose. A decree of the National Convention had forbidden their armies to make any prisoners in battle with their foes, or in other words to give quarters to the vanquished in arms. The mass of the British nation was exasperated to madness; and their government deliberately determined, that such an enemy was not entitled to the ordinary mitigations of war: that France had put herself out of the pale of civilized nations, and that no commerce of neutral nations with her was to be tolerated. Besides and yet more unjustifiable than this, from the very commencement of the war, the British government had indulged their naval officers in the outrageous and atrocious practice of impressing men from the vessels of the United States upon the high seas—claiming it against the principles of her own Constitution no less than against the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as a right with regard to her own subjects, and leaving the question of fact, whether the impressed seaman was or was not a British subject, to the irresponsible discretion or caprice of every midshipman in her navy. The practice was not less provoking, than the pretension was insolent and unjust. The capture by a naval armament from Great Britain,
of several French islands in the West Indies, gave occasion to another conflict of belligerent pretensions and neutral rights. During the peace that followed the war of the American Revolution, France under the usual maxims of European Colonial policy, had confined the commerce of her American possessions to herself. When the war came, her own merchant-vessels were excluded by the British maritime supremacy from the navigation of the ocean. The French islands were then opened to the neutral commerce, and hence it was that the French Executive Council forbore to claim the guarantee stipulated by the treaty of 1778—aware that the neutral commerce of the United States would be more useful to the islands, than any assistance that we could give for their defence against Great Britain by war. Upon the opening of the islands, numerous vessels of the United States crowded into their ports, for the enjoyment not only of a profitable direct trade, but to be freighted for the direct commerce between the Colonies and France herself. The commanders of the British maritime expedition broke up this trade, and captured every vessel engaged in it upon which they could lay their hands, whether in ports which surrendered to their arms, or upon the high seas.

The temperature of the public mind in calm and quiet times, is like the climate of the lofty table-lands of the equator, a perpetual spring. Such are the times in which we live, and were it not for the distant vision of a Chimborazo with eternal sunshine over its
head, and eternal frost upon its brow, or of a neigh-
bouring Ætna or Vesuvius bursting from time to time
with subterranean fires, and pouring down from their
summits floods of liquid lava, to spread ruin and de-
struction over the vales below, elementary snows and
boiling water-courses would be objects scarcely within
the limits of human conception. At such times, ima-
gination in her wildest vagaries can scarcely conceive
the transformations of temper, the obliquities of intel-
lect, the perversions of moral principle effected by
junctures of high and general excitement. Many of
you, gentlemen, have known the Republican plenipo-
tentiary of whom I have here spoken, settled down
into a plain Republican farmer of your own state, of
placid humour, of peaceable demeanour, addicted to
profound contemplation, passing a long life in philo-
sophical retirement, devising ingenious mechanical in-
ventions, far from all the successive convulsions of his
native land, and closing a useful career as a citizen of
this his adopted country. Who of you could imagine,
that this was the same man, who at the period which I
am recalling to your memory, was a Phaeton, grasping
at the reins of the chariot of the Sun to set the world
on fire. Who could imagine, that coming with words
of liberty, equality, fraternity, of generous friendship
and disinterested benevolence upon his lips, he had
brought with him like Albaroni, a torch to set fire to
all the mines. His correspondence with the govern-
ment of Washington, is recorded upon the annals of
our country. Our time will admit but of a transient
allusion to it. You remember the frank and dignified candour with which he was received by Washington himself; the warm-hearted enthusiasm with which, as the representative of the new sister Republic, he was welcomed by the people; and the wanton, lascivious courtship of the faction opposed to Washington—congenial spirits to the cannibals, then in the name of Democracy ruling in France—blistering him up into open defiance, and an appeal against Washington himself, TO THE PEOPLE.

His recall was at length demanded. His violence was turning the current of popular opinion here against his country. The party which had despatched him from France was annihilated. The heads of his patrons had passed under the edge of the guillotine. Their successors disavowed his conduct and recalled him. In self-vindication he published his instructions, disclosing the secrets both of monarchical and republican France, dampers to the affectionate gratitude of the American people, and he renounced his country for ever.

The party opposed to the administration of Washington, saw nothing in France but the republic of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Like the mass of the French people themselves, they followed with obsequious approbation every resolution by which an armed detachment of Democracy from the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, swept away one set of rulers after another, and smothered them in their own blood. The Brissotine, the Dantonian, the Robespierrian factions
crowded each other to the guillotine with the fury of uncaged tigers, and the accession of a popular chief­tain to the summit of power was the signal of his pro­scription and murder by that national razor. At every exhibition of this horrid scene, the Parisian rabble shouted applause, and clapped their hands for joy—and every shout and every clapping of hands was re-echoed from these western shores of the Atlantic, by the opposition to the administration of Washington. With this wilfully blind devotion to France, was necessarily asso­ciated, a bitter and malignant hatred of Britain; in­flamed by the wrongs which she was inflicting upon our commerce and seamen, and ulcerated by the tone of her negotiator here in the discussion of the long standing mutual complaints, which he had yet not been authorized by his government to compromise or to settle.

In the spring of the year 1794, the sixth year of Washington’s administration, this congregating mass of evil humours was drawing to a head. The national feeling against Britain was irritated to the highest pitch of excitement. Resolutions looking and tending directly to war, were introduced and pending in the House of Representatives of the United States, and that war in all human probability would have been fatal to the fame of Washington, and to the indepen­dence of the Union and the freedom of his country. At that moment he fixed his eyes, with calm and con­siderate firmness at once upon James Monroe, as a messenger of peace, of conciliation, and of friendship
to the Republic of France; and upon John Jay, as an envoy extraordinary, bearer of the same disposition, and interpreter of the same spirit to Great Britain. They were despatched at the same time with instructions concerted in one system, and diversified to meet the exigencies of the two respective missions.

Mr. Monroe was at that time a member of the Senate of the United States, from Virginia—a soldier of the Revolution, in the service of which he had passed from youth to manhood with distinguished honour. Personally attached to Washington, he had been a moderate opponent to the adoption of the Constitution, and although adverse to some of the leading measures of the administration, and partially favourable to the cause of France, the confidence of Washington in his abilities and in his personal integrity made his political propensities rather a recommendation, than an objection to his appointment.

Mr. Jay was then Chief Justice of the United States. And how shall I dare to speak to YOU of a native of your own state, and one of the brightest ornaments not only of your state, but of his country, and of human nature. At the dawn of manhood he had been one of the delegates from the people of New York, at the first continental Congress of 1774. In the course of the Revolutionary War, he had been successively President of Congress, one of their ministers in Europe—one of the negotiators of the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace, and Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Confederation Congress, till the transition to the
constitutional government, and at the organization of the judicial tribunals of the Union, was placed with the unanimous sanction of the public voice, at their head. With this thickening crowd of honours gathering around him as he trod the path of life, he possessed with a perfectly self-controlled ambition, a fervently pious, meek and quiet, but firm and determined spirit. As one of the authors of the Federalist, and by official and personal influence as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and as a most respected citizen of New York, he had contributed essentially to the adoption of the Constitution: and his administration of the highly responsible office of chief justice, had given universal satisfaction to the friends of Washington's administration, and to all who desired the practical operation of the Constitution conformably to the spirit in which it had been ordained by the people. He had no European partialities, and least of all for England; but he was for dispensing equal justice to all mankind, and he felt the necessity of peace for the stability of the Constitution, and the preservation of the Union.

His negotiation terminated in a treaty, the ratification of which brought on the severest trial, which the character of Washington and the fortunes of our nation have ever passed through. No period of the war of independence, no other emergency of our history since its close, not even the ordeal of establishing the Constitution of the United States itself, has convulsed to its inmost fibres, the political association of the North American people, with such excruciating agonies as the consummation and fulfilment of this great national
composition of the conflicting rights, interests and pretensions of our country and of Great Britain. The party strife in which it originated and to which it gave birth is not yet appeased. From this trial, Washington himself, his fame, the peace, union and prosperity of his country, have issued triumphant and secure. But it prepared the way for the reversal of some of the principles of his administration, and for the introduction of another and widely different system six years after, in the person of Thomas Jefferson.

The treaty concluded by Mr. Jay, with the exception of one article, which the British government readily consented to relinquish, was ratified. The peace, the union, the prosperity, the freedom of the nation, were secured; but revolutionary France, and the opposition to Washington's administration, were defeated, disconcerted, disabled, but not subdued. The rabble government of the faubourg St. Antoine was passing away. The atheism of the strumpet goddess of reason, had already yielded to a solemn decree of the national Convention, proposed by Robespierre himself, in the name of the people of France, acknowledging — the existence of a God! a worm of the dust, recognising as a co-ordinate power — the Creator of all worlds. The counter revolution had advanced a step further. A constitutional republic, with a legislature in two branches, and a plural executive, had succeeded to the despotism of a single assembly, with a jacobin club executive. France had now a five-headed executive Directory, and a new union of church and state, with a new theo-philanthropic
religion, halfway between simple Deism and Christianity. And republican France had now another element in her composition. A youthful soldier by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, who by the election of the whole people of France, with the help of his holiness the Pope, and the iron crown of Lombardy, was destined at no distant day to restore the Christian calendar and Sabbath for the godless decimal division of time of Fabre d'Eglantine, and to ascend a double carpeted throne of emperor and king. Through all these varying phases of the French Revolution, the party opposed to Washington's administration still clung in affection and in policy to France, and when by the election of Mr. Jefferson as President of the United States, that party came into power, it was precisely the moment when Napoleon at the head of his brave grenadiers had expelled the two legislative councils from their halls, had turned out the theo-philanthropic Directory from their palace; and under the very republican name of first of three consuls, was marching with fixed eye and steady step to the consulate for life, to the hereditary imperial throne, and to the kingdom of the iron crown. To all those transmutations the pure republicanism of Jefferson was to accommodate itself without blench and without discarding his partiality for France. Nor was it to fail of its reward, in the acquisition of Louisiana—a measure, not embraced or foreseen by the administration of Washington, accomplished by a flagrant violation of the Constitution, but sanctioned by the acquiescence of the people, and if not eventually
leading to the dissolution of the Union, shaped by the healing and beneficent hand of Providence from a portentous evil into a national blessing.

The consequences of that revolution in our Union (for it was nothing less) are not yet fully developed—far otherwise. But whether for weal or woe—for the permanent aggrandizement, or the final ruin of our confederated nation, it belongs to the memory of Jefferson, and not to that of Washington or his administration. Hitherto it has exhibited its fairest side. It has enlarged our borders and given us the whole valley of the Mississippi. The pernicious and corrupting example of an undissembled admitted prostration of the Constitution—the more concealed, but not less real displacement of the internal sectional balance of power—have not yet borne their fruits. Upon the opening of Pandora's box, Hope was left behind. Hitherto no seed of deadlyaconite has generated into pestilential poison. Let us rejoice at the past and hope for the future. But in leaving to the judgment of after-time, the ultimate decision of that which we see as yet but in part, and through a glass darkly, let us look back to the principles of Washington and his administration, and to the unbroken faith of the Constitution, for the source of that prosperity which no variation of seasons can wither, and that happiness which no reverse of fortune can turn into bitter disappointment.

The ratification of Mr. Jay's treaty was the establishment of justice in our national intercourse with Great Britain. But it was deeply resented by all the parties
which successively wielded the power of France. Victorious in the midst of all their internal convulsions over all the continent of Europe, they were unable to cope with the naval power of Britain upon the sea. Although Mr. Jay's treaty had expressly reserved all the obligations of the United States in previously existing treaties with other nations; France complained, that it had conceded the long-contested principle of protecting the cargo of an enemy with the flag of the friend—that it had enlarged the list of articles of contraband; and even while claiming the exemption of provisions from that list, had by stipulating the payment for them when taken, admitted by implication the right of taking them. A long and irritating discussion of these complaints ensued between the American Secretary of State, and the successive Plenipotentiaries of France, and between the French Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Monroe. The opposition to Washington's administration, strengthened by the unpopularity of Mr. Jay's treaty, had acquired an ascendancy in the House of Representatives; countenanced and justified every reproach of France; and made a persevering and desperate effort to refuse the means and the supplies for carrying the treaty into execution, even after it had been ratified.

After a long and doubtful struggle, in the course of which the documents of the negotiation, called for by the House of Representatives, were refused by Washington, the House by a bare majority voted the supplies. The treaty was carried faithfully into execu-
tion, and *justice* was established in the relations between the United States and Great Britain.

The last act of the confederation Congress had been to refer over to the new government the negotiations with Spain, especially for the free navigation of the Mississippi. These were immediately taken up, and transferred from the seat of government of the United States to Spain. Two commissioners were appointed to negotiate with the Spanish government at Madrid, who prepared the way for the treaty of San Lorenzo, concluded on the 27th of October, 1795, by Thomas Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, and the Prince of the Peace, then the Minister of Spain for Foreign Affairs. This treaty secured to the people of the United States, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a port of deposit at New Orleans—and politically considered as a part of the comprehensive system of Washington's policy, was at once a sequel to the treaty of 19th November, with Great Britain, and a precursor to the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana with France.

In the accomplishment of these objects, the principal agent of the nation had been the Executive power, vested in Washington as President of the United States. But the justice for the establishment of which the Constitution of the United States had been ordained, was required at home as well as abroad, and for this it was the peculiar province of the Legislature to provide.

The first attention due from that body was to the
public creditors of the country, and the first measure to be adopted was the raising of a revenue to satisfy their righteous claims. On the 8th of April, immediately after the organization of the two Houses, and before the President of the United States had been notified of his election, Mr. Madison introduced into the committee of the whole House of Representatives a proposition for levying duties of impost. The remarks with which he submitted this proposal, so explicitly indicative of this purpose of establishing justice, that I cannot forbear to repeat the first sentences of them in his own words:—

"I take the liberty, Mr. Chairman," said he, "at this early stage of the business, to introduce to the committee a subject which appears to me to be of the greatest magnitude; a subject, Sir, that requires our first attention, and our united exertions.

"No gentleman here can be unacquainted with the numerous claims upon our justice; nor with the impotency which prevented the late Congress of the United States, from carrying into effect the dictates of gratitude and policy.

"The Union by the establishment of a more effective government, having recovered from the state of imbecility that heretofore prevented a performance of its duty, ought in its first act to revive those principles of honour and honesty, that have too long lain dormant.

"The deficiency in our treasury has been too notorious to make it necessary for me to animadvert upon that subject. Let us content ourselves with endeavouring
to remedy the evil. To do this, a national revenue must be obtained; but the system must be such a one, that, while it secures the object of revenue, it shall not be oppressive to our constituents. Happy it is for us that such a system is within our power; for I apprehend, that both these objects may be obtained from an impost on articles imported into the United States.”

And thus was laid the foundation of the revenues of the Union; and with them the means of paying their debts and of providing for their common defence and general welfare. The act of Congress framed upon this proposal, received the sanction of Washington on the 4th of July, in the first year of his administration. It stands the second on the statute book of the United States, immediately after that which binds all the officers of the Union to the support of the Constitution, by the solemnities of an appeal to God, and declares in a brief preamble, the necessity of its enactment, “for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures.”

With the act for laying duties of impost, there was associated another, imposing duties of tonnage on ships, in which to encourage the shipping and shipbuilding interest, a double discrimination was made between ships built in the United States and belonging to their citizens, ships built in the United States, belonging to foreigners, and ships foreign built and owned. The duty upon the first of these classes being six, on the second thirty, and on the third fifty cents a
ton. The same discriminating principle favourable to the navigation of the United States, was observed in every part of the Act for levying duties of impost.

An Act for regulating the *collection* of these duties, with the establishment of ports of entry and delivery, and for the appointment of officers of the customs throughout the United States: an Act for the establishment and support of light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers; and an Act for regulating the coasting-trade, completed the system for raising a revenue.

Thus the organization of the government, conformably to the new constitution, and to give it practical operation, was effected at the first session of the first Constitutional Congress, between the 4th of March, and the 29th of September, 1789. A comprehensive and efficient system of revenue—a graduation of judicial tribunals, inferior and supreme—the Departments of State, of the Treasury, and of War—a temporary establishment of the Post Office, provisions for the negotiation of treaties with the Indian tribes; for the adaptation to the new order of things, of the ordinance for the government of the northwestern Territory, and of the shadow of a military establishment then existing; for fixing the compensation of the President and Vice President, the members of Congress, and of all the officers of the United States, judicial and executive—and for the payment of invalid pensions, were all effected within that time. Twelve Amendments to the Constitution, to serve as a substitute for the omission of a Declaration of Rights, were agreed to by a
majority of two thirds of the members present of both Houses, and transmitted to the Legislatures of the several states—ten of those Amendments were adopted by three fourths of the state Legislatures, and became parts of the Constitution—only two other Amendments have since obtained the same sanction. An Act of appropriation for the service of the year 1789, amounting to six hundred and thirty-nine thousand dollars, with twenty thousand more for negotiating Indian treaties, defrayed all the expenses of the year; and if compared with the thirty-six millions and upward, appropriated at the session of Congress recently expired, for the service of the year 1839, may give a pregnant exemplification in the science of political economy, of the contrast between the day of small things, and the present: an inversion of the microscope might present a comparison between the results of the former and the latter appropriations, not so much to the advantage of the present day.

But at the close of the first session, there was yet much to be done for the establishment of justice at home and abroad. On the 29th of September, 1789, Congress adjourned, to meet again on the 4th of January, 1790. That second session continued until the 12th of August of that year. The institution of the Departments of State and of the Treasury, were among the latest acts of the first session, and on the 11th of September, Alexander Hamilton had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury; and on the 26th of the same month, Thomas Jefferson was appointed Sec-
retary of State. Henry Knox, the Secretary of War to the confederation Congress when it expired, was re-appointed to the same office, adapted to the new Constitution.

The Secretaries of State and of the Treasury, both possessing minds of the highest order of intellect; both animated with a lofty spirit of patriotism, both distinguished for pre-eminent services in the Revolution—Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence—Hamilton, almost entitled to be called jointly with Madison, the author of the Constitution itself, both spurred to the rowels by rival and antagonist ambition, were the representatives and leading champions of two widely different theories of government. The Constitution itself was not altogether satisfactory to either of those theories. Jefferson, bred from childhood to the search and contemplation of abstract rights, dwelling with a sort of parental partiality upon the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and heated by recent communion with the popular leaders and doctrines of revolutionary France, in the convulsive struggles to demolish her monarchy, had disapproved the Constitution for its supposed tendency to monarchy, and for its omission of a Declaration of Rights, and finally acquiesced in its adoption upon a promise of amendments. Hamilton, prompted by a natural temper aspiring to military renown—nurtured to a spirit of subordination by distinguished military service in the Revolutionary War, and disgusted with the dishonest imbecility of the confederacy of
sovereign states, of which he had suffered the mortifying experience, had inclined to a government higher toned than that of the Constitution, to which he had however cheerfully acceded—and which he had most ably advocated as the principal author of the Federalist, and in the state Convention of New York. But the whole drift and scope of his papers in the Federalist was directed to sustain the position, that a government at least as energetic as that provided by the Constitution, was indispensable to the salvation of the Union—the inference is clearly deducible from this form of expression, and from the tenor of all his argument, that he believed a still stronger government necessary. His opinions thus inclined to the doctrine of implied powers; and to a liberal construction of all the grants of power in the Constitution. These prepossessions, so discordant in themselves, and fortified on both sides with so much genius and talent, soon manifested themselves in the cabinet councils, with so much vehemence and pertinacity, as made it impossible for Washington, as he designed, to hold an even balance between them.

On the 21st of September, 1789, upon the report of a committee on a memorial and petition of certain of the public creditors in the state of Pennsylvania, two Resolutions were adopted by the House of Representatives, without debate or opposition.

1. That this house consider an adequate provision for the support of public credit, as a matter of high importance to the national honour and prosperity.

2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to
prepare a plan for that purpose, and to report the same to the House at its next meeting.

Accordingly on the 14th of January, 1790, a plan for the support of public credit was reported by Mr. Hamilton to the House, and was followed by others proposing the establishment of a national bank and a mint; and upon manufactures, with a review of the operation of the revenue, and collection and navigation Acts of the preceding session—all reports of consummate ability, and proposing measures for the restoration of the public credit, the funding of the public debt, and the management of the revenue, which were adopted by Congress almost without alteration, and constituted altogether a system for the fulfilment of the nation's obligations, and the final discharge of the debt of the Revolution, which has been carried into complete execution, and immortalized the name of Hamilton, as a statesman of high and permanent reputation, and among the first financiers of his age.

But in the consummation of these plans, questions of great difficulty, not only in politics but in morals, and questions not less controvertible of constitutional power, were necessarily involved. It is deeply to be lamented that the complete success of Mr. Hamilton's plans; the restoration through them of the honour of the country, and the discharge to the last dollar of her debt, have not to this day definitively settled all these questions. In the long-protracted controversies which grew out of Mr. Hamilton's funding system, the efforts to discriminate between the public creditors of differ-
ent classes, the violent opposition to the assumption of the state debts, and the strain of strict construction, denying the power of Congress to establish a national bank, by the same party which afterward by Acts of Congress, purchased a foreign realm, with its people, governed them for years with the rod of Spanish colonial despotism, parcelled the land out in states, and admitted them all to the Union, were all as I believed morally and politically wrong. The discrimination between the public creditors, and the assumption of the state debts, were questions which once settled could not again recur; but the power of Congress to establish a bank as a regulation of commerce, and appendage to the power of borrowing money and regulating its value, an instrument for the management of the reverses and for effecting the receipts and expenditures of the nation, has unfortunately become a foot-ball of contention between parties, and mingling itself with the baneful spirit of unlimited separate state sovereignty, even now hangs as a dark cloud over the future destiny of the Union. That cloud will pass away. The advice of empirics, administering the bane for the antidote, will give way to the surgery of sober reason; and exemption from debt, and superfluity of revenue, shall no longer by the financiering economy of the executive head, be felt as a public calamity.

The establishment of the funding system of Mr. Hamilton, and especially the incorporation of the bank, operated like enchantment for the restoration of the public credit; repaired the ruined fortunes of the public cred-
itors, and was equivalent to the creation of many millions of capital, available for the encouragement of industry and the active exertions of enterprise. His reputation rose proportionally in the public estimation. But his principles thus developed brought him in the cabinet of Washington, immediately into conflict with those of the Secretary of State, and in the house of representatives, with those of Mr. Madison, his late friend and associate in the composition of the Federalist, and in framing and erecting the admirable fabric of the Constitution. Mr. Madison was the intimate, confidential, and devoted friend of Mr. Jefferson, and the mutual influence of these two mighty minds upon each other, is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world, and in which the sagacity of the future historian may discover the solution of much of our national history not otherwise easily accountable.

The system of strict construction of state rights, and of federative preponderance in the councils of the nation, become thus substitutes for the opposition to the Constitution itself, and elements of vehement opposition to the administration of Washington, of which the funding system thenceforward formed a vital part. At the head of this opposition Mr. Jefferson was in the cabinet, and Mr. Madison in the house of representatives.

This opposition soon assumed the shape of a rival system of administration, preparing for the advancement of Mr. Jefferson to the succession of the Presidency, and thoroughly organized to the accomplishment of that
purpose. It was conducted with more address, with more constant watchfulness of the fluctuations of public opinion, and more pliable self-accommodation to them than the administration itself. It began with a studious and cautious preservation of deference to the character and reputation of Washington himself, never wholly abandoned by Mr. Jefferson, always retained by Mr. Madison, but soon exchanged by some of their partisans in Congress for hostility ill-disguised, and by many of the public journals and popular meetings, for the most furious assaults upon his reputation, and the most violent denunciations, not only of his policy, but of his personal character.

Mr. Jefferson was in the meantime fortifying his own reputation, and raising himself in the estimation of his countrymen, by a series of reports to the President, and to both houses of Congress, upon weights and measures, upon the fisheries, upon the commerce of the Mediterranean sea, upon the commercial intercourse with the European nations, and afterward by a correspondence with the ministers of Britain, and of France and of Spain, with an exhibition of genius, of learning, and of transcendant talent, certainly not inferior, perhaps surpassing that of Hamilton himself. The two systems, however, were so radically incompatible with each other, that Washington was, after many painful efforts to reconcile them together, compelled reluctantly to choose between them. He decided in the main for that of Hamilton, and soon after the unanimous re-election of Washington to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson re-
tired from the administration, to Monticello, and ostensibly to private life.

Within a year afterward, Hamilton also retired, as did Washington himself at the close of his presidential term. He declined a second re-election. The opposition to his administration, under the auspices of Mr. Jefferson, had acquired a head, which in the course of four years more, might have broken it down, as it was broken down in the hands of his successor.

When Solon, by the appointment of the people of Athens, had formed, and prevailed upon them to adopt a code of fundamental laws, the best that they would bear, he went into voluntary banishment for ten years, to save his system from the batteries of rival statesmen working upon popular passions and prejudices excited against his person. In eight years of a turbulent and tempestuous administration, Washington had settled upon firm foundations the practical execution of the Constitution of the United States. In the midst of the most appalling obstacles, through the bitterest internal disensions, and the most formidable combinations of foreign antipathies and cabals, he had subdued all opposition to the Constitution itself; had averted all dangers of European war; had redeemed the captive children of his country from Algiers; had reduced by chastisement and conciliated by kindness, the most hostile of the Indian tribes; had restored the credit of the nation, and redeemed their reputation of fidelity to the performance of their obligations; had provided for the total extinguishment of the public debt; had settled the Union
upon the immovable foundation of principle, and had drawn around his head for the admiration and emulation of after times, a brighter blaze of glory than had ever encircled the brows of hero or statesman, patriot or sage.

The administration of Washington fixed the character of the Constitution of the United States, as a practical system of government, which it retains to this day. Upon his retirement, its great antagonist, Mr. Jefferson, came into the government again, as Vice President of the United States, and four years after, succeeded to the Presidency itself. But the funding system and the bank were established. The peace with both the great belligerant powers of Europe was secured. The disuniting doctrines of unlimited separate state sovereignty were laid aside. Louisiana, by a stretch of power in Congress, far beyond the highest tone of Hamilton, was annexed to the Union—and although dry-docks, and gun-boats, and embargoes, and commercial restrictions, still refused the protection of the national arm to commerce, and although an overweening love of peace, and a reliance upon reason as a weapon of defence against foreign aggression, eventuated in a disastrous though glorious war with the gigantic power of Britain, the Constitution as construed by Washington, still proved an effective government for the country.

And such it has still proved, through every successive change of administration it has undergone. Of these, it becomes not me to speak in detail. Nor were
it possible, without too great a trespass upon your time. The example of Washington, of retiring from the Presidency after a double term of four years, was followed by Mr. Jefferson, against the urgent solicitations of several state Legislatures. This second example of voluntary self-chastened ambition, by the decided approbation of public opinion, has been held obligatory upon their successors, and has become a tacit subsidiary Constitutional law. If not entirely satisfactory to the nation, it is rather by its admitting one re-election, than by its interdicting a second. Every change of a President of the United States, has exhibited some variety of policy from that of his predecessor. In more than one case, the change has extended to political and even to moral principle; but the policy of the country has been fashioned far more by the influences of public opinion, and the prevailing humours in the two Houses of Congress, than by the judgment, the will, or the principles of the President of the United States. The President himself is no more than a representative of public opinion at the time of his election; and as public opinion is subject to great and frequent fluctuations, he must accommodate his policy to them; or the people will speedily give him a successor; or either House of Congress will effectually control his power. It is thus, and in no other sense that the Constitution of the United States is democratic—for the government of our country, instead of a Democracy the most simple, is the most complicated government on the face of the globe. From the immense
extent of our territory, the difference of manners, habits, opinions, and above all, the clashing interests of the North, South, East, and West, public opinion formed by the combination of numerous aggregates, becomes itself a problem of compound arithmetic, which nothing but the result of the popular elections can solve.

It has been my purpose, Fellow-Citizens, in this discourse to show:—

1. That this Union was formed by a spontaneous movement of the people of thirteen English Colonies; all subjects of the King of Great Britain—bound to him in allegiance, and to the British empire as their country. That the first object of this Union, was united resistance against oppression, and to obtain from the government of their country redress of their wrongs.

2. That failing in this object, their petitions having been spurned, and the oppressions of which they complained, aggravated beyond endurance, their Delegates in Congress, in their name and by their authority, issued the Declaration of Independence—proclaiming them to the world as one people, absolving them from their ties and oaths of allegiance to their king and country—renouncing that country; declaring the UNITED Colonies, Independent States, and announcing that this ONE PEOPLE of thirteen united independent states, by that act, assumed among the powers of the earth, that separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them.

3. That in justification of themselves for this act of
transcendent power, they proclaimed the principles upon
which they held all lawful government upon earth to be
founded—which principles were, the natural, unalienable,
imprescriptible rights of man, specifying among
them, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that
the institution of government is to secure to men in so-
ciety the possession of those rights: that the institution,
dissolution, and reinstitution of government, belong
exclusively to THE PEOPLE under a moral respon-
sibility to the Supreme Ruler of the universe; and that
all the just powers of government are derived from the
consent of the governed.

4. That under this proclamation of principles, the dis-
solution of allegiance to the British king, and the com-
patriot connection with the people of the British empire,
were accomplished; and the one people of the United
States of America, became one separate sovereign inde-
dendent power, assuming an equal station among the
nations of the earth.

5. That this one people did not immediately institute
a government for themselves. But instead of it, their
delegates in Congress, by authority from their separate
state legislatures, without voice or consultation of the
people, instituted a mere confederacy.

6. That this confederacy totally departed from the
principles of the Declaration of Independence, and sub-
stituted instead of the constituent power of the people,
an assumed sovereignty of each separate state, as the
source of all its authority.

7. That as a primitive source of power, this separate
state sovereignty, was not only a departure from the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but directly contrary to, and utterly incompatible with them.

8. That the tree was made known by its fruits. That after five years wasted in its preparation, the confederacy dragged out a miserable existence of eight years more, and expired like a candle in the socket, having brought the union itself to the verge of dissolution.

9. That the Constitution of the United States was a return to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the exclusive constituent power of the people. That it was the work of the ONE PEOPLE of the United States; and that those United States, though doubled in numbers, still constitute as a nation, but ONE PEOPLE.

10. That this Constitution, making due allowance for the imperfections and errors incident to all human affairs, has under all the vicissitudes and changes of war and peace, been administered upon those same principles, during a career of fifty years.

11. That its fruits have been, still making allowance for human imperfection, a more perfect union, established justice, domestic tranquility, provision for the common defence, promotion of the general welfare, and the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty by the constituent people, and their posterity to the present day.

And now the future is all before us, and Providence our guide.

When the children of Israel, after forty years of wanderings in the wilderness, were about to enter upon
the promised land, their leader, Moses, who was not permitted to cross the Jordan with them, just before his removal from among them, commanded that when the Lord their God should have brought them into the land, they should put the curse upon Mount Ebal, and the blessing upon Mount Gerizim. This injunction was faithfully fulfilled by his successor Joshua. Immediately after they had taken possession of the land, Joshua built an altar to the Lord, of whole stones, upon Mount Ebal. And there he wrote upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he had written in the presence of the children of Israel: and all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on the two sides of the ark of the covenant, borne by the priests and Levites, six tribes over against Mount Gerizim, and six over against Mount Ebal. And he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that was written in the book of the law.

Fellow-citizens, the ark of your covenant is the Declaration of Independence. Your Mount Ebal, is the confederacy of separate state sovereignties, and your Mount Gerizim is the Constitution of the United States. In that scene of tremendous and awful solemnity, narrated in the Holy Scriptures, there is not a curse pronounced against the people, upon Mount Ebal, not a blessing promised them upon Mount Gerizim, which your posterity may not suffer or enjoy, from your and their adherence to, or departure from, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, practically interwoven in the Constitution of the United States. Lay up these prin-
ciples, then, in your hearts, and in your souls—bind them for signs upon your hands, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes—teach them to your children, speaking of them when sitting in your houses, when walking by the way, when lying down and when rising up—write them upon the doorplates of your houses, and upon your gates—cling to them as to the issues of life—adhere to them as to the cords of your eternal salvation. So may your children's children at the next return of this day of jubilee, after a full century of experience under your national Constitution, celebrate it again in the full enjoyment of all the blessings recognised by you in the commemoration of this day, and of all the blessings promised to the children of Israel upon Mount Gerizim, as the reward of obedience to the law of God.
THE CELEBRATION.
THE CELEBRATION.

The semi-centennial anniversary of the first inauguration of George Washington, as President of the United States, and the organization of the general government under the Federal Constitution, was celebrated in the city of New York, on Tuesday, April 30th, 1839, by a public Oration and Dinner, under the direction of a committee of the New York Historical Society.

The Honorable John Quincy Adams, the sixth President of the United States, was selected as the Orator on this interesting occasion; and letters of invitation were addressed to distinguished survivors of the Revolutionary period, to the Historical Societies of other states, and to various public functionaries, requesting their attendance.

Mr. Adams, having accepted the appointment, arrived in town from Washington on Monday, April 29th, and in the evening met a large number of the members of the Society at their rooms in the Stuyvesant Institute. From thence the company repaired by invitation to the house of Mr. Stuyvesant, the President of the Society, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided for the occasion.

On Tuesday, at eleven o'clock, A. M., the Society with their guests assembled at the City Hotel, where a large number of citizens joined them in paying their personal respects to the venerable Orator of the day, and to the Revolutionary veterans, who, disregarding the infirmities of age, had once more rallied in honour of their beloved Chief. Among the guests were Colonel John Trumbull, General Morgan Lewis, Mr. Justice Thompson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, His Excellency William Pennington, Governor of New Jersey, Hon. Samuel L. Southard, of the United States Senate, Major-General Winfield Scott, and Suite, of the U. S. Army, Commodore Alexander Claxton, of the U. S. Navy, Hon. John Davis, Judge of the U. S. District Court for Massachusetts, Baron de Roeneu, late Chargé d’Affaires for Prussia, Hon. William A. Duer, President of Columbia College, Messrs. Albert Smith, Member of Congress, of Maine, Nathan Appleton, late M. C., of Boston, William S. Hastings, M. C., of Massachusetts, Daniel D. Barnard, M. C., of Albany, Elisha Whittlesey, M. C., of Ohio, John Howland, Esq., President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, William Willis, Esq., of the Maine Historical Society, Jacob B. Moore, Esq., of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and others.

At twelve o’clock, the company moved in procession to the Middle Dutch church, in Cedar street, where an immense concourse of people were assembled, comprising much of the beauty and fashion of the city, besides many distinguished strangers. Tickets having been issued for admission to the church, to prevent the confusion of a crowd greater than could be provided with seats, many hundreds of persons were necessarily excluded who sought to be present. A temporary stage was erected in front of the pulpit for the convenience of the guests, on which was placed the identical chair which had been occupied by General Washington at the time of his inauguration. This chair was now taken by the distinguished Orator of the day, who was supported on his right by Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, Esq., the President of the New York Historical Society, and on his left by Philip Hone, Esq., one of the Vice Presidents. The
members of the Society, and the delegates from the Historical Societies of other states, occupied the central seats in the body of house, which were reserved for their use.

The delivery of the Oration was preceded by a fervent and appropriate prayer from the Rev. John Knox, D. D., one of the associate pastors of the Dutch Collegiate church. The following Ode, written for the occasion by William Cullen Bryant, Esq., was then sung:

Great were the hearts, and strong the minds,
Of those who framed, in high debate,
The immortal league of love that binds
Our fair broad empire, state with state.

And ever hallowed be the hour,
When, as the auspicious task was done,
A nation's gift, the sword of power,
Was given to glory's unspoiled son.

That noble race is gone; the suns
Of fifty years have risen and set;
The holy links those mighty ones
Had forged and knitted are brighter yet.

Wide—as our own free race increase—
Wide shall it stretch the elastic chain,
And bind, in everlasting peace,
State after state, a mighty train.

The Oration occupied about two hours in the delivery, and, by the extraordinary ability, learning and eloquence which it displayed, fully sustained the most sanguine anticipations of the friends of the distinguished Orator. The exercises were concluded with a prayer and benediction from the Rev. J. M. Wainwright, D. D., one of the Ministers of Trinity church.

At six o'clock, P. M., the company re-assembled at the City Hotel, and about two hundred persons sat down to a dinner prepared in the best style of that well-known establishment. Peter G. Stuyvesant, Esq., presided on the occasion, assisted by Philip Hone, Esq., Hon. Judge Betts, of the U. S. District Court, and Charles King, Esq. The arrangements which were made under the efficient direction of the committee for that purpose, were happily carried into effect, and the whole evening exhibited a continued scene of festive enjoyment, enlivened by music from a band in the orchestra, and a select corps of professional vocal performers, accompanied by the piano forte, and led by the celebrated Mr. Sinclair, of the Theatre.

After the removal of the cloth, the following toasts were proposed by the President:

1. George Washington—His example was perfect; severe will be the condemnation of him, who seeks his place and disregards the authority of that example.

Mr. Stuyvesant accompanied this toast with some remarks, containing interesting allusions to the private habits and character of General Washington, in substance as follows:

In cannot be expected, at this time and place, any allusion should be made to the public character of Washington; we are all in possession of his history from the dawn of life to the day that Mount Vernon was wrapped in sable; and after the exercises of this morning, if any attempt to portray his political or military life was made, it would only be the glimmering light of a feeble star succeeding the rays of a meridian sun.

But the occasion affords an opportunity of congratulating the small number of gentlemen present, who enjoyed the privilege of participating in the ceremonies of the thirtieth of April, 1789; they will recall to their
memories the spontaneous effusions of joy that pervaded the breasts of the people, who, on that occasion, witnessed the organization of a constitutional government formed by intelligent freemen, and consummated by placing at its head the man in whom their affections were concentrated as the father of their country.

Washington's residence in this city after his inauguration was limited to about two years. His deportment in life was not plain, nor was it at all pompous, for no man was more devoid of ostentation than himself; his style, however, gave universal satisfaction to all classes in the community; and, his historian has informed us, was not adopted for personal gratification, but from a devotion to his country's welfare. Possessing a desirable stature, an erect frame, and, superadded, a lofty and sublime countenance, he never appeared in public without arresting the reverence and admiration of the beholder; and the stranger who had never before seen him, was at the first impression convinced it was the President who delighted him.

He seldom walked in the street—his public recreation was in riding. When accompanied by Mrs. Washington, he rode in a carriage drawn by six horses, with two outriders who wore rich livery, cocked hats, with cockades and powder. When he rode on horseback, he was joined by one or more of the gentlemen of his family, and attended by his outriders. He always attended divine service on Sundays; his carriage on those occasions contained Mrs. Washington and himself, with one or both of their grand-children, and was drawn by two horses, with two footmen behind; it was succeeded by a post-chaise, accommodating two gentlemen of his household. On his arrival in the city, the only residence that could be procured was a house in Cherry street, long known as the mansion of the Franklin family, but in a short time afterward he removed to and occupied the house in Broadway, now Bunker's hotel.

Washington held a levee once a week, and from what is now recollected they were generally well attended, but confined to men in public life and gentlemen of leisure, for at that day it would have been thought a breach of decorum to visit the President of the United States in dishabille.

The arrival of Washington in 1789, to assume the reins of government, was not his first entry into this city, accompanied with honour to himself and glory to this country. This was on the twenty-fourth of November, 1773; and here again I must observe, the number present who witnessed the ceremonies of that day, must, indeed, be very limited; on that day he made his triumphal entry, not to sway the sceptre, but to lay down his sword; not for personal aggrandizement, but to secure the happiness of his countrymen. He early in the morning left Harlem and entered the city through what is now called the Bowery; he was escorted by cavalry and infantry, and a large concourse of citizens on horseback and on foot in plain dress; the latter must have been an interesting sight to those of mature age who were capable of comprehending their merit. In their ranks were seen men with patched elbows, odd buttons on their coats, and unmatched buckles in their shoes; they were not indeed Falstaff's company of scare-crows, but the most respectable citizens, who had been in exile and endured privations we know not of, for seven long and tedious years.

On that occasion, and on his arrival in 1789, Washington was received as is well known, by the elder Clinton, who was at both periods Governor of the state.

2. The Day we celebrate—It witnessed the commencement of our government. May the day be far removed which dawns upon its dissolution.

The next toast was preceded by the following observations from the President:—
In calling your attention to the toast next in order, I have a duty to perform, highly gratifying to my inclination; but I cannot conceal the embarrassment I feel from my inability to do justice to the subject. I have to propose the health of a gentleman of extraordinary merit and fame—One of America’s most distinguished sons. The Civilian, the Legislator, the Statesman, and the Scholar. A gentleman unexcelled in general attainments—exercising a mind in every department of science to advance the comfort and happiness of mankind. Possessing and advocating morals of the highest order. A gentleman who has this day so signal honour upon us, and honoured our city; and in the various legislative, executive, and diplomatic stations he has filled for nearly fifty years, has honoured our country at home and abroad.

He then gave—

3. The Orator of the Day—

Mr. Adams then said:—

Mr. President—

After the large draughts which I have already been this day permitted to make upon the patience and indulgence of the company here present, and others of my fellow-citizens, inhabitants of this city, were I not otherwise at a loss for words to express emotions excited by this fresh testimonial of their kindness, it would best become me perhaps to receive it in silence—[go on! go on! from several voices at the table]—especially as, by consuming any portion of the time of this company, I am conscious of withholding from them some part of the rich treat of entertainment, which they are justly expecting from others whom I see at this table, far better qualified to discourse to them upon any topic than myself. I cannot, however, forbear from the utterance of the grateful sentiment swelling in my bosom for your kindness at this moment, as well as that with which I have been honoured this morning; and with deep sensibility to the friendly regard manifested in the personal reference of the sentiment just given from the chair, I submit a few remarks upon a period intimately connected with, but preceding that of your commemoration.

The day of this celebration is that upon which the people of the United States began their career of history under a constitution of government. They have had fifty years of experience of that government, and the review which you have proposed to take as appropriate on this day, has been chiefly confined to the character of the Constitution and government, as it has proved upon trial by experience.

What it was in theory, properly belongs to the consideration of a preceding period of time, of which, in the discourse pronounced at your invitation, only incidental notice could be taken, as in the historical chain of events leading to that which it was your special purpose to commemorate.

That preceding period, however, of our national history, from the origin, formation, and progress of our Union to its consummation, in the establishment of a national government, is full of a deep and abiding interest;—nor can it be forgotten in the estimate of the blessings which we have enjoyed under the practical operation of the Constitution. It has been enjoined upon us not to say what is the cause that the former days were better than these; and, thanks to this Constitution, we have abundant reason, with grateful acknowledgments, to allow that these days, with regard at least to our condition and prospects, are better—far better—than the former days, whether of colonial dependance, of revolutionary
conflict, or of disunited and disuniting confederation. With reference to benefits and comforts enjoyed, these are the halcyon days of our existence; as we or our children will soon in sharp and bitter contrast feel, if we or they should ever betray, renounce, or abandon the self-evident principles upon which our Union was formed, our Independence declared, and our Constitution established, by our forefathers of former days.

Our days of enjoyment are better than theirs. But our days of enjoyment are the fruits of their days of toil—of danger—of suffering—of lofty and generous exertion;—and can I choose but be reminded of them, when I see at your side [General Morgan Lewis was seated next to the President] and at mine, [Colonel John Trumbull] relics of those trying times, conspicuous as actors in the drama of those days, and still worthy representatives of them? And must we not confess, that if these are the better days for enjoyment, those were the better days for illustrious action?

There were periods, Mr. President, in the history of ancient Greece, with which we may trace a closely corresponding analogy in our own. We must make allowances for the difference of times and circumstances, manners, opinions, and passions, between ages so remote, and our own, and for the necessary varieties of fabulous and authentic history. But in the ancient history of Greece, there were two classes of events, and of human actors in the transactions of their respective times. The first of these periods was in later times usually denominated the heroic age, and it acquired that appellation by 'the supposed superiority of the men who, during that stage of human civilization, made themselves conspicuous among their contemporaries by qualities or achievements superior to those possessed or accomplished by the rest. Those qualities and achievements were themselves of two very different kinds; one characterized by the exercise of physical force upon external nature and upon men—the other by the development of moral and intellectual powers. The renown of the hero was sometimes acquired by the extermination of monsters, such as the Nemean lion, or the Minotaur, and the destruction of tyrants and other wild beasts in human form, and sometimes by alluring mankind to congregate together in civil associations, and by founding institutions of government to last through long successions of time. The fame of heroism was very rarely attained by the same person for successful energy in both these courses of action; yet was it not entirely without example, and Plutarch has recorded, in the life of Theseus, one personage equally celebrated for both kinds of heroism, by ridding the earth of monsters, and by laying the foundations of the political constitution of Athens.

May we not award the same meed of glory to our own Washington? As the commander-in-chief of our armies from the beginning to the close of the War of Independence, he sustained the cause of his country in the rough encounter of physical force—exterminated the monster—he destroyed not the person, but the power of the tyrant, and then retiring from the ardent gaze of an admiring world to the obscurity of rural solitude and domestic privacy, reissued from it again at the call of his country in her utmost need, to preside at the formation of the people's Constitution, and to breathe into it the breath of life, by an administration shaping its character for the duration of ages, as the man of mature life is formed by the education of the child.

It was a common opinion of the ancient Greeks of the later times, that they had degenerated from the physical powers of their forefathers in the heroic age. One of the heroes of the Iliad is represented in that poem, while engaged in mortal combat with his enemy, as lifting and hurling at him a rock of such weight, that the poet declares, twelve men of his own time would not be able to raise it from the ground. In his second qualification of heroism, that which properly belongs to the cultivation of
the mind, and the formation of government, have we not too much reason to inquire whether the parallel of diminished power is not applicable to the progress of our own history? If it be so, we have at least the consolation that we diminish only in one of the scales of heroism; for when I reflect upon the achievements of our most recent conflict with the British Lion; and when I see at this table the representatives of our present army and navy [General Scott and Captain Claxton were at the table] I am sure every heart in this hall will respond to the declaration which rises from the heart to the lips. No! in the prowess of the arm, and the valour of the soul, we have not degenerated from the energy of our forefathers.

But it was also an opinion of antiquity that heroic achievement was not of itself sufficient for the attainment of glory, but that it required the assistance of literature and the fine arts for its illustration. There was, says the Roman master of the lyre, Horace, many a hero before the days of Agamemnon: but they and their mighty deeds have all perished, because they had no poet to immortalize them in song.

But if the heroic age of our revolutionary history has not yet been celebrated in poetry with a dignity suitable to the grandeur of the subject, the sister art of painting has not been equally neglectful of her duty. My old and venerable friend at my side, [Col. Trumbull,] as you have all seen, has given a second life to the most affecting and grandest scenes of the Revolutionary war, in which he was himself in the prime of life a distinguished actor. In traversing the seas, his soul was still untravelled, and the enthusiasm for his art never quenched the fire of his patriotism, even when it consigned him to a British prison. The merit of his paintings has stood and will stand the test of time. But the conception of the design, the choice of the subjects, the perseverance of purpose, and the fidelity of execution, exhibiting to posterity striking resemblances from the life of the principal actors in those scenes which will expand in the memory of mankind, as the wheels of time roll round, all these will be better appreciated in another hundred years than they have been, or yet are. And yet, even now, who is there with an American heart in his bosom, who can cast his eye upon these martyrs to their country’s cause, upon that self-devotion sanctified by the sacrifices of life, of Warren at Bunker’s Hill, and of Montgomery before the walls of Quebec—who can pass through the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, and not find his eyes involuntarily drawn upon the living triumphs of Saratoga, and of Yorktown? upon that Declaration of Independence which forms an epoch in the history of the human race? upon that scene of still loftier sublimity, if possible, the surrender by Washington of his commission to the Congress of Annapolis? who can now turn his eye upon these visions of his country’s glory, without feeling that the artist has spread a fresh blaze of splendour over those scenes? for every eye that beholds them identifies the immortality of his own name with the imperishable honours of his country.

Sir, I will detain the company no longer, but conclude with asking your permission to give in return for the toast with which they have been pleased to honour me,

"The heroic age of American history."

4. The Fourth of July, 1776, and the Thirtieth of April, 1789—The corner-stone and coping of a glorious edifice, which it is the duty of the present and future generations to preserve free from desecration.

5. The Union of the States—The cement of national independence: its ingredients—patriotism, justice, and liberality.

6. "The Unity of Government"—As Washington understood it: "The support of tranquility at home, and of peace abroad—of our safety—of our prosperity—of that very liberty which we so highly prize."

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7. The President of the United States.

8. The Constitution—The country has flourished under its protection: May it with filial gratitude cherish and sustain it in all its original strength and purity.

9. The Congress of 1789—It gave the first practical construction to the Constitution: May its successors emulate its profound sagacity and devoted patriotism.

10. The Federal Judiciary—May its members always bear in mind that they are successors to Jay, Ellsworth, and Marshall.

The Vice President, Mr. Philip Hone, expressed his thanks to the President for having called upon him to perform the agreeable duty of announcing the eleventh regular toast.

I am satisfied, (he said,) in paying my humble tribute of respect to the brave man, on whose patriotic devotion to the services of the country reliance can at all times be placed, and whose duties have been so faithfully performed, under the disadvantages of an extended sphere of action, with frequently incompetent means; but I am warmed into admiration of the gallant band, and feel sensible of the obligation, which as citizens we owe them for the defence of our political rights, and the protection of our personal privileges, when I see before me the noble relics of the army of the Revolution, mingling in pleasant communion with the gallant spirits of more recent warfare; when I perceive you, sir, supported on one the side by a veteran, the former aide of the father of the country, to whose patriotic services allusion has been made by the eloquent orator of the day, (himself deeply imbued with the spirit of the Revolution,) and the venerable gentleman, who, fifty years ago, in the prime of his life, admired then, as he is respected now, commanded the escort of Washington on the memorable occasion which we are now employed in celebrating; and on the other, by the gallant officer to whose more recent services the country stands deeply indebted, and is willing to make grateful acknowledgment.

Two generations of patriots, touching, as it were, upon each other, and rejoicing together. Sires, who sat a noble example in the arduous struggle for national independence, and a worthy son, who has faithfully followed their example, and emulated their virtue.

In alluding to the distinguished officer who now commands the military section of which the state of New York forms a part, I avail myself with pleasure of the opportunity on the present occasion, (which his recent refusal to accept the hospitality of our city denied to myself, or some other more competent of my fellow-citizens,) to pay a willing tribute of applause to his unwearied exertion in defending the honour, and preserving the peace of the country.

In performing this duty, however, I fear I may be led, notwithstanding the protestations which have been so frequently made in the course of this day’s proceedings, of attachment to the federal principle of inviolable union amongst the several states, to dispute the claim of the patriotic state of Virginia to the honour of his paternity, or at least to insist upon an equal participation. A Virginian by birth, he has been brought up in the state of New York. It was here that his maiden sword was first drawn in the defence of his country, here the laurels were gathered which first graced his youthful brow, and here his military character was formed, and his tactics brought into successful operation.

General Scott’s sphere of action has been singularly extensive. Called upon at an early period of the late war with Great Britain, when from un­ward circumstances, (of which perhaps a want of proper preparation was one of the most prevailing,) darkness overspread our beloved land, and patriots began to tremble, he was one of those noble spirits, whose glorious privilege it was to ‘pluck up drowning honour by the locks.’ Young, ar­dent, and chivalric, he rushed at the head of his untried battalions into the fearful contest with the chivalry of England; fearless of danger himself, he taught his countrymen that the conquerors of Europe might be success-
fully opposed by American valour. The circumstances of the time com-
ing in aid of his own prowess, gained for him a military reputation which, in most cases, it is the labour of a whole life to acquire. And on the Ni-
agara frontier, his ‘good sword’ carved out for him a title to the conspicu-
ous place which we are all willing to award him in the proud array of
American heroes.

Subsequently to the peace with England, he has been steadily and ac-
tively engaged in the duties of his profession, combining the fruits of his experience with the results of his studies in the art of war, into a system of tactics for the government of the army, and applying his knowledge to the defence of the exposed points within the compass of his command, the government has on all occasions acknowledged the value of his services.

When the hostile movements of the Indian tribes on the North Western frontier, demanded prompt and efficient action, General Scott was appointed to the command of the army sent against them. And on this occasion his bravery and skill are not more entitled to praise, than the humanity he displayed toward his dispirited soldiers suffering under the dreadful effects of the pestilence which raged in their ranks.

At a later period he has been engaged with eminent success in impor-
tant duties of a nature somewhat foreign to his profession; by skilful and judicious measures he succeeded in carrying out the design of the government in the peaceful removal of the Cherokees to the place of their allotted abode, and there is reason to believe that the sudden termination of his command in Florida, alone prevented a more favorable result of the disastrous warfare which has so long desolated that fair portion of our national domain.

On the return of General Scott from the south, the reprehensible inter-
ference of some of our citizens on the northern frontier in the unhappy revolt of the adjoining province of Canada, calling for the interposition of the government, he was sent to enforce obedience to the laws, and by the weight of his character, in the neighbourhood of his early achievements, he soon succeeded, with the aid of his gallant coadjutor Colonel Worth, in preserving the neutrality of the country.

Hardly had this important duty been accomplished, when, on the ap-
pearance of the late alarming collision between the authorities of the state of Maine, and the British province of New Brunswick, this warrior, trans-
formed into the more benignant character of a peace-maker, was employed once more to allay the strife of offended pride, and avert the consequences of irresponsible hostility. Here again a judicious course of dignified firmness, tempered by courteous forbearance, produced a result calculated to quiet the apprehensions of the timid, and satisfy the demands of the aggrieved.

In the discharge of all these multifarious services, General Scott has been unremittingly and laboriously engaged, in season and out of season, and is well entitled to count upon the approbation of his government, and the gratitude of his fellow-citizens.

I have to apologize, Mr. President, to the distinguished individual, the subject of these imperfect remarks, but to the company no apology will be thought necessary, for I am persuaded the sentiments I have ventured to express are those of all who hear me. As an American, proud of the well-
earned fame of one of her favorite sons, and as a citizen of the state which was so deeply interested in some of his latest negotiations, I could not have said less, and as an old friend, excited by the recollection of many pleasant instances of social intercourse, I dared not trust myself to say more.

I proceed to discharge the agreeable duty assigned to me by announc-
ing the 11th toast.

11. The *Army*—Our ancestors owed to its valour the establishment of their inde-
pendence: the present generation is indebted to its patriotic exertions for the pres-
ervation of peace.
Major General Scott responded to this toast in the following terms:—

Touched with the high compliment paid by this distinguished company to that arm of the national defence to which I have the honour to belong, I offer you, gentlemen, the return of its grateful acknowledgments. If

"In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man,
As modest stillness and humility:—
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect—
Hold hard the breath, and bend up every spirit
To his full height"—

the army fulfils all the conditions of good citizens and good soldiers. The school-master has been abroad in its ranks, and thanks to the West Point academy, our younger officers, when in the bosom of society, are best known by their modest bearing— their ready obedience to law, to the habits and feelings of their country.

Under the other circumstance—that of active service, I need but to allude to the triumphs of what has partially been termed—the second War of Independence. History has occupied herself with those deeds, and in one stream of eloquent praise, has mingled the glories of the navy and army. More recently, our twelve or fourteen regiments have not been idle, and if they have won but few bloody victories, they at least have marched in triumph through every forest, hammock, swamp, and prairie of the frontiers—

"Where beasts with man divided empire claim,
And the brown Indian marks with murderous aim."

In the Black Hawk campaign, none of those difficulties, nor the dread cholera, long delayed the onward course, and the enemy, overcome by perseverance and valour, were in the end taught the high Christian lesson of justice blended with mercy.

At Charleston, when the gallant but too sensitive Carolinians had, by evils imaginary or real, or both, been brought almost to disunion, the officers and men of the navy and army on duty in that harbour, laboured by meekness and kind offices—in one instance, saving that beautiful city from general conflagration—to assuage the angry feelings which had been excited, and thus kept the way open for that masterly movement in Congress which restored the noble state to the eager embraces of her sisters of the Union.

The Florida war ensued and continues. This has been a deep affliction to the country, and yet a greater one to the regiments employed—which, throughout, have displayed every effort of heroic perseverance and hardy endurance. It was my fortune to witness many of the difficulties and distresses of that war, during the twenty-three days in the field which were allowed me. We then only succeeded in removing about four hundred Seminoles, and suffered, for a time, the censures of the hasty. But as applause had never spoiled our gallant troops, so neither did condemnation change their noble character, and all remained, to country and government—

"As true as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not smote upon."

For the last six months a handful of the army has been incessantly employed on the Canadian frontiers, in maintaining the supremacy of the laws and the national faith, pledged, by treaty to a friendly power. Here again our officers and men have, without exception, done their duty. Wherever they have been able to appear, success has attended their efforts, and under Providence, but for those efforts, the United States, in all
probability, would, ere this, have been at war with a great and kindred people.

I will but briefly allude to one other service recently performed by our army—the removal, a distance of nine hundred miles, of the numerous and interesting tribe of Cherokee Indians. This service, in which the militia of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama bore a meritorious part, was accomplished, not alone by collecting the persons of the Indians, but by the conquest of the will, up to that time indomitable and adverse. The means were persevering kindness, exerted by all, and extended to all. I offer this bloodless triumph, obtained by the clemency of the sword, as in some degree worthy of the example of the illustrious William Penn, and I am happy to add, from a personal knowledge of their late and present countries, that the emigrants have every prospect of being greatly and permanently benefited by the change.

I beg leave, gentlemen, to offer this toast:

The surviving Heroes and Worthies of the Revolution—They are dearer and dearer to the hearts of their countrymen, as their numbers diminish.

12. The Navy—Created by the Federal Government: its past achievements are pledges that it will not be wanting in the hour of national danger.

Commodore Claxton responded to this toast, but we are unable to report his remarks.


A toast having been offered complimentary to General Morgan Lewis, who was Marshal of the day at the inauguration on the 30th April, 1789, and was now present, after filling in the intermediate period important offices, among which was that of Governor of the state of New York, General Lewis made a handsome acknowledgment, and gave the following sentiment:

Our Country—Her progressive prosperity from the epoch we this day celebrate, affords the best comment on her form of government and its general administration.

By President Duer:

Massachusetts—The nursing mother of the Hampdens and Sidneys of the heroic age of America: This day has proved that she had not lost her fecundity in the second generation.

The Hon. Judge Davis, of Boston, responded in an animated manner, and concluded by offering the following sentiment:

The spirit of American social policy—Onward, ever onward, more majorum, in the march of improvement, and advancement of human happiness.

Mr Hone, alluding to the enthusiasm with which Washington was received in New Jersey, when on his journey from Mount Vernon to this city, to assume the office of President, and especially complimenting the patriotic matrons of that state, called up Governor Pennington, who spoke as follows:

He said that he took the occasion, in behalf of the people of his State, not only to thank the gentleman for his complimentary remarks respecting New Jersey and the part she had taken in the great cause of achieving the independence of the country, but to thank also this company for the hearty manner in which those sentiments had been received. Having been on the spot on which many of the most interesting and trying scenes took place, her citizens had been peculiarly exposed to the hardships and privations of the war. We boast, that it was upon our soil the tide of war was changed. After retreating through the state with his patriot hand, borne down by every calamity, in the face of a numerous and well-appointed British soldiery, Washington, at Trenton, by a single battle, gave victory to our arms, recruited the spirits and courage of his troops, and revived the hopes of the country. It was no wonder, as had been alluded to in the course of the day by the venerable gentleman, [Mr. Adams,] that General Washington was deeply affected at the in-
scription on the triumphal arch erected to receive him when, on his way
to take upon himself the office of first President of the United States:
"The defender of the mothers will be the protector of their daughters." That was the very ground on which the fate of our mothers was decided.
These mothers were indeed defended by Washington, but it should be said also that they defended themselves. Many are the instances of their devotion to the sacred cause.

Governor P. here alluded to several instances of individual heroism and determination in that state, and closed with a firm persuasion that the same spirit which burned there in 1776, had been transmitted to their children, and would always promptly respond to the call of their common country. Alluding to the recent difficulties which threatened to disturb the quiet of the nation, he said he spoke the common sentiment of the people in declaring that they desired peace with all the world, and that they felt under peculiar obligations to a gentleman now present, [General Scott,] for the vigorous and important services he had rendered his country on that occasion. After adverting to the pleasure all had derived from the review of the scenes of the revolution which they had heard that day, he offered the following sentiment:—

_The Recollection of former times—Every day they become dearer to all true-hearted Americans._

The Hon. Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey, being called upon, spoke at considerable length, with great eloquence and effect, and concluded by giving the following toast:

_The Judiciary of the United States—The honest offspring of the Constitution: she has nourished her mother with all a daughter's love, and more than a daughter's devotion._

By Thomas Fessenden, Esq.:
_Connecticut as she now is: true to the principles, the feelings, and the blood of Connecticut of the Revolution._

By Hon. Thomas Day, of Hartford:
The study of Jurisprudence as a subject and a source of history.

George Folsom, Esq., of this city, being called upon by the President, remarked that this was a proud day for the New York Historical Society, on which so many respected citizens from our sister states, had assembled to unite with us in the commemoration of this great anniversary.

Among them he was glad to see an able representation from the most northern member of the Union, whose geographical position caused her to lead, like the star that adorned her escutcheon, in the constellation of states. Mr. F. then alluded to the recent border difficulties, and said that Maine had not only proved true to herself, but to the great principles of our government which had been so happily illustrated to-day. Maine had ever been jealous of her political rights, and her citizens never hesitated to assert and vindicate them at whatever hazard. At a very early period of her history, the people of that remote colony manifested the same spirit of resistance to usurpation and aggression, that had of late animated as one man her entire population. He alluded to the attempts that were made by the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1652, to extend her jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Maine, which met an open and manly resistance from the civil authorities and the people of the province.

But, said Mr. F., there is a gentleman present whose labours in exploring and illustrating her annals have given him a high character among the historical writers of our country, [Mr. Willis, of Portland,] who can better speak for his own state; and he would conclude by offering the following sentiment:—

_The State of Maine—Ever prompt to resent the slightest infringement upon the honour of her government, and to vindicate the integrity of her territory, yet acknowledging with equal promptitude the sacred character of her obligations to the American Union._
William Willis, Esq., of Portland, a delegate from the Maine Historical Society, rose to tender to the Society his sincere thanks for the complimentary manner in which they had just noticed the state to which he had the honour to belong. He was aware, he said, that Maine, at this particular period, did not stand in very good odour, from the excitement which recent events upon its border had produced; but he begged to assure the gentlemen present, that Maine was as unwilling to disturb the peace of the Union as any of her sister states; that she had been forced into the position in which she stood, not from any desire of bringing herself into notice, or setting herself up against the interest and welfare of the Union, but from a solemn sense of duty she owed to her own character and rights. She was not contending for a few acres of territory, but for a great principle. She was resisting an encroachment upon her soil and jurisdiction, and it mattered not whether it was for one acre or one million acres—she would not yield it upon compulsion, or for any threat of any power.

He believed that the claim of Maine to the whole territory in dispute was as clearly established by argument as any case was ever done, and that if any man would impartially examine it, he would be satisfied as to the perfect demonstration of that side of the question. No impartial jury, in a court of justice, would hesitate, on the same state of facts, to return a verdict in favour of Maine.

He asked gentlemen of New York to consider what their feelings would be if a border nation should set up a claim to a portion of their frontier county of Niagara, or of Oswego, for the purpose of giving additional value to the foreign territory, by public improvements; would they stop to consider the value of the land thus claimed—to go into the valuation of dollars and cents on the subject? No, their public spirit would spurn such a consideration, and the Union would shake to its centre with their indignant rebuke. The claim to the disputed territory in Maine is no better founded than would be such a one as he supposed. He therefore invoked the patriotism and public spirit of the people of New York to sustain the great principle for which Maine was contending, and not censure her, as if rashly wishing to disturb the peace of the country.

Mr. W. then compared the situation of Maine now with that of fifty years ago; having then no place in the Union as an independent state, but one member of Congress, as a district of Massachusetts, and a population of only 90,000. Now she has eight members in the lower house of Congress, a population of half a million, is next to New York in coasting tonnage, and the third in aggregate tonnage.

He then adverted to some resemblances in the early history of New York and Maine. The same year, he observed, just two hundred and thirty years ago the present year, which beheld the adventurous Hudson sailing up this beautiful bay, in the little bark the Half Moon, under the Dutch flag, likewise witnessed the first attempt to colonize Maine, by a spirited company, who formed a settlement on the Kennebec river. Both attempts then failed, but were afterward renewed, with what success we all may see. When he considered what two hundred and thirty years had produced, and especially the very rapid progress of the last fifty years, his mind could set no limit to the future greatness of this country. The prophetic visions of the most sanguine would fail of the reality. Much, however, depended upon the preservation of the Union and the liberal institutions of our land; and in this connexion he would propose as a sentiment—

The next Fifty Years' Jubilee of the New York Historical Society—May it find our national banner continuing to float over an undivided republic, and our motto still be, "One country, one constitution, one destiny."
By George Gibbs, Esq.:

The State of Rhode Island—One of the last to adopt the constitution, she will be the last to desert its principles.

John Howland, Esq., President of the R. I. Historical Society, responded in the following terms:

The citizens of our several states are united by stronger bonds than those engrossed on parchment. The place of present residence, in many instances, may not describe the home of the individual; yet, in a larger view, we cannot be said to be separate from our friends and connexions while we are within the limits of the union.

The first instance in history in which Rhode Island and New York became connected, took place in 1665, when Thomas Willett was appointed mayor of this city. He afterward returned to Rhode Island, where his monument now exists.

To thousands of other ties of union, the Antiquarian and Historical Societies will necessarily add, in promoting the common object in which they are engaged, and which this day’s celebration points to as the brightest page in American history.

In connecting the past with the present, I offer this sentiment:

The Memory of Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New York.

By Rev. Dr. Wainwright:

History, which records, inspires also to noble deeds.

Mr. Grenville Mellen, being called upon, recited the following ode, composed for the occasion.

The True Glory of America.

The light that time pours round a land
A sacred light may be,
But leads not to a great command
Like that which crowns the Free!

And holy that unfaded light,
Which lingers with the dead;
But then the beams, how passing bright
That fire the path we tread!

Then tell me not of years of old,
Of ancient heart and clime;
Ours is the land and age of gold,
And ours the hallowed time!

The jewelled crown and sceptre
Of Greece have passed away,
And none of all who wept her
Could bid her splendour stay.

Then ask I not for crown and plume
To nod above my land:
The victor’s footsteps point to doom—
Graves open round his hand!

The memory of the monarch Man
We call her now to sing,
Who, when Columbia’s years began
Their light on time to fling,
To Freedom’s altar-place came up
Before his land to bow,
And lift to God her golden cup,
With sacrifice and vow—

I would not have my land like thee,
So lofty—yet so cold!
Be her a lower, quieter
In yet a nobler mould.

Thy marble—works of wonder!
In thy victorious days,
Whose white lips seemed to sunder
Before the astonished gaze!

And when statue glared on statue there,
The living on the dead,
And were as silent pilgrims were
O, not for faultless marbles yet
Would I the light forego,
That beams when other lights have set,
And art herself lies low!

I ask not for the chisel’s boast—
A Pantheon’s cloud of glory
Bathing in Heaven’s noon-tide the host
Of those who swell her story!

Though these proud works of magic hand,
Fame’s rolling trump shall fill,
The best of all those peerless bands
Is pulseless marble still.

And though no classic madness here
With quick transforming eye,
Bid beauty from the block appear
Till love stand doubting by—

I care not—for a brighter wreath
Than round the Parian brows
Of those whose sculpture seemed to breathe,
Shall wait our bulbier bow.
And ours a holier hope shall be
Than consecrated bust,
Some latter mean of memory
To snatch us from the dust,
And ours a sterner art than this
Shall fix our image here—

The spirit’s mould of loveliness
A nobler Belvidere!
His spirit that in thunder spoke
In beautiful command
To listening worlds like sun shall break
Undimmed on every land.
Until the beam of sun and star
Shall die on mount and cloud,
And virtue's pillars sink afar
'Mid the olden wrecks, and proud
The spirit that ibis ocean shout
Hails with its holy morn,
Vet sweeps our luinlned path about—
We bow to \textsc{ashinoton}

Then let them bind with bloomless flowers
The busts and urns of old;
A fairer heritage be ours—
A sacrifice less cold!

Give honour to the \textit{Great} and \textit{Good}.

And wreath the living brow,
Killing with virtue's mantling blood—
And pay the tribute now!
So when the great and good go down,
Their statues shall arise
To crowd those temples of our own—
Our fableless immortals!

And when the sculptured marble fall*,
And art goes in to die,
Our forms shall live in holier halls—
The Pantheon of the sky!

By Hickson W. Field, Esq.:

\textit{Washington}—Who never accepted office but for the welfare of his country, and never appointed an officer but from a belief in his worth.

By Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements:

\textit{The two Adamses}—The former the champion of national independence; the latter of civil and intellectual freedom.

By John Jay, Esq.:

\textit{The Philanthropists of the Age}—Who, true to the spirit of their fathers, inculcate, not as an abstract truisum, but as a rule of duty, the principles of universal liberty; and who, while they fight for the rights of others, will manfully maintain their own.

By William L. Stone, Esq.:

The great principle engraved by the Regicides upon the rock that sheltered them at \textit{New Haven}—"\textit{Opposition to Tyrants is Obedience to God.}"

By George B. Rapelye, Esq.:

\textit{The Memory of John Lawrence}—The representative of this city in the first Congress under the present Constitution.

By Dr. John W. Francis:

\textit{The Stars of our Confederacy}—Time has only added to their number and their brilliancy.

By Samuel Ward, Jr. Esq.:

\textit{The State of New York}—Ever faithful to the Union.

By David Colden, Esq.:

The memory of Philip Schuyler, the soldier and the patriot.

By Dr. Henry M. Francis:

\textit{The Constitution of the United States}, in the full tide of successful experiment.

The following ode was composed after listening to the Oration, and produced at the table, by William Cutter, Esq.

\textbf{ODE.}—By \textit{William Cutter}.

"\textit{The ark of our covenant is the Declaration of Independence—our Mount Ebal, the Articles of Confederation—our Gerizim, the Constitution.}"—\textit{Mr. Adams}.

Priests of this holy land,
Bear on the hallowed ark—
Blest symbol of the God at hand,
There, by God's finger graven,
Drawn from the liturgy of heaven
Escaped from that dread curse,
That lowered o'er Ebal's brow
Threatening with stern and dark reverse
The shrine at which we bow—

Oh! shun with pinous awe
Corruption's least approach,
Nor on that sacred fount of law,
Round Gerizim's fair hill,
In peace and glory clustered still,
That towered o'er Ebal's brow
That temple of our God;
Till Time himself shall die;
Still with that heavenly presence blest—

In the course of the evening a fine transparency, representing old Federal Hall, formerly standing on the corner of Wall and Nassau streets, the scene of Washington's inauguration, was disclosed by the withdrawal of a curtain at the upper end of the hall, and produced a brilliant effect. The figures of Washington and Chancellor Livingston, were seen in the balcony, the one laying his hand upon the book, while the other administered the oath of office, in the presence of a vast concourse of people. The painting was extremely well executed, and taking the company by surprise, drew forth long and loud applause. The hall was also decorated with copies of Stuart's portraits of the first five Presidents of the United States—copies painted by Stuart himself. The festivities were continued to a late hour, and brought to a brilliant close the commemoration of a day long to be remembered in the annals of our country's happiness and prosperity.
TWO

SERMONS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SECOND CHURCH AND SOCIETY,

SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1844,

ON THE OCCASION OF

TAKING DOWN THEIR ANCIENT PLACE OF WORSHIP.

BY THEIR MINISTER,

CHANDLER ROBBINS.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY ISAAC R. BUTTS.
M DCCC XLIV.
SERMON I.

PSALMS, XLVIII, 12—13.

"WALK ABOUT ZION, AND GO ROUND ABOUT HER: TELL THE TOWERS THEREOF. MARK YE WELL HER BULWARKS; CONSIDER HER PALACES; THAT YE MAY TELL IT TO THE GENERATION FOLLOWING."

We meet to-day for the last time in this venerable house. It has stood an hundred and twenty-three years. It is the oldest temple in this city. Christ Church, its ancient neighbor, is its junior by more than two years, and the Old South by nearly nine.* It has been an object of sacred interest to many generations. Its image has been connected with the idea of God, in the minds of myriads who have been born, and lived, and died, within sight of its spire. Hallowed associations gather thickly around it. Its walls are hung with the memorials of ancient days. Shadowy processions of the sainted dead seem to move along its aisles; and a solemn chant, as of many voices, known and unknown, mingling in psalms and prayers, to swell beneath its roof.

*The corner stone of Christ Church was laid April 15, 1723. It was first opened for worship on the 29th of December, of the same year. The foundation of the Old South was commenced March 31, 1729. Religious services were attended in it for the first time on the 27th of April, 1730.
It is a serious thing to demolish a house like this. It is a solemn act to destroy these time-hallowed walls. It is more, far more, than merely to take down the material pile, which, hands long since moulder to dust, assisted to raise. These stones and bricks are inwrought with holy sentiments; they are inscribed with honored names; they are written all over with religious reminiscences; they enshrine venerated images; they are memorials of the piety and faith of our fathers; they are largely and intimately connected with the spiritual life of past and present generations. We may replace them with a more splendid edifice. We may tax architectural art for all the elements of grandeur and beauty it can furnish, to decorate the structure which is to be reared upon their ruins. But, the sentiments and affections which consecrate this ancient house, no human skill can restore. A sacred, a spiritual fabric of hallowed memories and associations will be shattered together with these crumbling walls — and fall never to rise again.

But everything must yield to the immediate wants and will of the living. The command of present Use is in our day incontrovertible and supreme. Its sceptre sways everywhere. The marks of its empire are all around us. It takes down, and builds up, and knows no veneration. The sacred and the beautiful are continually bowing before it. It has often pointed ominously at this old edifice. It has touched it now, and to-morrow it falls.

But it shall not fall unhonored. This old pile shall not be swept away forever from the sight of men,
without a becoming commemoration of its long and interesting history. The rude hammer shall not strike its first blow against its walls, until our hearts have paid to it their parting tribute of affection and respect. We will not meet for the last time at this beloved and venerated altar, without such a valedictory service as it deserves, from those who have gathered around it on so many hallowed occasions, with gratitude and devotion, and found under its shade the peace of heaven.

Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since two discourses were preached by the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of the dedication of this house. These discourses were published, and, accurate, interesting and impressive, are preserved with care by many, as amongst the most valuable pamphlets relating to the history of our New-England churches. The former of them was devoted to historical notices of the Old North Church, — the latter to records of the New Brick, which was the original appellation of the house in which we are now for the last time assembled. For it is known to many of you that our church has a two-fold history antecedent to the revolutionary war. Before that period our records divide, and extend back in two separate channels, the one connected with the history of the Second Church — whose place of worship, called the Old North, stood in North Square, — and the other with that of the society which occupied this edifice. During the occupancy of Boston by the British, the Old North was de-
stroyed "for the sake of the fuel, of which its massy timber afforded abundance. And when the inhabitants returned to their homes after the evacuation of the town, this meeting-house being sufficiently large to accommodate both congregations, they worshiped together for three years, when a junction was formed, which has proved perpetual." Mr. Ware, as I have said, on the occasion alluded to, embraced in his discourses the earlier history of both these churches. What then is left for me but only to glean after so careful and thorough a reaper. But as his survey was extended over two broad fields, whilst mine will be restricted to a single one, it would not be strange if a minute and faithful research should enable me to gather up a few particulars which had escaped his notice. Besides, there now remain to us the twenty-three years which have passed since his discourses were written, as a field yet wholly unattempted and replete with interesting materials of history.

It is a cause of unfeigned regret, that the otherwise gratifying retrospect of the annals of the New Brick Church is alloyed by a review of the circumstances under which it originated. The only blot upon its records stains their very first page. Its foundation was laid in dissension and alienation, between brethren of one faith, inhabitants of one neighborhood, and members of one church.

It is an ungrateful task to search out and expose the weaknesses of our fathers. Nor have I any heart for uncovering the long buried animosities that once subsisted between two churches, which for these
many years have been united together in the closest intercourse, and the most exemplary harmony. But I should be unfaithful to the duty which devolves upon me to-day, if I were to suffer myself to be deterred by the painfulness of the undertaking, from a candid and faithful statement of the facts and merits of the controversy, which resulted in the building of this house. Besides, the history of this singular transaction is of itself not devoid of interest, and is still often alluded to, though with a very imperfect knowledge of the facts of the case. An indefinite impression prevails in the community that there was something wrong in the origin of this edifice, though precisely what the wrong was, is not understood. It becomes therefore an act of justice to its founders, to free their memory from all sweeping and vague imputations, and to lay open with discrimination and candor the real nature and amount of their offending.

At the commencement of the year 1719, there were two congregational churches at the north part of Boston,—which was then the most respectable and fashionable section of the town. The one, at the head of the North Square, was under the pastoral charge of Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather, and the other, at the corner of Clark and Hanover, then called North Street, under the care of the Rev. John Webb. Both societies were flourishing and fully attended; perfectly harmonious within themselves and with each other, and amply adequate to the accommodation of all in the neighborhood who might desire to meet in them for worship. But the latter society,
in conformity to the custom of the times, began to be desirous of settling an assistant pastor for the more effectual furtherance of the work of the ministry. The attention of several members of the church was attracted by the popularity and eminent gifts of the Rev. Peter Thacher, then over the church in Weymouth. A determination seems to have existed on the part of some of the New North Society, from the very first of the movement towards settling a colleague, to secure his services, if possible, at all hazards. No sooner was this purpose apparent, than many of the congregation began to manifest signs of disapprobation,—disapprobation founded upon the conviction that it was not right for a wealthier society to entice away from a poorer their minister. "Weymouth," said they, "in God's sight, is as precious as Boston, and the souls there of as great worth as the souls here. And to the common objection, that it is a pity that Mr. Thacher, being so bright a light, should smoke out his days in so much obscurity, we answer, first, bright lights shine brightest in the darkest places; and, secondly, bright lights are the obscurer for burning in a room where there are more, and as bright."*

No other adequate motive can be assigned for their opposition or their subsequent doings. Mr. Thacher, himself, was in all respects such a minister as would be likely to please their taste, to gratify their pride, and to build up the church. There was nothing objectionable in Mr. Webb, to excite their aversion. Nor

* See Appendix A.
do I find in any quarter so much as a hint, that there were any latent causes of division previously existing between the members of the society themselves. Nor were the characters of those who composed the opposition such as to warrant the supposition that they were originally actuated by unworthy motives, or lightly instigated to the course they took, or moved by any cherished feelings of hostility towards their own church. On the contrary, there are not wanting indications, on the part of some of their number, of strong attachment to the interests of the New North Church. Several of them had been amongst the most influential of the original founders of that society, of the first signers of the covenant, and of the building committee of the church; one had been donor of part of the communion plate, and, more recently, of a bell; and one had been the first choice of the church for the office of deacon.

No other cause can be found for the origin of their disaffection save that which is assigned by themselves, viz: an insuperable objection against calling a minister away from his flock, and disapprobation of the measures taken by Mr. Thacher’s friends to unsettle him at Weymouth. Unless, indeed, I were to give weight to an insinuation—which has been more than once publicly thrown out—that the division was fomented by the intrigues of Cotton Mather, who was jealous of the talents of Mr. Thacher, and who hoped, moreover, that the malecontents, instead of founding a new church, would come back into his own. But, whatever color of probability this sus-
picion may derive from the character of that singular man, of most unenviable fame, and however pleasing it might be to some to have such a charge against him substantiated, for my own part, I should ask for clearer evidence than has yet been shown, before I could believe him guilty.

It is some satisfaction, then, to be assured that there was a foundation in conscience and principle for the movement of the founders of this church, however blameworthy may have been the heat exhibited by them in the course of the controversy. There is no reason to doubt that they were perfectly sincere in what they said in their "memorial" to the New North Church, written in the very height of the difficulty. "We should think ourselves obliged to love, honor, and respect you more than ever, if you would wholly lay aside Mr. Thacher, who, you know, is the sole cause of all our uneasiness." When we take into view the fact that the two parties were nearly equal in numbers, and that Mr. Thacher was finally elected by a majority of only one, (and that, as has been said, the casting vote of the minister,) it seems strange that the feelings of the memorialists should not have been more regarded. It seems strange that the New North Church and its pastor should have persisted in their purpose of settling Mr. Thacher, against the wishes of so large a portion of the congregation; against the unanimous advice of the clergy of the town; against the general sense of the religious community, and at the risk of their own dismemberment. There can be no reason-
able doubt that, by a more moderate and pacific course on their part, the difficulty might have been healed, and those subsequent disturbances prevented, which are a perpetual disgrace to all who were concerned in them. The counsel of such men as the two Mathers, Benjamin Wadsworth, Benjamin Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, and William Cooper,—all of them names justly celebrated in the churches of Boston, was precisely such as the spirit of Christianity would have dictated. "We apprehend," say they, in a letter signed by them all, "that it would be best that the New North should not push on the settlement of Mr. Thacher, and that you should not engage in the building of a new meeting-house. A patient waiting may cool and calm spirits that are discomposed and heated. Time, by the help of God, may give more light, to us, to you, to Mr. Thacher, Mr. Webb, and the New North, in the present affair, than we have hitherto had. In a way of patient waiting, and humble supplications to heaven, Providence may possibly clear up the matters that are dark at present; so that all concerned may at last join in some issue that may be holy, peaceable and comfortable. Patient and prayerful waiting is therefore what we think best at present, and what we advise you to; and also that you and your brethren, with whom you are dissatisfied, would take opportunities to confer together in a spirit of meekness, for the quieting and reconciling your spirits, that you may again be united in love as formerly. But if contentions and divisions should prevail, how greatly
would it dishonor God, gratify the devil, grieve the godly, and hurt yourselves and others too."

But the passions and prejudices of both parties had now become too warmly enlisted to suffer them to give heed to the instructions of Christian wisdom and love. The New North Church pushed matters to extremity, and appointed a day for the installation of Mr. Thacher. The Boston ministers signified their unwillingness to sit on the installing council. The day appointed for the installation arrived. The church in Milton, under the care of a relative of the candidate, and the church in Rumney Marsh, or Chelsea, under that of the Rev. Mr. Cheever, were the only churches represented on the council. Indeed, the former was not fairly represented at all, since it had voted not to give its assistance, and its pastor attended the council in opposition to its vote.

It should here be remarked, that on the evening previous to the day of installation, it being feared that some disturbance might arise, a letter was addressed to the party who felt themselves aggrieved, by the two Mathers, with the advice and concurrence of the other ministers, solemnly and earnestly beseeching them to conduct themselves on the morrow with moderation and decorum. "We earnestly inculcate upon you," says the epistle, "that ancient advice, 'cease from anger and forsake wrath; fret not yourselves in anywise to do evil.' We particularly advise, exhort and entreat you that on the morrow you forbear and prevent everything that may be
of a riotous or too clamorous aspect; and let nothing be done, but what shall become sober Christians and the well advised. And whatsoever shall be spoke, let it be in the decent, modest, and peaceable manner which may adorn your profession of Christianity. Your cause will not be the worse for your observing a conduct entirely under the law of goodness.” It is also worthy of notice, that, this letter being read to them, a great number of the dissentients agreed to comply with its advice. And, doubtless, they would have adhered to this good intention, if they had not been grievously exasperated by the organization and conduct of the council. How could they have been otherwise than sorely vexed, at finding so small a council,—consisting of but two members, and only one of them present by the vote of his church,—convened on so important an occasion, and evidently determined to thwart their wishes, and to carry on, at all risks, the solemn business of the day. In such a state of feeling as then existed, it was hardly to be expected that their indignation should not have been roused to the highest pitch. The consequences that followed were chargeable to the council more than to themselves. Nor were the council without anticipation of the disorders which were likely to ensue; for being afraid of confusion and violence, if they passed through the public streets, they were led out through the back gate of Mr. Webb’s garden, (which covered the ground now occupied by the church at the corner of Salem and Bennett-streets,) across Tileston-street, then called Love-lane, and through an alley which
opens immediately in front of the New North Meeting-house; and thus were enabled, by stratagem, to obtain possession of the pulpit.

The tumultuous scene which followed their appearance in the church, I will not attempt to describe. The accounts of it which have come down to us, have the appearance of great exaggeration. But the doings of men in an hour of excited passion conform to no rule. At such times all ordinary standards of propriety and decency are liable to be set at nought, and all feeling of veneration forgotten, whilst even the consecrated altar and the most solemn services of religion may be profaned by those who, in their sober moments would be the last to countenance an act of desecration. In the midst of the uproar, the Rev. Mr. Cheever, having gone through the usual ceremony of asking the votes of the church in confirmation of their choice of the candidate, and having heard his public acceptance of their call, proceeded to proclaim, "The Rev. Peter Thacher to be the pastor of the New North Church, regularly inducted into the sacred office."

Such, my friends, is a brief sketch of the history of the difficulties which led to the building of this house. I have endeavored to execute it with perfect fairness. If I have stated the case too favorably on the side of the founders of this church, it is not because I have wished to defend them by warping the truth; but because such is my deliberate judgment, formed after long and careful investigation of all the documents which I have been able to procure. That
they were not free from undue passion, in their con­duct of the controversy, I have not denied. We cannot but regret that their cause was not managed with a better temper. But their opposition was based on principle, and the first impulse of their movement was a conscientious scruple which com­mands respect.

Immediately after the settlement of Mr. Thacher, the dissentients withdrew, and adopted measures for erecting the building we now occupy. The number of the first associates was twenty-four. Their first meeting was held on the 14th of November, 1720, at which time it was "voted, that some of them should treat with Mr. Thomas Roby, of Cambridge, for the purchase of a certain tract or piece of land," a suitable lot for a church. These associates "advanced and paid for said land in equal proportion, which, with the charges arising on the same, amounted to twenty-three pounds, ten shillings, from each, or five hundred and sixty-four pounds." On the 12th of December, a building committee of seven was chosen, "to agree with workmen to erect, build, and finish a brick house, suitable for the public worship of God, with all convenient speed and despatch, according to a plan offered to the society, by Edward Pell," one of the committee. The same committee was also clothed with authority to admit sixteen more members into the society, upon payment of the same sum contributed by the original proprietors. The desired number of forty was soon complete. The house being finished, the forty proprietors assembled
on the 5th of May for the choice of pews. The first choice was given to John Flist'll and William Clark, "for their great good will and benefactions to said work," then to the rest of the building committee, and then to the other proprietors, determined by lot. On the next day the remainder of the pews on the lower floor were distributed by lot amongst such buyers "as it had been thought for the interest of the society to allow to become their purchasers;" and on the 8th of May, the same order was taken in regard to the distribution of the pews in the gallery.

The 10th of May, 1721, had been agreed upon for the dedication of the house, to be kept as a day of fasting and prayer, "to beg the smiles of Divine Providence on the proprietors and all others that shall be concerned with them." Dr. Increase Mather was desired to preach the forenoon sermon on that occasion, but he excused himself by reason of his great age. He however consented to commence the morning services with prayer. A sermon followed from Cotton Mather, on the words of the tenth verse of the twenty-fourth Psalm: "Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of Hosts, he is the King of Glory." Dr. William Cooper, colleague pastor of Brattle-street, offered the concluding prayer. The exercises of the afternoon began with prayer by Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Brattle-street. Mr. Wadsworth, of the first church, afterwards president of Harvard College, preached, from Revelations, second chapter and first verse: "Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus,
write: These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the golden candlesticks."

"The house," says Mr. Ware, "appears to have been regarded at that time, and for many years after, as a building of uncommon elegance and taste. The preacher expressed only the common opinion, when he said, "I suppose that there is not in all the land a more beautiful house built for the worship of God, than this, whereof you now appear to make a dedication unto the Lord. But what will it signify," he added, "if the beauty of holiness be not here."

The house in its present condition, especially in the interior, gives but a faint idea of its original appearance. The pulpit stood in the middle of the north side. In front of it were two enclosures, one a little more elevated than the other, for the elders' and deacons' seats. On each side of the broad-aisle, in front of the pews, were several long seats for the aged. The pews were square. There were two rows of galleries on the west side, one on the south and one on the east. The last was called the "women's gallery," and the others, the "men's." The only access to these galleries was by flights of stairs on the inside of the house. The upper gallery appears to have been but little used, except by boys, who sometimes resorted there to play during service-time; for which reason the entrance to it was most of the time kept closed, till the year 1808, when it was converted into a hall for social meetings and the use of the singers. A time-piece, the gift
of Mr. Barret Dyre, in 1721, hung opposite to the pulpit, and kept its place till 1820, when it was replaced by the present, through the liberality of the late Samuel Parkman, Esq.* The exterior of the house was not at first painted. The spire was without bell or dial. There were porches of entrance on the west, south and east. The whole space in the rear of the church, to what was then called Fore-street, now Ann-street, was vacant, and probably the ground was open for some distance on both sides, which, as the church occupies a small eminence, gave it at that period a commanding aspect.

The mode of conducting the public services was also very different from the present. The scriptures were not read till the year 1729, when the proprietors "voted that the Bible offered to the church by Captain Henry Deering, in order for the minister's reading or explaining, be accepted; and also that a committee be appointed to make choice of a convenient place for laying the Bible when made use of;" which last vote clearly shows that the original pulpit was constructed in a different manner from the present. Another difference is indicated in the following vote, viz: "that Mr. John Waldo read the Psalm"—that is, line by line—"and Mr. Moses Pearce set the tune, until further notice." It is probable that, at this period, there was ordinarily but one psalm sung in the course of each service; and as there was no instrumental music, and no reading of the Bible,

* See Appendix, B.
what we have heard of the length of the sermons and the prayers, and of the patience of the hearers during the same, will appear the less surprising, as the whole time occupied by the worship could not have been much longer than in our own day.

A church was first gathered amongst the worshippers on the 22nd day of May, 1722. The only creed which is attached to the covenant is of the very simplest and most general form, being embodied in these words; "We declare our serious belief of the Christian religion, as contained in the sacred scriptures." An acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Trinity is however implied in the phraseology of several of the obligations. The covenant is not lengthy, being little more than an engagement to live a life of obedience to Christ, to love and watch over one another, and to keep all the ordinances of the Gospel; with the addition of "an offering and presentation of their seed unto the Lord, and a promise to do their part in the methods of a religious education, so that their children also may be the Lord's."

The same day on which the church was gathered, William Waldron, the first pastor, was ordained. He had preached for some time, as a candidate, in connection with Mr. Joshua Gee, afterwards pastor of the Old North Church. He was chosen on the 26th of September, 1721, having received fifty votes, and Mr. Gee thirteen. He was the last who received ordination at the hands of the venerable Increase Mather.

Mr. Waldron was a member of one of the most
respectable and influential families in New-Hampshire. He was son of Col. Richard Waldron of Portsmouth, and grandson of Major Richard Waldron of Dover, — the story of whose tragical end is one of the most affecting in the annals of our early Indian wars. He was born at Portsmouth on the 4th of November, 1697, and graduated at Harvard College in 1717. His ministry of only five years was too short to make full proof of his plans and capacities of usefulness; but few clergymen have been more affectionately commemorated by their professional associates. The library of our church contains a volume of sermons, which were preached on the occasion of his death by the most celebrated of his compeers. In reading these it is doubtless necessary to make considerable allowance for the naturally exaggerated encomiums of warm personal friendship, and freshly excited sympathy. But when this is done to the fullest extent, there remains indubitable evidence that the character of our first minister was of more than ordinary worth. To a finished education, was superadded the still more excellent qualification for the ministry, the grace of early piety. His most intimate friend, Dr. Cooper, dwells particularly upon this characteristic, and illustrates it by a brief anecdote, which has so much of the savour of that old time, that I am tempted to repeat it. “In his early childhood, says Dr. Cooper, a particular providence set the wheel of prayer a-going, and I believe it never wholly stopped afterwards. This he once gave me an account of in a retired conversation, and I suppose I was the only person to
whom he mentioned it. His dear parents were gone somewhere by water, when a storm arose, with sudden gusts of wind, when it was supposed they were returning home. The little boy heard his family speak of the danger they might be in. This so alarmed his fear, that he went away alone to seek God in their behalf, and pray that they might be preserved and returned in safety. And having begun thus successfully to pray for his parents, he afterwards continued to pray for himself. "I also know," said he, "that, while at college, he was one of those young students who used to meet on the evening of the Lord's day, for prayer and other exercises of social religion."

As a preacher he was remarkable for soundness of argument, plainness and directness of speech, and gravity of manner. His temper was naturally obliging and his affections warm, whilst at the same time he was too independent to stoop to any little acts to conciliate favor, and too stern in integrity ever to prostitute his conscience. He was, like most of the clergymen of New-England, a hearty patriot, and a steady friend and advocate of all the civil privileges which the people then enjoyed. He was also a strict and very zealous congregationalist. If he had lived longer, there is no doubt that he would have exerted a powerful influence in the community, and have left more conspicuous memorials upon the records of this Church. But Providence had another destiny in store for him. His death took place on the 11th of September, 1727. "He died," says Cotton Mather,
"nobly. So to die, is indeed no dying. 'Tis but flying away with the wings of the morning into the paradise of God."*

Mr. William Welsteed was chosen successor of Mr. Waldron, on the 16th January, 1727. He was born in Boston in 1695. He had been a tutor at the college for several years, and appears to have attracted some notice as a preacher before his invitation to settle over this church. I find it stated in a century sermon, delivered at Weston by Dr. Samuel Kendall, in 1813, that Mr. Welsteed received a call to be the minister of the church in that town in August, 1722. He had also preached with much approbation, as a candidate at Portsmouth. It is somewhat singular in relation to his preaching at the latter place, that several letters have been preserved and are now in my possession, from our first pastor, Mr. Waldron, to his brother Richard in Portsmouth, in which he speaks of Mr. Welsteed in the following terms. "He is a good man and true; a good scholar, a good preacher, and a gentlemanly man, I am sooth to say, but, all things considered, I don't think he would suit Portsmouth so well as some others."— He alludes here to Professor Wigglesworth, to whom he was devotedly attached, and whom he used all his efforts to have chosen by the society in Portsmouth—of which his brother was one of the most influential members.†

Mr. Welsteed continued the sole minister of this

* See Appendix, C.  
† See Appendix, D.
church for about ten years, when Mr. Ellis Gray was unanimously chosen to the office of colleague pastor. He was son of Mr. Edward Gray, who in early life came over from England to this country, and by industry and integrity amassed a considerable fortune. A man eminently charitable and universally esteemed, to whose virtues and beneficence a high tribute remains in a funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Chauncy on the occasion of his death.

Mr. Welsteed and Mr. Gray were both of them men of respectable talents, but in no respect remarkably distinguished. They lived harmoniously together in the discharge of their professional duties, and fulfilled a plain and useful ministry. I can add nothing to the record which Mr. Ware has given of the history of the church whilst under their charge. "It was at this period that our Friday evening lecture before the communion, was established, and that the old custom was dropped of singing by the separate reading of each line. In 1751, Watts’ Psalms and Hymns were introduced in the worship of the Sabbath, and continued in use until superseded by Belknap’s Collection in 1817, a period of sixty-six years."

Mr. Welsteed’s true character, is doubtless depicted by one of his contemporaries, who said of him, that he was an excellent Christian, an accomplished gentleman and exemplary minister; amiable and engaging in his conduct, and lovely in his temper; living a benevolent, gracious and useful life. Mr. Gray is described as a man of candor, prudence, and sin-
cerity, of solid judgment and warm heart; peculiarly fitted for the whole of his sacred office; of clear and pathetic elocution, and of uncommon command of devotional sentiment in his prayers; honest and firm in his principles, kind and obliging to all, and universally respected by the friends of piety and virtue.

"The circumstances attending the death of these two ministers, were remarkable and melancholy. Gray, the junior pastor, died suddenly of the palsy on the Lord's day, January 7, 1753, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the fifteenth of his ministry. His senior colleague survived him not quite four months. He died on the 29th of April, having been also struck with the palsy in church on Sunday, just after the commencement of his morning prayer, having lived fifty-seven years, and been minister twenty-five. Here was the melancholy spectacle of a church in mourning for two pastors at once; both cut off suddenly in the midst of life. And to render the visitation yet more affecting, they both died of the same disease, both died on the Sabbath, both on the communion Sabbath, and both at the same time of the day; each having preached for the last time to his own people, and the last sermon preached by both being on the same text — "Redeeming the time because the days are evil."*

The record of this solemn incident, my friends, forms no inappropriate conclusion to the present discourse. I shall continue these reminiscences this af-

* Mr. Ware's Century Sermon.
ternoon. To some of you, perhaps, they may appear unnecessarily minute and tedious. But I trust they are not so regarded by those who sympathise with the preacher in loving the very stones and dust of this old Sanctuary, consecrated as it has been by the worship of past generations, and who take a sacred pleasure in perpetuating the remembrance of those men of God, the fruits of whose labors and prayers, we are enjoying to-day in our political freedom and our religious peace.
In my discourse of this forenoon, the history of the New Brick Church was brought down to the period of the death of the colleague pastors, Welsteed and Gray, in the year 1753. Before proceeding with the record, it may be useful to take a brief survey of the religious aspects of the community, during the thirty years which had now elapsed since the building of this house.

At the time when this church was gathered, Boston enjoyed the labors of an eminently pious and learned ministry. Cotton Mather, in his peculiarly rhapsodical style, in allusion to this fact, exclaims, "O, city, highly favored of the Lord; how canst thou be too thankful for such inestimable blessings! The whole country will feel the sweet influences of more than seven stars that irradiate its metropolis." Notwithstanding, however, the sweet influences of these luminaries, it is sufficiently evident that there was but little religious life manifested in the churches.
There were, indeed, general complaints amongst pious and elderly persons, of a great decay of godliness, and expressions of discouragement at the religious and moral declension of the community, were frequent on the lips of the clergy. In this state of things, all the usual, and many unusual methods were resorted to, to produce one of those "revivals of religion," which in those days, as well as in our own, were held by many in the highest esteem. All these efforts, however, appear to have met with very little success, until the year 1727, when an event occurred which, under the management of zealous religionists, was well calculated to produce the desired effect. On the night of Sunday, October 29th, in this year, the whole country was visited with a violent shock of an earthquake, the sound and shaking of which are described as having been terrific at Boston, and to have carried the greatest consternation to the inhabitants, who were roused from their sleep by such an unusual and startling phenomenon. On the next day, and for several succeeding days, the churches were crowded, and by the proclamation of the commander-in-chief, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed, to supplicate the mercy of God, and especially the "conversion of the people." As may well be supposed, a great religious excitement was the result of these measures, and many were awakened and added to the churches. But with the subsiding of the alarm, the interest, also, soon passed away; and the historian of the times, who was himself a friend to such excitements, is compelled in
fairness to confess, that the professions of many were but as the morning cloud and the early dew.*

Things continued in about the same condition, until the year 1740, when many of the ministry having heard from across the ocean the fame of the success which followed the preaching of the renowned George Whitefield, sent him an invitation to visit this country. In compliance with their request, he arrived in Boston, on his first visit, in the month of September, 1740. The people flocked in crowds to hear him. Ministers as well as their congregations were powerfully impressed by his preaching. Meetings were multiplied. A universal awakening ensued, and multitudes were added to many of the churches. The pastors of this church were not unfriendly to these proceedings, though they appear to have taken no very active interest or conspicuous part in them. The records of that period are very imperfect, and it is impossible to determine with accuracy how far this church was affected by the general increase. It is, however, perfectly clear that this congregation passed with steadiness and dignity, through the dissensions and agitations which attended and followed this period of unprecedented excitement. With prudent and moderate men at the helm of its affairs, if it did not enjoy to the same degree with some others, the good and valuable fruits of this great awakening, neither did it greatly suffer from its extravagancies and ill effects. For a sober review of this inter-

* Prince’s Christian History.
eesting period of our ecclesiastical history, will easily lead us to the conclusion that, in this, as in all other seasons of extraordinary excitement, the good was not unmixed with evil, and that much of what was gained to the interests of true Christianity by an increase of fervor, was lost to the same by a diminution of charity, moderation and discretion.

In relation to the affairs of this church, during the period of which we are speaking, a few particulars only require our notice in addition to what has been already related.

The interests of the society had been generally in a prosperous condition. The congregation was rent by no intestine divisions. The ancient feud with its neighbor and mother, the New North, had been healed and well nigh forgotten. The greatest attachment had been felt to its three pastors, and every mark of attention and respect, that they could have desired, had been shown to them. In their lives they were repeatedly furnished with help in the supply of the pulpit, even for months at a time, and were gratified with valuable presents of wood and money, in addition to their regular stipend. In their sickness the church had variously ministered to their comfort, and kept days of fasting and prayer for their recovery; and when they died, their funeral obsequies were performed at the charge of the parish, with demonstrations of unfeigned respect; and their names were cherished in grateful remembrance. Indeed, it is particularly and emphatically said, in the obituary notices of Waldron, that "the great and
exemplary respect" shown by this society to their minister, "deserved to be everywhere told as a memorial of them."

The house, moreover, had been several times repaired, and gradually beautified. A bell had been hung in its tower, and its walls handsomely painted. And everything within and without the building presented an appearance indicative of the good condition of the parish, and gratifying to all who loved the place where God's honor dwelleth.*

Nearly a year elapsed after the death of Mr. Welsteed, before the appointment of a successor. The unanimous choice of the church, and a very large vote of the congregation, selected for this office the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, whose installation took place on the 6th of March, 1754.

Mr. Pemberton was son of an eminent clergyman of the same name, who was for many years pastor of the Old South Church. In the earlier part of his life he had been chaplain at Castle-William. In April, 1727, he had received an invitation from the first Presbyterian Church in New-York, to settle as their minister, with the request that he should be ordained in Boston. Accordingly, his ordination took place on the 9th of August in that year; from which period he resided in New-York, in the charge of the above-named church, for twenty-two years. Of the manner in which he discharged his duties in that city, I find the most honorable mention made in

* See Appendix, F.
Smith's History of New-York. It is there said of him that he was a man of polite breeding, pure morals, and warm devotion; under whose incessant labors the congregation greatly increased, and was enabled to erect them a spacious church in 1748. But on account of trifling contentions, kindled by the bigotry and ignorance of the lower sort of people, he at length requested his dismissal. There is preserved on our records a copy of a letter from the Presbytery of New-York, signed by the father of the late Aaron Burr, as moderator, conveying the most honorable testimony of the Presbytery, to Mr. Pemberton’s “ministerial dignity, abilities and success, and their cheerful recommendation of him as an eminently endowed and highly esteemed preacher.”

As soon as this society heard of his intention to leave New-York, they became eager to engage his services, as he was regarded at that time a gifted and powerful preacher. At the period of his settlement here, he enjoyed a degree of popularity such as had fallen to the lot of few who had ever stood in a Boston pulpit, and attracted to this house a crowded congregation. But he lived to experience, even beyond what is usual in such cases, the proverbial fickleness of popular favor. In the latter part of his life his congregation sadly dwindled. Instead of the throngs which used to gather before him, his eye looked down upon only a few familiar faces scattered about amongst almost empty pews. But the declension of his fame was not more attributable to any deterioration of his ability, than to the influence
of political odium. The inhabitants of the North End, as is well known, were almost all of them staunch and uncompromising whigs. Dr. Pemberton was a warm friend of Gov. Hutchinson, who was a worshipper at his church, and therefore fell under the suspicion of sharing his attachment to the tory interest. For this reason, doubtless, some of his congregation left him.

As the war of the Revolution approached, Dr. Pemberton's health declined, and the condition of his parish became feeble and discouraging. At no other period in its history were its affairs at so low an ebb. Efforts were made to settle a colleague who might redeem the credit of the church—but in vain. Several distinguished young men were selected as candidates. Amongst others Mr. Buckminster, the father of the lamented Buckminster of Boston, and Mr. Isaac Story, afterwards of Marblehead.* The former was most agreeable to Dr. Pemberton, the latter to his parishioners. But the troubles of the year 1775 put an end to all the proceedings of the Society. At the close of the month of April in that year, the inhabitants generally left Boston, and this house was closed.

The desecration of several of our churches by the British during the blockade of Boston, is a matter of history, with which all of you are familiar. Whilst the Old North was demolished, the Old South turned into a circus, and the steeple of the West Church torn

* See Appendix, H.
down, no violence was offered to this edifice, partly, it may be, for the reason that its pastor had given no cause of offence to his country’s enemies, and that its most distinguished worshiper was their ally and friend.

Dr. Pemberton resided during the siege at Andover. His health had been for some time feeble, and his pulpit had been supplied for several months before he left the town. Indeed, he had for a long time previous, generously relinquished his salary, and from the beginning of February, 1774, never received anything from the parish. I cannot ascertain that, after the evacuation of the town, he ever appeared in the pulpit. It is probable that his increasing infirmities prevented him even from attending worship. No notice is made of him at this time on our records, nor have I been able to ascertain any thing more concerning the circumstances of his death, than is contained in a single sentence in an old newspaper — “On Tuesday morning, last, September 9, 1779, departed this life, after a long confinement, the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, his funeral to be attended this P. M., at three o’clock.” His connection with this society was never formally dissolved, but gradually loosened, till at length it existed merely in name.*

But I cannot dismiss this brief notice of the ministry of Dr. Pemberton, without allusion to a single circumstance, which is of too gratifying a nature not to be commemorated on this occasion. The neigh-

* See Appendix, I.
boring Baptist society then under the charge of Dr. Stillman, in the spring of 1771, being about to build a new church, made application for the use of this house till such time as their own should be fit for worship. The request was unanimously and most cordially granted. And from June till December of that year the two congregations worshiped together, the pastors of both officiating by turns. The texts both of the first and the last of Dr. Stillman's sermons, have been preserved on our records, with strong commendation of the discourses. What volumes of Christian sentiment do these texts convey! would that their spirit had never been departed from by the succeeding members of either, or of any denomination. His subject on coming into this pulpit was this, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity;" and on taking leave of it, "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be of one mind; live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you." I mention this incident with the greater pleasure, by reason of the recent and very friendly offer of hospitality which has been extended to ourselves from the descendants of those whom our fathers so cordially entertained. How beautiful are even the smallest acts of brotherly kindness, in the midst of the party divisions and sectarian prejudices, which occupy so large a space in the religious history of our age. Our early records have no fairer page than that which is adorned with this wreath of love. And never, I believe, has the great Head of the Church looked down upon this temple with a more approving
smile, than when those two venerable ministers, sat side by side in its pulpit, and their congregations were intermingled in its pews.*

We come now to a new era in the history of this church. The evacuation of Boston by the British was the signal for the return of the inhabitants, who came back with mingled emotions of rejoicing and sadness, — glad once more to occupy unmolested their beloved homes, and pay their vows in their venerated temples, whilst with a melancholy curiosity and just indignation, they surveyed the marks of violence and ruin which hostile hands had left upon their fair inheritance. But the hearts of none of them were more oppressed with gloom than those of the former members of the Second Church, when revisiting the site of their ancient sanctuary, they found nothing in its place but a heap of ruins. This house, however, offered them ample accommodations, and as its pulpit was without an occupant, they were invited, with their pastor, Dr. John Lathrop, to occupy it in conjunction with its few remaining proprietors. The two societies commenced worshiping together on the 31st of March 1776, and on the 6th of May, 1779, agreed upon and adopted a plan of perpetual union.†

The history of this transaction is replete with interest, and I would gladly, if time permitted, lay before you a detailed account of an arrangement so auspicious. But the necessary limits of this discourse forbid anything more than the most general statement of the result,— as they compel me, indeed, to omit

* See Appendix, J.  
† See Appendix, K.
in the delivery a great variety of interesting particulars of our history, which I have collected and would save from oblivion. The bell of the Old North Church, which was larger than ours, was hung in this steeple in its place. The communion service of silver belonging to the Second Church, as also their land and other property, which had become useless, together with our old bell, were sold to purchase a parsonage house for Dr. Lathrop. The large Bible of the Old North was presented to the Second Church in Newton.*

The ministry of Dr. Lathrop continued from the junction of the two societies to the 4th of January, 1816, when he “passed to his reward” at the age of seventy-six years. There are some still with us, who can distinctly recall his venerable features, and a few who can remember every important event that transpired during his occupancy of this pulpit. His character has been so beautifully sketched by Mr. Ware, in a few strong and warm touches, and so thoroughly and faithfully described and analyzed in a printed sermon delivered in this house at his interment, by the pastor of the New North Church, that I feel it to be needless for me to attempt its delineation. No clergyman of his day is better remembered, and none more frequently spoken of, or recalled with greater veneration and love. His name in this section of the city is still as a household word. And the descriptions of his venerable form and appearance, that have been so often heard from aged lips at your firesides,

* See Appendix, L.
have given shape and distinctness to his image even to the minds of your children. His aged body moulders in the granary burying-ground; his virtues live in the history of this church, and his name is still young in the hearts of rising generations.

The ordination of Henry Ware, Jr., took place on the 1st day of January, 1817. His whole ministry can be traced in the recollection of many of you from its commencement to its close. Its history has been too recently recounted in this place to require a repetition now. Its results, moreover, are too conspicuous to all thoughtful observers, not only of this congregation, but also of our whole religious community, to need any memorial of mine. His record is all around us. This house itself, with which his whole ministerial life was connected; in which his persuasive voice was so long heard; whose walls he reverenced and loved, and for his sake we love and reverence the more,—this house is his monument. And this pulpit, more especially, which he himself designed, and which was at once his altar and his throne, is his monument. What do I say? No!—not these—for they are perishable and soon to fall. His monument is in our hearts and shall endure forever.

I cannot but regard it as a coincidence worthy of a passing notice, that his death and the ruin of this temple occur so near together. If he had lived, this would have been to him an occasion of painful interest. But he is gone where the mutations of human things affect him not. And yet, if the spirits of the departed are ever permitted to take cognizance of
mortal affairs, his spirit is near us to-day. And with it, the spirits of Lathrop and Pemberton and Welsteed and Gray and Waldron,—a sainted brotherhood,—revisit, for the last time, this scene of their common earthly labors, this gate of their heavenly glory. Nor these alone, but a great multitude hover in their train,—of the forgotten and the honored, of the earlier and the later dead, the seals of their ministry and the crowns of their rejoicing,—equally interested in this consecrated spot, where they were born for immortality, and learnt the songs of heaven.

It was in the third year of Mr. Ware's ministry that the square pews, which had existed in this church from the beginning, were removed, and also the stairs that led to the galleries within the house. On the 14th of July, 1822, a vote was passed appropriating five hundred dollars, to be added to what could be obtained by subscription, for the purchase of an organ. In June, 1823, it being found that the old steeple was in a decayed and dangerous condition, it was voted to take it down, and at the same time to make a thorough repair and alteration of the interior of the house; to lower the ceiling; take down all the galleries but the west; put in new pews, and change the place of the pulpit. This plan was carried into effect, with the single exception of putting up the two existing galleries. So radical a change, as might have been expected, did not take place without producing some dissatisfaction, and many of the elder people have never been quite reconciled to the transformation, even up to the present day.
Of the ministry of the living I may not speak without reserve. Ralph Waldo Emerson was ordained as colleague with Mr. Ware, March 11th, 1829. The latter resigned his office September 26th, 1830, and Mr. Emerson remained sole pastor for two years, when he was dismissed at his own request, by reason of differences of sentiment between himself and the church and society in relation to the Lord’s Supper,—differences, however, which were entertained on both sides without alienation of personal affection and esteem, and expressed on both sides with perfect moderation and candor,—differences which were the more regretted as necessary interruptions of a connection which was with many of the parish a strong and pleasant tie.*

The vestry which adjoins the church, and which is to many of us almost equally hallowed and dear, was built, through the well directed zeal of a devoted friend of this parish,—whose loss we have never ceased to lament,†—at the request of Mr. Emerson, “who was desirous of delivering, in some suitable place, a course of expository lectures.” It was paid for by a fund belonging to the church, which had been accumulating, in accordance with the advice of Mr. Ware, given in 1824, “by increasing the contribution at the Lord’s table, and laying by a certain proportion of it from month to month.” Greenwood’s Collection of Hymns was introduced in October, 1831. The house was repaired in 1832, at an expense of about three thousand dollars, which was de-

* See Appendix, M. † George A. Sampson.
frayed in part by the sale of the estate on the corner of Richmond-street. In the same year the question of building a new meeting-house was agitated, and a proposal was made by the Catholics to purchase this house and land, for which they offered the sum of nineteen thousand dollars.

After the resignation of Mr. Emerson, the pastoral office remained vacant till the ordination of the present incumbent, on the 3d of December, 1833. During the last ten years, with the exception of very thorough repairs of the church, in 1837, no changes of importance have taken place in this edifice.

The internal history of the society is of course too intimately connected with the character and feelings of its pastor, to allow him to speak of it with freedom, and too well known by you all to require a minute survey. The connection has been to me a most happy one. I have felt, every day, that my lines have fallen unto me in pleasant places. I have received, at the hands of my people, more consideration and forbearance than I had a right to expect, and more generosity and tokens of kindness, than have fallen to the lot of more deserving men. I should be ungrateful not to love a flock which has been so harmonious, and so flourishing, — more through its own good feeling and good principle, than through any influence of mine. The Good Shepherd, however, is my witness, that I have fed his sheep and his lambs from love, and that I have sought, in his own spirit, to lead them through green pastures and by the side of still waters. We have passed
together through changeful times; through various periods of great and wide-spread excitement; through powerful agitations of opinion; whilst within the borders of our own little community, we have been blessed with uninterrupted peace, and hardly a single momentary jar has invaded our sabbath-home. All our concerns have been managed with commendable fidelity and wisdom on the part of those who have been entrusted with their charge. The number of our proprietors and worshipers has increased. Accessions to the church have been recently greatly multiplied. New manifestations of social feeling and of spiritual life have strengthened our union, and refreshed our hearts. And now, through all the perplexities and differences with which the question of demolishing this old house of worship, and building a new, has been necessarily involved, we find ourselves sitting together for the last time around this beloved altar, with no sentiments, I hope and believe, which are uncharitable towards each other, or uncongenial with the spirit of Peace and Love.

I cannot express the satisfaction and the gratitude I feel at the condition of this parish, in these last hours of our occupancy of this old temple. How sad, how bitterly reproachful would be our reflections, if we were leaving it in discord and confusion and weakness. How deep and stinging would be our consciousness of shame, if, after all the pious multitudes, whose care has preserved it to our hands and whose prayers have consecrated it to our hearts, we were now compelled to feel that the years of our possession of it,
the last years of its existence, had been stained with
unworthy dissensions and disgraced with faithlessness
and neglect. Thanks, thanks be to God that we are
spared such misery as that! Thanks, that we leave
it in no worse spiritual or temporal condition as a
society, than when it came into our hands! thanks,
that its walls do not come down because we are a
dwindling congregation, without heart or ability to
repair the dilapidations of time! Thanks, that it
does not crumble around us because we are indiffer­
ent or dead! but rather because we are straitened by
its bounds, and feel the stirrings of a growing life
that, in the order of Providence, prompts us to throw
off its walls, that a more spacious and beautiful
structure may rise up in their stead.

Yet let there be no boastful nor ambitious feeling
in our hearts. A more consistent emotion is that of
wonder at the long-suffering mercy of our God.
"My soul shall make her boast in the Lord. Not
unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name
give glory!" for thy great compassion and forbearance
towards us. For, how poor have been our best offer­
ings! how cold our warmest prayers! When we
consider how many hallowed hours we have spent in
these courts, what voices have here addressed us,
what vows we have made, we cannot certainly go out
for the last time over that threshold with any other
than a lowly step, and a contrite heart. May God in
his mercy pardon all our offences and the offences
of our fathers, that have ever defiled this sacred place;
— all formal worship; all unbrotherly sentiments; all
comings before him with mind polluted and heart un­sanctified; all worldly thoughts that have mingled with our devotions; all evil hearts of unbelief; all grievings of his Spirit; all liftings up of the soul un­to vanity; all high looks and proud hearts; all mock­ings at his mighty word; all stubborn impenitence and resistings of his grace; — for verily we have not always honored Him with our sacrifices, but have too often wearied Him with our iniquities.

But I should do injustice, no less to my own feel­ings than to those to whom this Society has stood most deeply indebted, if I were to finish this sketch of our history, without respectful and honorable allusion to those excellent men who, from generation to generation, have held up the hands of the ministers and stood as the pillars of this church. Time would fail me to enumerate them all, — though every one of their names is worthy of being registered in our re­membrance. At the head of these stands Deacon John Tudor, — a man of no less sincere piety than sterling honor, prudent in affairs and systematic in all his arrangements. His labors for the good of the society, during his own day, were various and indefat­igable. Nor was he unmindful of the benefit of those who should come after him. Nearly all the most val­uable records of the church and society, during the eighteenth century, were fully and carefully kept by himself. If it were not for his careful and untiring pen, nearly the whole of the ministry of Welsteed, Gray and Pemberton, would have been to us but little better than a blank. He was also a pecuniary
benefactor of the society, and treasurer for about forty-two years. In the same connection should here be recorded the long and valuable services of Deacon Samuel Parkman, whose loss to this society was deeply lamented, and whose many claims to its respect and gratitude received, at his withdrawal, heartfelt and substantial testimonials.∗

I would gladly prolong the catalogue, even to our own day. I would gladly marshal before you the whole procession of the staunch friends and supporters of this house, from its erection to its fall. There is not one of them whose memory I do not bless. There is not one who has done it good or prayed for its peace, whom I do not thank and love. And, especially do I, on this day, recall with renewed affection and gratitude the images of every one who, since the beginning of my own humble ministry, has lent his aid to the furtherance of God’s holy work, or contributed to the honor and strength of this beloved congregation. The dead live in my remembrance, and the living shall never die from it. I feel their value now. I feel it every day. May God multiply to our society and our church the number of such wise and faithful men,—men who will stand by the altar and lend their shoulders to the ark,—men who will love the very gates and walls of our Zion, for the sake of God and Christ, to whom our temples are consecrated, and for the precious interests of man’s immortal nature and social well-being, of which they

See Appendix, N.
are the watch-towers, the nurseries, and the garrisons from age to age.

And now, my friends, before this ancient landmark is removed out of its place, let us contemplate the lessons which it is calculated to impress upon the thoughtful mind. What changes have taken place around it, since it first occupied this spot! what revolutions in this country and in the world! what mutations of opinion, of government and of social life! what transformations on the face of the earth! what convulsions of empires! But the institutions and ordinances of the Gospel still abide unshaken,—often attacked but ever unharmed; in one period apparently sinking into neglect; at another, renewing their hold upon the reverence and affections of men; always striking their roots deeper into the heart of humanity, and spreading them wider beneath the foundations of society, from the agitations which heave, and the convulsions that overthrow the things that can be shaken; and always rising serene and majestic from the mists which obscure, and the floods which threaten to overwhelm them. Confidence, calm, entire confidence in their perpetuity is a lesson which I read as if it were inscribed in characters of light upon this hoary pile.

Even within our own day, we have seen the popular tendency apparently setting strongly away from the institutions which our fathers' loved. But we are also seeing the tide of opinion in our churches flowing back again with a fuller swell. It is a cause
of heartfelt satisfaction that no page in the records of this church, affords such numerous evidences of devoted attachment to the ordinances of the Gospel as the very last, and that similar indications are manifested in nearly all our churches. I believe it admits of demonstration, that at no period since the foundation of this house was laid, has the Sabbath been more generally and properly honored; houses of worship more largely frequented; the Lord’s supper more fully attended, and the interests of true religion in a more promising condition in New-England, than at the present hour. And why? but in part for the attacks which the institutions of Christianity have, in recent times, sustained? Why? but because the very progress of intellectual light, whilst it has dispersed much of the superstition with which they have been surrounded, has displayed more clearly to the illuminated mind their intrinsic advantages and claims? Why? but for the very reasons which, a few years ago awakened our apprehensions,— the onset of Rationalism, and the mistaken opposition of partial reformers? We have made trial of what philosophy and Rationalism can do for our spiritual edification, and we have seen and felt the end of their perfection. We have proved the word and the power of those who would have persuaded us that the world has outgrown the holy ordinances of the Gospel, and would have given us in their stead a religion altogether spiritual and imaginary,— disconnected from the pillars and the corner-stone of the visible church, which God, through his Son, has set up, for the landmarks
and bulwarks, and centre of union of the faithful to the end of time. But the voices of these charmers, charm they never so wisely, though they have be­guiled many for a season, have not had the authori­tative and divine tone of him who spake as never man spake, nor can speak. The porter of the heart openeth not the door of its inner sanctuary save to the true Shepherd. His sheep hear his voice, and follow him; but a stranger will they not follow, for they know not the voice of strangers. And though for a time, they may wander away from the fold of safety, after one calling sweetly from the tops of some cloud-covered mountain, or another piping musical­ly in the enchanted fields of unrestraint, yet, having wandered up and down, and near and far, seeking rest and finding none,— by and by, they will hear the voice of their forsaken Saviour, floating through the shades of night that are gathering thickly around them, as he calls his wanderers home, with that well­known cry of resistless tenderness, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest,"— and their tired feet will turn back to the pale of peace, to go astray no more. And so it will be through the ages that are to come. Ever hath the seeking sparrow found a house, and ever will the wandering swallow find a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God!

Another lesson is imprinted upon my soul with the image of this venerable structure, a lesson of hope for the generations that are to come,— glad hope for
the unfolding destiny of mankind. For, what progress has society made since the corner-stone of this edifice was laid! That "more light," of which the sainted Robinson prophesied, as he turned his calm and pure eye towards the glorious visions of the spiritual morning, which God showed him to be about to break across the dark waters of the Western ocean, has already broken upon these latter days. If one of those ancient men of God who watched the rising of these walls, were to come back and mingle with ourselves who are about to take them down, what astonishment would strike him dumb; what gratitude, too strong for utterance, would swell in his heart! The battle of political and religious freedom, which he anticipated would by and by come on, and to which he looked forward with such anxious expectations, has already hopefully commenced. The seeds of reforms which he planted, have sprung up. The prayers which he breathed for the generations to come, the things which he waited for, but never found, are hastening to their fulfilment in our day, and beginning to be revealed to our babes. And we and our children, if we are but faithful to the mighty trust of the most glorious present which the world has yet seen, may turn our faces forward with a still more hopeful gaze, and expect, that ere the new temple which we are about to rear shall crumble with age, or be exchanged for a more spacious and beautiful house, its turrets shall be gilded by a yet more glorious light, and its worshipers rejoice in a yet more perfect manifestation of the kingdom of Heaven on earth.
And now, my friends, the time has come for us to take our last farewell of this beloved house. It is hard to realize that we shall never meet in it again,—that the delightful and hallowed hours we have spent under its roof are ended, and shall never be renewed. It is painful to think that when another Sabbath dawns upon the earth, our eyes shall seek in vain for its glittering spire, and our steps turn slowly and sadly to some other temple. But we have not parted from it without long consideration. We do not leave it without a pious regret.

Farewell, then, a long, a fond, an eternal farewell to its sacred walls. Farewell house of our fathers, and of our fathers' God! Lovely, and dear, and venerable, has been thy hoary image to our eyes, nor shall it ever be effaced from our memories. Thy sacred uses are ended. Thy work of piety is done. The last echoes of our prayers are lingering amidst thy arches. The last incense of our worship is ascending around thy altar. Sink, then, to the dust! Fade forever from our sight! Fall, crumble and pass away! The temple of the Holy Ghost remaineth. The spiritual house that we have builded to God in our hearts abides unshaken. The sentiments that have consecrated thy courts, shall flourish when the earth and the Heavens are no more.

And yet, thanks be to God, not all that belongs to this house is destined to pass away. The sacred vessels that have contained the emblems of our Saviour's love, and which have so often been spread before us here, will go with us, and attend us, and
welcome us again, by the grace of God, before another altar, and under the shadows of other walls. By this beautiful bond of union our two Sabbath homes will be connected together, — the home of our remembrance be linked to the home of our hope. Let this, then, my beloved Flock, be emblematical of the strength of our fellowship, and the spirit of our union and intercourse, till by the blessing of Heaven we meet at length, with new songs of gratitude, and new purposes of piety, to consecrate the house that we are about to build to the God of Holiness and of Love.
I have consulted, in relation to this controversy, the records of the New North Church, several pamphlets in the library of the Boston Athenæum, Mr. Ware's "Century Sermon," and "Historical Notices of the New North Religious Society." The aggrieved party first published "An Account of the Reasons why they could not consent to Mr. Peter Thacher's Ordination." A reply soon followed, entitled "Vindication of the New North Church from several Falsehoods, &c., by several of the Members of that Church." Increase Mather published "A Testimony to the good Order of the Churches," in which he censured the proceedings of the New North Church, as contrary to congregational principles and precedents. To this Messrs. Webb and Thacher replied, in a small pamphlet containing "A Brief Declaration in behalf of Themselves and their Church," &c.

It appears that it was reported that "a minister of the town" was concerned in getting up the first pamphlet mentioned above; or, at least, that he "overlooked and corrected the press-work whilst it was printing." The minister alluded to was Cotton Mather. The authors of the "Account," &c., have appended an advertisement to their pamphlet, declaring that "the report is utterly false," and affirming that "no minister in this town, nor in the whole world, ever saw or corrected one word of the whole."

I have quoted the answer of the dissentients to one of the reasons brought forward by the friends of Mr. Thacher, in justification of his removal from his parish at Weymouth. Their objections to other reasons are worth reading:

"It is said, that others have done so before him. To this we answer thus: If they have, they have had better reasons to give, than have
been given in this case; and though they have, yet the hurt and evil that has been done thereby, has outweighed, or at least balanced the good.

"It is said, he was unable to perform the work of the ministry in Weymouth; particularly, visiting his parishioners. To this we answer thus: he did not serve an Egyptian task-master, that required the full tale of brick, without the least straw afforded. God does not desire, nor require his ministers to do a work when they have no strength afforded them to do it; if Mr. Thacher did according to his ability, he would never be faulted for not doing that which he had no strength, power or ability to do.

"It is said, that Mr. Thacher complained of the little good he did by his preaching there, that there were no seals of his ministry; and hence his discouragement arose. To this we answer thus: 1. If he was faithful in his work, he need not doubt of a glorious reward hereafter, though he was very unsuccessful in it. So the prophet comforted himself. Isaiah, xlix. 4: ‘Then I said, I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.’ And in verse 5: ‘Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and my God shall be my strength.’ 2. God must be waited on, and not prescribed to; the Spirit worketh as it pleaseth; the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit. Though a minister toils all night, and taketh nothing, yet for aught he knows, in a little time, he may have many for his joy and crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord.

"It is said, that Mr. Thacher came to Boston for the delight and benefit of conversation. To this we answer thus: If he be so bright a man, as he is said to be, then the need of conversation to brighten him is so much the less, and more inconsiderable. Notwithstanding this reason for his removal, yet he ought not to have left that church, over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, for his own delight and benefit; he ought to remain unto the end in that town, which God in his Providence had fixed him in."

Mr. Ware's opinion seems to me perfectly correct, viz: “that the New North people wrote with most moderation, though they were clearly in the wrong; while the advocates of the New Brick, though on the right side, lost all command of their temper.”

The result of Mr. Thacher’s connection with the New North was certainly in the end favorable to the interests of that church, and justified the good opinion, formed by those who supported him, of his fitness for that place.

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Note B. Page 18.

The old clock, after various fortunes, fell into the hands of the auctioneer, in January, 1839. The following appropriate speech was writ-
ten for the occasion of the sale, by some lover of ancient relics. It was said to have been read by the auctioneer, but for the truth of this statement I cannot vouch.

"Here is the relic of the early days of our country's annals, a remnant saved; antique of its kind, and venerable for every association connected with its history;—the old church clock, bearing a mark of patriarchal longevity in the date, that speaks it one hundred and eighteen years of age. Yet, while it has ticked and struck off the thousand and tens of thousands, who have looked on its calm face, into eternity, it is still in good time, and going! going!! going!!!

"Though its existence was begun in the land of Kings, moved by the spirit of our pious fathers it followed them to the land of pilgrims, and was consecrated to serve in the house of God, whom they came hither to worship as the children of his kingdom, and not as spiritual slaves to earthly despotism.

"This sober, ever-going clock came over in the days of caution and sanity. It came when a sea voyage was a serious thing, and religion a serious thing, and a church clock a serious thing. It counted the moments, while the minister of God was preaching, and his hearers listening, of Eternity. It echoed his text, 'Take heed how ye hear.' Then was there real clock-work and order in men's minds and principles. Vanity did not then stare this venerable monitor in the face, and study the while how to display its plumage. Avarice did not dare, under its measured 'click,' to be planning in the temple how to lay up goods for many years. Nor was pride then puffed up by the breath of its own nostrils, while this minute hand was showing its duration cut shorter at the beat of every pulse.

"Now, who will let this venerable memento of those days be desecrated? Who will not wish to possess himself of it, as a relic of the age of simplicity and godly sincerity?

"Look at its aged but unwrinkled face. It is calm; for it has not to answer for the sermons it has heard. Look at it, ye degenerate sons of New-England! Do ye not seem to see the shade go back on the dial plate to the days of your fathers, and to hear the voices of those aged servants of God, who went from their preaching to their reward?

"I would speak more, but the hour is come. To whom shall it be sold?"

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Note C. Page 22.

The names of the twenty-four persons who first associated for the building of the New Brick, and purchased the land, were the following:—Alexander Sears, Solomon Townsend, John Waldo, Owen Harris, James Tileston, Nathaniel Jarvis, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Mountfort, William Arnold, Benjamin Edwards, Peter Papillon, Thomas Dagget, Daniel Ballard, Robert Gutridge, Robert Oring, Edward

The building committee consisted of John Frisel, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Mountfort, Alexander Sears, James Tileston, James Pecker and Edward Pell.


"July 19, 1729. It was agreed upon and voted, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in the revolution of every fourth Sabbath from August 12, 1722."

The services at the ordination of Waldron were as follows, viz: Mr. Sewall offered the introductory prayer; Cotton Mather preached from 1 John, iv. 7; Increase Mather gave the charge; Mr. Wadsworth the right hand of fellowship; and Mr. Waldron closed with prayer.

William Waldron was a descendant from the family of Cutts, from which have sprung many distinguished persons, and the members of which have intermarried with some of the best families in New-England. His father, Col. Richard Waldron, was first married to a daughter of John Cutts, President of New-Hampshire. His mother was Elinor Vaughan, also a descendant from the family of Cutts. His brother Richard was Secretary of New-Hampshire. His sister Abigail married Col. Saltonstall of Haverhill, Mass. His only daughter became the wife of Col. Josiah Quincy, of Braintree, Mass. The Lowells of Boston are also descendants of the family of Cutts.

The following is the story of the Indian massacre to which allusion was made in the discourse:

"In that part of the town of Dover, which lies about the first falls in the river Cocheco, were five garrisoned houses; three on the north side, viz: Waldron's, Otis's and Heard's; and two on the south side, viz: Peter Coffin's and his son's. These houses were surrounded with timber-walls, the gates of which, as well as the house doors, were secured with bolts and bars. The neighboring families retired to these houses by night; but by an unaccountable negligence, no watch was kept. The Indians, who were daily passing through the town, visiting and trading with the inhabitants, as usual in time of peace, viewed their situation with an attentive eye. Some hints of a mischievous design had been given out by their squaws; but in such dark and ambiguous terms, that no one could comprehend their meaning. Some of the people were uneasy; but Waldron, who, from a long course of experience, was intimately acquainted with the Indians, and on other occasions had been ready enough to suspect them, was now so thoroughly secure, that when
some of the people hinted their fears to him, he merrily bade them to go and plant their pumpkins, saying that he would tell them when the Indians would break out. The very evening before the mischief was done, being told by a young man that the town was full of Indians and the people were much concerned; he answered that he knew the Indians very well and there was no danger.

"The plan which the Indians had preconcerted was, that two squaws should go to each of the garrisoned houses in the evening, and ask leave to lodge by the fire; that in the night when the people were asleep, they should open the doors and gates, and give the signal by a whistle; upon which, the strange Indians, who were to be within hearing, should rush in, and take their long-meditated revenge. This plan being ripe for execution, on the evening of Thursday, June 27th, two squaws applied to each of the garrisons for lodging, as they frequently did in time of peace. They were admitted into all but the younger Coffin's, and the people, at their request, showed them how to open the doors, in case they should have occasion to go out in the night. Mesandowit, one of their chiefs, went to Waldron's garrison, and was kindly entertained, as he had often been before. The squaws told the major, that a number of Indians were coming to trade with him the next day, and Mesandowit while at supper, with his usual familiarity, said, 'Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?' The major carelessly answered, that he could assemble an hundred men, by lifting up his finger. In this unsuspecting confidence, the family retired to rest.

"When all was quiet, the gates were opened, and the signal was given. The Indians entered, set a guard at the door, and rushed into the major's apartment, which was an inner room. Awakened by the noise, he jumped out of bed, and though now advanced in life to the age of eighty years, he retained so much vigor as to drive them with his sword, through two or three doors; but as he was returning for his other arms, they came behind him, stunned him with a hatchet, drew him into his hall, and seating him in an elbow chair, on a long table, insolently asked him, 'who shall judge Indians now?' They then obliged the people in the house to get them some victuals; and when they had done eating, they cut the major across the breast and belly with knives, each one with a stroke, saying, 'I cross out my account.' They then cut off his nose and ears, forcing them into his mouth; and when spent with the loss of blood, he was falling down from the table, one of them held his own sword under him, which put an end to his misery. They also killed his son-in-law, Abraham Lee; but took his daughter Lee with several others, and having pillaged the house, left it on fire. Otis's garrison, which was next to the major's, met with the same fate; he was killed, with several others, and his wife and child were captivated. Heard's was saved by the barking of a dog just as the Indians were entering; Elder Wentworth, who was awakened by the noise, pushed them out, and falling on his back, set his feet against the gate, and held it till he had alarmed the people; two balls were fired through it, but both missed him. Coffin's house was surprised, but as the Indians had no particular enmity to him, they spared his life, and the lives of his family, and contented themselves with pillaging the house. Finding a bag of money, they made him throw it by handfuls
on the floor, whilst they amused themselves in scrambling for it. They then went to the house of his son, who would not admit the squaws in the evening, and summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter. He declined their offer, and determined to defend his house, till they brought out his father, and threatened to kill him before his eyes. Filial affection then overcame his resolution, and he surrendered. They put both families together into a deserted house, intending to reserve them for prisoners; but whilst the Indians were busy in plundering, they all escaped.

"Twenty-three people were killed in this surprisal, and twenty-nine were captivated; five or six houses, with the mills, were burned; and so expeditious were the Indians in the execution of their plot, that before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, they fled with their prisoners and booty."

"August 23, 1725. Voted, that Mr. Waldron be supplied with constant help for six months next ensuing from this day."

"February 28, 1726. Voted, that Mr. Waldron be supplied with help until the annual meeting in July next."

"February 6, 1727. Voted, that Mr. Waldron be paid out of the treasury thirty shillings per week besides his stated salary, until the annual meeting in July next."

Such votes were often passed "whilst there was but one minister, it being thought that the strength of one was inadequate to the whole duty."

"September 4, 1727. The afternoon was spent in prayer for our sick pastor, that God would graciously please to recover him, or fit him for his holy will. That he would also prepare this people for a resignation to the will of our Almighty Saviour, and that we may be kept in the bonds of unity and peace."

Mr. Waldron's salary was continued to his widow for four months and a half after his decease.

Note D. Page 22.

Mr. Welsteed's ordination took place on the 27th of March, 1728. "Mr. Sewall and Mr. Cooper prayed before and after the sermon. Mr. Welsteed preached. Mr. Walter gave the right hand of fellowship, and Dr. Colman the charge."

Mr. Welsteed married a sister of Governor Hutchinson.

"November 18, 1728. The Rev. Mr. Welsteed being about marrying, and as there will arise the charge of house and fire-wood thereby,
voted, that there be allowed him seventy pounds a year out of the stock."


"June 35, 1733. The church met at the pastor's house, and voted, that on Tuesday, the 10th of July next, we would separate a few hours for religious exercises, particularly to humble ourselves under the frowns of heaven, in the lamentable and sensible withdrawal of the Spirit of God from us, in that so few are inquiring their way to Zion with their faces thitherward."

The letters of Waldron are some of them interesting. I have thought it not out of place to insert here a few extracts from some of them, relating to the circumstances and men of his times.

DESCRIPTION OF PROFESSOR WIGGLESWORTH.

"And this leads me to Mr. Wigglesworth, whom your preposterous managements have obliged me to mention after Mr. Welsteed. I must needs say I can't in justice imagine that this good gentleman is second to any. He is certainly a first rate, if not the first rate. His body is the less acceptable part of him, and that is in no wise to be despised. As for his intellectual powers, his being chosen into the professorship by some of our wisest and best men, must speak him superlative. As for his public preaching, you would guess him almost to be under an inspiration in it. His delivery is with great deliberation and distinctness. He has a small, still voice, not loud but audible. As for the impediment you mention, it is only a graceful lisp that does not at all affect his speech to make him unintelligible. When I have heard him preach I never observed but that every syllable was clearly articulated. And as for his never being a candidate for the gospel ministry, it is a mistake. He always was so, ever since he preached, and is so now. He has been in nomination (though I don't so well approve the method) more than once, and the reason why he has been neglected, is owing only to the ignorance and unskilfulness of the rabble, which make the majority. They disgust everything but noise and nonsense, and can't be content to sit quiet unless their auditory nerves are drummed upon with a voice like thunder. His meeting with no acceptance is a great reproach upon the understandings of the multitude. I guess he would hardly be prevailed to leave his business here only to make a fruitless journey, for I don't think he has any thing in prospect—I mean a settlement—any further. The learned this way would be loth to part with him. He is treated with great respect this way, and should he come to Portsmouth, your clergy, though his seniors, must stoop to him. As for his deafness I look on it as a good ministerial qualification. Mr. Prince is an excellent preacher, a fine scholar, has but an uncouth delivery. He is raw and uncultivated, not much of a gentleman. I should, for my part, pretty much suspect his conduct among you. I asked the professor whether, if he should be asked to preach anywhere for a small term, he would leave his business, and mentioned Piscataqua to him. He replied that he should consult the president in such an
affair. But he added, 'I believe it will be best for them to hear only one.' He is a very prudent man, and I am confident that if he had been sent to after the same manner that Mr. Welsteed has, he would not have come; and yet he is an humble, meek, modest man.'

"The other day I was in at Mr. Colman's; Mr. Cooper was there too. After other talk, we fell upon Piscataqua; they asked how matters stood there. I told them I heard that there were some of you inclined to hear the professor; and, said they, then they'll have him if they are a people of any taste and relish, which they determined that you were; and I must needs say that it is now a critical juncture, and the professor's office seems to be so clogged and cumbered, that a good settlement would, I believe, draw him from his professorship. His salary is but eighty pounds; though Mr. Colman, who is one of the corporation, says, his endeavors shan't be wanting, to advance it to one hundred and twenty pounds per annum. The professor is not one of the corporation, which seems necessary not only to dignify his office, but also to the faithful discharge of the duties of it. He has been chosen into the corporation, but disaccepted by the overseers, for no other reason, that I know of, but in contradiction to them that elected him—for you know that there is no harmony between the overseers and corporation. He is on all hands allowed to be a meek person, and I apprehend that in a short time that matter will be reconsidered, and he allowed and confirmed; when, if an advanced salary follows, I fancy he will be seated and fixed. No such suitable person as he can be found for that business."

MEETING OF THE OVERSEEERS OF THE COLLEGE.

"Last Wednesday, (dated October 14, 1723,) the Overseers paid a visit to that venerable lady, our Alma Mater. Their business was an inquisition into the state of affairs, and we found things not to be so well as we could have wished. Mr. President endeavored to beat off the design's proceeding, but was conquered. When night approached, the wind and rain were perpetual, and it was proposed and agreed upon to tarry the night over, and perfect the business—for entry only had been made. While the matter of a tarry was agitating, Mr. President takes leave, and bids good night. One of the Overseers told him that we intended to proceed in business, and expected that he would not leave us. To these he gave some short, slight, contemptuous reply—and went off. This then raised the resentment of many, and they talked with heat and warmth of Mr. Leverett's unworthy treatment of them; and of sending over to him to require his attendance, &c. Mr. Appleton, your classmate, stood by all this while, and at length took occasion to drop off. 'T was guessed, and he could not deny it, that he had been over to inform Mr. President how things stood. For the President came over in a very little time in the utmost good humor, and sat till the matter was entirely finished, and then invited several over to take a lodging with him, with whom your unworthy brother was numbered, but did not go. Thus I have given you a summary of that visitation."
MR. GEE'S ORDINATION.

"On Wednesday last the ordination of Mr. Gee was proceeded in. The affair was carried on with so much seriousness and awful reverence, that if I had been wavering about the validity of our ordination before, I should have been then fixed and established by the solemnity and religious devotion visible in all parties at the sacred action. Every man’s soul seemed to be in it."

CHRIST CHURCH.

"Yesterday, (December 30, 1723,) the new church at this end of the town was met in, though very much unfinished. People flocked to it in abundance. What made them so hasty to improve it, as I am informed, was because Dr. Culter’s salary was not to begin, till he began to preach there. There seems to be a considerable strangeness between Harris and Culter as well as a great dislike of one another, and there seems to be a breach among their people."

REV. MR. ROGERS, OF PORTSMOUTH.

"I know not how to begin to condole the sad state of poor Portsmouth in the awful breach made upon them in the death of the renowned Rogers—so every way valuable and worthy. You hardly yet begin to feel his loss. I think no man would have been missed so much as he in all your province. The ministry in his death have a breach made upon them, wide like the sea. He was their head. But, alas! their crown is fallen. I seem to feel a heavy share in his loss. The news of his death was as sadly affecting as any I have heard. What shall I say of him? My father, my father! may heaven furnish a successor for you that may inherit much of his spirit. Please to let me have an account of his funeral. He deserved to be buried in the city of David, among the kings. When he died, a great man fell in Israel."

MR. WIGGLESWORTH'S "SOBER REMARKS."

"Here are some sober remarks published upon a book, called 'A modest proof of the order and government settled by Christ and his Apostles in his Church.' The answerer is Master Wigglesworth—though it is a secret and must be concealed. Notwithstanding, you must not think them all made by the same hand. Where there is any bitterness shown in them, where there are any ungentlemanly jeers, that excellent man utterly disclaims them. But the most ingenious and argumentative part of the book is his. But I really intreat you not to mention this on any account, for he is greatly solicitous of having the matter remain a secret. He industriously conceals himself, and there are but three or four at most who know anything about it."

WITCHCRAFT.

"There is a story started in town (February, 1723) of a certain woman who is suspected of witchery. 'Tis certain that here are two men that have been unaccountably harassed and disturbed in their business at sea, by cross winds and unsuccessful attempts. One man they
put ashore at Martha's Vineyard. He was strangely taken with a
deathness on one side of him—they despairing of his life. But when
they had rid the vessel of him, they set sail with a pleasing gale. But
it was observable that all the time this man was on board, the wind was
right ahead; so that they determined that he was the Achan that
troubled the sloop. He is since come to town. The occasion of the
suspicion is some threatening speech which the old woman used when
this man's wife discharged her from their house—for she was a boarder
with them. The other man who sailed in another vessel had his ad-
versities. He lately had a lawsuit with her. Now you may believe,
if you please, or may let it alone.''

SALUTE ON SUNDAY.

"The man-of-war fired her guns yesterday, (October 19, 1723.)
It was the Lord's day and the King's Coronation day. Methinks we
had better spare an empty compliment to an earthly prince, than to
affront the King of kings, and bellow out our profanations of his holy
day."

In 1736, the society were desirous of settling a colleague with Mr.
Welsteed. There had recently arrived in Boston, Mr. William Hooper,
a native of Scotland, "a man of more than ordinary powers of mind,
of a noble aspect, an eloquent, popular preacher." * The society were
much attracted by his gifts, and contrary to the advice of Mr. Wel-
steed, extended to him an invitation to settle with them. His reply is
preserved amongst our church papers. It is written in a very fine and
beautiful hand, and is as follows: —

"Medford, January 27, 1737.

"Reverend, honored and beloved:

"I have seriously considered the invitation you gave me to be a
settled minister of the Gospel among you, and I have consulted my
friends upon it. I adore the wonderful goodness of God, who brought
me safe to this land, and hath given me so much favor with strangers.
I pray that I may be enabled to direct all my behavior to the glory of
so kind a Being, the advancing of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and
the welfare of his church and people. I most heartily thank you, gen-
tlemen, for the singular honor you have done me, in thinking me wor-
thy to be called to the great and important office of a minister of the
everlasting Gospel. I hope, while I live, I shall maintain a constant
sense of your generous and undeserved respect; and it is with the
greatest reluctance, I must at last acquaint you, that I cannot serve you
in what you desire of me; though at the same time I must confess,
that my uneasiness is not so great as otherwise it would be, when I
consider that you are already under the pastoral care of so worthy a
gentleman as the Rev. Mr. Welsteed. May the merciful Redeemer of

* Dr. Lowell's Historical Discourse.
Souls and the great Head of his Church, bless you and your pastor, and after a life of holiness and righteousness in this world, carry you all to the inconceivable and eternal happiness which he hath purchased, and is preparing in heaven.

I am, Reverend, Honored, and Beloved,
With the greatest respect,
Your most obliged, and most humble servant,
Will. Hooper.”

Mr. Hooper was afterwards ordained over the West Church, on the 18th of May, 1737. That church was formed on his account. He continued its pastor for nine years, when “he abdicated without a formal resignation, and went to England, to receive Episcopal ordination.” He afterwards returned to Boston, and became pastor of Trinity Church.

“1737. February 5. Voted, that a day of prayer be observed by this church, and that the congregation be invited to join with us, to implore the divine conduct and blessing in the important affair of settling another minister.”

“1737. March 21. Voted, that a committee be chosen to wait on Mr. Ellis Gray and discourse with him about his principles in religion.”

“1737. March 31. The committee reported that they had been with Mr. Gray, and discoursed with him upon the head they were desired to, and had received satisfaction from him. He modestly and freely declared to them that in point of doctrine he received the Westminster Confession, and in point of discipline, the New-England Platform, as agreeable to the word of God.”

Mr. Gray was ordained, September 27, 1738 The services commenced with prayer, by Mr. Welsteed, Dr. Cooper “being providentially hindered.” Mr. Gray preached from Isaiah vi. 5—8; Mr. Webb made the prayer after the sermon; Dr. Colman gave the charge, and Dr. Sewall the right hand of fellowship. The Rev. Nehemiah Walter joined in the imposition of hands.

Edward Gray, the father of Ellis, came to this country from England at the age of thirteen. He served his time with Mr. Barton, at Barton's Point, (so called after him,) as a ropemaker. Dr. Chauney preached a sermon on the occasion of his death, which took place July 2, 1757, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He speaks of him in the highest terms of eulogy, which he says, “cannot, as is usual, disgust any one, as being esteemed a compliment to the dead, rather than his just character, since he was a person so unexceptionable, so unenvied, unless for his goodness, and so universally well spoken of, both while living, and now he is dead.” He married twice. His first wife was named Harrison, by whom he had six children; one of whom, named
Harrison, was Treasurer of the Province, and left Boston with the British troops, March 17, 1776, as did also his son. His daughter married Samuel A. Otis, father of the present Harrison Gray Otis.

On the death of his first wife, he married a Miss Ellis—a niece of Dr. Colman's wife. Dr. Colman sent for her from England, with a view to this marriage. By her he had five children, of whom the oldest was our Ellis Gray. He married a lady by the name of Tyler. Their daughter married Mr. Carey, late of Chelsea, one of whose daughters was the second wife of the late Rev. Dr. Tuckerman. A grand-daughter married Judge Wilson, one of Washington's first District Judges of the United States Court; another, Joseph Hall, late Judge of Probate for Suffolk County. Dr. Thomas Gray, of Jamaica Plain, is a nephew of Ellis Gray.

"Voted, to raise a sum of money in such way as shall be thought most proper, for a present to our reverend ministers."

Votes of this sort occur very frequently.

Mr. Gray died at the age of thirty-seven; Mr. Welsteed at fifty-seven. Their portraits hang in the rooms of the Historical Society. The bills of their funeral expenses have been preserved. For Mr. Gray's funeral were subscribed eight hundred and sixty-eight pounds. The charges were six hundred and fifty-three, and two hundred and fifteen were given to his widow. Some of the items are as follows: "wine, rum, pipes, tobacco—ten pounds. Shoes and cloggs. Hose and gloves," to a very large amount. "Necklace for the negro. A large beaver hat for Mr. Welsteed. Three ditto for Mr. Gray's two sons and negro. Fifteen candles. Black shoe-buckles." A great many "gold rings. Handkerchiefs. A light gray bob wig for Mr. Welsteed. Tolling six bells," &c. &c.

Note F. Page 30.

"The first bell was hung in 1743, and the same year the meeting-house was for the first time painted. This bell was removed and sold in 1780, and the bell of the Old North, which was larger, was hung in its place. It was injured in 1792, and forbidden to be rung, except in case of fire, till it was re-cast, in the same year, and was the first bell from the foundry of the late Paul Revere, Esq., which appears by the following inscription upon it: 'The first bell cast in Boston, 1792, by P. Revere.'"

[Note to Mr. Ware's Century Sermon.]
Dr. Pemberton was chosen December 31, 1753, by a unanimous vote of the church, and by fifty-four votes of the congregation, two persons not voting. The arrangement of services at his ordination has not been recorded. The following is a copy of the doings of the Synod and Presbytery, by which he was dismissed from his charge in New-York:

"An extract of the Minutes of the Synod convened at Philadelphia, October 4, A. D. 1753."

"A representation being made to the Synod by the Rev. Mr. Pemberton, and some members of the Presbyterian Congregation in New-York, of unhappy divisions still subsisting among them, and requesting their assistance in their present distressing circumstances—the Synod do appoint the Rev. Messrs. William Tennant, A. Burr, Richard Treat, Charles Beaty, Samuel Davis, David Bostwick, Elihu Spencer, Caleb Smith, and John Rogers, a committee to meet at New-York, on the fourth Wednesday of this instant, October, at ten o'clock, A. M., with full power and authority to transact in the affairs of said Congregation, as they shall judge necessary, in order to heal their divisions, and promote the interest of religion among them.

D. Bostwick, Clerk of the Synod.

"An extract of the Minutes of the Committee met at New-York, according to the above appointment, October 24, A. D. 1753."

"This Committee, considering the many special difficulties Mr. Pemberton labors under, do allow him a month's time of trial, and if, upon a faithful endeavor to heal the divisions, and serve the interest of Christ's Kingdom among them, he finds all his attempts vain, and still continues his desire of removal, they judge it best that he should then be left at liberty to go or stay as he shall think most consistent with his duty.

D. Bostwick, Clerk of said Com.

"The Presbytery of New-York, pro re nata, met at Newark, January 30, A. D. 1754."

"The Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton having been for many years a worthy member of this Presbytery, and lately dismissed by commission of the Synod, from his pastoral charge of the Presbyterian Congregation in New-York, and being now, as we understand, removed to Boston:—These may certify that said Mr. Pemberton is a regular minister of the Gospel, of an exemplary, pious conversation, who has to an uncommon degree maintained the dignity of the ministerial character; the Presbytery heartily grieve at the departure of so truly valuable a member from among them, and would cheerfully recommend him as one whom God hath eminently endowed with ministerial abilities, whose labors have been acceptable and highly esteemed throughout these churches.

"Signed by order."

A. Burr, Moderator.

"Caleb Smith, Clerk."
"July 10, 1759. Voted, that the Standing Committee be desired to wait on his Honor, the Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, to invite him to sit in the fore seat, and that a cushion be made for his use."

"May 26, 1766. On a motion made and seconded respecting making our elder's seat and the deacon's seat into one, as it has lately been done at Mr. Cooper's and the Old North churches; it was voted, unanimously, that it be done as soon as may be, and that some persons go with a carpenter and see how the alteration is at the Old North and Mr. Cooper's, that so ours may be done in the most convenient manner."

"July 14, 1767. Voted, to have electrical points or wires put up on the steeple."

"March 16, 1769. Last night died Deacon Lee, aged ninety. He was one of the first deacons of this church, from the year 1721, and one of the forty proprietors that built the meeting-house. He outlived all his brethren that were the original founders of this church."

"1763. August 31. On hearing that the Rev. Mr. Whitefield is soon expected, the committee voted, unanimously, that our pastor be desired to invite him to preach in our meeting-house as often as may be convenient, as the committee apprehend it will be agreeable to the greater part of the people."

An attempt was several times made to settle a colleague with Dr. Pemberton. In 1763, Mr. Tennant was selected for this office, and some action of the church was taken in regard to him, but "he went off, and so the matter dropped."

At the close of the year 1770, Mr. Isaac Story was desired by the church to preach as a candidate, and to settle. Dr. Pemberton did not approve of this choice. The following correspondence and doings took place in relation to Mr. Story's settlement:

"MEMORANDUM.

"January, 1771.

"Several of our brethren desired Deacons Tudor and Greenough to go and discourse once more with Dr. Pemberton on our church's affairs, respecting Mr. Story's preaching with us, &c. Agreeably to said request they went, and after a full hour's conversation, Dr. Pemberton made a proposal, and said it was best to commit it to writing to prevent any mistake; accordingly Mr. Tudor took the words down as Mr. Pemberton spake them, which is as follows, viz:"

"January 18, 1771. In conversation this evening, Dr. Pemberton said, that he was freely willing the congregation should hear Mr. Story three or four months, more or less, as they please; nay, that he is desirous they should enjoy their liberty in hearing him; and if, at the expiration of that term, they shall think fit to give him a call, and in consequence of that call he shall be regularly settled amongst them, Mr. Pemberton will give them no obstruction in their proceedings, only reserves to himself the right of private judgment, and cannot act contrary to it, which he thinks they ought to indulge him in, seeing he
allowed them the same liberty: and when he is thus settled, Mr. Pemberton will act with him as his colleague, whatever his private judgment may be.

"This is agreeable to my sentiments."

E. Pemberton.

"Dr. Pemberton, in private conversation, used to say, that Mr. Story was in principle a Fatalist, and that his nephew was pretty much in the same way."

"Dear Sir:—With concern we wrote you our last letter; our reverend pastor not seeing his way clear to unite with us in the invitation we had before sent you; but it is with great satisfaction we now assure you, and we have it under Dr. Pemberton's hand, 'that he is freely willing the congregation should hear you three or four months, more or less, as they please; nay, that he is desirous they shall hear you, and if they should give you a call, and you should be settled, he will act with you as a colleague.' Dr. Pemberton writes you by this opportunity, so that you will be fully acquainted with his present sentiments immediately from himself. Our people are as desirous as ever to hear you, and more so. Therefore, sir, we shall take it as a favor if you would, as soon as may be, let us have another specimen of your ability. We wish you all happiness, and are

Your humble servants,

Boston, January 22, 1771.

John Tudor,
John Ruddock,
John Marston,
William Paine,
Thomas Hitchborn,

N. Greenough.

"To Mr. Isaac Story.
"Please to favor us with a few lines."

"Boston, January 23, 1771.

Sir:—A considerable number of my congregation desire to hear you preach for some time, and I am desirous they should enjoy their liberty. If you comply with their invitation, you may expect on this and every other occasion the most kind and complaisant treatment from Sir, your humble servant,

E. Pemberton.

"To Mr. Isaac Story."

"Gentlemen:—I received yours of the third instant. The great unanimity which the church and congregation have manifested in this their invitation, calls for the most serious attention on the one hand, and the most grateful returns on the other. The difficulties that attend my accepting this invitation, you must be sensible are very great, and in a manner insurmountable. Last Monday the proprietors of the new parish in Marblehead had a meeting; after the opening of which, they sent me a unanimous invitation to preach with them two months. This I felt myself obliged to comply with, immediately, as the people were importunate and waiting for an answer. What farther influenced me, arose partly from my not hearing from you, but more from the conversation I had with your venerable pastor, the substance of which was, that I must expect no encouragement from him, &c. It could scarcely
be expected that I should be willing to preach with so respectable a gentleman, when he discovers, even according to your own letter, so great an aversion. My being engaged at Marblehead will, I hope, tend to the peace and establishment of your church, as my accepting your offer would, in his opinion, be the ruin of the same.

"Thus, gentlemen, I have laid before you the whole state of affairs. May the God of all wisdom and of all goodness direct you and me into such measures as shall be for his glory, and the advancement of his Son's kingdom.

"I subscribe myself, with due respects, your, and the church and congregation's humble servant, in our common Lord, Isaac Story.

"Ipswich, January 4, 1771.

"To John Tudor and John Ruddock, Esquires, and Messrs. Thomas Greenough, John Marston, William Paine, Thomas Hitchborn, and N. Greenough, Committee of the New Brick Church, in Boston.

"P. S. Please to give my regards to Dr. Pemberton."

Mr. Story was afterwards settled at Marblehead, and Dr. Pemberton preached his ordination sermon.

Note I. Page 33.

Dr. Pemberton had three wives, one named Penhallow, of Portsmouth; another, Powell. It is said there is a portrait of him at E. P. Cady's, at Plainfield, Conn. He died at the age of seventy-two.

Note J. Page 35.

Very friendly invitations have been extended to our congregation by the Baptist Society, worshiping in Baldwin Place, the Universalist, in Hanover-street, the New North, and the Bulfinch-street, to use their houses of worship at such times as we may desire, when they are not occupied, until our own is completed. It has been thought best to have, for the present, only one service on Sunday. It is held in the Bulfinch-street meeting-house, at half-past four, P. M.

At the time when Dr. Stillman and Dr. Pemberton preached alternately in the pulpit of the latter, the custom was to take up a contribution for the payment of the minister's salary. Both the ministers received their pay from the same box. The money intended for each was so marked; and all the unmarked money was divided equally between them.

Dr. Pemberton's salary often fell short of the amount agreed upon. He relinquished most of his demands against the parish, and was very liberal to it.
"Form of Union, between the Church of Christ, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, and the Second Church of Christ in Boston, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Lathrop."

"First, the Moderator of the New Brick Church, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, addresses himself as follows, to the members of the church: —

"Brethren: — It having pleased Almighty God to remove from us by death our late evangelical pastor, the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, under whose ministry some of us have sat with pleasure for many years, and the great Head of the Church having so ordered events in the Kingdom of Providence, that we have enjoyed the ministerial labors of the Rev. John Lathrop, who has statedly ministered to us, and to the church under his particular care, which has assembled with us since the evacuation of the town by the British forces in March, 1776: — finding ourselves reduced to a small number, it has been thought that it might tend to the glory of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and to our own edification, for us to unite and incorporate with the Second Church of Christ, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Lathrop, with whose ministerial labors we have expressed our full satisfaction; that from henceforth we be one Church or Corporate Body, equally entitled to all the rights and privileges, all the stock, whether in plate, money, books, houses, lands, and hereditaments which have hitherto been the separate property of each church.

"As this important affair has been for some time under consideration, and every member of the church has had time to think and determine, if you please, I will put the question. If it be your minds, then, my brethren, that the Church of Christ, late under the care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, should unite and incorporate with the Second Church of Christ in Boston, please to signify it by the usual sign of holding up the hand.

"The Moderator will then address himself to the brethren of the congregation usually known by the name of the New Brick: —

"Brethren: — As the Church of Christ, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, have now voted to unite and incorporate with the Second Church of Christ in this town, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Lathrop, it is proper that the congregation who usually attended on the ministry of the late Dr. Pemberton, should signify their concurrence with what the church has done. If it be your minds, then, brethren, to concur with the church in their act of union and incorporation with the Second Church of Christ in this town, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Lathrop, please to signify it.

"The Moderator of the Second Church of Christ in this town, will address himself to that church in the following manner: —

"Brethren of the Second Church in this town: — You have now attended to the vote of the Church of Christ, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, for uniting and incorporating with us. It is now for us to declare our concurrence with what is expressed in the vote of union just now passed by this our sister church. If you please,
I will put the question. If it be your minds, then, my brethren, that the Church of Christ, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, should be united with us, so that from this time we be one Church, or Corporate Body, known by the Second Church of Christ in Boston; and that all those rights and privileges, all the stock, in plate, money, books, houses, lands, and hereditaments, which have hitherto been the separate property of each church, shall from this time become one common stock, to which all the members of this united church shall be equally entitled; and from this time we consider the members of the church, late under the care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, and the members of our own church as one body, equally bound to watch over one another in love, and promote the edification and happiness of the whole: — If this be your minds, please to signify it.

"The Moderator will then address himself to the brethren of the congregation usually known by the name of the Old North: —

"Brethren: — You have attended to the union which has now taken place. The church, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pemberton, and the Second Church of Christ in this town, are no more twain, but one body in the Lord. You have also attended to the vote of the New Brick congregation, declaring their concurrence with the church in the act of union which has been passed. Nothing now remains but your concurrence with the whole: — If it be your minds, then, that inasmuch as a union has been complicated between the churches, the congregations should be united likewise, please to manifest it.

"Conclusion. Brethren: — As we are now one church and one congregation, God grant we may be one in Christ; equally interested in the merits of his obedience and death: — God grant we may be edified more and more in love, and that by his grace we may be all prepared to join with the general assembly and church of the first-born on high, to ascribe blessing, and honor, and glory, and power unto Him that sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

"Boston, June 30, 1779."

The above was drawn up by Deacon Tudor.

Note L. Page 36.

"1779. August 2. Received from Mr. Thomas Hitchborn, who had the care of it, a red velvet pulpit cushion and case. Note. This cushion was delivered to brother S. Austin, and sold to the first church in Hingham, for six cords of wood, which, on November 13th, was brought up and carted to Mr. Lathrop's house."

"1779. July 29. The Committee met, but by reason of a most extraordinary affair that came before the body of the people at their meeting at Faneuil Hall — viz: a great number of prisoners being in town, in prison, and on board three or four guard ships, had laid a plot to break jail, &c., set the town in flames, and run off with some vessels — therefore the Committee adjourned."
The subjoined notes show the very high price of wood in 1780, and also the great depreciation of the currency:—

"1780. January. Note. The Committee desired me (J. Tudor) to get, if I had any opportunity, a small parcel of wood, for Mr. Lathrop, on my wharf, for the present, hoping it would soon be cheaper. They ask three hundred dollars a cord, out of a small sloop that lays at my wharf. But the people will not give it, only a few from necessity. But I got half a cord of south-shore wood, as Mr. Lathrop was out."

"1780. March 28. Agreed to let Mr. Cunningham have the two old Connecticut stones that lay on the Old North land, for half a cord of wood, to be sent to Mr. Lathrop."

In December, 1780, two thousand pounds were raised to purchase Dr. Lathrop's winter wood.

"The meeting-house was on fire at the south-east end, and burnt through the roof, from the fire from Hitchborn's, &c. The south part caught when Dr. Clark's great barn was burnt. The steeple caught when the joiner's shop was burnt opposite to it, and the top in danger several times; after which we put on a turret, and through the favor of the great Head of the Church, it has been preserved to this; July, 1779."

"1781. The tub of the Old North Engine, then the largest in Boston, was brought into the meeting, in order that a child, about ten years old, might, at the particular request of the mother, be baptized by immersion."

The Parsonage house for Dr. Lathrop was built on the land formerly occupied by the Old North meeting-house. Subscriptions were obtained to assist in the purchase of it.

"1789. September 7. Voted, that the committee who let the meeting-house yard to Mr. Godfrey, inform him that it is expected that the pens for keeping pigs in said yard, are considered a great nuisance, and that a removal of them immediately is required. Also, that he is to keep the gates of said yard in repair, and the passage-way leading through his land into Fore-street, in decent order for the passing and re-passing to the meeting-house."

"1791. October 24. Voted, that the society be desired to tarry on the next Sabbath, in order to determine whether, if the New North have but one service on the approaching Thanksgiving day, we shall have but one."

Note M. Page 39.

Mr. Emerson was chosen by a vote of seventy-four out of eighty-three—the worshipers voting with the proprietors. The order of
services at his ordination was as follows, viz: Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, offered the introductory prayer and read the scriptures. Mr. Ripley, of Waltham, preached, from the text, "Preaching peace by Jesus Christ." Mr. Parkman, of the New North, made the Ordaining prayer. Dr. Ripley, of Concord, gave the charge. Mr. Frothingham, of the first Church, the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Gannett, of the Federal-street Church, the address to the people. Mr. Upham, of Salem, the concluding prayer.

In June, 1832, Mr. Emerson invited the brethren of the church to meet at his house, "to receive a communication from him in relation to the views at which he had arrived, respecting the ordinance of the Lord's Supper." After a statement of them, he proposed "so far to change the manner of administering the rite, as to disuse the elements, and relinquish the claim of authority; and suggested a mode of commemoration which might secure the undoubted advantages of the Lord's Supper, without its objectionable features." After hearing this communication, the church appointed a committee to consider and report on the subject. This committee consisted of Deacons Mackintosh and Patterson, Dr. John Ware, George B. Emerson, George A. Sampson, Gedney King, and Samuel Beal. They reported the following resolutions: 1. "That in the opinion of this church, after a careful consideration of the subject, it is expedient to maintain the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the present form." 2. "That the brethren of this church retain an undiminished regard for the pastor, and entertain the hope that he will find it consistent with his sense of duty, to continue the customary administration of the Supper." These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The pastor afterwards, in a public discourse, explained to the society his views of the Lord's Supper, and informed them of the decision of the church. In conclusion, he stated his conviction, that as it was no longer in his power, with a single mind, to administer the Lord's Supper, it became his duty to resign his charge. He therefore requested a dismission of the proprietors, which was granted.

Note N. Page 44.

Deacon John Tudor was a very valuable and efficient officer of the church and proprietors. Amongst other donations he gave the sum of five hundred dollars for the support of singing. Every matter of interest, relating to the affairs of the church and congregation, was care-
fully recorded by him. The greater part of the votes and other records which I have copied from the society's books, in this Appendix, up to the year 1781, are in his hand-writing. As an instance of his accuracy and fidelity in relation to the records, I will refer to a single additional entry of his in the church book, in the year 1772. It seems that Deacon Lee, his predecessor in the office of Treasurer, had omitted to give an account of the manner in which he had disposed of a certain sum of money, collected and put into his hands. Deacon Tudor explains the transaction, and justifies Deacon Lee by the following records. He writes —

"There was a collection, I remember, in many of the congregational churches, in 1739, to defend a lawsuit unjustly brought against Mr. Torrey, the minister of South Kingston, in order to recover the parsonage estate possessed by Mr. Torrey. The estate was left by a gentleman, for the support of an orthodox minister of said Kingston, and, as I remember, one Doctor McSparrow, a church minister, took it into his head that no minister was Orthodox unless he was ordained by a Bishop, &c. &c.; so, by the help of some, no better than himself, he brought an action to recover the estate for himself and successors, but he failed in his unjust prosecution."

Deacon Tudor also pasted into the church records a receipt for thirty-five pounds, ten shillings, from the New Brick congregation for the use of Mr. Torrey in this suit, from Deacon Lee, signed by Dr. Benjamin Colman.

When Deacon Samuel Parkman left the church, to unite himself with the New North, under the pastoral care of his son, votes were passed expressive of the high regard entertained for his services, and a beautiful and costly silver pitcher was presented to him, with the following inscription:

PRESENTED, MAY 25, 1824,
To SAMUEL PARKMAN, Esq.,
IN MEMORY OF
HIS FAITHFUL SERVICES, AND DEVOTED FRIENDSHIP,
FOR A LONG SERIES OF YEARS,
AND IN VARIOUS OFFICES.

The following are—as far as I have been able to ascertain them—the names of those who have officiated as deacons of the New Brick
Church, and, since its union with the Second Church, of the latter: Solomon Townsend, William Lee, James Halsey, (who was also chosen Ruling Elder; he was the only one who would accept the office, which he held for many years,) Eben. Bridge, John Tudor, Thomas Greenough, Thomas Hitchborn, Benjamin Henderson, Samuel Ridgway, Jonathan Brown, William Boardman, William Bell, Samuel Parkman, Thomas Lewis, James Foster, Peter Mackintosh, Jr., Enoch Patterson, Richard W. Bayley, J. N. Daniell.

The present pastor of the Second Church and Society was chosen by a unanimous vote of the proprietors, October 20, 1833. At his ordination, which took place December 4, 1833, the order of services was as follows, viz: — introductory prayer, and selections from scripture, by Rev. John Pierpont; sermon, by Professor Henry Ware, Jr.; ordaining prayer, by Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D. D.; charge, by Rev. James Kendall, D. D.; fellowship of the churches, by Rev. Francis Parkman; concluding prayer, by Rev. George Putnam.

COVENANT OF THE SECOND CHURCH.

On the 16th of September, 1821, the church voted to restore and adopt for their use, on the admission of members, the ancient covenant used by Dr. Increase Mather. It is in these words, viz: —

"You do in this solemn presence, give up yourself to the true God in Jesus Christ, and to his people also according to the will of God, promising to walk with God, and with this church of his, in all his holy ordinances, and to yield obedience to every truth of his, which has been or shall be made known to you as your duty, the Lord assisting you by his spirit and grace.

"We then, the church of Christ in this place, do receive you into the fellowship, and promise to walk towards you, and to watch over you as a member of this church, endeavoring your spiritual edification in Christ Jesus our Lord."

LIBRARY OF THE CHURCH.

A valuable library belonged to the Second Church, which was founded at the suggestion of Joshua Gee, and received donations from several clergymen and others. In 1827, at the request of Mr. Ware, who stated that efforts were making to build up a library for the Theological School, at Cambridge, the church "voted, that the pastor be authorized
to select such volumes as he may think proper, from its library, and make a donation of them to the library of the Theological School, with the proviso, that the minister of the Second Church shall always have free use of the library of the Theological School.

COMMUNION PLATE.

At the time of the union of the Second and New Brick Churches, several valuable articles of silver plate, being unnecessary, were sold. The following is a description of the silver Communion Plate, the property of the Second Church:

One large Flagon, with this inscription thereon: "Mrs. Elizabeth Wensley, to the Second Church of Christ in Boston, 1711." Also, stamped on the bottom "PO."

One large Flagon, inscribed: "The Legacy of Mr. John Frisell, who died April 10, 1723, to the Second Church of Christ in Boston." Also, a coat of arms is engraved thereon, with this motto: "Jesu est Presst." Also, stamped with the letters "1B" twice on the body of the flagon, near the handle.

One large Flagon, inscribed: "This Flagon is the gift of Mrs. Dorothy Frisell to the Second Church of Christ in Boston, December, 1733."

One smaller Flagon, inscribed: "The gift of Mrs. Dorothy Frisell to the Church of Christ in Boston, of which the Rev. Mr. William Waldron is the pastor, 1724." Also stamped "1B."

One large Flagon, inscribed: "The Rev. Mr. Welsteed, Pastor of this Church, ordered, on his death bed, this Flagon to be given as a token of the tender affection he bears towards us, 1753." A coat of arms is engraved on it, but no motto. Stamped near the handle with the word "BRIDGE."

One smaller Flagon, no inscription. Stamped twice near the handle with the letters "T.T."

One large Cup, inscribed: "A Friend's gift to the North Brick Church, 1730." A coat of arms on the reverse side, and also stamped "1G."

One large Cup, stamped "HURD."

One large Cup, stamped "1G." and engraved on the bottom, "1731."

One large Cup, stamped "GH."

One large Cup, engraved, "Given by Nathaniel Loring to the New Brick Church, 1723-4." Stamped on the bottom, "1R."

One smaller Cup, inscribed, "Given by W. L. to the New Brick Church, 1723-4." Stamped on the bottom, "1R."
One smaller Cup, stamped on the bottom, "g.h."
Two small Spoons, with holes in the bowls for strainers; stamped "P.R."

One large Dish, inscribed, "The gift of Edward Hutchinson to the Second Church in Boston, May, 1711."

One Dish to match, inscribed "The gift of Thomas Hutchinson to the Second Church in Boston, May, 1711. A coat of arms on each dish, and both stamped "ew."

One Dish, same size, no inscription. Stamped "ew." A coat of arms engraved thereon, but different from those on the above dishes.

One Baptismal Basin, inscribed on the under side of the rim as follows, viz: "Hoc Lavacrum Septenrionali in Bostonio Ecclesie adusum SS. Baptismi dedicatum est per Adamum Winthrop adortum primi sui Filii qui baptizatus est 18 August, 1706."

One Silver Bread Knife.

The following gentlemen have officiated as Treasurers of the society:

The following is a list of all that have come to my knowledge of the publications of the ministers of the New Brick:

WILLIAM WALDRON.
1727. Artillery Election Sermon.

WILLIAM WELSTEED.
1729. Artillery Election Sermon.
1751. Election Sermon, (Councillors.)

ELLIS GRAY.
1742. Sermon at Ordination of Thaddeus Maccarty, Kingston.
1749. Artillery Election Sermon.

EBENEZER PEMBERTON.
1756. Artillery Election Sermon.
1757. Election of Councillors.
1759. Convention Sermon.
1766. Dudleian Lecture.
1770. On the Death of Whitefield.
1771. Sermon at the Ordination of Isaac Story.

For a list of Dr. Lathrop’s numerous publications, I would refer to the Appendix to Dr. Parkman’s sermon at his interment. I have in my possession two sermons which are not enumerated in that catalogue. A sermon at the Dedication of the New South Meeting-house in Dorchester, October 6, 1813; and a sermon preached at the first Church in Weymouth, Oct. 29, 1814, at the interment of Miss Mary P. Bicknell.

A catalogue of Mr. Ware’s publications may be found in the Appendix to my sermon, preached to the Second Church on the occasion of his death.

EARTHQUAKE OF 1755.

I have alluded to the religious use made of the earthquake of 1727. The records of the "Associated Pastors of the Churches of Boston," contain an account of the proceedings of the clergy in relation to that of 1755, which, as it may be interesting to some readers, I here transcribe:—

"November 18, 1755. About twenty minutes after four, A. M., there was a very severe shock of an earthquake, which lasted about two minutes; at first it came on moderately, preceded by a noise; the shaking a little after abated something, and then came on a violent concussion. Great damage done to many buildings, but no life lost.

"At ten o’clock in the forenoon there was a religious exercise at the Old South. Mr. Prince prayed; Dr. Sewall preached; a full and serious assembly. A religious exercise at the same time at the New North; Mr. Mather began with prayer; then sung a psalm; after this Mr. Pemberton preached; after sermon Mr. Eliot prayed; then sung; after which Mr. Checkley, Jr. prayed; a full and serious assembly.

"Minister’s meeting at Dr. Sewall’s, P. M.; unanimously agreed, in order to cultivate the religious impressions made on the minds of the people, to have two religious exercises the next Thursday. At the lecture, Dr. Chauncy began with prayer; Mr. Mather preached. The Old South opened at half past two; Dr. Sewall prayed; Mr. Prince preached. New North opened at the same time. Mr. Pemberton prayed; Mr. Eliot preached. Met at Dr. Sewall’s the next Monday, Agreed to have two religious exercises the next Friday afternoon, at the New North and New South. At New North Dr. Sewall prayed; Mr. Foxcroft preached. At New South Mr. Prince prayed; Mr. Checkley preached. Met at Mr. Cooper’s, December 1st. Agreed to have a religious exercise at Mr. Cooper’s the next Friday afternoon. Mr. Cooper prayed; Dr. Chauncy preached. Met at Mr. Cooper’s afterwards. Agreed upon a religious exercise at Old Brick the next Tuesday afternoon; Mr. Checkley prayed; Mr. Checkley, Jr. preached. A religious exercise at the Old North the Friday afternoon following. Mr. Foxcroft prayed; Dr. Sewall preached. Went to Mr.
Cheekley, Jr.'s, after meeting. Agreed upon a religious exercise at New Brick next Tuesday afternoon. Mr. Mather prayed; Mr. Cheekley preached. Went to Mr. Pemberton's and agreed upon a religious exercise at Mr. Mather's the next Tuesday afternoon. Mr. Eliot prayed; Mr. Pemberton preached. Met at Mr. Mather's after this; and considering the readiness of the people to give their attendance, agreed upon another course. Accordingly agreed that there should be a religious exercise at the Old South the next Tuesday afternoon; Mr. Pemberton prayed; Mr. Foxcroft preached. Then met at Dr. Sewall's, and agreed, in consideration of the day of humiliation and thanksgiving appointed by authority the next week, to omit a religious exercise for that week. Minister's meeting at Mr. Prince's; agreed upon a religious exercise at Mr. Eliot's, January 13th, afternoon; Mr. Cheekley, Jr. prayed; Mr. Prince preached. Then met at Mr. Eliot's; agreed upon a religious exercise at Mr. Checkley's, January 23d, afternoon; Dr. Sewall prayed; Mr. Mather preached. Met at Mr. Checkley's after this; determined nothing as to any further religious exercise."

Amongst the number of those who have contributed to the prosperity of the Church and the interest of the public services, I would mention with gratitude the Voluntary Choir, for whose valuable assistance, and uninterrupted harmony, for the last six years, the society and their minister are under great obligations.

VALEDICTORY SERVICES IN THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE.

The last services in the old house, on Sunday, March 10, were attended by a large concourse, drawn together by the interest felt in the occasion, and by attachment to the ancient edifice.

On the evening of that day, the Hancock Sunday School, connected with the Second Church and Society, had a public celebration of their anniversary. The house was filled to its utmost capacity, and hundreds went away, unable to procure an entrance. Addresses were made by the pastor, R. W. Emerson, Dr. John Pierce, and Dr. Parkman. Several original hymns were sung by the children, and the exercises were concluded by the singing of the doxology, commencing with the words —

"From all that dwell below the skies,"

To the tune of Old Hundred, in which all present joined.

The pulpit of the old church, and many of the pews, were sold to the religious society in Billerica, Mass., and now stand in their meeting-house.

N. B. It should have been stated on the title page that these Sermons were printed by vote of the parish.
VIEW OF THE OLD CHURCH.
EL DORADO;

BEING A NARRATIVE

OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH GAVE RISE TO REPORTS, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

OF THE EXISTENCE OF A

RICH AND SPLENDID CITY

IN SOUTH AMERICA,

TO WHICH THAT NAME WAS GIVEN, AND WHICH LED TO MANY ENTERPRISES IN SEARCH OF IT;

INCLUDING A

DEFENCE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

IN REGARD TO THE RELATIONS MADE BY HIM RESPECTING IT, AND A

NATION OF FEMALE WARRIORS, IN THE VICINITY OF THE AMAZON,

IN THE NARRATIVE OF HIS EXPEDITION TO THE ORONOKE IN 1595.

WITH A MAP.

BY J. A. VAN HEUVEL.

New- York :
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MDCCCLIV.
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JACOB A. VAN HEUVEL,
In the Clerk's Office of the Southern District of New York, in the year 1844.
Among the distinguished names which shine in the pages of Modern History, scarce any holds a more conspicuous place than Sir Walter Raleigh. And equally to an American as to the inhabitants of his own country, is his history interesting, as his enterprising spirit first led to the discovery of that part of North America which is now the United States; and made the first attempts to colonize it—whence he has been called the Father of American Colonization. His brilliant and varied talents, his bold and daring genius, his chivalric courage; his services to his country, both by land and sea, which were the fruits of these qualities, particularly his maritime expeditions; combined with his ardent love of science and his extensive knowledge—and in the end, his melancholy fate, have often been portrayed by writers of his own country, with enthusiastic admiration, mingled with deep sympathy and regret. A portion of his life may, however, it is believed, even now, from a further knowledge of facts, be more fully elucidated.

The melancholy catastrophe of it, had its origin in various expeditions which he made during a long period to Guyana, in South America, in pursuit of the fabled city of El Dorado—supposed by him—to be within its limits and of the rich mineral treasures with which it abounded. But this part of his life has been less particularly examined than any other. While the sentence against him has been denounced, with unqualified condemnation, by historians generally, for the grounds on which it was founded, as unjust, tyrannical and oppressive; the censures he became subject to, from the representations he made of that country, as a weak victim to credulity, or the dishonest fabricator of the glowing accounts he gave of it, made, it was alleged, with the view of regaining the favor of an offended sovereign, have continued, yet, to throw some shade on the fame of this illustrious man.

My attention has been directed to this portion of his life, by a visit I made, some years since, to a part of British Guyana; which led me to consult cotemporary voyagers to that and other parts of Guyana, and later writers, who have described it; and the result of my careful investigation of the subject, aided by a few facts I then obtained, has thrown some light on the Narrative of his first voyage to that region, which furnished the ground of the invectives of his enemies; and enabled me to place his character, in regard to it, in a more advantageous light than it has heretofore been viewed in.
Some relations made by him of very singular tribes of Indians, in the vicinity of the Oronoke and Amazon, which contributed to impair the credibility of his statements generally, by exhibiting him to those disposed to condemn him, without examination, as a credulous dealer in fabulous romantic narratives; in particular, his remarkable account of a nation of female warriors, whom Hume, in his unlimited invective against him, styles his "Republic of Amazons," have also been the subject of my examination; and which has, I believe, resulted in an entire vindication of him in respect to them.

It is the object of these pages to exhibit the facts I have collected on the subjects I have examined, and the conclusions I have formed upon them; which will be done with a strict regard to truth and historical accuracy, without aiming at embellishment; and for his defence, I rely on a simple presentation of them, founded as they will be, on unimpeachable testimony; believing that thus greater justice will be done to his memory, than by attempting a general eulogy on his character, which is not required, and would be a useless effort, after the numerous panegyrics upon him which have proceeded from the ablest pens.

Heuvelton, St. Lawrence County, New-York, Jan. 20, 1844.
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CHAPTER I.


Few men have, at any time, appeared on the public stage, who united in their character such an assemblage of brilliant qualities as Sir Walter Raleigh. His physical and mental endowments were alike conspicuous. Formed by nature in the finest mould, and his constitution possessed both of vigor and agility—an active life would seem to have been that for which he was peculiarly qualified, while an intellect of varied powers, fitted him equally for the investigation of science and the pursuit of literature. We see him, at one time employed in the military service of his country, or on bold and daring maritime expeditions; at another, when retired from public scenes, devoting his time with the most patient assiduity to grave and laborious studies, and employing his pen in giving to the world the results of his investigations. "When we view his actions," says Mr. Cayley, one of his biographers, from whom I have taken my principal facts in his life, "we are astonished at the number of his writings. Viewing his writings, we wonder he had time for so much action." And not only was his philosophic genius employed in the study of History and Philosophy, moral and natural in all its branches; he sometimes, also, recreated himself in the flowery walks of imagination. The verses which he wrote, at different times, are very favorable specimens of his poetical talent; and it is the opinion of a cotemporary, that had he devoted himself to the cultivation of it, he would have arrived at as much distinction in this as any other department of literature, or as he attained in any sphere in which he moved in public life.

When arrived at manhood and entered into public service, he soon discovered a genius for enterprise and the pursuit of foreign discovery.
To that object his active life was mainly devoted—and when not engaged abroad, or on public duties at home, his hours of leisure were directed to the pursuit of knowledge; and he discovered the happy effects of the union of an inquisitive mind—which led him to seek information in every direction, of foreign countries—with an enterprising genius, in forming plans for their discovery; and great activity, energy and perseverance, in carrying them into execution. This combination of various qualities, made him the admiration of the age in which he lived, and one of the most distinguished men of his country; but had, likewise, the effect of raising against him a number of rivals, envious of his talents and influence, who at length undermined him—and, combined with political circumstances, caused his unhappy fate.

"He had the advantage," says Mr. Cayley, "of entering life under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so distinguished for the vigor and success of her government, and the variety of important events occurring in the course of it, and at a period of unusual political activity to exercise and encourage his genius." And he early discovered indications of that brave and daring spirit, and love of enterprise, which distinguished him through life. When he had just arrived in his seventeenth year, he engaged as one of a troop of well-equipped volunteers, who, under permission from the Queen, marched into France to assist the Huguenots. "He remained in France four years; and as, during this whole period, there was a constant succession of battles, sieges, and treaties, he had a very advantageous opportunity to form his military character." He was next employed in Holland. The Queen having broken her peace with Spain, and agreed to supply the States with men and money, a force was sent there by her, which Raleigh accompanied. On his return in 1579, being then in his twenty-seventh year, he exchanged the service on land for that on the sea; and then appeared the first development of that spirit of maritime enterprise and foreign discovery, which was the leading feature of his life.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his relative, obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth for planting and inhabiting certain northern parts of America, which extended beyond the twenty-fifth degree of N.Lat., unpossessed by any of her allies; and young Raleigh readily engaged in the adventure. Many others entered into the cause. When the shipping was prepared, however, unanimity was wanting, and the majority separated; leaving Sir Humphrey to prosecute the adventure with only a few of his most faithful adherents—among whom was Raleigh. With these few he ventured to sea, and, after a smart action with the Spaniards, was compelled to return home with the loss of a large ship.

The early period at which Raleigh entered into the public service, deprived him of the advantages of extended education. Of his childhood, no circumstance has been preserved; and it is not known even, at what school he had been admitted. But it is agreed by Lord Bacon and some other writers of that period, that he studied a few years at the University of Oxford. From what causes he broke so early from his studies, and
enlisted in a band of youthful volunteers to aid the Protestants of France, is not known: but it is clear it did not arise from a disrelish for study and the pursuit of knowledge. He soon became sensible of the deficiency in his education, and, amid the anxious and troublesome life of a soldier, endeavored to repair it. Of the twenty-four hours, only five were allowed for sleep, and four were devoted to study; while he voluntarily shared, in his land and sea expeditions, the labors, hardships, and hazards of the meanest of his companions.

After this he was engaged in Ireland in military affairs. The Roman Catholics there, instigated by the King of Spain and the Pope, were on the eve of a general revolution; and to subdue them, a force was sent over by the Government, in which Raleigh held a commission as captain. Very honorable mention is made by an historian of his services in this rebellion. He was one of four companies deputed by the Commander of the troops to attack a fort built by the Spaniards, in which he exhibited great activity and bravery; and after a siege of five days, the fort surrendered at discretion. In other actions he displayed the same spirit, address, and courage.

"It was probably about this time, that Spenser the poet, who had been appointed by Lord Grey—the deputy—his secretary, contracted that friendship with Raleigh, which proved so beneficial to him in Raleigh’s more advanced fortunes; for after Sir Philip Sidney’s death, he was his chief patron and friend."

"Raleigh’s services in Ireland, were of themselves sufficient to recommend him to the favor of Queen Elizabeth. But tradition has related an incident which ascribes to his gallantry, his first introduction to his sovereign. The Queen in her walks, met one day, it is said, a dirty spot on the road, which made her hesitate about proceeding. Raleigh, whose person was handsome and his address graceful, threw off his new plush mantle and spread it for her majesty, who trod over the fair carpet, surprised and pleased at the adventure."

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, four years after his unsuccessful voyage, made another expedition to Newfoundland, and Raleigh determined to hold a share in it, though he did not accompany it; and fitted out a vessel of two hundred tuns to join it, at his own expense. The fleet sailed on the eleventh of June, 1583. His vessel was obliged to part from it, by a contagious distemper, and returned to England in great distress. Sir Humphrey reached Newfoundland, and took possession of it; but on his return two of his vessels were lost, in one of which he himself perished.*

Raleigh’s mind appears now to have become entirely devoted to the pursuit of foreign discoveries, and his enterprising genius found an ample field on which to exert itself. The ill success of his relative, had little influence in damping his ardor. Other regions in North America lay yet to be explored. On examining the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards, he found that they had not extended beyond the Gulf of Mexico,

and that a large extent of country lay north of it, which he thought might be worth colonizing, and he resolved to attempt it.

Having prepared his plan, he laid it before the Queen and council, and it meeting with their approbation, she granted him her letters patent, dated March the twenty-fifth, 1584, "to discover such remote barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christian people."

No sooner was the patent obtained, than he, with some associates, equipped two vessels for an American voyage, commanded by Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlowe, which went to sea on the twenty-seventh of April, 1584, and arrived the fourth day of July succeeding, on the coast of North Carolina, and cast anchor at the Island of Roanoke, of which they took possession in right of the Queen, and to the use of Raleigh. An amicable intercourse was held by them with the Indians, but they made no settlement on it, and returned to England satisfied with having obtained a knowledge of the country; and as a record of their having taken possession of it, drew up an account of the voyage of discovery and landing, addressed to Raleigh, and signed by some of the principal persons who were present.

Raleigh laid before Queen Elizabeth the account he had received of the country, visited by the ships, with which she was so pleased, that, "either because this was the first discovery of it, or it was discovered under her reign, she conferred on it the name of Virginia," embracing all the undiscovered portion of North America.

At that period, produced no doubt by the spirit with which he prosecuted these voyages of discovery, and the success which had attended them, he had risen high in public notice, and in favor of the Queen. "On the approaching session of Parliament he was so well supported, that he was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Devon; and it was probably about this time that he received the honor of knighthood."  *

The favorable report made by Barlowe and Amidas of this country, induced Raleigh to make another expedition to it. Early in 1585, seven sail were ready for sea, the command of which was given to Sir Richard Grenville; and the squadron sailed from Plymouth on the ninth of April, having on board a colony of about one hundred men, to be planted in that country under the government of Mr. Lane.† The fleet came to anchor on the coast of North Carolina, and, after landing at several places to discover the country, fixed upon a site for a settlement.‡ The next year Sir Walter Raleigh, at his own charge, prepared a ship of one hundred tuns, provided with plentiful supplies for the relief of the colony. But before it arrived, the colony being visited by Sir Francis Drake with a fleet, the colonists, in consequence of not receiving the supplies, growing despondent, solicited him to take them home with him to England; which request he granted, and the settlement was broken up.§

The year after, Sir Walter Raleigh sent out another colony there, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Mr. John

White, with twelve assistants, whom he incorporated under the name of "Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia." The vessel reached its destination, and the colonists were landed. They urged the Governor, however, to return for fresh supplies, to which he consented, and Raleigh on his arrival in England prepared to send them; but the apprehension in England of a Spanish invasion, calling in requisition every vessel, he experienced some delay in making his preparations. Finally, he sent two pinnaces with the supplies; but one having been taken at sea, and stripped, they both returned to England without accomplishing their purpose, to the distress of the colony, and the vexation of its proprietors.

"Experience having now taught him the real, and almost insurmountable difficulties which he, as a proprietor, had to encounter in the establishment of this colony, and after having expended a large sum upon it, he at last determined to assign over to a company in London the right confirming it, reserving to himself the fifth part of all gold and silver ore." *

Sir Walter Raleigh, I have observed, has been called the father of American colonization; for before his enterprises, which have been related, were made, no colony was established in any part of North America; and they probably, by drawing public attention to this hemisphere, led to those which were subsequently sent to the more northern portions of it, and the settlement of New England.

"He had now raised himself, principally by his individual merit, to a station of rank and distinction, and was particularly favored by his sovereign, in a reign in which the royal munificence was confessedly apportioned with economy, though with discernment."

Circumstances, however, soon occurred, which laid the foundation of all the future troubles that befell him. The jealousy which the Earl of Leicester, the favorite Minister of Queen Elizabeth, began to entertain of his rising character, was exerted to undermine his influence at court; and dying soon after, it is believed he imparted his feelings to the Earl of Essex, his son-in-law and successor, who became, afterward, the rival competitor of Raleigh for the favor of the Queen.

The love of enterprise still continued to hold its sway in the mind of Raleigh, and we find him at this period engaged in an important naval expedition, which he with some of his friends, set on foot, and which resulted in the capture of one of the largest ships belonging to Portugal, and the richest prize that had ever been brought into England.

He had not been long returned from this expedition, when he began to feel the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth from an incident which occurred at court—but whether it was before or after he went to sea, does not appear; and whose dissatisfaction was so great, that she caused him to be sent to the Tower. He remained in confinement until late in September, 1592, and on his liberation proceeded to the west of England, to look after his share in the rich prize, which appears to have been great.

In the session of Parliament of the ensuing winter, he makes a conspicuous figure, and his endeavors to recover the royal favor seem speedily to have been crowned with success. He entertained the hope of being included in the list of privy counsellors; and the Queen made him a grant of the castle and manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, which had been acquired by the Crown.* But, notwithstanding the rewards he received for his public services, the Queen, from the incident which had occurred at court, although by his subsequent conduct he did all he could to make amends, never afterward regarded him with that complacency she did before.

Before the close of 1594, he retired to his castle at Sherborne,† either as a kind of honorable exile from the royal eye, or for the purpose of preparing and maturing a project which then engaged his mind. Foreign voyages of discovery, which had been the leading pursuits of his life, to which not only his time, but his fortune had been devoted, had not, it may be supposed, been forgotten by him. Although the colonization of Virginia was attended with so many obstacles that he was induced to relinquish it, his enterprising genius, combined with the extensive information he had acquired of the newly discovered hemisphere, could not fail to find other regions in which it might be exerted, and a field of exploration then opened upon him, that roused again his ardor for maritime enterprise and discovery.

In the words of Mr. Cayley, "In perusing the narratives of Spanish voyages, he had found frequent mention of the wealth of Guyana, and especially of the riches of the great and golden City of El Dorado. These flattering accounts of this land of magnificent promise having been confirmed to him by oral testimony, added to the circumstances in which he stood at court, made him resolve to attempt the conquest of it in behalf of her majesty."‡

And from this period commenced the expeditions which he successively made to South America, for the conquest of Guyana and the discovery of that splendid city; a project which thereafter engaged his principal attention, to which the remainder of his life was devoted, and for which it was, in the end, sacrificed.

By the aid of his friends, the lord high Admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, one of the privy council, he provided a squadron which sailed on the sixth of February, 1595, for Guyana, and which he accompanied in person.

On his return he published the narrative of this voyage, which has been mentioned in the Introduction, containing, among other extraordinary relations, a repetition of the rumor of the existence of this splendid City of El Dorado, in the unexplored parts of South America, so long sought in vain, and which he described as situated in the interior of Guyana—relations which I propose to examine; and, in doing so, an attempt will be made to explain the origin of a fable, as I may in anticipation venture

to call it, which so dazzled the imaginations of the first conquerors of South America;—for although it has now entirely passed away, as one of those illusions which have sometimes captivated the human mind and been forgotten, except "to point a moral or adorn a tale;"* it may be curious to know what circumstances, greatly magnified and embellished, have given rise to it.

Very soon after the discovery of America, and the conquests of the Spaniards in Peru, New Grenada, and Venezuela, a report reached them wherever they had established themselves, of the existence of a rich and splendid city, abounding in gold, yet undiscovered in the interior of South America, to which they gave the name of El Dorado. Such a rumor was well calculated to inflame the minds of the Spaniards, after having acquired possession of the rich cities of Quito and Cusco, and to excite in them an ardent desire for the discovery of this golden region. From the year 1535, the most expensive expeditions were made in pursuit of it; and mostly from that period until 1560, "which," says Mr. Southey in his History of the Brazils, "have cost Spain more than all the treasures she has received from her South American possessions." Nor were they bold and daring adventurers alone, of no consideration, who entered on this pursuit. Some of the leaders were men of high official rank, who hoped, by success, to rival the fame and acquire the fortunes of a Cortez or Pizarro.

To give an account of all these expeditions, would occupy too much space. A cursory relation of the principal of them, will be sufficient to explain the subject I propose to examine.

The first expedition for the discovery of this golden country, or El Dorado, was set on foot by Sebastian Belalcazar, who had the command in Peru; and who, in 1535, sent two officers to seek it in the mountains between Pasto and Popayan; but who returned without gaining any information respecting it. * It was next attempted in 1539, by Gonzalez Pizarro, brother of the conqueror of Peru. Having been appointed Governor of Quito, he prepared a very large expedition—to discover a country reported to be east of the Andes, and abounding in cinnamon trees, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Canelle—which consisted of four hundred horse. He pursued his course eastward; and after crossing mountains, (a part of the Andes,) he came to a valley, called Zumaque, one hundred leagues from Quito. From this place, he went first northwardly, then eastwardly, and in a few days entered the country of the cinnamon trees. Not finding in it, however, a sufficient return for his toilsome expedition, and being unwilling to return to Quito without performing some great exploit, he embraced the project of discovering El Dorado. He communicated his design to Francis Orellana, who had joined him at the valley of Zumaque, with fifty horsemen, who encouraged him in it, and agreed to accompany him. Pizarro set out with one hundred soldiers, and proceeded directly toward the east. After many

* The Spaniards have a proverb. "Happiness is only to be found in El Dorado, which no one yet has been able to reach."
days toilsome march, he came to the river Napo, in the province of Cocas; the Cacique of which received him amicably, and informed him that, along the banks of another river, which was larger, he should find a country abundant in all things, and whose inhabitants were covered with plates of gold. Pizarro, on receiving this intelligence, without loss of time placed himself at the head of his cavalry, and followed the course of the Napo forty-three days, through an uneven country, without finding any provisions; when he built a vessel to carry by water his sick and baggage, which he embarked in it, with fifty soldiers under the command of Orellana. Orellana for some time kept in company with him; but Pizarro having given him orders to go in search of provisions, as soon as he received them he launched out in the middle of the stream, and suffered himself to be carried down by the current, which was so rapid that in three days it took him one hundred leagues, and in nine days he came to the Amazon. He then conceived the project of discovering it, and separating himself from Pizarro; but concealing his design, persuaded his soldiers that the country to which they had come, was not that which Pizarro had described to them from the account of the Cacique; that they must necessarily float lower down to discover it. He then abandoned himself to the winds, and thought of nothing but pursuing the course of the river till he should discover it, to the sea. Pizarro, after his separation from him, returned to Quito, having wholly failed in the object of his pursuit. Orellana stopped at a town on the Amazon, at the mouth of the Napo, where he was courteously received, and the principal men came to him having gold plates on their breasts, besides jewels about them, and informed him of the great wealth there was farther down, and of another rich and mighty lord up the country. He proceeded three hundred leagues to the twenty-fourth of April, meeting with many good towns. On the twelfth of May he arrived at the province of Machiparo, which was very populous, where he was fiercely attacked by the Indians. This province bordered on that of Aomagua, (Omaguas.) From this place he continued his course to the ocean, not having obtained any information of the golden country; and his voyage is chiefly remarkable from his being the discoverer of this river, to which his name was first given; but which afterward received that of Amazon, or River of the Amazons, from the account he gave of a nation of warlike females upon it, whom he met with on his route, and with whom he had an encounter.* Another memorable expedition in pursuit of El Dorado, was that of Pedro de Orsua, a knight of Navarre. In the year 1560, a party of Brazilian savages, fleeing first from the Portuguese, then from the enemies they had made in their march, made their way, after a ten years' travel, into the province of Quito. They related, that they had passed through the province of the Omaguas, and that they had found it full of large towns, in which were whole streets of goldsmiths; that they had been kindly received there, and for some iron which they had in their posses-

* Herrera's General History of America.
sion, they gave them shields which were covered with gold and set with emeralds. The Marquis of Canete, who had been appointed Viceroy of Peru, determined on sending an expedition in this direction, and gave the command of it to Orsua; who was equally gratified and desirous to undertake it. Building then two brigantines and some flat-bottomed boats on the Rio de los Motelones, a branch of the Guallago which falls into the Amazon, he proceeded with his company along the current of the Guallago into the Amazon. Arriving in this river, he descended it until he came to a village called Machifaro; but heard nothing in his whole route of the golden country. With the expedition went some of the Brazilians, upon whose information it had been undertaken, and one or two of the company of Orellana. All, however, were at a loss about the situation of the country. All they could say, was, that they supposed the country of the Omaguas was not far off, which Orsua thought probable, as they had now advanced, according to computation, more than seven hundred leagues. In this opinion he was doubtless correct, as Machiparo, or Machifaro, (Orellana states,) was next to the province of Aomagua. But, by this time murmurs and discontent began to arise among his men, which were instigated by a party whose object, in joining the expedition, was to turn back under Orsua, or some other leader, and attempt the conquest of Peru. A conspiracy was then formed, of which Aguirre was one of the principal leaders, and Orsua was attacked and murdered. The chiefs of the mutiny nominated Fernando Guzman to be their General. Another expedition was formed by Aguirre, having for its object the supplanting of Guzman in the command of the expedition; and he and a number of his supporters were killed. Aguirre pursued his course to the sea, (studiously avoiding the search for this golden country,) which he reached after encountering many hardships on his way, and thence proceeded to the Island of Marguerita. On his arrival there, determining to pursue his project of conquering Peru, he landed on the coast of Cumana, and thence went to Valencia; and after many crimes and daring actions in Venezuela, was put to death.*

But it was from New Grenada, that the most expensive expeditions in pursuit of El Dorado, were undertaken. From the Promontory of Paria to Cape de la Vela, little figures of molten gold had been found in the hands of the natives, as early as the years 1498 and 1500. The principal markets for these ornaments, were the villages of Curiana (Coro,) and Cauchieto, near the Rio de la Hache. The metal employed by the founders of Cauchieto, came from a mountainous country more to the south. These indications of gold in that region, were sufficient to excite a desire in the conquerors of New Grenada, to endeavor to discover the sources from which it was obtained; and while their thoughts were thus directed to the object, their ardor in the pursuit was raised to the highest pitch, by accounts brought by the Indians. They reported, that by marching for a long time south, a region would be found on the banks of a great

* Southey's Expedition of Orsua.
lake, inhabited by the Omaguas, who lived in a large city, the buildings of which were covered with silver; that the heads of the government and religion wore, when discharging their offices, habits of massy gold; that all their instruments, all their furniture were of gold, or at least of silver. In every part of Venezuela and Cumana, to which the European detachments directed their steps, they received the same accounts;—and by Indians too far separated by the distance of their abodes, to have invented a falsehood."

"Fully believing the truth of these reports," observes Humboldt, "Geronimus de Ortal, Nicholas Federman, and Jorge de Espira, (George Von Speier,) in 1535 and 1536, undertook expeditions by land toward the south, and southwest, in pursuit of the country of the Omaguas.†

"George Von Speier left Coro, (1535,) and penetrated, by the mountains of Merida, to the banks of the Apure and Meta. He passed these two rivers near their sources, where they have but little breadth. The Indians told him, that farther on white men wandered in the plains. Speier, who imagined he was not far from the banks of the Amazon, had no doubt that these wandering Spaniards were men, unfortunately separated in an expedition undertaken by Diego de Ordaz, from another direction. We crossed," he continues, "the savannas of San Juan de los Llanos, which were said to abound in gold; and made a long stay at an Indian village called Pueblo de Neustra Senora, and afterward in Fragua, southwest of the Paruma de la Suma Paz. I have been on the western bank of the group of the mountains of Fasagus, and there heard that the plains by which they skirted, toward the east, still enjoy some celebrity for wealth among the natives.

"Speier found, in the populous village of La Fragua, a Casa del Sol, (or temple of the sun,) and a convent of virgins, similar to those of Peru and New Grenada. Pursuing his way toward the south, and crossing the two branches of the Guavare, which are the Ariare and the Guayover, he arrived on the banks of the great river Papamena, or Caqueta. The resistance he met with during a whole year, in the province de los Chaques, put an end, in 1537, to this memorable expedition.

"Nicholas Federman, and Geronimo de Ortal, who in 1536 went from Maracapana and the mouth of the Rio Neveri, followed the traces of Jorge de Espira. The former sought for gold in the Rio Grande de Magdalena—the latter endeavored to discover a temple of the sun on the banks of the Meta.‡"

But, not to name all the enterprises undertaken for this object, the most distinguished of the adventurers, who sought it from this region, was Philip de Urra, or Utre, who commenced his expedition in 1541; his narrative of which excited more attention than any that had appeared, as he was the only one, of the many who had gone in pursuit of the golden country, who professed to have seen it. After setting out on his march, he came, by chance, to a place where he learned that Quesada had just

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passed, and he determined to follow his steps, and after many days toilsome travel, he arrived in the province of Pampamena. He took an Indian there to guide him; but when they had journeyed for eight days, through the most frightful places and difficult passes, he suddenly left him. The soldiers now began to murmur; and beginning to suffer hunger, he determined to return, but the rainy season prevented. As soon as the weather allowed, he took his way to Coro, and thought only of making fresh endeavors to discover the Golden City. From the Indians, through whose country he passed, he learned that there was a region inhabited by the Omegas, richer by far than any that had been discovered, but peopled with a warlike and ferocious race. As soon as the plains were no longer under water, he directed his march to that country; and, on his return, gave the following particular account of his expedition.

When he had marched until his army was reduced to forty men, the Indians conducted him to the river Guaynavo, on the opposite side of which, was the city of Macatoa. He sent a message to the Cacique, to request a passage through his country, and an alliance of friendship with him. This request was readily granted by the Cacique, and when informed of the object of the Spaniards, he told them that the country of the Omaguas was indeed, full of gold and silver, but that its population was so great, and also so warlike, that their attempt to conquer it with so small a body of men, was rash and impracticable. Urra, however, was resolved to make it, and was furnished with guides by the Cacique, to the next one. From this Cacique, also, he received the same account and recommendation, but who agreed to accompany him to the first settlement of these formidable people. After four days' march, they arrived at a mountain, on ascending which, from the top of it they perceived four or five villages, surrounded by well-cultivated fields, and farther off a delightful vale, and a city of very large extent. Then the Cacique said to Urra, "I promised to show you the Capital of the Omegas, and have fulfilled my promise. Behold this famous country, whose riches the Spaniards so ardently covet. That edifice which elevates itself in the centre of the city, is the residence of the Governor, and also the Temple; in which is an idol the size of a full grown woman, and the others the size of children four years old, all of massive gold. The population of the town is immense, and the order that reigns in it is admirable. Now, that you see the importance of the country, it is for you to reflect anew on the temerity of your project. If you persist in your design, I am under the necessity of leaving you." Urra resolved to march to the city. On approaching the four or five villages that he had seen, he met on his way the Indian cultivators, who, struck with the sight of the Spaniards, white, bearded, and in a strange dress, took to flight. An hour afterward, the Spaniards heard in the city, a great noise of drums and other instruments of war, mingled with the most frightful cries. Night happily came on to favor their retreat. The next morning, at break of day, an army of fifteen thousand Omegas went in pursuit of them, who prepared for battle. The Spaniards displayed a
EL DORADO.

valour beyond imagination. Not one of them was killed, but Urra received a wound. They repulsed the Omegas, and covered the field of battle with their dead. They concluded, however, that it was not advisable to attempt the conquest of the Omegas, and fell back upon the town of the Cacique who had been their guide. Urra was there cured of his wound; and having obtained from him all the information he could, to render a second journey more easy, departed for Coro, with the intention of forming a new expedition for the same object, better adapted to it;—but before arriving at Coro, he, with his most faithful adherents, was assassinated by order of the pseudo Governor Carvajal.*

This account of Urra, related with so many particulars, contributed, more than anything else, to keep alive the idea of the Golden City, or El Dorado; although, whatever circumstances may have laid a foundation for it, it is probably a very exaggerated relation; and the number of the army of the Omegas is, on a present view of the subject, calculated to give to the whole the air of an extravagant romantic fiction.

Various opinions have been entertained by writers, respecting the existence of this rich country of the Omaguas, or Omegas, or of any other region of that character, on which the rumor of El Dorado was founded. Southey, in his History of Brazil, considers the whole an entire illusion and fable, the origin of which he thus describes: "There were, along the whole coast of the Spanish Main, rumors of an inland country, which abounded with gold. These rumors undoubtedly related to the kingdoms of Bogota and Tunia, now New Grenada. Belalcazar, who was in quest of this country from Quito; Federman, who came from Venezuela; and Quesada, who sought it by the way of the Madalena, and who effected its conquest, met here. But in these countries, also, there were rumors of a rich land at a distance. Similar accounts prevailed in Peru, and the adventurers from both sides were allured to continue the pursuit after the game was taken. An imaginary kingdom was soon shaped out as the object of their quest, and stories concerning it were not more easily invented than believed." The relation given by Philip de Urra, of his discovery of the country of the Omegas, he considers a gross fabrication, without the least foundation.

Humboldt, on the other hand, who has examined the whole subject at length, expresses himself in regard to the narrative of Urra, as follows: "Of all the attempts made for the discovery of El Dorado, no one, anterior or posterior, furnishes to history materials less equivocal than that of Philip de Urra. It wants, nevertheless, a great deal for me to regard it as a proof of the riches and magnificence of the empire of the Omaguas or El Dorado. It is enough, however, to induce a belief of the existence of a warlike nation more civilized than the rest of the Indians, who had built, on the borders of the lake Parima, a large city, handsome, and well constructed, in comparison with the miserable hovels of which the disgust.

* De Pons Caraccas, Vol. ii. p. 394. et seq.
ing hamlets of the Indians are composed; but, in fact, inferior to the most insignificant village in France."

Gumilla, in his History of the Oronoke, expresses his entire belief in the narrative of Urra. "I find it," he observes, "related with such an exact description of the country, as the missionaries of my province and myself have recognized, that I cannot doubt it. I have seen in the jurisdiction of Varinas, in the mountains of Pedrara, in 1721, the brass halberd which Utre took with him in his expedition. I have been acquainted with Don Joseph Cabarte, who directed for thirty years the missions of Agrico, Guararí, and Ariari, and the Oronoke, the countries traversed by Utre, and he appeared fully persuaded that that was the route to Dorado. I knew an Indian belonging to a mission on the Meta, who had been instructed by the said Cabarte, who assured me, that at the age of fifteen he had been taken prisoner, and passed four months in the town of Marira or Luagüas, and that at length he fled with four others. This Indian, although he knew not a word of Spanish, called all the places at which he had stopped on his journey of twenty-three days to the Oronoke, by the names which Utre had given them. He spoke of the riches and inhabitants of the country, in the same terms in which the Cacique of Macatoa had spoken to Utre. He depicted, in detail, the palace of the King, his gardens, his houses, &c."

In regard to the name El Dorado, it arose, according to this writer, from a circumstance related by the Indians, sufficiently remarkable to attract great attention;—but not necessarily embracing the ideas afterward connected with it. "In the histories of Terra Firma and New Grenada, it will be seen," he observes, "to have had its origin on the coast of Cartagena and Santa Martha, from which it passed to Bogota. A rumor being spread through those regions, of a wealthy King who lived in a country abounding in gold, and on public occasions appeared with his body sprinkled over with gold dust; the name of El Dorado was given to him, meaning in Spanish the gilded one; and which afterward was applied to the whole region, denoting the golden country.

Others are of opinion it had its origin in Quito, and that Belalcazar, who made the first expedition in pursuit of it, gave it to all the kingdom of Bogota; and Pierre de Lempras, having made it known in Venezuela, gave occasion to the expeditions from that country, which were not undertaken for the gilded King, but a territory abounding in gold.†

Humboldt gives the same origin to the term, but with circumstances somewhat different. It being reported that the fertile valley of Lagomozo abounded in gold, and on going there and finding the priest of the Temple, before offering his oblations, anointed at least his hands and face with a certain gum, on which was blown, with a pipe, gold dust found in the sand of the rivers, the name of El Dorado was given to him.‡
That a nation called the Omaguas, or Aguas, existed on the Amazon and north of it, in the direction in which Urra pursued his route, who were very numerous and partly civilized, and who possessed articles of gold, is undoubted. D'Acugna, who made a voyage down the Amazon in 1639, by the direction of the Viceroy of Peru, gives a particular account of this nation. "Three hundred and seventy leagues below the mouth of the Napo, begins the province of the Aguas, whom the Spaniards call Omaguas. It extends about two hundred leagues, and is so well peopled, that the villages are situated very close to one another. The habitations of the people are in all the islands throughout the whole length of it. This nation is the most intelligent and civilized of all those that dwell along this river. They are all clothed, both men and women; their garments made of cotton, of which they gather a prodigious quantity, and they not only make stuffs enough for their use, but a great many to sell to their neighbors, who are much pleased with their beauty. One hundred and thirty leagues from the commencement of the province, that is, about two-thirds of the distance down it, comes in the river Potamayo, which rises in the mountains of Pasto in New Grenada. There is abundance of gold found in the sand and gravel of this river, and we were assured the banks of it were well peopled. The natives that dwell on it are the Yarinias, the Guaraicas, the Purianas, the Tyes, the Abynes, the Cuvas; and those that are nearest to the source, dwell on both sides of the river, as being the lords and masters of it, and are called the Omaguas: the Aguas of the islands call them the true Omaguas." The first expedition made for the discovery of El Dorado, which was by Belalcazar, as will be recollected, was directed to the mountains between Pasto and Popayan, in the very direction where these Omaguas, abounding in gold, are here placed. That they had various gold ornaments, there can be no room to doubt. In the voyage of Orellana, it is related he stopped at a town near the Napo, where the principal men came to him, having gold plates on their breasts, and jewels about them, and informed him of the great wealth there was farther down. D'Acugna speaks also of a place lower down, where these ornaments were seen. The first village which Texeira, in his expedition from the Brazils, met with on this river after he entered it, one hundred and twenty leagues west of Rio Negro, he called the Golden Moon; because he found some pieces of gold there, which these people had received in exchange from those Indians that wear plates of gold at their ears and noses. "Whence," inquires D'Acugna, "had the people of this village these gold ornaments?" This I made the discovery of by interpreters I had with me. Fourteen leagues below this town, on the north side, comes in the river Yupura, (called Caqueta at its source,) by sailing on which you meet with the river Yquiari, which is that the Portuguese call the Golden River. It springs from a mountain hard by. Here the natives amass gold together in prodigious quantities. They find it all in spangles or grains of good alloy; they beat these small
grains of gold together, till they form those little plates of gold they hang at their ears and noses. The people that find this gold are Yuma-guaris, for *yuma* signifies metal, and *guaris* those that gather it.” There seems to be little doubt, that this name, Yuma-guaris, or Yum-aguaris, is no other than Omaguas. Omaguas, says Southey, is not the original and real name of this nation, but Cambevas.

It appears further, from the following from d’Acugna, that the Omaguas may have obtained some of their gold ornaments from Peru. “Fifty leagues below the mouth of Potamayo, we found on the other side, (the south) the mouth of another fine large river, which takes its rise near Cuzco, and enters into the Amazon. The natives call it Yotan; and it is esteemed, above all the rest, for its riches and the great number of people it contains, the names of whom are the Tipanas, the Gavianes, the Omanes, the Morras, the Nannos, the Conomamas, Marravas, and the Omaguas, who are the last nation that dwell upon this river toward Peru. This nation is accounted to be very rich in gold, because they wear great plates of gold, hanging at their ears and nostrils.”

There being such a people on the Amazon and extending north to the source of the Potamayo in the Andes, as also on the south toward Peru, who were the most intelligent and civilized of all the natives on the Amazon, lived in well-peopled villages, were all clothed in cotton garments, the cloth of which was made by themselves, abounded in gold, and wore gold ornaments;—it is probable they were the nation whom Urra professes to have seen, and of whom he has no doubt drawn an exaggerated account. The images of gold which he relates he observed in the Temple, we are not required, totally, to disbelieve; as they may have been obtained by means of their intercourse with Peru.

With the opinions expressed by the writers whom I have mentioned, as to the existence of gold in this region, Humboldt fully accords. “The rivers that rise on the eastern declivity of the Andes,” he observes, “for instance, the Napo, carry along with them a great deal of gold ore, even when their sources are found in trachytic soils. The notions collected by Acienha, Father Fritz, and Condamine, on the stream-works of gold, south and north of the Rio Uyapes, agree with what I learned of the auriferous soil of those countries. However great we may suppose the communications that took place before the arrival of the Europeans, they certainly did not draw their gold from the eastern declivity of the Cordilleras. This declivity is poor in mines anciently worked; it is almost entirely composed of volcanic rocks in the provinces of Popayan, Pasto, and Quito. The gold of Guyana, probably came from the country east of the Andes, Why may there not be an alluvial auriferous soil to the east of the Andes, as there is to the west?”

The expeditions in pursuit of El Dorado, which have been related, it has been seen, were directed toward the country lying between the Amazon and the Rio Negro. Other enterprises in pursuit of it, were made
at an early period, to the region lying east of the Oronoke, sometimes from New Grenada, and at others by ascending this river from its mouth.

"Diego de Ordaz, in 1531, and Alonzo de Herrera, in 1535," observes Humboldt, "directed their journey along the banks of the lower Oronoke, of which he has given the following account:

"Ordaz, named Adelantado of all the country which he should conquer between Brazil and the coast of Venezuela, began his expedition by the mouth of the Amazon. He there saw in the hands of the natives, 'emeralds as big as a man's fist.' They were, no doubt, pieces of those sausurite-jade, or compact felspar, which we brought home from the Oronoke, and which M. de la Condamine found, in abundance, at the mouth of the Rio Topayos. The Indians related to Ordaz, that on going up during a certain number of suns, toward the west, he would find a large rock of green stone; but before they reached this pretended mountain, a shipwreck put an end to all further discovery. The Spaniards saved themselves in two small vessels. They hastened to get out of the mouth of the Amazon, and the currents led Ordaz to the coast of Paria, where Sedeno had erected a fortress, when he resolved to attempt an expedition up the Oronoke. He ascended it as far as the Meta. The Indian guides he employed, advised him to go up the Meta, where, in advancing toward the west, they expected he would find men clothed, and gold in abundance. Ordaz pursued, in preference, the navigation of the Oronoke; but the cataracts of Tabaje (perhaps those of Atures) compelled him to terminate his discoveries.

"Herrera, the treasurer of the expedition of Ordaz, was sent, in 1533, by the Governor, Geronimus de Ortal, to pursue the discovery of the Oronoke and the Meta. He lost nearly thirteen months between Punta Barima (near its mouth) and the confluence of the Caroni, in constructing flat-bottomed boats, and making the preparations indispensable for a long voyage. As the Rio Meta, on account of the proximity of its sources and of its tributary streams to the auriferous Cordilleras of New Grenada, enjoyed great celebrity, Herrera attempted to go up this river. He there found nations more civilized than those of the Oronoke. He was killed in battle by a poisoned arrow; and, when dying, named Alvarede Ordaz, his lieutenant, who led the remains of the expedition (1535) to the fortress of Paria."


Among the adventurers who sought the Golden City in this region, was De Serpa, who, about this time, came from Spain with three hundred soldiers, and landed at Cumana, intending to cross over to the Oronoke; but before he reached it, he was attacked by the Wikiris (Guykeries) and overthrown, with the greatest loss, eighteen only of his men being saved.

Somewhat later than this, an expedition, on a large scale, was undertaken toward this region, in the same pursuit, by the Marquis Gonzalez de Quesada, Viceroy of New Grenada. He departed with two hundred
men. But, after a journey attended with infinite trouble, he came to Timina in 1543, having lost almost all his men. So fully persuaded, however, was he of the existence of this golden country, that on giving his daughter in marriage to Antonio de Berreo, afterward Governor of the Island of Trinidad, he required his promise, under oath, to undertake the discovery of it.

Berreo, in fulfillment of the promise he had made, and probably himself entertaining the firmest belief, not only of the reality of such a golden country, but that it existed in the direction in which Quesada sought for it, viz: east of the Oronoke, in the interior of Guyana; set on foot an expedition to discover it, on a still more extensive scale than his father-in-law. He commenced his journey at the head of a troop of seven hundred cavalry, and descended the Cassanar, a tributary of the Meta, down which he proceeded into the Oronoke; but, after a twelvemonth's journey, losing daily some of his men, he could obtain no information of Guyana until he came to the province of Amopaia, on the last river, "where it was well known and celebrated, which province itself was rich in gold." The inhabitants at first refused to have any intercourse with him, and he had many engagements with them; but at the end of three months they made peace with him, and presented him with ten images of fine gold, and various plates and crescents. From this place, as soon as spring opened, he endeavored to enter into Guyana, southward from the Oronoke; but the rocky and mountainous character of the country, and the thick impervious woods with which it was covered, rendered it impracticable; and he apprehended opposition from the natives, who had been apprised of his intention. He then descended the Oronoke to its mouth, and there stopped at a province on the south side, which was called Emeria, whose Cacique was Carapana, where he met with a favorable reception; and finding it abounding in provisions, he remained there six weeks, and from the Cacique "learned the proper way to enter into Guyana, and of its riches and magnificence." Although he failed in accomplishing his object, the information which he obtained from this chief and that of Amopaia concerning this region, with the accounts he received after his arrival at Trinidad, from others respecting it, led him still to entertain the idea of exploring and conquering it; and for that purpose, he sent to Spain and obtained from the King a patent for its discovery; and in pursuance of his grant commenced measures to acquire possession of this country, which brought upon him the enmity of the Charibees, on the Oronoke, and laid the foundation of their subsequent persevering hostility to the Spaniards.*

* Carter's Life of Raleigh.
CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS MADE BY RALEIGH TO GUYANA—NOTICE OF HIS NARRATIVE GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF EL DORADO IN THE INTERIOR OF IT, SITUATED UPON A GREAT LAKE—OPINIONS OF GEOGRAPHERS AS TO THE EXISTENCE AND SITUATION OF SUCH A LAKE.

But it was the celebrated expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guyana, which fixed in general opinion the supposed Golden City, or El Dorado, in this region. The causes which led to it have been related. It has been seen, that he was engaged, from an early period of his life, in voyages of discovery to foreign parts, and for several years in attempts to colonize Virginia; and although his favorite pursuit, had been for some time interrupted by his employment in public affairs, as soon as the dissatisfaction of the Queen with him, and his exile from court, led him to seek the retirement of a country residence, his attention was again turned to it; and the discovery of the Golden City, or El Dorado—believed by him to be situated in Guyana—and the conquest of that country, occupied his mind; but which appear to have been some time before in his contemplation, and required only the circumstances in which he was now placed, to give them life and activity to exert a controlling influence over his thoughts.

"Many years before," he observes in the preface to his narrative, "I had knowledge by relation of that mighty, rich and beautiful Empire of Guyana, and of that great and golden city, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals, Manoa, &c."

From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever information might be obtained relative to this country, and the means of entering it. He then drew up instructions for an old experienced naval officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast; and who returned with a favorable report of the riches of the country, and the possibility of discovering and subduing it. Being thus provided with information respecting it, and encouraged by the hostility of the Charibees on the Oronoke to the Spaniards, he prepared an expedition to it in 1595, consisting of several vessels, and which he accompanied himself. It sailed from Plymouth on the sixth of February in that year, and arrived at Trinidad the twenty-second of March, where he remained several weeks: and "assembling all the Captains in the island, who were enemies to Berreo, (there being some there of other countries, who had been taken prisoners by them,) by an interpreter he informed them, that he was the servant of a powerful Queen of the North, who was an enemy to the

* 2nd Cayley, vol. 1., p. 159.
Spaniards in consequence of their tyranny, and liberated those nations that were oppressed by them; and that she had sent him to free the Charibees also from them, and to defend Guyana from their invasion and conquest." In the course of his address, "he showed them her portrait, which they much admired;" and he so won their good-will, that they called the Queen, Ezrabeta Cassipuna Acquerawona, in the Charibee language—which is, Elizabeth the Great Princess." His object in remaining there, was partly to be revenged of Berreo for having enticed away four of his men, and also to collect information concerning Guyana and the City of El Dorado. For the former object he made an attack on the fort of St. Joseph, and after putting the garrison to the sword, took him prisoner; and while he had him in his power, obtained from him, as far as he could, the intelligence he desired;—and among other accounts which he received from him, was a relation which Berreo stated a certain Spaniard, Juan Martinez, had made to him, who professed to have traveled to the Golden City. Raleigh, on this information and that he had received from other Spaniards, resolved to attempt the discovery of Guyana. Finding it not practicable to enter the Oronoke through any of its branches with his ships, he left them at Trinidad, and proceeded up the river with four boats and one hundred men; and taking an Indian pilot, ascended it three hundred miles, to the residence of a Charibee chief, by name Topia­wari, by whom he was very hospitably received. The Charibees were then, and still continue, the principal nation on the lower Oronoke. They are also spread over nearly the whole of British and French Guyana; and wher­ever they are found, hold a predominant sway—having subdued most of the surrounding tribes, and exterminated a number. They are the same nation who, at the period of their discovery by Columbus, occupied that portion of the West Indian Isles called the Antilles, or Windward Islands.

Raleigh made inquiries of this chief respecting Guyana, to which he gave replies, which were well calculated to encourage him in prosecuting the enterprise. He then proceeded up the river one hundred miles farther, to the Caroli, which falls into it from the south;—where, he relates, he discovered a mine of gold, and great appearance of the ore in the rocks generally. On his return, he stopped again at the residence of this chief, with whom he further conferred respecting Guyana and the means of enter­ting it. He concluded, however, to defer an attempt to invade and con­quer it, to a future period; for which he assigns several reasons. Having thus made an alliance with him, and promised to return the next year, taking his son with him as a pledge of his friendship, he returned to Trinidad, and from thence proceeded back to England.* The information which he states he collected in this expedition, on the Oronoke, con­firmed the previous accounts he had received in Trinidad, of the existence of a rich and splendid city in Guyana, called Manoa;—and by the Spaniards, El Dorado;—and to which the circumstance was now added, that it was situated upon a great lake.

* Cayley, vol. 1. ch. iv.
On his return to England, he published an account of his voyage, and the particulars he had learned of the country he had visited, giving the greatest assurance, that in the expectations he had formed of its riches, he had not been disappointed. But from the dedication it appears, it was not received, at first, in England, in the manner the most satisfactory to him. It is probable, that his absence from his country was too short to extinguish the jealousy of his rivals in power. What his personal reception was with the Queen, has not been related; but it is clear he was not admitted to her court, in the first instance, at least.*

Raleigh, agreeably to his promise to the Charibee chief, by the aid of his friends fitted out, the next year, a second expedition to Guyana, consisting of two vessels, the command of which was given to Mr. Lawrence Keymis; but which he was prevented attending in person, England being at that time at war with Spain, and a powerful fleet, with a large land force to accompany it, being prepared to attack Cadiz. And while Essex was appointed Commander-in-chief of the army, Lord Effingham had the direction of the fleet, which was divided into four squadrons, one of which was assigned to Raleigh;—a circumstance which shows that, although he was not reinstated in the favor of the Queen, he still maintained a high reputation in England, and that his abilities were availed of, when the wants of his country require them.†

Keymis left England on the twenty-sixth of January, 1596, and arrived on the coast of Cayenne, in latitude 1° 46' north, and sailed along it, stopping at several places, till he came to the Oronoke, which he ascended to the residence of the Charibee chief. But, on his arrival there, he learned he was dead. His country, too, had been deserted by its inhabitants, and no one was found there; all the Indians on that side of the river having fled and dispersed themselves, probably in consequence of the Spaniards—with whom they were at enmity, and against whom Raleigh offered to protect them—having arrived since he left, and made a settlement there of some twenty houses, and erected a fort on an island opposite the Caroli. Keymis, therefore, made no attempt to prosecute discoveries in the country, and returned to England. After his return, he published an account of his voyage; and not the least discouraged in the pursuit of the enterprise in which he had taken a part, by the disappointment he had met with, he says in it—"Myself and the remains of my few years have been bequeathed wholly to Raleana, (which name he gives Guyana in compliment to Raleigh,) and all my thoughts live only in that action." This determination was most thoroughly carried into execution;—having lost his life in an enterprise undertaken a number of years after, for this object, in which he was a principal actor.‡

No sooner was Raleigh discharged from the public service, by the return of the English fleet from the expedition against Cadiz, than he made preparations for renewing the prosecution of this enterprise; and the next

year after the voyage of Keymis, fitted out a stout pinnace, the command of which was given to Captain Leonard Berrie,* who left England on the fourteenth of October, 1596, and on the twenty-seventh of February, 1597, made the coast of Cayenne. He sailed along the coast of Guyana, stopping at different places, until he came to the river Corentine. While in this river, information was given him that three hundred Spaniards were on the Essequibo; on which he was induced to leave it, and abandon the enterprise he had undertaken; and steering for the West Indies, returned to England. He was accompanied by Mr. Thomas Masham, who wrote an account of the voyage.†

The relation which Sir Walter Raleigh gives of the existence of the so long rumored City of El Dorado, in the interior of Guyana, revived again the subject, which was beginning to lose its interest, even in the minds of the Spaniards, after their many unavailing efforts to discover it; for it was now placed in a region to which their enterprises in search of it had never penetrated. To the English, the Dutch, and the French, who were all engaged in forming settlements in the new hemisphere—but whose attention had not, until then, been directed to South America, where the field of discovery and conquest was monopolized by the Spaniards and Portuguese—this splendid and dazzling object was presented, in a great degree, with the charm of novelty.

These relations which I propose to examine, are brief, but explicit.

"I have been assured," says Raleigh, "by such as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guyana which the Spaniards call El Dorado, for the greatness, the richness, and the excellent seat, far excelleth any of the world, at least so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded on a lake of Salt water, two hundred leagues long."‡

And to account for the wealth and splendor of the city of Manoa, he gives a relation made to him by the Charibee chief on the Oronoke, with whom he made an alliance, of an invasion of Guyana by "a nation of civil and appareled people," which Raleigh supposes to be an emigration of one of the Incas of Peru, who established himself in it, and built this city. He also states, that he was informed by an Indian chief on the Caroli, that at the head of it was a great lake, called Cassipa, from which this river takes its rise; and also the Arvi, which falls into the Oronoke farther west, and "that it is so large, that it is above a day's journey for one of their canoes to cross,—which may be some forty miles,—in which fall various rivers; (rather from which they rise,) and that in the summer time, when it discharges itself by those branches, a great quantity of grains of gold are found there."§

The lake termed Cassipa by Raleigh, is called by Keymis and Berrie,—who made the two voyages after him to this region,—from accounts they received on the coast of Guyana, Parima, which is the appellation that in later times has been given to it.

† Cayley vol 1. pp. 172-150.
In the natural order, the first inquiry that arises on these relations is, whether there in reality exists a large lake in the interior of Guyana.

On this subject, geographers did not at first entertain any doubt. The narrative of Raleigh in this respect, whatever might be thought of it in others, was fully believed, and the lake was immediately placed on the maps of Guyana. To that narrative it owes its first appearance there. Various opinions were subsequently entertained respecting its locality, and different positions assigned to it. Afterward, the existence of any such lake was doubted; and it was finally entirely expunged from the maps.

Guyana is that portion of South America which extends along the Atlantic coast, from the Oronoke to the Amazon, and is embraced between these rivers, which are united by the junction of the Cassiquiari, one of the head branches of the former, with the Rio Negro, which falls into the Amazon, constituting it an island. Through this region passes the second great chain of mountains that crosses South America, called the Cordillera of Parima. From the centre of it various rivers flow in different directions; some northwardly into the Oronoke, others southwardly into the Rio Branco, which falls into the Rio Negro, a branch of the Amazon, and others eastwardly into the Atlantic Ocean, which have given their names to the European colonies established on it, viz: Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, Surinam, and Cayenne; the three first of which belong to Great Britain, Surinam to Holland, and Cayenne to France. Of these rivers, the Essequibo is the most considerable, and the first south of the Oronoke, from which it is distant about one hundred miles. Its mouth forms a spacious bay, from fifteen to twenty miles wide, and from thirty miles upward is filled with low and beautiful islands. It is free from obstructions about eighty miles, when commences a series of falls. Three hundred miles from its mouth, it receives the Rippununi, which flows from the Cordillera of Parima, the main stream rising also from the same chain which runs along the rear of the colonies. Of this river, very worthy mention is made by Lawrence Keymis, who commanded Raleigh's second expedition. In sailing from Cayenne to the Oronoke, he took notice of it, and thus describes it. The Indians, to show the worthiness of D'Essekebe, for it is very large, and full of islands at its mouth, call it the Brother of the Oronoke. * It is called D'Essekebe, being first discovered by the Portuguese, who named it Rio D'Essekebe.

The coast of Guyana, from the Oronoke to Cayenne, is low and level, and of alluvial formation. In sailing toward it, on approaching the land, no hills or prominences of any kind are seen, but a uniform flat surface as far as the eye extends, in every direction except at Cayenne, where several detached pyramidal hills strike the coast. This alluvial formation is continually increasing, by the sediment deposited upon it by the various rivers which descend from the interior, and by the flood that rushes with

* Cayley's Life of Ral. vol. 2. p 328.
violence from the Amazon in a northwesterly direction along it, and forcing its way through the Boca del Chica, or Dragon's Mouth, between Paria and Trinidad, into the Gulf of Mexico, there takes the name of the Gulf Stream. On advancing into the interior of Guyana, beyond the alluvial formation rising gradually upon the mountainous region, a diversified country appears. Scattered hills of various elevations, some covered with forests, others naked at the summit, fill the prospect. The dense forests are also occasionally broken by open savannas.*

The locality which has been generally given to this lake, is in the second of the three great chains of mountains which cross South America, thus described by Humboldt:

"The first, called the Cordillera of the coast, of which the highest summit is the Cilla of Caraccas, and which is linked to the Andes of New Grenada, stretches in the tenth degree of North latitude from Quimboya and Barquesimento, to the promontory of Paria. The second extends between the parallels of three degrees and seven degrees from the mouths of the Guaviari and Meta to the sources of the Oronoke, thence eastward to the Essequibo in Dutch Guyana, and the Maroni (Marawini) in Cayenne. I call this chain the Cordillera of Parima. It is less a chain than a collection of granitic mountains, separated by small plains, without being everywhere disposed in lines. It is not connected with the Andes of New Grenada, but is separated from them by a space of eighty leagues broad. A third chain, the Cordillera of Chiquito, unites in sixteen degrees and eighteen degrees South latitude, the Andes of Peru to the mountains of Brazil. These three transverse chains are separated by tracts entirely level—the plains of Caraccas, or the lower Oronoke; the plains of the Amazon and the Rio Negro; and the plains of Buenos Ayres, on the La Plata. The two tracts placed at the extremities of South America, are savannas or steppes; pasture without trees. The intermediate basin, which receives the equinoctial rains during the whole year, is almost entirely one vast forest, in which no other road is known than the rivers. That strength of vegetation which conceals the soil, renders also the uniformity of its surface less perceptible, and the plains of Caraccas and La Plata alone bear this name."†

Having given this account of some of the geographical features of this region, I will now relate, from the same author, in what manner the lake Parima was first introduced into the maps, and the mutations of opinions which occurred among geographers as to the existence of it, its character and position, during the space of three centuries.

"Hondius, a geographer of Holland, was the first to insert it in his map of Guyana, published in 1599, four years after the voyage of Raleigh, and founded entirely upon his narrative. It was entitled, 'Nieuw Carte von bet. wonderbare landt Guyana, besochtd von Sir Walter Raleigh, 1594—1596;' (New Map of the wonderful land Guyana, discovered by Sir W. R., 1594—1596.) Like Raleigh, he makes the rivers Caroni

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* Waterton's Travels in South America.
† Humboldt's Pers. Nat. ch. xvii.
and Arvi, branches of the Orinoco, to issue from lake Cassipa, in the heart of Guyana. In posterior maps, as that of Sansom in 1656 and 1669, the river Caura, another tributary, is made to issue from it. Hondius, and other geographers, assigned gradually a more southern latitude to it, and it was detached from the Orinoco and Arvi, and took the name of lake Parima. Sansom in 1680, De Lisle in 1700, and D'Anville, in the first edition of his map, (L'Amerique Meridionale,) effaced the lake Parima, but still religiously kept to the lake Cassipa. D'Anville, in the second edition of his map, in 1760, placed on it both the lake Cassipa and the lake Parima. La Cruz, who made his great map of South America in 1775, preserved this lake, but has given it the oblong form of lake Cassipa; while of the ancient lake Parima, the axis was from east to west. His map has been followed by all subsequent geographers. He was too well informed by the accounts of the missionaries, respecting the sources of the Caura, not to omit the Cassipa.

Four years after the map of La Cruz, was published that of Caulin; who attended the expedition under the command of Jose Antonio Solano, for the regulation of boundaries, but who never proceeded farther than San Fernando de Atabapo, on the Orinoco, one hundred and sixty leagues from this pretended lake Parima, which was founded entirely upon the testimony Solano collected from the Indians. This journal is in perpetual contradiction to the map prefixed to it. The author develops the circumstances that gave rise to the fable of lake Parima; but the map restores the lake, placing it, however, far from the sources of the Orinoco, to the east of the Rio Branco. Two maps traced by him in 1756, were reduced in 1778 into one, and completed, according to pretended discoveries by Sarville; who makes the lake Animucu,—which is the source of the Maho, one of the tributaries of the Branco, and rises near the Essequibo,—to be the lake Parima.*

Humboldt, having recited the different opinions which have been entertained regarding the existence and situation of this lake, presents his own views on the subject, formed upon a minute and careful investigation:

"In the latitude of four degrees, or four and a half, is a long and narrow Cordillera, viz.: that of Pacaraimo, Quимиropaca, and Ucuamamo; which, stretching from east to southwest, unites the group of the mountains of Parima to the mountains of French and Dutch Guyana. It divides its waters between the Caroni, the Rippununi, and the Rio Branco. On the northwest of the Cordillera of Pacaraimo descend the Nocopro, the Paraguausí and the Paragua, which fall into the Caroni. On the northeast, the Rippununi, a tributary stream of the Essequibo. Toward the south the Tacutu and the Urariquera, form, together, the famous Rio Parima, or Rio Branco," (and at their junction is the Portuguese fort St. Joachim. The Urariquera, or western branch, is formed of the Uraripara and the Parima, which name is also applied to the whole stream,

* Humboldt's Peru. Nar., ch. xvii and xxiv.
after the junction of the two branches, or the Branco. The Tacutu, which flows from the east, receives from the north, the Maho; which is joined by a small stream, the Pirara, before it enters the Tacutu. All these tributaries of the two branches flow from this mountainous chain.)

The rivers at the foot of the mountains of Pacaraimo, are subject to frequent overflowings. Above Santa Rosa, the right bank of the Uraripara, a tributary stream of the Urariquera, or western branch of the Rio Branco, is called el Valle de la Inundacion. Great pools also are found between the Rio Parima and the Xurumu. . . . . More to the west, the Canno Pirara, a tributary stream of the Mahu, issues from a lake covered with rushes. This is the lake Amucu, described by Nicholas Hortsman, and respecting which, some Portuguese of Barcelos, who had visited the Rio Branco, gave me precise notions during my stay at San Carlos del Rio Negro. The lake Amucu is several leagues broad, and contains two small islands. The Rippununi approaches very near this lake; but does not communicate with it. The portage between the Rippununi and the Maho is farther north, where the mountain of Ucuuamo rises, which the natives still call the mountain of gold. They advised Hortsman to seek around the Rio Mahu for a mine of silver, (no doubt mica with large plates,) of diamonds, and of emeralds. He found nothing but rock crystals. . . . . The White Sea is nothing but the Rio Parima, which is still called the white river—Rio Blanco, or Rio des Aguas Blancas—and runs through and inundates the whole of this land. The name of Rippununi is given to the White Sea on the most ancient maps; which identifies the place of the fable—since, of all the tributary streams of the Rio Essequibo, the Rippununi is nearest to the lake Amucu.

"In support of what I here advance, I shall appeal to a very respectable testimony, that of Father Caulin: 'When I inquired of the Indians, (says the missionary, who sojourned longer than I, on the banks of the lower Oronoke,) what Parima was; they answered, that it was nothing more than a river that issued from a chain of mountains, the opposite sides of which furnished waters to the Essequibo.'" Caulin, knowing nothing of lake Amucu, attributes the erroneous notion of an inland sea to the inundations of the plains. "I have no doubt," he says, "that one of the upper branches of the Rio Branco, is that very Rio Parima which the Spaniards have taken for a lake. . . . . From the whole of these statements, it follows: 1. That the laguna Rippununi, or Parima of Raleigh, is an imaginary lake formed by the lake Amucu, and the tributary streams of the Urariquera, (the western branch of the Branco,) which often overflow their banks. 2. That the laguna Parima of Surville's map, is the lake Amucu which gives rise to the Rio Pirara, and conjointly with the Mahu, Tacutu, the Urariquera, Rio Parima, properly so called, form the Rio Branco."

There is, perhaps, no region in South America so little known as this, which Humboldt has described as the locality of the lake. It has never yet been passed over by any of the civilized race, who has given an ac
count of it; and all the information known of it in Europe, is conjectural founded on intelligence obtained by three or four travellers, respecting the countries bordering on it, on the east and west. A journey has never yet been made, so far as is known, by any other than the wild inhabitants of that region, either westward from the sources of the Essequibo to the Orinoco, or eastward from the Orinoco to this river. A veil of obscurity has hung over its thick forests and lofty mountains, from which, ever since the close of the sixteenth century, wonderful tales have issued and been spread by the Indians, to amuse the credulity of Europeans.

The only instances in which even its confines have been visited by travellers, are, remarks Humboldt, the following: 1. In 1735, Nicholas Hortsman, who came from the Essequibo, passed up the Rippununi, and then by a short portage to the Pirara, a tributary of the Tacutu, by which he descended to the Branco, and proceeded to the Brazils. 2. Don Antonio Santos, in pursuit of El Dorado in 1775, ascended the Caroni, and then one of its branches, the Paragua, and crossing over the Cordillera came to the Uraripara, which falls into the western branch of the Branco, each passing over the extremes to the east and west of this region. 3. In 1793, Colonel Barata, of the first regiment of the line, of Para, went twice from the Amazon to Surinam, on affairs of his government, by the same portage of Rippununi, which Hortsman went over. 4. Still more recently, in the month of February, 1811, some English and Dutch colonists arrived at the portage of Rippununi, to solicit from the commander of the Rio Negro, permission to proceed to the Rio Branco; and the commandant having granted their request, these colonists arrived at St. Joachim, in their boats.”

Humboldt himself, did not proceed up the Orinoco, but a short distance beyond Esmeralda, the last Christian post on it, which is some degrees west of the locality generally given to this lake. The information which he obtained of this region, on which he founds the views he has presented of it, was derived from the new maps in the hydrographical depot of Brazil; from some communications made to him respecting them, by Portuguese, whom he saw at San Carlos, on the Rio Negro, and from the journals of Hortsman and Santos, of both of which he had a perusal.

Respecting a region so little known, and so interesting, as the space between the sources of the Orinoco and Essequibo, in which the lake Parima has been generally placed, any additional information cannot but be desirable. That which Humboldt obtained was received in Spanish and Portuguese territories, on the west of this district. It must be obvious, however, from a sight of the map, that the borders of the Essequibo on the opposite side—the name of one of whose branches, the Rippununi, has been sometimes given to the lake—furnishes the most favorable channel to obtain intelligence respecting it. It was on the coast of Guyana that the name, Parima, was first heard applied to it. Raleigh, himself, had
only a general idea of the situation of the lake Cassipa, but Keymis and Berrie, who commanded the two succeeding expeditions, sent out by him to these regions, heard of a lake in the interior of Guyana called Parima, and of its precise locality. On the Essequibo river, he was informed, "that it lieth southerly into the land, and from the mouth they pass into the head in twenty days; when, taking their provision, they carry it on their shoulders one day's journey. Afterward, they return for their canoes, and bear them to the side of a lake, which the Jaos call Roponowini, the Charibees Parima; which is of such bigness, that they know no difference between it and the main sea. There are infinite numbers of canoes in this lake, and I suppose it is no other than that on which Mana standeth." *

On the Corentine river, Berrie was informed by an Indian, who came from the Essequibo, "that the Essequibo leads so far into the country, as to be within a day's journey of the lake Parima, and that the Corentine doth meet it up in this land," in consequence of which information, "he intended to have discovered a passage into that rich city." † He actually proceeded some distance up this river in his boats; but when he had passed the first falls he heard accounts of the ferocious character of the Ackoways, and that five days farther there was another fall, which was not passable. He was also told, that by ascending the river farther "he would make those Indians his enemies," which he believed would be to the disadvantage of Raleigh, when he came himself; as he was informed there was on this river great store of gold. He therefore returned with his boats to the ship, and left the river.

Having, as I have observed in the Introduction, visited, some years since, British Guyana, through which the Essequibo river flows, several of whose branches rise in the locality generally given to the lake Parima; I was very desirous of obtaining some information respecting it, and the state of the population about it, in a region so favorable for the purpose, and will relate the facts I was able to collect on the subject.

A work by a historian of Holland, Hartsinck, entitled 'Beschryving van Guyana,' (Description of Guyana,) published in 1770, affording some information on the subject, came to my knowledge, from which I make the following extract: "The Essequibo river sixty miles from its mouth, receives the Mazerouni. The Cayouni unites with the Mazerouni four or five miles before the river falls into the Essequibo. The first port on the Essequibo, called Arinda, is on an island at the commencement of the falls. After passing them, on the west side, comes the river Arassarou, and farther up on the same side, the Siperouni. About eight miles higher, the Essequibo receives the Rippununi. The number of falls, as far as this river, is thirty-nine. The Rippununi is seventy miles in length; flowing first for half the distance from the south, and in the other half pursuing a course of east-northeast. West of the point where it makes this turn, is a small river which flows from a lake, nearly half an hour's

distance, about four miles long and two broad. Two miles west of this lake is a larger one, called the lake Amucu, nine or ten miles long and five or six broad, overgrown with reeds, and having some islands in it. From this lake, on the south side, flows the river Pirara, which unites with the Maho, both which then join the Tacutu, which falls into the Rio Branco, called by the Portuguese Rio Branco, or the White river, and then into the Rio Negro, or the Black river, so that a passage may be made from our settlements by these rivers, through the country to the river Amazon. Lake Parima, which by many travellers is thought to be even the Golden Dorado, which is to be found only in the imagination of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Spaniards, according to accounts of the Spanish court transmitted to M. D'Anville, and some information from our settlements, is established certainly to be between the Mazerouni and Cayouni, west of lake Amucu and east of the Oronoke; and is said to be a very great and deep lake. I will not dilate on its shape and situation, and the relations made in former times of the inhabitants on its borders, their riches, &c. Yet we can assure the reader, that none of the European settlements are better adapted for the discovery of the interior of Guyana, between the Rio Negro and the Atlantic Ocean, than those of Essequibo; considering the course of this river, the friendship of the Indians, and their ancient and implacable enmity to the Spaniards. The Mazerouni runs north-eastwardly, in a right line out of lake Parima. The Cayouni receives the river Menou, on which the Spaniards had a mission; farther up it receives the Iruari, which flows from the southwest, also, out of this lake."

In the above extract, it will be seen that the existence of lake Parima is positively stated by this writer; and the locality which he gives to it agrees with that assigned to it by D'Anville, who, according to Humboldt, makes it communicate with the Essequibo, by the Mazerouni and Cayouni. The following information I received on this subject from a very authentic source, and which places the lake in the same locality.

A gentleman who administered the government of the colony of Demerara, from the year 1765, to 1771, and afterward removed to the United States, in answer to some inquiries I made of him on the subject, gave me the following information: That his public functions leading him frequently to the Essequibo river, to attend at the seat of government of the colony of that name, to which that of Demerara was subordinate, lake Parima became a subject of attention to him, from the relations of the Indians; and his curiosity being excited respecting it, he directed the commander of one of the military posts to proceed up the river to its source, and inquire into it;—who, on his return gave the following statement, founded in his own personal observation, that what was called lake Parima, was an inundation of a tract of land at the head of that river, during the rainy season; from the vast quantity of water, that falls in that region, not being able immediately to discharge itself into the several streams that flow out of it; but which happens in the dry season, when the tract becomes perfectly
bare, except that there remains a small pond; and that the neighboring Indians daily come to the spot, before sunrise, to gather a substance which they called salt— a quantity of which was brought and delivered to him by the officer, which, on examination, he found to be saltpetre.

Accounts which I received from several other sources in that country, further elucidate this subject. I had the perusal of a journal, made by one of a commission sent by the government of Demerara, in 1810, to the Charibee chief, or Cacique, at the sources of the Essequibo river, who styles himself king of all the Indians in British Guyana. This commission originated in the following circumstance:—During that year, he descended this river, and made a visit to the government of Demerara, at Georgetown, to open the way for an amicable treaty with it; and to promote it, made strong representations of the extent and power of his nation, and the number of men whom he could bring into the field. Of the correctness of his statement, the Governor and court of policy were unable to form any opinion; for, the remote country where he resided, was entirely unknown; not only never having been described by any traveller, but had been very rarely visited by any colonist, from the impediments existing to ascending the Essequibo, by the great number of falls in it, and the dread of the native tribes at its sources, including the Charliees—generally considered to be of a very ferocious character. The Government was, therefore, induced to appoint a commission to visit him. The individuals composing it, are the English and Dutch colonists, mentioned by Humboldt, as the fourth instance in which this region has been visited by travellers of European origin. They were the following persons:—Dr. Hancock, a medical gentleman, a native of the United States then resident in Demerara, who had devoted much attention to the natural history of Guyana, and was placed at the head of this commission. Captain S—, of the burgher militia, and the third, a gentleman long resident in that colony, and well-acquainted with it. Dr. Hancock removed some years after to London, and published a work on his favorite subject; and, in 1834, a pamphlet entitled “Observations on Guyana,” in which he proposes a plan for colonizing the interior of it, and refers to this expedition. I have been in expectation of seeing a more extended work from his pen, on that country—having travelled extensively about it—but saw his death some time since announced. Captain S. kept a journal, which is a plain narrative of events, and is the one I have mentioned.

From this journal I extract the following remarks, from which it appears that the region at the head of the Essequibo, from which the Rippununi and Siperouni flow easterly into it, and the Pirara and Maha southwardly, into the Tacutu, is a high table-land, on which the mountains that form part of the Cordillera of Parima, which passes through it, are arranged in separate groups, between which there are extensive savannas, sometimes inundated;—which is agreeable to the account Humboldt gives of the Cordillera of Parima, “that it is less a chain, than a collection of granitic mountains, separated by small plains, and without being
everywhere disposed in lines:” and that there is a short portage from the Rippununi to the Pirara, which the commissioners verified by passing through this channel of communication to the Portuguese fort St. Joachim, on the Rio Branco—a fact also stated by Humboldt. This extract also contains some particulars relative to the state of the population in this region.

The commissioners left the post on the Mazerouni, and ascended the Essequibo, December sixth, 1810. On the twenty-fourth they passed the twenty-eighth fall, a little below the Siperouni, and came to the mouth of the Rippununi on the first January. On the fourth January, they proceeded up this tributary as far as the Anayoca creek, which comes into it—and rises out of a range of mountains. They landed there, and walked through the forest a quarter of a mile, where a savanna opened before them; and beyond it, as far the eye could reach, a chain of mountains appeared, extending from north to south, to which they walked two hours and a half. From these mountains the Siperouni, which has many and heavy falls in it, takes its rise. They found a settlement of Macoussies, between the mountains, of ten large houses, and about one hundred Indians. On the eighth January they came to another settlement, and in two hours after, to a very high, brown mountain—the rocks on it, scattered in a terrible manner, as if the country had been lately destroyed by fire; passed, then, over mountains resembling marble. On the ninth, they came to the mountains Massara, a long range, along which they proceeded in a southerly direction, and arrived at mount Itaka, the last of the chain—half-way up which was a settlement of Macoussies, of about twelve houses; one of which the journalist measured, which was forty-two feet square, and thirty-six feet high, in which were forty hammocks. On the tenth, they went back on an easterly course to the Rippununi, having before them a range of very high mountains, called Conoko—signifying islands—which were of an immense length, stretching northeast and southwest. Southeast were the mountains Pitjabo, which separate the Portuguese jurisdiction; and at mount Maho, one of the chain, is a creek, or river, (which, in a sketch annexed to the journal, is called the Maho). They passed an Ieta-bush, about one hundred rods in length, where the Portuguese once came when the savanna was under water, and drew their canoes to the Rippununi; and went through valleys abounding with groves of the same trees, and found marks where they had commenced digging a passage for their canoes; but they appear to have given up the plan. The ground where they now draw them is plainly to be seen. On the eleventh, the commissioners came to Arriwasikies, a Charibee chief, where they remained some days, and held a conference with the Indians, who came in from different parts. On the thirty-first, proceeded eighteen miles, to a field of four acres, under the mountains Conoko, which the Macoussies had planted for him—for which, he paid with the articles he had received from Government. On the fifth February, they resumed their course up the Rippununi, and ascended it for eight days with diffi-
culty—being obliged to carry their canoe around falls, or drag it over shoals: at length, on the thirteenth, they came to a landing-place, which led to the residence of the Charibee chief, or Cacique; and, on the fifteenth, they proceeded to it, and after passing over mountains, came to a cabin of Wapisanas, having a single family, who welcomed them most cordially—and then to a hill on which were four houses of Atorays, circular, and about twenty feet diameter, and was received by a fine young Atoray, Narressibi, who invited them to his settlement, which was a quarter of a mile distant; to which they went, and found five houses, and about thirty Indians, besides a large cabin thirty or more feet in length, nearly as wide, semi-circular, and open at both ends. In the morning, on the seventeenth, they proceeded, attended by about twenty Indians, to the residence of the Charibee chief. It was on the top of a hill; and as soon as they appeared on one opposite, they were saluted by music from it—beating of drums, and playing of flutes and pipes. They were conducted by the Indian with whom they last staid, to an open cabin, where the Cacique, Mahanerwa, received them, sitting on a hammock. They were next welcomed by his wife, son, and son-in-law, in a most friendly manner. "He then offered me," says the journalist, "a seat next to him, and more than twelve women presented him with drink; of each of which he drank, which pleased them." He mentions the following ceremony, performed on his entrance: Each person came before him and welcomed him, by pointing, or bending, the fore-finger of his right hand to his face.

The settlement consisted of about ten houses, well filled with Charibees, Maconsises, and Wapisanas. They were industrious, and the chief was building a new house, forty feet by twenty-five feet, which, he said, was intended for the commissioners. He never works, and what was very remarkable, every person dressed himself off to the best advantage but himself. The whole evening and night were spent with music, dancing, and singing.

After completing the purpose of their visit to the Cacique, the commissioners proceeded to Moracca, a landing on the Rippununi, from which they set off for the river Pirara, at the foot of mount Maho; and going over hills and valleys, and crossing the Pirara in five places on horseback, they arrived at their destination at noon, where they found two canoes. The next day at 1 P. M. they descended this stream, and passed, on the right, the river Maho—at 5 P. M. they passed the Tacutu, on the left, and landed at 6 P. M. for the night. The next day, they went down the Tacutu and stopped again at night. On the eleventh March, at 1 A. M., they went on, and at 1 P. M. arrived at fort St. Joachim, situated at the junction of the Tacutu with the Branco.

On their return, they went up these streams to the landing-place of the Pirara creek. On the thirtieth March, at 9 A. M., they set out on foot for Morocca, on the Rippununi, and reached it at 8 P. M., after a walk of eighteen to twenty miles, which is the portage that separates the waters
which flow northeasterly into the Essequibo, from those which descend southerly into the Branco. On Monday, seventeenth April, they proceeded, at 3 p. m., by moonlight, and at half-past four, passed Maowriekero creek, which flows from the north—half-past twelve, crossed Wirrowiryko creek, which comes in from southwest; at 3 p. m. reached Riva creek, (or river,) which comes in from S. southwest, a large creek. About seventy miles up, it has another creek, called Koitaroo, on its right side. Going up the creek about one and a half days, there is a landing, to walk in one and a half days to Mahanerwa’s, and the nearest way that leads to him, passes between mountains.

In this journal, no mention is made of the Xurumu, which Humboldt, from information received from the Portuguese, says, is a tributary of the Tacutu. And the journalist would not have omitted to speak of it, if he had seen it in his passage to fort St. Joachim, for he mentions passing the Maho at its junction with the Pirara. May not this be the Parima, which might be changed into Parumu or Xurumu?

In another respect this journal differs from the maps. It mentions the Riva as a branch of the Rippununi on the east, and that the Koitaro (the Kardaru of the Portuguese,) is a tributary of the Riva. In the maps, the Riva is not mentioned, and the Koitaro is made a tributary of the Rippununi.

The savanna, over which the commissioners crossed, when they went from the Rippununi to the Maconssie mountains, the lower part of which, the journalist observes, is sometimes under water, and that the Pirara and Maho rise out of mount Maho, at the south of it, must be the basin of the lake Amucu, as Hartsinck makes the Pirara flow from it, and is agreeable to what Humboldt states of the source of this stream.

It is also fully established by Dr. Hancock, who was at the head of this commission, in the following remarks, which I extract from his “Observations on Guyana,” which contains other geographical information in regard to this region:

“On proceeding up the Essequibo, we met with three great chains of cataracts, or rapids; the first chain commencing at Aretaka, sixty miles from the mouth. The bed of the river in the dry season, discovers vast quantities of vitrified, stony, and mineral substances, and appears to have been the seat of volcanic fires at remote periods of time. These volcanic products are chiefly met with among the falls incumbent on beds of granite, where the soil and lighter materials have been washed away. The principal component parts of the interior mountains are granite, and its various modifications, which show them to be of primitive formation; while the extensive ranges toward the coast are of less elevation, and are chiefly composed of indurated clays with sand and gravel, and may hence be regarded as belonging to the secondary order.

The soil of the interior and mountainous parts of Guyana consists of a strong and fertile loam, being a due admixture of clay, sand, and vegetable mould, with little calcareous earth. It contains much feruginous
matter, which gives it a yellow or reddish tinge, and contrary to what has been asserted of countries within the torrid zone, there are evidently vast quantities of iron ore among the mountains of Guyana."

The following will serve to give some idea of the lands farther to the westward, in the region of the Macoussie mountains, on the west side of the Rippunuui:

"Passed over a barren salt savanna, to the mountains; ascended a peak, which is nearly isolated, of the range of Parima. It was very steep and rugged, and difficult to climb. Found here, on the summit, five large houses, and about twenty men, besides women and children, all Macoussies, stout, lusty people. . . . The top of the mountain appears sterile, covered with large rocks. Cassava, corn, yams, plantains, &c., are produced on the sides of the mountains; and thrive astonishingly, notwithstanding the sterile appearance of the soil, which is composed chiefly of indurated clay and gravel, without the least appearance of mould or decayed vegetable matter. The mountain is called Etaka, in lat. 3° 58', and in long. 53° 5 west. From this spot, we could see far along the Cordillera of Parima, Mackerapan, as also the groups of Konoko, to the southward, which we afterward ascended; and at the same time, the two great systems of rivers which drain the northern and southern slopes by the Essequibo and Branco, the source of the Pirara, the Maho, the lake of Amucu, &c., were visible here."

The mountain Mackerapan, which he mentions, is, he says, about four thousand feet above the level on which it stands, and five thousand feet above the sea—is steep and precipitous on the south, facing the savanna, but may be ascended with ease on the east, from the river side.†

The same character is given of this region by an English traveller, Mr. Charles Waterton, who about the same time, ascended the Essequibo, and passed over to the Portuguese fort; and published a work in London, giving an account of his travels in that, and other parts of South America,‡ from which we extract the following remarks:

A little before he passed the rapids of the Essequibo, two immense rocks appeared, nearly on the summit of one of the many hills which form a wide extended range; one of which, the northern, was bare; the southern, was covered with bushes. The next day, after passing the Siperouni, he came to a little hill, where there was a small settlement of Indians. Two days after, to another on the western bank. The third day after leaving the last, he came to a creek, (or river,) and shortly after to the pass to the open country. Here he drew the canoe into the forest, and went through it, when a savanna unfolded itself to his view;—about two thousand acres of grass, with here and there a clump of trees, and a few bushes and single trees scattered up and down, neither hilly nor level, diversified with moderate rises and falls, and surrounded by lofty hills of

* Hancock's Observ. p. 50.  † Hancock's Observ. p. 18.  ‡ Wanderings in South America.
various forms, covered with trees; some pyramidal, others rounded; one towering above the other, till they could not be distinguished from the clouds. His route (to the Portuguese post) from this place, was south. He entered the forest at the extremity of the savanna, journeying along a winding-path at the foot of a hill. The path, the next day, was not so good. The hills over which it lies, rocky, steep, and rugged; the spaces between which were swampy, and most of them knee-deep in water. After eight hours' walk, he came to a small settlement, and in half an hour, to another; and thence, he proceeded in a southwest direction, through a long, swampy savanna, and walked for half a day in water nearly up to the knees. This was not the proper place to have come to, to reach the Portuguese frontiers. He advanced too much to the westward; but to this he was compelled, as the ground on the direct course he ought to have taken, southwardly, was overflowed, and he was obliged to wind along the western hills, quite out of the way. He then ascended a steep and high hill, full of immense rocks, and the huts upon it were not all in one place, but dispersed wherever they found a place level enough for a lodgment; and at the base of it stretched an immense plain, which, from the hill, appeared as level as a bowling-green. The mountains on the other side, were piled one upon the other, and gradually retired, till they were undiscernible from the clouds in which they were involved. To the south and southwest, it is lost in the horizon. The trees on it, look like islands, while the course of the rivulets is marked by the Jeta trees on their borders. He was not able to pursue his course to the next Indian habitation, on account of the floods of water which fall at that season of the year; and took a circuit westerly, along the mountain's foot, and came to a large and deep creek, which he was obliged to make a raft to cross. After passing it, he walked, with a brisk pace, nine hours, to a small settlement of four Indian huts; which, he observes, is the place he ought to have come to, two days before, had the water permitted. Although he crossed the plain at the most advantageous place, he was above ankle-deep in water for three hours. The remainder of the way was dry ground, gently rising. As the lower parts of this spacious plain put on, somewhat, the appearance of a lake, during the periodical rains; it is not improbable, but that this is the place which has given rise to the supposed existence of the famed lake Parima, or El Dorado. But this is evidently the lake Amucu; for the writer observes, in three hours from this settlement, is a river called the Pirara; and from it you get into the Maou, and then into the Tacutu—and the Pirara, by various testimonies, has been shown to flow out of this lake.
CHAPTER III.

INVESTIGATION OF THE CHARACTER OF LAKE PARIMA—WHAT RIVERS FLOW FROM IT—STATE OF THE POPULATION ABOUT IT IN THE TIME OF RALEIGH—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PROBABLY GAVE RISE TO THE IDEA OF A GREAT CITY UPON IT—SOME FACTS REGARDING THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THAT REGION.

To solve the question of this lake Parima, on which there has been so much doubt and diversity of opinion, I felt a great desire, while in the colony through which the Essequibo flows, to ascend it to its source, and examine the region in which it has usually been placed; but the time limited for my stay there, prevented my gratifying it. I was able, only a short time before I left it, to make an excursion up the river as far as the first falls. But during it, an unexpected and interesting circumstance occurred. Having stopped at the Indian post on the Mazerouni, which is a few miles before this river falls into the Essequibo, I learned from the Agent, that the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, had come down on a second visit to the seat of government of Demerara, after a lapse of ten years; but in consequence of an epidemic which at that time raged there with violence, had stopped on the Cayouni, at a place a few miles from the post. On hearing this, I expressed to the Agent my anxious wish to have an interview with him, who promptly offered to gratify me, and sent a message to the Charibee chief, stating the desire of a visitor there, a stranger, to see him, and requesting him to come the post; and the next day, I had the pleasure of seeing a canoe of his come down. He was not in it himself, sending an answer that he was unwell; but it contained his eldest son, a youth of about twenty years, and his son-in-law, Arewya, who was of middle age, and appeared to have the command of it. The sight of these Charibees, from the remote wilds of Guyana, was very gratifying to me. Arewya had large folds of dark cotton cloth around his body, from the waist to his feet, the end of which was taken up and stuck in it. He wore no other ornaments than gold pendants in his ears, and his breast-plate, in the form of a crescent, suspended from his neck; answering the description of the Caracolli, the peculiar ornament of the Charibee. The son of the chief, and the other youths, exhibited somewhat more of the original customs. They were nearly naked; and not only were their bodies painted, but their heads were profusely covered over with paint of a scarlet brilliancy; their faces marked with black streaks across their cheeks, their eyebrows painted, strings of shells around the neck, and the war-club hanging at their wrists. They leaped on shore together as soon as the boat touched it, with an elastic, buoy-
ant step, and a free, independent air, and stood erect before me. I looked
at them with the historical recollections connected with their nation, with
a powerful sensation; and the scene made, has ever since remained fresh
in my mind.

They conveyed me to Mahanerwa's temporary cabin on the Cayouni,
where, on entering, I saw him lying on a hammock. It was in the centre
of it, and around the cabin were some half a dozen females, quietly occu­
pied with some work they had in their hands; which scene has been since
recalled to my mind, by the description given by Labat of the industry
and docility of the Charibees in the islands. After being introduced to
the chief, I made inquiries of him, among other things, concerning the
existence of lake Parima, its character, &c. He answered, that it was
four days from his place and dried entirely, so that a person could walk
over it, except that there remained a pond in the middle of it, which was
full of fish, which he called cassamaima: that he had crossed over it,
and it takes seven days to cross it: that there was there white and red
sand, which he called mocoureeme and eereepeana. He also said there
was rock crystal by mount Maho, which is agreeable to what Humboldt
says he was informed by Nicholas Hortsman. Arewya said, Parima is
in a savanna called Machewai. The water is of a whitish appearance
and is never entirely dry, pronounced bareema. A creek, or river, quite
black, and another quite red, goes out of it. That it was surrounded
with white and red sand; some of the white sand is shining and of a
silvery appearance. High rocks are around it and also small hills, which
have the shining appearance of glass, and that it takes four weeks to go
round it.

The information given by Mahanerwa is entitled to the highest degree
of credit. Dr. Hancock, who had an opportunity of seeing him on this
visit which he made to the coast, speaks of him in his pamphlet "Observa­
tions on Guyana," in the most favorable terms. Alluding to a fact he
had stated, he remarks, "on further reflection indeed I cannot doubt it, and
I have found a note I made from the testimony of the Charibee chief, Ma­
anerwa, who came down to the coast in 1819, and after such a lapse of
time, he said eight years, he came to repay my visit. A remarkable
sensibility and mildness of manners distinguished him from the subordi­
nate chiefs. His father had been the Caqui or Cacique of the Charibees,
and Mahanerwa had travelled with him throughout Guyana. No one was
so well acquainted with the country and the different tribes of Indians,
and in long conversations, I availed myself of the information he was ever
ready to impart. In fact, he was the most intelligent and correct of all
the Indians I ever met with. He gave me a succinct account of the
inland tribes at that period, besides numerous hints of value pertaining to
the history and geography of the interior."

Mahanerwa showed, in his conversation with me, his familiar ac­
quaintance with the geography of the region concerning which I made
my inquiries. Leaning out of his hammack, with a stick in his hand,
he marked on the sand of the floor the issuing of the river Parima from the lake, the situation of the Branco, which is the name it takes after the junction of the Tacutu with it, the river Maho, fort St. Joachim, &c.

Afterward, on my return to the post, I saw a Macoussie Indian, who said he lived near the lake and had often crossed it:—that it takes five days to cross it, and that it is the same time from the Essequibo to it. That it is surrounded by red sand, and is formed by a river, and discharges itself into another called the Rareenee, which empties into the Rio Negro.

An European colonist, residing some distance up the Essequibo, whom I saw on my passage down, gave me an account very similar to the above Indian testimony. He said, that he had been in the interior and over the region on which this lake is situated; that it is in a savanna, and the water discharges itself in the Rippununi and Siperouni, and the bottom of it is white clay. The Macoussies dig a pit in it in the dry season to get water. The rocks round it are half-wooded, half-bare; are black, and as the sun shines, glisten; (probably granitic rocks,) red and white sand are around the hills. Neither Dr. Hancock nor Mr. Waterton, he said, went so far west.

The view presented by the different accounts I received, which I have recited respecting the lake Parima, agree with the opinions of Danville and La Cruz, that there is such a lake in this region; and confirm the opinion of the former, that the Cayouni and Mazerouni branches of it, also rise out of it in addition to the streams mentioned by Humboldt, while they show the hypothesis of Surville, that it is only the lake Amucu, to be incorrect. It also agrees with the idea of Humboldt, that it is only the inundation of a tract of country; but do not support his opinion, that it is formed by the lake Amucu and the overflows of the tributaries of the Branco, as it clearly appears to be a distinct body of water. Hartsinck, in a map published with his work, places it at some distance from the lake Amucu. The other testimonies I collected on the subject support this statement.

It appears from them generally, that the lake Amucu, which is the source of the Maho and Pirara, is bounded by the Macoussie mountains on the west—the European colonist, whom I have mentioned, who went over the region on which lake Parima lies, says it discharges itself into the Siperouni and the Rippununi—and the Essequibo journalist observes the Siperouni and the Annayoca creek a tributary of the Rippununi, rise out of the Macoussie mountains. From these relations taken together it appears probable that the inundated savanna, called lake Parima, is west of these mountains and not far from them. Humboldt is also, I think, incorrect in supposing the lake derives its name from the river Parima, being only an expansion of it. It appears more probable that the river takes its name from the lake. Its distance probably is not very great from the Rippununi, for Keymis says that the Indians proceeding to the head of the Essequibo, by which he must mean this branch of it, "carry
their canoes one day's journey to a lake, which he says is called by the Charibees Parima, and the Jaos Roponowini." Mahanerwa, the Charibee chief, says it is four days' journey from his place; and from the Essequibo Journalist it appears, that it cannot take much less time to come from it to the Rippununi.

On the whole, from the examination which has been made, it appears indubitable that there is an extensive tract inundated, separate from the lake Amucu, on the table-land between the Essequibo and the Oronoke, on which passes the Cordillera of Parima—that various streams flow from it northwardly, southwardly and eastwardly, of which the Parima is the principal—which has either given name to this inundation, or the river derives its appellation from it.

The real character of this body of water, which, until recently, was always denominated a lake, being only a temporary inundation; Humboldt, it has been seen, has not been willing to admit it in his map, in which he has been followed by subsequent geographers; and the lake Parima has now entirely disappeared from the maps of South America, while the little lake Amucu has maintained its place, as in the large map of Arrowsmith, which I have made the basis of the sketch of Guyana, prefixed to this volume.

And as in Guyana the year is divided between two rainy and two dry seasons, each of three months, and during the former it rains continually, the water must fill the savanna as fast as it flows out of it; and the inundation must therefore exist for half the year and perhaps some time longer, as, after each rainy season, so large a body of water cannot be immediately discharged.

D'Anville, the most eminent geographer of his time, after all the doubts and controversies about it, finally inserted it in his second map, published in 1760; and La Cruz, in 1775, also in his—which has been followed by all modern geographers, until the publication of Humboldt. Hartsinck, also, who states that he obtained his information concerning it, from the Dutch settlements in Guyana, likewise gives it a place in his map. Further, Alcedo, a Spanish writer, in his Geographical Dictionary, a work of great authority, published in 1786, speaks positively of such a lake. "Parima is," he observes, "a very great lake of the province of Dorado, the depot of many rivers, and which discharges itself by a very large arm into the Rio Blanco, and by others. Some modern authors pretend that it is fabulous; but, according to the latest and most certain observations, such a lake actually exists. Its extent is not well known, and varies according to different relations. It is of a rectangular form, and the greater part of travellers make it eighty-two leagues (two hundred and forty-six miles,) from east to west. It resembles a small sea, and the water is saltish. On the N. N. E., rises out of it the river Cayuni, which joins the Essequibo. On the south flows out the Paranapitinga, or Yagurapiri—also called the White Water."
There are some reasons why geographers should hesitate in expunging this lake from their maps. Although it is only a temporary inundation, it appears from the accounts given by the Charibee chief and others, to have a distinct basin—being in a savanna called by a particular name, Macheivai; is surrounded by rocks, and around it are white and red sand, and it is never entirely dry; but there always remains a pond, which is full of fish called cassamaina.

Concerning the extent of this lake Parima, I am unable to form an exact idea from the relation of the Charibee chief—not knowing the rate at which the Indians of Guyana travel. A probable estimate of it only can be formed. He stated, that it takes seven days to cross the savanna; and supposing that they travel at the rate of thirty to thirty-five miles per day—the length of the lake would be from two hundred to two hundred and fifty miles. These are about the dimensions which Alcedo gives to it. La Cruz makes it one hundred miles long, and fifty broad.* Humboldt observes, that the northern bank of the Urariapara, one of the tributaries of Rio Branco, above St. Rosa, is called el Valle del Inundacion, and suggests, that this may be only an expansion of Mar Blanco, or the White Sea—as the difference between St. Rosa and the Rippununi, and lake Amucu, is but three degrees and a half—which appears probable, for this difference of longitude is not greater than the length of the lake, according to Alcedo.

This great inundation is produced, as observed, by the rainy seasons, which periodically occur in Guyana; and how great a quantity of water falls during their continuance, may be judged from the following remarks in Mr. M. Martin's History of the British Colonies:—“During the wet season, the wind is often from the S. W., and then the rain descends in torrents—sometimes for two or three days without intermission. At these periods, the sailors say, it only leaves off raining to commence pouring,” —and, in the interior, the rain falls more than on the coast. “In the hurricane months,” says the same writer, “when the Caribbee islands are ravaged with terrific tempests, vast masses of clouds—Pelion-like upon Ossa—advance toward the south. The mountains inland reverberate with pealing thunder, and the night is illuminated with faint lightning coruscations. Brief storms succeed. Upon the hills in the interior, the clouds discharge three times as much rain as falls upon the coast.”

A circumstance stated by Sir Walter Raleigh respecting lake Parima, that it is a salt lake, Humboldt considers merely an imaginary idea, formed from remembrance of the salt lake of Mexico. But that his relation is correct, is supported by several testimonies. Lawrence Keymis, in the passage I have above quoted from him, calls it so. “From the mouth of the Oyapocke, the inhabitants pass in their canoes, in twenty days, to the Salt Lake, whereon Manoa standeth.”† And, on the Oronoke, he was informed by a Charibee captain, “that a nation of clothed people dwell not far from where this river doth first take its name, and that far within they

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* Pinkerton's Geography, vol. 2, ch. i.  
border upon a sea of salt water, called Parima.* It is true, was an officer under Raleigh; but it is very improbable that he should, for the purpose of furthering his views, state a circumstance regarding the lake—if he had not heard it—which did not, in the least, contribute to support the idea of a splendid city on its borders. But that such is its character, is confirmed by other testimonies. In the statement made respecting it by the Governor of Demerara, in 1765, “it has been seen,” he says, “the Indians resorted to it to gather from it a substance which they called salt—some of which was brought to him—but which, on examination, he found to be saltpetre.” Further, Dr. Hancock says, that in going from the Rippununi westward to the Macoussie mountains, he crossed through a barren salt savanna. If such is the character of the soil there, it is not improbable, that of the land farther west may be the same. Again, Alcedo, in the passage I have above cited from him, says this lake “resembles a small sea, and the water is saltish.”

Lakes of this character are numerous in South America, as the Los Xarayes, in the flat plains of La Plata, which is formed by the collected waters of the torrents which flow during the rainy season from the mountains of Chiquitos. The Paraguay swelling over its banks at that period, inundates an expanse of flat land, under the 17th degree south latitude, to an extent of three hundred and thirty miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth; but when the waters of the Paraguay abate, this lake becomes a marsh. Besides this lake, there are many others of great size.† Further, the numerous lakes in this province are generally shallow, and produced by the overflowing of the rivers; but they have the singular quality of being mostly saline. There is in these vast plains through which the rivers pass, an immense tract of land, the soil of which is saturated with fossil salt. It extends to the south of Buenos Ayres. This substance appears in the greatest abundance between Santa Fe and Cordova, where the whole ground is covered with a white incrustation... Natural saltpetre is also collected in this part of the country. After a shower, the ground is whitened with it.‡

Lake Parima is sometimes called the “White Sea;” a circumstance which corroborates the testimony I have given, that the river Parima, which below the Tacutu is called Rio Branco, or Rio des Agues Blancas, or river of white waters, flows out of it. The whiteness of the lake is no doubt produced by a circumstance, stated by one of my informants respecting it, that the bottom of it is white clay. The Macoussie Indian said, it discharges itself into the Rareenee—by which he intended the Parima, for, he added, the Rareenee discharges itself into the Rio Negro. This word was, perhaps, meant for Areena, which is clay in the Charibee language—and shows that the whiteness of this river originates from the same cause as that of the lake.

This view is confirmed by Dr. Hancock, in the following remarks—part of a communication made by him respecting this region, to Mr. Martin:

"The soil of some of the upland savannas is composed of clay and gravel, very close, and, though apparently sterile, yielding food for the immense herds of cattle and horses, that pasture along the Rio Branco. Of a very pure white clay, there are immense masses, forming the high banks of the Essequibo above the falls. . . . . The Conoko mountains form an isolated group, seated on the elevated plains which separate two great systems of rivers, the tributary streams of the Essequibo flowing N. E., and those of the Tacutu, Branco, &c., toward the Rio Negro and Amazon. From the summit of these mountains can be seen the spot where the Tacutu and Rippununi take their rise. The soil here is of a pure white clay, (not chalk,) giving to the Rio Branco, and other rivers, a milky color, owing to the quantity of clay therein diffused, and in such a minute state of subdivision, as to require several days before the water will become transparent by deposition."

But that lake Parima is a White Sea, and also salt, is conclusively shown by the following unexceptionable testimony. In the collection of voyages by Purchas, is an account of one made to the river Oyapoke, in Cayenne, by Robert Harcourt, in 1608—which is thirteen years after the first voyage of Raleigh—with a view of making a settlement there; and who had with him, including officers and seamen, ninety-seven persons. As the testimony I have mentioned, which is that of a person who accompanied him, is a most valuable document in regard to the defence of Raleigh, some account of it will be given. Harcourt, on his arrival at the Oyapoke, held a conference with one of the chiefs, and being secure of the good will of the Indians, took possession of the country, for the crown of England. After making some examination of the river, he appointed one of his officers to remain there with a party of his company, "to continue the possession," and proceeded with his vessels and the rest, to the Cayenne river. From this place he went with his boat, taking with him "captain Fisher—his brother, Unton Fisher, an apothecary"—and about six more, to the Mariwin, to explore that river, and proceeded up it forty leagues, when the passage was so obstructed by rocks and shoals, and, finally, high falls, that he was obliged to return. Determined, however, to have this river examined, on going down he stopped at a town, the third from the sea, whose chief was Maperitaka—where, on ascending it, he had been very hospitably received—and at this point of his journey, he remarks: "At this town, I left my cousin, Unton Fisher, an apothecary, and one servant to attend him; and having first taken order with Maperitaka, for their diet and other necessaries, both for travel and otherwise, (who, ever since, according to his promise, hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithful friend,) I gave directions to my cousin, Fisher, to prosecute the discovery of Mariwinin, when the time of the year, and the

waters better served; and, if it were possible, to go up the high country of Guyana and to find out the city of Manoa, mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh in his discovery. He followed my directions to the uttermost of his ability—being of a good wit, and very industrious, and enabled to undergo these employments, by obtaining the love, and gaining the languages of the people.*

Immediately following the account of this voyage in Purchas, is a narrative with this title, "Relation of the habitations, and other observations of the Mariwin," without a name. In the margin Purchas says, "I found this fairly written in M. Hackluyt's papers, but know not who was the author."† But there cannot be the least doubt that it was a journal made by Upton Fisher, as not only two-thirds of it is an account of the interior of Guyana and the city of Manoa, concerning which Harcourt directed him to inquire, and no other English voyager is known, at that period, to have explored this river; but as the account Harcourt gives of Fisher's discoveries on it and other matters, agrees with the Relation, and some part of it is in the very language of it, as will be seen in Appendix No. I, where, as far as is material to the subjects I am examining, it is annexed entire. The account which the relater, whom I shall style the Mariwin Inquirer, gives of Guyana and the city of Manoa, states he received "from an ancient Indian, who came from the head of Surinam in a canoe with four others," who belonged to the Oronoke, and was of the nation of Yaious, a branch of the Charibees, and who speak the same language. He had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and would have been put to death, but because he had been a great traveller and knew the country well, they kept him for a guide, and afterward he contrived to escape in a boat, and came to the river Surinam and proceeded to the head of it. He appears, in his travels, to have gone over the country from the Essequibo to the Oronoke, and to have given the account the relater received from him, from his personal knowledge; for he said "it was a month's journey by land, from the head of Mariwin and the head of Disseekebe, and from the head of Disseekebe to the head of Orenoq, a month's travel."

This relation of the Mariwin Inquirer is entitled to unqualified credit, as it proceeds from a wholly disinterested source; Harcourt having not only made his voyage unconnected with Raleigh, but subsequently obtained, with two other persons, a grant from the crown of England, of the whole of Guyana from the Amazon to the space on the Oronoke, occupied by the Spaniards—in opposition, as far at least as regards the subjects of England, to his prior claims. Those associated with Harcourt, were, therefore, also free from any bias in favor of Raleigh; and that Fisher gave a correct relation of what he observed and learned on the Mariwin, the character given of him by Harcourt affords a full assurance.

* Purchas's Coll. of Voyages, 4. vol., Book vi., ch. xvi.
† Purchas, vol. 4. book vi, ch. xvii.
In regard to the subject which is under immediate consideration—the character of lake Parana—he has the following interesting passage:

"The ancient Indian, likewise spake of a very fair and large city in Guyana, which he called Monooan—which I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth Manoa—which standeth by a salt lake, which he called Parroowan Parrocarr Parrocarr Monooan, in the province of Asseconna. The Chief Captain, or Aerarwonnora, as he called him, was Peppodallapa."

These words—Parroowan, Parrocare, Manooan—I find to belong to the Charibee language, according to a vocabulary of it, as spoken in Cayenne, made by Biet, a missionary, annexed to his account of his travels there. Parroowan, (Paronaa,) signifying sea; Parrocare, (Aboirike,) white. Monooan, the relater considers to be Manoa; but I shall hereafter show, is more properly translated of the Manoas, a tribe of Indians—for Manoa, in Raleigh's Narrative, was not the lake, but a place upon it; and thus the name of the lake, as given by the ancient Indian, is White Sea of the Manoas.

Of the manner in which the lake Parima discharges itself, the preceding examination has shown that it may be considered indubitable, that, on the south, its waters flow out through the Rio Branco by various tributaries, of which the Parima is one; and, on the east, by the principal branches of the Essequibo, the Rippununi, Siperouni, Mazerouni, and Cayouni. On the north, it has been observed, that Raleigh says the Caroli (Caroni,) and Arvi, both tributaries of the Oronoke, take their rise from lake Cassipa. The researches of Humboldt have elicited no positive information on this subject, but he is inclined to think the assertion of Raleigh correct; for the Caroni is formed by the union of two branches of almost equal magnitude, the Caroni, properly so called, and the Rio Paragua, and the latter river is called by the missionaries of Piritoo, a lake. "It is full of shoals and little cascades, but passing through a country entirely flat, it is subject at the same time to great inundations, and its real bed can scarcely be discovered. The natives have given it the name of Paragua or Parava, which means in the Charibee language a great lake." He also thinks the opinion of Caulin, that the Caura, another tributary of the Oronoke, west of the Arvi, also flows out of lake Cassipa, or Parima, is to be relied on, as it was founded upon testimony collected by Don Jose Antonio Solano, in his expedition of boundaries.

"On the west, in the great map of La Cruz," remarks Humboldt, "the Oronoke takes its rise, under the names of Parima or Paruma, in the mountainous land between the Ventuari and the Caura, in the latitude of five degrees, from a small lake called Ipava. The Rio Parima, after a course of forty degrees east-northeast, and sixty leagues northeast, receives the Rio Mahu; then enters into lake Parima, which is supposed to be thirty leagues long and twenty broad. From this lake three rivers immediately issue—the Rio Ucamu, (Ocamoo,) the Rio Idapa, (Siapa,) and the Rio Branco. The Oronoke, or Parima, is indicated as a subterraneous filtration, at the western side of the Sierra Mei, which skirts
the lake or White Sea, in the west. This strange disposition of the rivers is become the type of almost all the modern maps of Guyana."

It is very probable that La Cruz formed his theory from a misapprehension of reports he heard. A river Parima, it has been seen, flows from the lake at the south; and a river Mahu, which comes out of the same chain of mountains, joins the Tacutu which enters into the Parima, which then takes the name of Branco. But La Cruz places them on the northern side of the lake. From this it may be seen, how little is known of the geography of this region. Even in the Spanish provinces north of this lake, an entire ignorance appears to exist on the subject. In a map of Venezuela and Guyana, attached to a theory of Caraccas by De Pons—who resided four years in different parts of them—published in 1805, in which the lake Parima is conspicuously laid down, he adopts the theory of La Cruz, in regard to a river Parima joined by the Mahu, flowing into it at the north. On the east he makes no stream whatever issue from it. The different branches of the Essequibo are placed at a distance from it. At the southeast corner, exactly three large arms issue, which form the Branco, that makes a bold sweep to the west before it flows to the south. No other tributary of this river, or any other stream, flows from the southern side of the lake. Such are the erroneous ideas entertained in the Spanish territories, so late as 1805, regarding this lake. The inhabitants of Caraccas and Angustura know as little in what manner it discharges itself at the south, as the Portuguese the streams that issue from it at the north.

"Caulin," observes Humboldt, "in his map, makes the Oronoke rise out of lake Parima—but the lake he places to the east of the Rio Branco,"—a most strange idea.

Surville, who considers lake Parima to be only lake Amucu, substitutes for the lake Parima of La Cruz, another lake in latitude 2° 10'. Near this Alpine lake, rise from the same source the Oronoke, and the Rio Idapa, a tributary stream of the Cassiquiari. From this arrangement, altogether hypothetical, the origin of the Oronoke is no lake, and its sources are independent of lake Parima.*

La Cruz, it has been observed, makes the Oronoke, by the name of Parima, rise out of the lake, which is a distinct fact from the other, which he states, that a river of that name first flows into it from the north. Caulin also makes the Oronoke rise out of the lake, though he places it in a singular location. It is not improbable this is the origin of the Oronoke, at least, that one of the streams that form it issues from the lake, and it is possible it may have the name of Parima; for it would not be extraordinary if the lake should give its name to more than one river rising out of it in different directions.

There is a striking passage on this subject in the voyage of Keymis, which I have already cited for another purpose. He was informed by a Charibee captain on the Oronoke, "that a nation of clothed people, called

Cassanari, dwell not far from the place where the river first takes the name of Oronoke, and that far within they border upon a sea of salt water, called Parima; "or, as appears to be the meaning, there was a nation called Cassanari, bordering upon the sea called Parima, which was not far from where the Oronoke first bears that name. Hence this river must have run some distance before, and as the lake was not far from where it first takes the name, it seems a reasonable conclusion that it flowed out of it. "The Charibees," says Keymis, "are, of all Indians, those that know most of the inland—a circumstance caused by their being spread over the greater part of Guyana, and their constant habits of trading and warlike expeditions.

Humboldt was unable to elucidate this subject by personal examination, having ascended the Oronoke only a short distance from Esmeralda, the last Christian post on it—a little hamlet of eighty houses situated at its bifurcation with the Cassaquiari. Of the causes which prevented his progress farther, he gives the following relation. "This river may," he observes, "be ascended without danger from Esmeralda as far as the cataracts occupied by the Guyaca Indians, who prevent ulterior progress of the Spaniards. This is a voyage of six days and a half, in which distance it receives several streams. At the mouth of the Gehette is a cataract, formed by a dike of granite rocks crossing the Oronoke, which are the columns of Hercules, beyond which no white man has been able to penetrate, and known by the name of the Raudal Guahariboes, three-quarters of a degree east of Esmeralda—consequently in 67° 38' longitude. A military expedition, undertaken by the commander of the fort of San Carlos, Don Francisco Bovadilla, led to the most minute information respecting the cataracts of the Guahariboes. He heard that some fugitive negroes, proceeding toward the west, had joined the independent Indians. He attempted a hostile incursion, from the desire of procuring African slaves better fitted for labor than the native race. Bovadilla arrived without difficulty as far as the little Raudal, opposite the Gehette; but, having advanced to the foot of the rocky dike that forms the great cataracts, he was suddenly attacked, while he was breakfasting, by the Guahariboes and the Guaycas, two warlike tribes, celebrated for the activity of their arrow-poison. The Indians occupied the rocks that rise in the middle of the river, and seeing the Spaniards without bows, and having no knowledge of fire-arms, they provoked the whites, whom they believed to be without defence. Several of the latter were dangerously wounded, and Bovadilla found himself forced to give the signal of battle. A horrible carnage ensued among the natives, but no Dutch negroes were found. Notwithstanding a victory so easily won, the Spaniards did not dare to advance toward the east, in a mountainous country, and along a river closed by very high banks."*

Informed of these facts, Humboldt proceeded up the Oronoke beyond Esmeralda only, as far as the mouth of the Guapo, two and a half days'
journey, which is fifteen leagues distant from the Raudal of the Guarariboes.*

An examination having been thus made into the existence, the locality, and the character of the lake Parima of geographers—called by Sir Walter Raleigh the lake Cassipa,—the more important circumstance related by him, the "rich and magnificent city on its borders, which the natives call Manoa, and the Spaniards El Dorado," will now be considered.

On this subject, an inquiry will first be made, without referring to the character given of this city, whether a place called Manoa—either a large city, or a considerable Indian settlement, whatever it may be—has been related to exist in the interior of Guyana, by any other person than Sir Walter Raleigh. The contrary has generally been taken for granted; and on this assumption, a foundation has been laid by his personal enemies at that time, and prejudiced historians since, to consider his whole relation respecting it as purely his own invention—or a delusion arising from his vain imagination. But in this respect, as well as others, great injustice has been done to him. Lawrence Keymis, subsequent to him, at two different places on the coast of Guyana, viz., at the Oyapoke, in Cayenne, and on the Essequibo, "heard of Manoa, situated upon a lake called Parima," far within the country, and the distance to it from the mouth of each river.

On the Oronoque, he also heard of it, from a Charibee captain, who said it was twenty days from the Wiapoco, (Oyapoke,) ; and gave him, also, the distance to it from several rivers between the Essequibo and Oronoque. Keymis, it is true, was an associate of Raleigh, and this account might be supposed made to favor his views; but that he did not copy the relation from him, and give, as it were, a second edition of it, is fully established by the fact that he calls the lake by the name of Parima—while that which Raleigh gives it is Cassipa—who was not aware of the other, which is the name by which it has been always called, on the coast of Guyana. Further, it has already been observed, that the Mariwin Inquirer, a wholly disinterested witness, states, that the ancient Indian from the head of the river Surinam, spoke of a very fine and large city in Guyana—which he called Monooan—which, says the journalist, I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth Manoa, which standeth by a salt lake, &c.

That a large Indian population formerly existed in the region assigned for the locality of this lake, is rendered probable by several considerations.

There is at present a large collection of Indian nations in this region. From the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, I received the following list of tribes, which, he said, inhabited about Parima, viz.: Macoussies, Tiberacottis, Carenacottis, Wyomeera, Wyooocoa, Sapara, Poweeana, Awaeo, Pareenapana, Eenao, Mako, Seewaianos. His son-in-law, Areewya, added Mahanaos, Areewas, Braveeana, Eenopes, Cawera. The nations residing farther east, on the different branches of the Essequibo, I learned

The state of the tribes, too, denotes that this part of Guyana was once much more populous; as they are, generally, the mere remnants of nations. Other tribes have lived here, who are now entirely destroyed, or driven away to the Portuguese territories, by the preponderating sway of the Charibees. It is true, the two periodical inundations which form the lake, continue together for half a year; but, judging from the state of the population at the east of it, on the same Cordillera, according to the relations of several travellers whom I have cited, the nations who inhabited the inundated district, dwell on the mountains. One of the Macoussie mountains, says the Essequibo journalist, is mount Itaka, which he ascended, and half-way up, found a settlement of twelve houses. Dr. Hancock says this mountain is an isolated peak, steep and rugged, difficult to climb, and that on the summit are five houses. On the sides of the mountains,
though they appear sterile, cassava, corn, plaintains, &c., thrive astonishingly well. Mr. Waterton speaks of a steep and high hill, full of immense rocks, which he ascended; the huts built on which, were not all in one place, but dispersed wherever they could find a spot level enough for a lodgment. And the population was not only on mountains around the lake. In it, says Alcedo, are many islands; and in the mountains many nations who have given rise to the imaginary El Dorado, the cause of so many misfortunes and deaths. From the length which he gives it of two hundred and forty-six miles; and, taking a breadth for it of fifty miles, according to La Cruz; if, as Alcedo supposes, it is rectangular, it would cover a space of twelve thousand square miles—as large a body of water as lake Ontario, or Erie, and which Raleigh compares to the Caspian sea. This space, surrounded and spread over with mountains, was capable of containing an extensive population. The whole of Guyana appears to have been much more thickly inhabited than at present. The borders of the Oronoke, exhibit the same appearance, as to the state of the tribes on it, as the region at the sources of the Essequibo. The population is scanty while there is the greatest number of nations, or remnants of tribes. The variety of idioms, observes Humboldt, that are spoken on the banks of the Meta, the Oronoke, the Cassiquiari, and the Rio Negro, is so prodigious, that a traveller, however great may be his talent for languages, can never flatter himself with learning enough to make himself understood along the navigable rivers, from Angustura to the Rio Negro.

From the situation of this lake, communicating with so many rivers, flowing in different directions with the Oronoke, the Amazon and the Atlantic, a large assemblage of Indians would almost inevitably be collected there. A great number, in particular, would not fail to come to it by the Rio Branco, which unites with the Rio Negro, a large arm of the Amazon, on whose banks are a multitude of natives. D'Acugna, who makes the length of the Amazon about one thousand two hundred leagues—a less estimate than that of Orellana, which is one thousand eight hundred—observes, that its borders were so thickly populated when he passed down in 1639, that the habitations of the Indians along the whole were near each other; and that not merely in one nation, but the settlements of two contiguous nations were at such little distance from each other, that sounds could be heard from the last habitation of one by several of the other. The tributaries of this river, both on the north and south side, were likewise thickly inhabited. It is very probable, also, that there was an emigration from the Oronoke to this region. Some of the tribes now in it, appear to have come from that river. The Atorays, or Atorees of the Essequibo (the name is written both ways) are probably the Atures of the Oronoke—a number of whom, Humboldt says, have been found east of the Esmeralda, which is directly west of lake Parima. The Atures belong to the great stock of Saliva nations, who are the most intelligent tribes on the Oronoke. The Atorees are an industrious, mild, and pacific nation, and appear to have a degree of mechanical skill above the other tribes. They are the sole
makers of the stone rasps, used by the other Indians for grating the cassava root. Their houses are made with rather more art than those of the others, being circular. In the neighborhood of Mahanerwa's place, the Essequibo journalist says there are four round houses, filled with clay, entirely closed, except a space for an entrance, which were erected from some singular notion the makers imbibed. These, I was informed, were made by the Atoorees. They are on an eminence, and make a singular appearance in that wilderness country. The Macoes, according to the Charibee chief, are one of the nations about lake Parima. A nation of the same name exists on the Oronoke, and like the Atures, belong to the Saliva stock. The Wapisanas, on the Rippununi, are perhaps the Guaypanabibis of the Oronoke. The first syllable of each name is the same, according to a different pronunciation. Thus, the Guaranos, at the mouth of this river, are called Warrows; the Guykeries, Wikiries. Furious contests formerly existed between the Guaypanabibis and the Charibees of the Oronoke, and the Wapisanas are pursued by those of the Essequibo with such a determined spirit, that they have taken up their abodes toward the tops of the highest mountains, and dare not appear in the level country.

Humboldt says, that from Caycara, on the Oronoke, a little below the cataracts of the Atures, the Indians formerly had a road that led to Essequibo and Demerara.

Raleigh says there were around the lake Cassipa (Parima) three mighty nations, the Cassipagotos, Awaragotos, and Eparagotos. Who they were, I have not been able to learn. The termination goto, belongs to the Charibee language, as in the Tiberacottis and Arenacottis tribes now around the lake. Eparagotos and Tiberacottis seem to have some resemblance—a consonant is sometimes put, by the Indians, before words to improve the sound.

This circumstance, too, of so many rivers rising near each other, and by short portages communicating together, would lead the borderers of the Atlantic coast and the Oronoke frequently to pass through Guyana to the Rio Negro and the Amazon, and those on the latter river to make the opposite journey, for the purpose of trafficking with the articles growing or made in their respective regions; and in the end would probably render the region of Parima, whence these rivers rise, a common rendezvous, or market-ground, for the same purpose; by which their mutual exchanges could be more conveniently carried on. Some indications of this exist at the present day. The Essequibo journalist, speaking of his visit to the Charibee chief, says: "The trade between the Charibees, Alorays, Macoussies, Wapisanas and Turamas, goes on the whole year, and this place is the great market—every day strangers are coming and going—visits from all quarters."

But the tribes at a distance, had the additional motive to visit this region to obtain many articles, either found solely in it, or more readily obtained here than elsewhere.
The forests of Guyana have always presented an interesting field to
the naturalist. The great luxuriance of vegetation which they exhibit,
caused by a prolific soil and tropical sun, producing an innumerable vari­
ety of plants; the many majestic and beautiful trees of singular forms,
standing conspicuous in the landscape; the great variety of birds of rich
and splendid plumage which adorn them; the multitude of rare and curi­
ous quadrupeds with which they are thronged, with innumerable vari­
eties of the insect race, are everywhere calculated to arrest his attention.
But in the mountainous region of Parima, a field for his researches is
presented, not exceeded by that of any other country, in the animals of
all the orders which are peculiar to it, the many new varieties found here
of those already known, the rare vegetable productions, useful for food or
other purposes, the many curious and valuable woods, the medicinal plants,
and the gums, oils, &c., with which it abounds.

Of the abundance, variety, and beauty of the natural productions, both
in the animal and vegetable domain, in the interior of British Guyana,
the following lively description has been given by Capt. J. E. Alexander,
in his Trans-Atlantic Sketches, published in 1833; who, accompanied by
Mr. Hillhouse, surveyor of Demerara, a gentleman of intelligence and
well acquainted with that colony, ascended the Essequibo, and then pro­
ceeded up the Mazarouni two hundred and thirty-four miles. The
description relates to the scenery on that river:

"At every turn of the river, says the author, we descried objects of great
interest. The dense, and nearly impenetrable forest itself, occupied our
chief attention. Magnificent trees, altogether new to me, were anchored
to the ground by the bush-rope. Convolvuli and the flowers of parasitical
plants of every variety, caused the woods to appear as if hung with gar­
lands. Preeminent above the other sons of the forest, was the towering
and majestic mora. Its trunk spread out into buttresses, and on its top
could be seen the king of vultures, spreading out his immense wings to dry
after the dews of night.

"Rivaling the mora in height, and surpassing it in beauty, was the silk
cotton-tree. A naturalist might study for days one of these grand ob­
jects, produced by exuberant nature from the richest mould, with the
combined advantages of a tropical sun and moist atmosphere, and still
he will find something new, and much to wonder at.

"Supporting many other plants, and a numerous colony of animated
nature, on the topmost branches of the tree are seen the wild pine—while
the vines, descending like shrouds to the earth, afford to the traveller a
pleasant beverage; for if skilfully cut with a knife, the water gushes
out. . . . The opossum, and other small quadrupeds, ascending by the
vines, drink from the deep cup of the pines, which contains nearly a
quart of water, collected from the dews and rain. In the forks of the
branches are seen the black clay nests of the wood-ant, with double gal­
leries down the stem, by which the tiny colonists ascend and descend,
without interrupting each other. Sometimes the marabouts, or wild bees,
occupy the place of the ants, and are surrounded by the hanging nests of the black and yellow mocking-birds.

"Here and there, singly or in groups, the royal palmetto reared its head one hundred feet in height, and the stem seven or eight feet in thickness. The straight gray pillar terminates in a green edible shaft, affording the mountain cabbage; then the branches, fifteen feet in length, spread out horizontally, from which depended the close-set pinnated and pointed leaves, agitated by the slightest breath of air.

"While we lay, in the noonday heat, shadowed underneath the thick wood, the very peculiar and romantic cry of the campanero, or bell-bird, would be heard at intervals. It is white, about the size of a pigeon, with a leathery exrescence on its forehead; and the sound which it produces in the lone woods, is like that of a convent bell tolling at a distance."

Captain Alexander then gives an account of some remarkable quadrupeds of this region, as the tapir, or American elephant; the spotted jaguar; the manati, or sea-cow; and the cayman, or alligator; but his animated description I am obliged to omit, not to extend the extract to too great a length.

"The trees of the forest, matted together by bush-rope, here running up their stems, and then joining branch to branch, were at times alive on each side of the river, with the restless saccawabee, or small red monkey, with a white face. They travel from tree to tree with facility, by means of the wild vines; and numerous families of these active little creatures, with their offspring on their backs, may be seen disporting themselves among the leaves, and feeding on the nuts, far removed from their enemies, the snakes below.

"Then advancing up a creek, the wanderer may come to a lonely spot, rocks and trees casting broad shadows into the pools; and he will there see the spotted wirrabocerra, or the red bajeer deer, reposing at noon, or rushing, with panting sides, to the water. The flesh of both these deer is delicious.

"Rushing through entangled brush-wood, will be heard a score or two of picarree hogs. The ant, bear, tree-porcupine, the scaly armadilla, and the languid sloth, are not unfrequently met with, in traversing these luxuriant and unbroken forests; but above all, the red men desire to meet with the amphibious laaba, about the size of a pig a year old, and the body brown, with white spots, affording flesh rich and delicate.

"When the sun sinks rapidly in the west, and disappears behind the trees, like a fiery target, gorgeous macaws, and screaming parrots fly in pairs over head, returning from their feeding grounds, to their favorite roosts. The dreaded vampire then leaves the shady nest, or hollow tree, where he had dosed during the day, and flits on ebon and leathery wings along the river's bank. These foul bats are sometimes three feet from wing to wing.

"During the night, the owls and goat-suckers lament with ominous cry, and at early dawn the hannaqua loudly repeats its own name, and the
woodpeckers commence their hammering on decayed trees, and the mighty-billed toucans yelp from the loftiest trees. Near the mouths of the rivers, the curry-curvy, or scarlet curlew, stalks conspicuously among other aquatic birds, and the falcon, pelican, and spoonbill, are seen with flocks of wild duck and teal, &c. With active though invisible wing, the minute humming-birds are often observed; the metallic lustre of their plumage glistening in the sunbeam. . . . Far removed from the hamlets of men, sits the cock of the rock, with red plumage so brilliant, that some will say it is impossible to look steadfastly on it. It is a crested bird, about the size of a pigeon, and of an elegant form; but I must not stop to describe at greater length, the great variety of the feathered tribe that are met with in these wilds; but merely mention the names of the scarlet and blue aras, the great trumpeter, and powese or peacock-peareant, the brown maraddee, the spotted tiger-bird, the blue-bird and rice-bird, the green sparrow, and above all the kishee-kishee, the size of a lark, but decorated with splendid plumage, the various colors of which are beautifully arranged, so as to enchant the eye of every beholder.

While on the Essequibo, I heard of a recluse, who collected insects, and I went in a canoe to visit him. . . . Mynheer Faber, a thin gray-headed man, displayed before me a rich and valuable entomological collection, consisting of the most beautiful varieties of the butterflies and moths, of beetles in cases of shining armor, lantern and fire-flies of different species, the remarkable walking-leaves, gigantic bush-spider, the red-footed tarantula, centipedes, a foot long, and scorpions, whose bite occasions fevers and death in a few hours.

As a pupil of one of the most distinguished naturalists of the age, Prof. Jamieson, I might have been expected to enter more fully into the natural history of this region, but I am fearful of fatiguing many of those who honor these pages with their perusal. I therefore briefly state, that I know of no fairer field in the universe for a naturalist to distinguish himself in, than that of Guyana. There are vast mineral treasures yet to be discovered in the mountain ranges; the most valuable gums, spices, and medicinal plants abound in these romantic woods, scented by the sweet hyawa; and in a morning's walk under the matted trees, or by the side of the lonely creek, new species of insects inhabiting the land or water, are continually to be met with.

This sketch brings to mind, a passage in the narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh. His mind, quickly and deeply sensible to the beautiful and picturesque in nature, was so struck with the aspect of Guyana, that he breaks forth into the following enthusiastic terms respecting it: "I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on, either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path, and the birds toward the evening singing in every tree; with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson,
and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind."

This passage has, no doubt, been viewed by superficial readers, or the prejudiced enemies of Raleigh, as a mere political rhapsody, and contributed, with the glowing terms in which, in other places he speaks of this country, to throw discredit upon his entire narrative. But, although it may be admitted that his enthusiasm led him to paint the scenery of Guyana with the pencil of a poet, the extract I have given from the account of a recent visitor to this region, is sufficient to acquit him of the charge of having framed the ground-work from his imagination, and even to excuse the warmth of his language.

I will not indulge a conjecture, which of all the various natural productions of the region in which the White Sea or lake Parima is situated, or of the articles fabricated by the tribes who inhabited it, might have attracted to it visitors from other nations; but will confine myself to those which are in no manner problematical.

Wild cotton may be enumerated among them.

Dr. Hancock, in his pamphlet entitled 'Observations,' &c., remarks: "The variety of valuable and interesting cottons in the interior of Guyana is very numerous." This is an article in great demand among the Indians, especially the Charibees, who manufacture it into cloth, of which they make their hamacks—and there are indications that they formerly made vestments of the same material.

The variety of birds of beautiful plumage, which abound in that region, could not fail, also, to attract to it visitors from other parts, to procure materials for the gay and splendid plumery with which all the Indians of Guyana are accustomed to array themselves. When we speak in Europe, observes Humboldt, of a native of Guyana, we figure to ourselves a man, whose head and waist are decorated with fine feathers of the macaw, the toucan, the lanager, and the humming-bird. The Charibees, and perhaps other nations, were besides, fond of having beautiful specimens of the feathered race among them, which they domesticated. Pinzon, in his voyage to South America, soon after Columbus, was presented, on the coast of Paria, as Martyr relates, "with a great multitude of peacocks, dead and alive, as well for his own use as to carry to Spain; also, with parrots of the greatest number, of every color."

At Guadaloupe, Columbus found, around the houses of the Charibees, many household fowls, especially a splendid species of parrot, called guacamayo, or the macaw. The Essequibo journalist states, that on his visit to the chief Mahanerwa, a captain of the Charibees came there from the river Corentine, to trade for "spun cotton and rare birds."

The valuable medicinal plants, with the virtues of which the Indians are acquainted—the odoriferous shrubs, the balsams and oils found in the interior parts of Guyana—the various beautiful woods growing there, of one of which, the letterwood—of extraordinary solidity, and variegated with marks—their bows and war-clubs are made, were probably formerly, as they are now, sought for in this region.
The fatal woorara, or arrow-poison, used by all the Indians of Guyana, is made by the Macoussies alone, one of the tribes in the mountainous region of Parima. The sarbacan, or blow-pipe, a straight and hollow reed, nine or ten feet long, through which a small arrow, about eight inches in length, poisoned at one end, is impelled by the breath; is also obtained from them, who are the sole makers of it, and are the only nation who employ it in war. Other Indians obtain it, to use in killing birds or other small animals.

Honey, we may be certain, was found abundantly among the tribes in the mountains of Parima, and was an article of traffic among them. The variety of the species of bees there, and the different kinds of honey made by the Indians, is a matter of astonishment.

Although to researches in natural history, my attention was not directed while in Guyana, I was so struck with the beauty of a collection of preserved specimens of this valuable insect, made by a naturalist on the Essequibo, that I purchased it of him, consisting of forty-two varieties; and which, on my return to New-York, I presented to the Lyceum of Natural History of that city. I likewise obtained the Indian (arrowack) names for twenty-nine of these species, which facts were stated in a short paper I communicated to Professor Silliman’s American Journal of Science.

A great attraction to the White Sea of Parima, also, was no doubt the salt found there. This article was also in demand among the Indians; an evidence of which is seen in a fact stated by Martyr, in describing the visit of Pinzon to the coast of Paria—that the Indians at some distance from it, were accustomed to come to it to obtain salt; which the Parians procured by allowing the water of the sea, when it rose and inundated a plain, to evaporate, and the salt was made into small cakes, with which they trafficked.

From a fact stated by D’Acugna, it seems not improbable the Indians on the Amazon supplied themselves with this article from the lake Parima. The Tupinambas, says this early writer, are a very ingenious and intelligent people, and inhabit an island in this river, sixty leagues in length, which commences twenty-eight leagues below the river Cayari, nearly directly south of this lake. They informed him that, on the north side of the river, were seven provinces adjoining one another, very populous, but the inhabitants were of little courage—that there was another nation beyond them whose confines extended to these, with whom they had been long at peace, and had a regular trade with the different commodities with which each country abounded, and that the principal thing they had from them was salt, which came from a place not far distant from them. D’Acugna mentions this as a most interesting fact—not having met with this article in its natural state, in the course of his voyage—and even speaks of the importance this salt region would be to the inhabitants of the provinces of Peru.*

* Discovery of the Amazon by Ch. D’Acugna, London, 1458.
To these remarks, I add the following facts: that at the present day the Indians, in the interior of Guyana, are in the practice of bringing down the rivers Essequibo and Demerara, many curious and rare articles, the productions of the forests or their own fabrics, which always attract the attention of European visitors, who commonly purchase some of these "curiosities" to take with them on their return. Instead of giving a detail of them, I extract from Dr. Bancroft's History of Guyana, in 1764, an account of those which the Charibees and Ackoways were then in the practice of bringing down from the interior to traffic with the Europeans, viz: canoes, hamacks, beeswax, balsam capivi—a balsam called arrerocerra—the roots of hiaree for fishing—oil of caraiba, which is collected in large gourds, resembling the palm-oil of Guinea—different kinds of curious woods; letterwood; ducalla-bolla; ebony; vanilla; arnotta; cassia festuta; canulla alba; wild nutmeg; wild cinnamon; monkeys; parrots; parroquets, &c. This account, compared with one given by Keymis, two hundred years before, while it proves how little the customs of the Indians have changed during that time; furnishes, also, another instance of the accuracy of his statements. "From the mouth of the Co- rentine," he observes, "to the head, is twenty days, where the Guyanians dwell. Honey, cotton, silk, balsam, and brasilo beds (hamacks,) may be had here in great plenty; and all along the coast eastward, also, divers sorts of drugs, gums, and roots." The abundance of these articles along the coast, shows that the intercourse with the interior by the different rivers emptying into the Atlantic was great—for the hamacks were obtained only from the Charibees, who are in the interior, and some of the others were no produced on the low alluvial lands of the coast.

Keymis says, he was told there was an infinite number of canoes in the lake. This would be the case if there was a large population there, for during the successive periods of inundation, each of three months or more, the inhabitants on the mountains would otherwise have no means of communication with each other; and if this place was much resorted to, the visitors would come to it in canoes. The great quantity of them in the lake is also expressly stated by the Mariwin Inquirer. The ancient Indians, from the head of the Surinam, informed him, "that once in every third year, all the Caciques or lords and captains, some seven days' journey from Monoon, do come to a great drinking, which continues for the space of ten days together, in which time they go sometimes fishing, fowling and hunting. Their fishing is in the salt lake, where is abundance of canoes, and those very great. They have many fish-pools of standing water, wherein they have abundance of fish." These fish-pools are agreeable to what was related to me by the Charibee chief, that after the lake had discharged itself there remained in it a pool, which was full of fish, called cassamaima; and if this was resorted to there would probably be a number of such fish-pools, which the Indians would have no difficulty in making; as the Macoussies, who now live near it, are in the practice of going there in the dry season to get water, by "digging a pit in it," as one of my informants stated.
Limiting myself to a simple and strict detail of facts, I will not allow myself to imagine what consequences, besides those of mutual convenience for traffick, might have followed the assembling of Indians from various surrounding tribes, at this gathering place; what alliances might have been formed, what schemes of war projected, and how far the state of the population throughout Guyana might have been influenced by it. Nor will I attempt to sketch the scene which the White Sea would, on these occasions present, with mountains around it and dispersed over it, covered with granitic rocks, the micaceous particles of which glistened in the sun; or, as the Charibees said, "shone as glass," the cabins of the inhabitants studding their sides to their very summit; the various nations of every form and different costumes, but all gayly and fantastically arrayed—nor their occupations during these assemblings, either for traffick or amusement; "the fishing in the salt lake;" the parties traversing the rocky and woody mountains in quest of quadrupeds or birds, or in collecting the natural productions of the country; the meetings for bargaining or exchanging the articles found on the spot or brought from other parts, or their feasts and entertainments, always scenes of excitement and noisy revelry.

I will only remark, that so large a body of water in the interior of Guyana, having the singular appearance of white—and like the sea, salt or saltish—the large collection of Indians which was probably around it, and the occasional gatherings there of those of surrounding regions, with the communications afforded by the different rivers, could not fail to give general celebrity to this place; so that it appears to have been known along the whole coast of Guyana, at every river where voyagers stopped, although there was no magnificent city on the borders of the White Sea, nor its mountains abounded with the precious metals.
CHAPTER IV.

EXAMINATION OF THE RELATION OF JUAN MARTINEZ, A SPANIARD, WHO PROFESSED TO HAVE SEEN THE CITY—WHETHER GOLD ARTICLES WERE IN EARLY TIMES POSSESSED BY THE INDIANS IN THE INTERIOR OF GUYANA, AND WHENCE OBTAINED—REMARKS ON THE RELATION OF A CHARIBEE CHIEF ON THE ORONOKE, OF AN INVASION OF IT BY PERUVIANS.

That "a rich and magnificent city" existed on the lake, Sir Walter Raleigh, however, states that he was positively informed. "I have been assured," he observes, "by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guyana, that for its greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far excelleth any in the world, at least so much of it as is known to the Spaniards, and it is situated upon a sea of salt water."

The information on which he founds this statement was, as has been related, obtained from the Spaniards at Trinidad, especially from Admiral Don Berreo, the Governor of that island, who had, previously to him, made an expedition from New Grenada down the Oronoke in pursuit of El Dorado, which principally consisted of the relation of a certain Juan Martinez, who professed to have travelled to this city and seen it. Of this information, however, Raleigh gives no account, except of the relation of Martinez, on which he appears mainly to rely for his belief of the existence of this long-sought-for city in the heart of Guyana. An examination of it will therefore be made, to ascertain whether it justified the opinion which Berreo formed from it, and communicated to him.

The circumstances which led Martinez to discover, as he reported, this new El Dorado, are thus stated by Sir Walter Raleigh:

He belonged to the company of Diego Ordaz, who was one of those who sought El Dorado by ascending the Oronoke. He proceeded as far as the residence of the Charibee chief, with whom Raleigh made an alliance, of which he saw evidence in a large anchor of his ship lying at his port; and while there, his whole stock of powder having been set on fire, Martinez, who had the chief charge of it, was condemned to be executed. But the soldiers favored him, and tried every means to save his life, but could light on no other mode than placing him in a canoe and suffering it to float down the river. It was carried down some distance, when it was taken up by some Indians, who, having never before seen a white person, carried him into the country to be wondered at, and went from town to town until they came to the great city of Manoa. The Emperor, after he had beheld him, caused him to be lodged in his palace and well entertained, but restrained him from travelling about the country. He was brought thither the whole way blindfolded. He lived there seven months, after
which he obtained permission of the Emperor to depart, who sent with him a number of Indians to conduct him to the Oronoke, with as much gold as they could carry. But when he arrived near the river's side, the borderers robbed him and the Indians of all the treasure they had with them, save only two large gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought. He then went down the Oronoke to Trinidad, and from thence came to the Island of Margueretta, and afterward to Porto Rico, where he died; and in his last illness gave this relation, which Berreo informed Raleigh was still to be seen in the chancery of that island, and of which he had a copy.

"It was this individual, Martinez," says Raleigh, "who first christened the city of Manoa El Dorado, which he did on the following account:

"The Guyanians are remarkably addicted to drinking, exceeding all other people; and at their festivals, when the Emperor carouseth with his captains and tributaries, those who pledge or acknowledge him have their bodies covered over with a kind of white balsam, called Curcai, and certain servants of his blow gold dust through hollow canes upon them, until they are all shining from head to foot; and thus adorned, they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue so sometimes six or seven days together. And from witnessing this, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city—the images of gold in the temples, the plates, armors, and shields of gold which they used in their wars—he called it El Dorado."

Such is the foundation on which the magnificent city in the interior of Guyana has been erected.

On an attentive examination, however, of this relation, it will be found entirely insufficient to support the splendid fabric created by Barreo and the Spaniards, and into the belief of which Raleigh was led.

Martinez gives no relation of such things as are embraced in the idea of a civilized city, still less a magnificent one—well-built edifices, streets and squares. The abundance of gold, and the various gold articles which he describes to be in it, on which I shall presently remark, may all have been there, although it consisted only of a large collection of Indians, living in habitations very similar to those now seen in Guyana; but who, like the Omaguas on the river Amazon, among whom such articles abounded, may have been somewhat more improved than the surrounding nations. But the relater calls this place El Dorado. It was Martinez, says Raleigh, who first gave to the city of Manoa this name. But it clearly appears, that he does not apply it from its possessing the accompaniments "of a rich and magnificent city," but, as he expressly states—because the Emperor and the principal men, had their bodies covered over with gold dust; the abundance of gold in the city, the images of gold in the temples, the armors, plates, and shields of gold, &c.

The term El Dorado, Gamilla, in his History of the Oronoke, states—as I have before observed—was first used in New Grenada and Peru, from a similar custom related to exist in some Indian nation; and the same opinion is expressed by Humboldt.
Reports being spread among the inhabitants of those provinces, of a King, or Priest, whose body every morning was anointed and then covered with gold dust, and, at the same time, that the country which he governed abounded in gold—the name of El Dorado, signifying in the Spanish language, "the gilded," or, the gilded King, was applied by them to the whole region; and when their minds were inflamed by these reports, by the mere force of imagination, a city was created, in which this gilded king resided, with his palace, and other stately edifices sumptuously decorated with gold.

Martinez, in his relation, applies the term El Dorado, as has been seen, strictly as it was at first used; but Berreo, the Governor of Trinidad, prepossessed with the idea of a rich and magnificent city, which he had imbibed in New Grenada, gave this coloring to the relation, and conveyed the same impression of it to the mind of Raleigh.

That this is a correct view, and that the place called Manoa, was even then only a collection of rude Indian habitations, is confirmed by a contemporary witness. The Mariwin Inquirer, thirteen years only after the first voyage of Raleigh, gives the following relation on the subject. The ancient Indian, from the head of the Surinam, who gave him an account of the "fair and rich city of Monooan," added, "ten days within the land, every child can tell of the riches of Monooan." And then he gives the following description of this "fair and rich" city: "Their houses are made with many lofts and partitions in them, but not boarded, only with bars of wood, only, the lower floor is spread very smooth, and with fires hardened, as they do their pots:" merely, simple Indian cabins, only larger than ordinary. The cabins of the inhabitants east of this place, at the sources of the Essequibo, on the same Cordillera, at the present day, according to the relations I have given, are of large size. One of them, on mount Itaka, one of the Macoussie mountains, is described as forty-two feet square, by thirty-six feet high.

But, whatever were the circumstances which led Sir Walter Raleigh into the belief of the existence of a rich and splendid city in the interior of Guyana, it is manifest, that it was not a fable invented by him, as his enemies charged against him—nor, that he listened with easy credulity to the loose tales of the Indians—nor, even, that he was the first to frame this airy vision from the relation of Martinez; for the views he formed on the subject were received from Berreo, who first created the splendid fabric; and, although it may be thought that he embraced them without sufficient examination, yet it will be seen, hereafter, that some extraordinary relations were subsequently made to him, by the Charibee chief on the Oronoke, calculated to give countenance to the ideas of the Spanish Governor.

In regard to the fact stated by Martinez, which led him to apply the name of El Dorado to the "city of Manoa," that the Emperor, with his captains and tributaries at their festivals, have their bodies covered over with a white balsam, on which gold dust is blown, until they are all
shining from head to foot, &c., it will not be difficult to give entire credit to it, although the city should be no more than the collection of Indian cabins described by the Mariwin Inquirer. This journalist also states, as has been related—“that once in every third year, all the Caciques, or lords and captains, once in every third year, come seven days’ journey, from Monoan, to a great drinking, which continues for the space of ten days together,” &c. Feasts and entertainments are of very frequent occurrence among the Indians of Guyana, and are always scenes of excessive drinking. This is the case, particularly, with the Charibees. There is not an assembly held among them, either for business or pleasure, which is not attended with a festival. They are sometimes held by the inhabitants of a village among themselves. At others, one village invites neighboring ones, with whom they are on amicable terms. On these occasions, they array themselves in the gayest possible manner. An early writer, thus describes the appearance of some of them at these times. Besides being decorated with a profusion of gold and feathered ornaments, they painted their whole body with squares or other figures, of various colors, which were symmetrically arranged, and on these squares they attached the down of birds of different hues; so that they appeared, at some distance, as if clothed in a suit of figured satin. It would not, therefore, be surprising, if some of the Indians, on these occasions, decorated themselves with glistening metallic ores. Humboldt, in fact, states, that the Guaynaves of the Rio Caura, (a river which is supposed to rise out of lake Parima,) are accustomed to stain themselves with arnotto, and to make broad transverse stripes on the body, on which they stick spangles of silvery mica. Seen at a distance, they appear to be dressed in laced clothes.* Rude nations in other regions, ornament themselves in the same showy manner. Mears, in his account of the inhabitants of Nootka Sound, on the N. W. coast of America, says—“Their faces are generally ornamented with a sort of red ochre. On visits of ceremony, every part of the body is daubed with it. When they go to war, black is the prevalent color, laid out in streaks on a black ground. We have sometimes seen them painted entirely white, at other times of a bright red color, over which they streewed a shining sand."† But particularly applicable to the subject, is a relation of Sir Robert Duddley, who made a voyage to the island of Trinidad, the year of Raleigh’s expedition. He states, that a party whom he sent to examine the Oronoke, on their return informed him, among other things, that an Indian chief, on that river, gave them some plates of gold, and told them "of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with gold, and seemed to be gilt."‡

This testimony, so fully corroborative of Raleigh’s statement, is unimpeachable; as, not only was the writer unconnected with him, but arrived at Trinidad the first of February, 1595; which was before Raleigh left England—who sailed from it, the sixth of that month. And how little

* Humboldt’s Pers. Nar. ch. xxiv.
† Mears’s voy. to the N. W. coast of America.
‡ Hackluyt’s coll. of voy. 2nd vol., p. 57, quarto edit.
he was under the influence of Raleigh, his journal shows: "In the
time of my boat's absence, there came to me a pinnace of Plymouth,
of which Captain Popham was chief—and if I had not lost my pinnaces,
wherein I might have carried victuals, and some men, we had discovered
further, the secrets of those places. Also, this captain and I stayed
some six or eight days longer for Sir Walter, (who, as I surmised, had
some purpose for this discovery,) to the end, that by our intelligence, and
his boats, we might have done some good; but, it seems, he came not in
six or eight weeks after."

A further proof of the existence of this custom among some of the
nations of Guyana, is seen in certain interesting papers published at the
end of this volume, (Appendix No. II.) and which furnish, also, strong
evidence that an opinion was prevalent among the Spaniards, at that
period, of the existence of El Dorado in the interior of Guyana, and of
the abundance of gold to be found in that country.

The other circumstances related by Martinez, which contributed to in­
duce him to apply the name El Dorado, to the city of Manoa, "the
abundance of gold in the city—the images in the temples—the plates,
armors and shields of gold, which they used in their wars," we can have
no difficulty in believing, were seen by him in the city of Manoa.

Ornaments of gold, there is reason to believe, were in early times worn
by the Guyanians. Martyn, describing some of the Indians on the coast
of Paria, seen by Columbus, says: "There came innumerable people in
canoes to the ships, the greater part having chains about their necks,
garlands on their heads, and bracelets on their arms of gold and of pearls;
and that so commonly, that our women, at plays and triumphs, have not
greater plenty of stones, of glass and crystal in their garlands, crowns,
girdles, and such other 'tirements; and that when some of the Spaniards
went ashore, of the Indians they saw, there were few or none that had
not a collar, chain, or a bracelet of gold and pearls, and many had all."*

"The Indians of Cumana," says the same writer, "also wore crowns of
gold. All who could obtain them, were delighted with them." These
regions, it is true, are not a part of Guyana, but contiguous to it; yet as
the Indians referred to—as I have shown in my history of the Charibees—
belonged to this nation, who are spread over Guyana, there can be no
doubt that gold ornaments were also common in this region. The pearls
were obtained only on the coast. One of the gold ornaments of the
Charibees was a plate in the form of a crescent, called by them caracoll, 

Raleigh speaks, also, of the abundance of gold ornaments in Guyana,
in another part of his narrative, in connection with the subject of El
Dorado. "The Indians of Trinidad," he observes, "and the cannibals,
(Charibees,) of Dominica, also the Indians of Paria, and all those other

* Decade, I.
Indians inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria, through the province of Venezuela and in Moraca, have plates of gold from Guyana, and on the Amazon.1 Thevet writes, "that the people wear croissants (crescents,) of gold; for in that form the Guyanians commonly make them," and that the Governor of Trinidad had, by his trade with the Indians, and his ransom of divers of them, obtained great store of gold plates, and eagles of gold, and images of men, divers birds, fishes, and other ornaments curiously wrought in gold.2 These statements, although confirming his relations of Manoa, cannot be doubted, as one part of it is derived from Thevet, an historian of undoubted credit; and in another, he refers to a prominent official character, in the vicinity of that country.

And Lawrence Keymis, his successor and associate, gives a similar account, and points directly to the region of Parima, as the place from which these gold ornaments came. "From the mouth of the Corentine to the head, is ten days, where the Guyanians dwell. . . . Some images of gold, spleen stones, and others may be gotten on this coast. They get their moons (crescents,) and other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for one of their greater canoes, one piece or image of gold with three heads, and after that rate for lesser canoes.3 The head of the Corentine is very near that of the Essequibo."

Robert Harcourt, in the account of his voyage to the Oyapoke, in 1608, observes: "As I daily conversed among the Indians, it chanced that one of them presented me with a half-moon of metal, which held somewhat more than one-third gold, and the rest copper; another also gave me a little image of the same metal, and of another I bought a spread eagle, which he obtained in Guyana, the same which he said did abound with images of gold, by them called carreoury."4

And the Mariwin Inquirer, his associate, says: "The ancient Indian showed me a piece of metal, fashioned like an eagle, and I guess it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces, Troy weight. It seemed to be gold; or at least two parts gold, and one copper. I demanded, where he had that eagle; and his answer was, that he had it of his uncle who dwelt among the Weearapoyns, in the country called Sherrumirremary, near the Cassipagotos country, where is a great store of these images. Further, he said, that at the head of Selinama (Surinam) and Mariwini, there were great store of the half-moons, which he called by the name of unnaton." The Cassipagotos were, according to Raleigh, one of the nations about lake Cassipa or Parina.

"The ancient Indian affirmeth, that within the city, at the entrance of their houses, they hung caracoroure on the posts, which I take to be images of gold." These were the caracollis or crescents of the Charibees.

From these passages it appears, that the images of gold seen by Martinez, at Manoa, were probably only the gold ornaments worn by the Guy-

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4 Purchas, Book 6. chap. XVI.
The caracollis were called images, because they were idolatrous emblems of the moon. Being suspended at the door-posts of the houses, is agreeable to the custom of ancient idolaters, who placed their idols at the entrance to their houses. And this circumstance suggests an important idea. These gold plates, thus hung up before the houses in Manoa, have, perhaps, originated the embellishment usually introduced in the descriptions of El Dorado—before it was entirely discarded, as imaginary and fabulous—that the roofs of its houses were covered with "tiles of gold." The equivocal meaning of the term, gold plates, may have occasioned all the illusion.

The temples in which, Martinez relates, were images of gold, may be any houses, appropriated to religious purposes and do not necessarily denote remarkable structures. The words, "temples" and "Emperor," are used by Raleigh, from ideas he had previously formed, of the "magnificence of the city of Manoa."

But whence were obtained the gold ornaments, and other articles, found, as related by Martinez, at this place? Does native gold exist in the mountains of Parima? and did the inhabitants, themselves, manufacture it?

In regard to the first question, the following are all the facts and opinions I have been able to collect:

The Mariwin Inquirer gives the following statement, confirmatory of the relations of Raleigh: "The ancient Indian, from whom his other accounts of this region were received, told him of a mountain at the head of D’Essekebe, which is called Oraddoo, where is a great rock of white spar, which hath streams of gold in it, about the breadth of a goosequill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also, he spoke of a plain seven or eight days’ journey from the mountain, where is a great store of gold, in grains as big as the top of a man’s finger; and after the floods are fallen, they find them; which place is called Mumpara. Further, he spoke of a valley, not far distant from thence, which is called Wancoobanona, which hath the like. And he said, they gather them the space of two months, together; which are presently after the great rains which wash away the sand and gravel from the grass, and then they may perceive the gold glistening in the ground. And of this they are very charie. And the captains and priests, or pecays, do charge the Indians very strictly, yea, with punishment of the whip, that they be secret." ... The mountain which is mentioned, called the Oraddoo, near the Essequibo, is probably mount Maho, south of lake Amucu; which Humboldt says, is at this day called Ucucuamo, which signifies mountain of gold.

A recent visitor to the vicinity of this region, Dr. Hancock, in a communication to Mr. Martin, before mentioned, makes the following, among other remarks, in regard to the geological character of this region:

"The principal component parts of the interior mountains are granite, porphyry, and their various modifications—all denoting a primitive formation; while the exterior ranges, toward the coast, of a minor elevation,
are chiefly composed of indurated clays, with sand and gravel-stones—indicating a secondary order of formation. Veins of quartz are very common in traversing the great mass of granite, and most perspicuous along the channel of the river, in the dry season. Vast quantities of iron are met with in the mountains. . . . Some indurated clays, of great hardness, have been found mixed with sand, micas, calcareous earth, and oxyde of iron, amorphous, and full of particles of a metallic brilliancy. Substances of a metallic nature, having the appearance of ore, are also very abundantly met with in the mountains, but still more plentiful among the falls or rapids of the river. Rock crystal is also found upon several mountains of Demerara, growing, it may be said, out of beds of quartz. . . . . Red agate, is found on the Rio Meu, (Maho,) opposite, and not far from, the crystal mountain."

On the subject of the existence of gold in this region, a gentleman, whom I have before mentioned, who held an official station in Demerara, in 1765, gave me in writing, in 1820, the following statement: That he has seen gold-dust brought by the Indians from the head of the Essequibo, which was given to the Director General of the colony on that river, who sent it to Holland, where ear-rings were made of it, which were sent over to him. That the West India Company of Holland, employed a company of miners on the Essequibo in 1735, who commenced the working of a mine, for gold, on that river; but disliking its nearness to the seat of government, removed to another on the Cayouni. After making some progress in the work there, it was suspended in consequence of the mortality among the miners. The leader of the corps was Nicholas Hortsman, who, from a disagreement with the Government, fled from the colony, by ascending the Essequibo, and crossing over the country to the Brazils. (This was the individual mentioned by Humboldt, and of whose journal he had a perusal.) The working of the mine was not resumed, from the fatality of the occupation to Europeans, and the opinion of the Dutch Government, that it was more beneficial to the colony to attend to agricultural pursuits, than mining operations.

On the same subject, Humboldt makes the following remarks: "Amid the mountains of Encaramada, (which are on the Oronoke—part of the Cordillera of Parima,) we cannot help inquiring whence the gold was obtained, which Juan Martinez and Raleigh profess to have seen in the hands of the Indians. From what I have observed in that part of America, I am led to think that gold, like tin, is sometimes disseminated, in an almost imperceptible manner, in the mass itself, of granitic rocks, without being able to admit that there is a ramification and intertwining of small veins. Not long ago, the Indians of Encaramada found, in the Quebrada del Tigre, (ravine of the Tiger,) a piece of gold two lines in diameter, and appeared to have been washed along by the waters."

"We are not justified in denying the existence of any auriferous land in that extent of country, which stretches between the Oronoke and Ama-

zon. . . . What I saw of it between two and eight degrees of latitude, and sixty-six and seventy-one of longitude, is entirely composed of granite and of gneiss, passing into micaceous and calcaceous slate. These rocks appear naked, in the lofty mountains of Parima, as well as in the plains of the Atabapo and the Cassiquiari. The granite prevails there over other rocks; and though, in both continents, the granite of ancient formation is pretty generally destitute of gold, we cannot thence conclude that the granite of Parima contains no stratum of auriferous quartz. On the east of the Cassiquiari, toward the sources of the Oronoke, we saw the number of these strata and these veins increase. The granite of those countries appears to belong to a more recent formation, perhaps posterior to the gneiss. . . . Now, the least ancient granite, are the least destitute of metals."

"We must not be surprised, if, since the Europeans settled themselves in these wild spots, we hear less of the plates of gold, gold dust, and amulets of gold, which could heretofore be obtained from the Charibees and other wandering nations by barter."

From these facts, the existence of native gold in the region of Parima, seems not admissible of doubt, though to what extent remains very uncertain. But admitting this to be a fact, were the ornaments worn by the Indians inhabiting it, made by themselves or brought from other parts? Raleigh reports a relation of the Charibee chief, on the Oronoke, with whom he made an alliance, in favor of the former view. This chief informed him "that the plates and images of gold worn by the Guayanians, were made by the Epuremei; and that the gold of which they were made, was not severed from the stone; but that on the lake Manoa, and in a multitude of rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, as big as small stones; and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it; and that they used a great earthen pot, with holes. And when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes; and so, with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran, and so made those plates and images."†

This minute description, none but the most prejudiced enemy of Raleigh can suppose was fabricated by him. The manner in which the Epuremei gathered the gold, is agreeable to the relation lately given from the Mariwin Inquirer. And he likewise states, that a piece of metal was shown him, which was a composition of gold and copper; and Robert Harcourt the same.

Independent of the testimony of Raleigh, it cannot be absolutely denied that some of the ornaments and other articles of gold, found at that period among the Indians of Guyana, were made by themselves. Gumilla, the historian of the Oronoke, a century since states, that the Charibees on its borders continued to wear plates of gold, manufactured by themselves. And Humboldt says, that at present, the Indians on that river ornament

† Cayley, vol. 1. p. 228.
themselves with pieces of silver or gold, which they work themselves in their own manner.*

It is possible, however, that the greater part of these gold articles were brought from the river Amazon. Some of the tribes on that river had arrived at a higher state of improvement than existed generally in Guyana; for which there was a sufficient cause—the communication afforded by its various tributaries which descend from the eastern side of the Andes, with the provinces of Peru, and New-Grenada. "The Incas," observes Humboldt, "had extended their arms and arts as far as the river Yupura, or Caqueta, which is but a short distance west of the Rio Negro." West of the Yupura, and near it, was the province of Aguas, or Om-aguas, commencing three hundred and seventy leagues below the Napo, and extending along the river, and the islands in it, two hundred leagues. The river Potamayo, on the north side—the next considerable river to Yupura—falls into the Amazon, opposite this territory. This nation has been already spoken of, as more improved than the other tribes; that they cultivated cotton, and made vestments of it; wore also plates of gold, as ornaments, and had other gold articles in abundance. To what has been remarked concerning them, I add, from D'Acugna, that they were a very warlike, and at the same time, a commercial people. "Some of the cotton-stuffs they made were very fine, and wove with threads of different colors; and so neatly made, that the threads could not be distinguished, and it seemed as if the cloth was painted. These stuffs they made not only to gratify their fancy and for their own use, but to trade with their neighbors, who sought them with great avidity." This is a very remarkable nation, for it appears, from D'Acugna, they are the only one on the Amazon who wear apparel. It is this nation, as before observed, who were probably the Omegas, reported to inhabit a country abounding in gold, where the first El Dorado was sought, and whom Urra professed to have seen.

Some further particulars regarding this nation are collected from Orellana's voyage down the Amazon. He came to a province on the north side "called Machiparo, very populous, and bordering on another territory called Aomagua," (the Omaguas.) He then describes a number of towns he passed after leaving Machiparo. On the third day he came to a small but handsome town, and though some opposition was made, they entered it, and found much provision in a house, with fine earthenware, as jars, pitchers, and other sorts of vessels, glazed and painted in lively colors, all which things the Indians said were to be had up in the country, besides much gold and silver. Came to several other towns—one of them was divided into several wards, with each of them a road to the river; another, from which went great roads paved with rows of trees; and another, where they found some good cotton garments and a place of worship, with weapons hanging in it, and two mitres, like those of our bishops, with several colors; afterward, to one through which was a rivulet, and in the

middle a great square, where they obtained provisions. All along there were villages, and some very large towns.

"Eighteen leagues below this province, on the south side," observes D'Acugna, "is that of the Yorimans, a very numerous and warlike nation, who extend for sixty leagues along the river and the islands. He came to a village of theirs, which was the largest he had seen on the river. The houses were contiguous to each other, and continued so for the distance of a league. Each of the houses contained not one family, but in those which were least filled there were four or five families. As he left this place, he continually met with the villages of this nation, one after another. Two leagues below the province of the Yorimans, on the south side, is the river Cachiguara, the first Indians on which are called by the same name—all the rest are called Caciguaries, and wear great plates of gold at their ears and nostrils. Some space farther down, on the south side, are the Caripunas and Yorimans; "the most ingenious and handy craftsmen that we saw in the country. They make chairs, in the forms of beasts, with so much curiosity, and so commodiously, that none can be contrived better. They also cut a raised figure so much to the life, and so exactly, upon a coarse piece of wood, that many of our carvers might take pattern by them; and these things were made not only to gratify their fancy, or for their own use, but thereby they maintained a trade with their neighbors."†

With the fondness for travelling and intercourse with each other, which characterize the American Indians, there cannot be a doubt that the nations on the Amazon were all well acquainted with the countries around them, the rivers which passed through them, and the regions to which they led. Some of them, besides, being of a warlike and commercial character, these rivers would be sometimes traversed by them, either to conquer the territories upon them, or on trading expeditions; and the migrating disposition of the American aborigines would sometimes induce them to change their residence. The Rio Negro, the largest arm of the Amazon, could not fail to be known to the nations upon it to a great distance. A circumstance connected with it, besides its superior size and importance, would greatly contribute to give it notoriety—the communication which exists between it and the Oronoke, by the Cassiquiari. There can be scarce a doubt, that this river was in early times greatly traversed; that a constant intercourse existed between the Amazon and Oronoke through it; and that probably some of the tribes on the latter moved through it from the former. An evidence of this is seen in the multitude of nations which D'Acugna relates were upon it, at the time he made his voyage.

The Rio Negro being known, the Rio Branco, its principal branch, must also, from the like motives of curiosity, conquest or traffic, have been explored and traversed to its source by some of the Indians on the Amazon; and the White Sea of Parima could not but have been known.

* Herrera, vol. 5.
† D'Acugna, lxxii.
The same causes which gave it celebrity on the coast of Guyana and on the Oronoke, would spread its fame on the Amazon by this river, whose many branches, over an extent of more than two hundred miles, rise out of it.

It would, hence, not be surprising if one or more of the warlike, commercial, and partially improved people on the Amazon, had at a very early period ascended this river to its source, and established in the region of Parima a community somewhat superior to the other tribes of Guyana, and introduced there a great portion of the gold plates and other articles of gold related to be in it, in the time of Raleigh.

Respecting "the armors and shields of gold," described by Juan Martinez, as seen by him "in the city of Manoa," we are not required to deny their existence, although the state of improvement there should be no other than that I have supposed, and as existed on the Amazon. "Shields of gold" are spoken of as having been seen among the Indians on that river soon after the discovery of it. The Brazillian savages, who brought to Peru the first account of the Omegas, (Omaguas, probably,) which led to the expedition of Orsua, said that they had shields of gold set with emeralds. They were, perhaps, only plated with gold, to render them a more defensive armor, where no other metal existed. "Armor of gold," I do not find mentioned in the voyages on the Amazon; but if shields of gold were used, it is not improbable those who had them had also breast-plates covered with gold, and other defensive armor of the same kind. Such were found at an early period after the discovery of this Continent, among some American Indians, as on the coast of Yucatan, whose inhabitants were in the same state of partial civilization as the Omaguas—who wore cotton vestments—and, like them, had gold plates and other ornaments of gold in abundance. Grivalja, who made a voyage to this coast soon after Columbus, was presented by the Cacique, relates Herrera, "with plates of gold, and some thin boards covered with gold for armor, which Grivalja put on, and had as complete a set of gold armor as if it had been of steel." He also presented him "with a head-piece, covered with thin plates of gold; breast-plates, some all gold, and others of wood covered with gold; several coverings for targets of fine gold, some all gold, and others of the bark of trees covered."

But on the subject of the emigration of tribes from the south to the region of Parima, we are not left entirely to conjecture. One nation near the Amazon, it is certain, was not only acquainted with the Rio Branco, but had ascended it and established itself there. D'Acugna, I have observed before, in speaking of the plates of gold he saw among the Indians on the Amazon, designates a country where he supposes they were obtained, or, at least, the gold from which they were made. "On going up the Yupura, you meet with the river Iquiari, which the Portuguese call the Golden river. It springs from the foot of a mountain hard by. Here the natives amass gold together, in prodigious quantities. They find it all

* Herrera, Dec. 11, Book 1, ch. iv.
in spangles or grains of gold, of a good alloy, which they beat till they form those little plates, which they hang at their ears and noses. The people of this country that find this gold, trade with it among their neighbors, who are called the Mavagus."

"These people," says Condamine, "are the Manaos," and he makes on this passage, the following remarks: "The Manaos, according to P. Fritz, (a missionary, who passed over the country later than D'Acugna, and constructed a map of it,) were a warlike nation, dreaded by its neighbors. For a long time, it resisted the arms of the Portuguese; but there are now, many of them established on the Rio Negro. Some of them still make incursions in the territories of the savages, and from them the Portuguese purchase slaves. P. Fritz says expressly, in his journal, that the Manaos whom he saw, who came to traffick with the Indians on the borders of the Oronoke, obtained their gold from the Iquiari, and lived on the borders of a river named Yarubes. By making inquiries, I learned that in ascending the Yupura five days, you come to a lake on the right hand, which is crossed in a day, called Marahi, or Parahi, which, in the Brazillian language, signifies water of the river; and that thence, drawing the canoe over those parts which are bare, but are inundated during the floods, you enter into a river called the Yurubes, by which you descend in five days to the Rio Negro, which some days higher receives the Quiquiari, which has many falls, and comes from a country of mountains and mines. Can it be doubted, that these are the Yurubes and Iquiari? and that the former rises in a lake in the interior? In the map of P. Fritz is placed a large village of Manaos, in the same district. I could obtain no positive intelligence of it, which is not extraordinary, as the nation of Manaos have been transplanted and dispersed. But it appears very probable, from this capital of the Manaos, has been fabricated the city of Manoa. P. Fritz writes the name Manaves. The French translator of D'Acugna disfigures this name, by writing Mavagus. The Portuguese write it at present, Manaos and Manaus."

This idea of Condamine, of the origin of the name Manao, in reference to a place in this region also, explains it as applied by Sir Walter Raleigh, to a supposed city on lake Parima. The Manaos or Mahanaos are, also, one of the tribes at present about that lake. Their name is in the list of nations in this locality, which I received in the interview I had with the Charibee chief of the Essequibo; and the Macoussie Indian, who also gave me an account of that lake, said Mahanaos and Ackoways live about it. M. De G——, of Demerara, protector of the Indians on the Essequibo, a gentleman of the first respectability in that colony, and a long resident in it, stated also, this fact to me, without any reference to the present subject, "and that they were once a powerful nation, and caused much dread." La Cruz, in his map, places them about the east branch of the Essequibo, and writes the name Majanaos, or Manaos.

That these Mahanaos are the same nation with those on the Rio Negro, there can be no doubt. The latter were aware of the communi-
cation afforded by the Rio Branco, with Dutch, now British Guyana. Southey, in his 'History of Brazil,' observes: "The remotest establishment on the Rio Negro, is S. Jose des Marybatanes, on the right bank, four hundred and eighty-five leagues from the city of Para, and nine leagues below the mouth of the Cassiquiari, which unites it with the Rio Negro. Between S. Jose and Lunaloga, a distance of about one hundred and twelve leagues, there were about seventeen settlements. Lunaloga stands upon the right bank. The inhabitants are a mixed race of Manaos, Bares, and Banibas. A little above it, the river Hijaa disembogues, which is remarkable for having been the head-quarters of a Manao chief, by name Ajuricaba, formidable in his day, and still famous in these parts. The Manaos were the most numerous tribe upon the Rio Negro. . . . . Ajuricaba was one of the most powerful Caciques of this powerful nation, about the year 1720, and made an alliance with the Dutch of the Essequibo, with whom he traded by the way of the Rio Branco. The trade, on his part, consisted in slaves. In order to obtain them, he hoisted the Dutch flag, scoured the Rio Negro, and captured all the Indians on whom he could lay hands."

It appears, from another writer, that the inhabitants on the Rio Negro had, at a much earlier period, a knowledge of this internal communication. Thirty leagues before you come to this river, observes D'Acugna, in 1639, is the river Basurura, which enters the Amazon on the north side. It extends a great distance into the country and forms several great lakes, so that the country is divided into divers large islands, which are peopled with an infinite number of inhabitants, who are called Carabuyavas—among some of whom we saw iron tools and weapons, such as hatchets, halberds, bills and knives; and on asking by his interpreters whence they had them, they replied, that they bought them of the people of the country who dwell nearest the sea, on that side; who were white men like us, used the same arms, swords and guns, and had houses upon the sea-coast, and had light hair; which was sufficient to satisfy us they were the Dutch, who, in 1638, invaded Guyana, and made themselves masters of it. How this intercourse was carried on, he learned when he came to the Rio Negro; for he was informed there that it had a large arm, which came near another great river which empties into the sea at the north, where the Dutch have their settlements; which arm was, no doubt, the Rio Branco. He supposes the great river which it approaches, to be the river Phillipe, or Smooth river, which empties into the North Cape; for he is certain it could not be the Oronoke, which is too far north. Of the Essequibo, he appears to have been entirely ignorant—and it was on this river that the first settlements of the Dutch in Guyana were made.

These facts furnish a satisfactory explanation of this rumored city of Manoa on lake Parima, to which Juan Martinez, and after him Raleigh, applied the name of El Dorado; and renders that which the Mariwin

* Hist. of Brazil, vol. 3. pp. 710, 711.
† D'Acugna, ch. lixiv and lv.
Inquirer states the ancient Indian from the head of Surinam gave it, Parroowa Parrocare Monoan, properly translated, White Sea of the Manaos, or Manoa. I have seen the name Mahanaos in a list of Indian nations of Guyana, written Mahanoas, with the vowels reversed. It is contracted, as that of the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, is commonly pronounced Manerwa.

This powerful nation, making its conquests in every direction, there can be no doubt, from what has been stated, ascended the Rio Branco, and established itself in the mountains of Parima, in the midst of which lies this lake, and formed there a large settlement, or community, which bore its name, and where it introduced an abundance of ornaments and other articles of gold. And as it probably kept up a constant communication with its primitive abode, there must have been a constant influx of them into this region, from which they were spread over Guyana. Condamine states that P. Fritz relates, that in 1687, he saw arrive eight or ten canoes of the Manaos, who, from their habitations on the banks of the Yurubesh, availed themselves of the inundations to trade with his Catechumens on the north bank of the Amazon; that they were accustomed to carry, among other things, small plates of beaten gold, which they received in exchange from the Indians of the Iquiar. The European colonist, residing on the Essequibo, mentioned at page 37, related to me, that in 1783, he witnessed on the Rippununi the last battle fought between the Charibees and Cannibals, by which he meant the Mahanaos, as they are so called by the Charibees, who have themselves been similarly characterized, but unjustly, by Europeans. The Mahanaos must, even then, have been a considerable nation; for it appears they were able to resist this powerful and most courageous tribe, who, although they have subjugated all the others at the sources of the Essequibo, and hold there a predominant sway, have not advanced west of the Rippununi.

The view which I have thus given, of the origin of the name of the city of Manoa, in the narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh, is different from that entertained by Humboldt. He remarks, there is no doubt that the whole region from the Caqueta, or Yupura, where Condamine places the Mahanaos, to the Cordillera of Parima, was, at first, generally denominated the golden country, or the Dorado, though the expeditions were directed to two points; the space between the Caqueta and the Rio Negro, which he terms the Dorado of the Omaguas, and that between the Essequibo and the Oronoke, which he calls the Dorado of Parima; but he denies that the idea of Manoa, or the rich city, and the gilded king, was ever applied to the latter—that the information Raleigh received of Manoa, had reference to the former; and that the whole narrative of Martinez is a pure fiction. "I believe," he says, "I can demonstrate, that the fable of Juan Martinez, spread abroad by the narrative of Raleigh, was founded on the adventure of Juan Martinez de Albujar, well known to the Spanish historians of the Conquest, and who, in the expedition of Pedro de Sylva, fell
into the hands of the Charibees of the lower Oronoke. . . . After having wandered among the Charibees, the desire of rejoining the whites led him by the Essequibo to the island of Trinidad. . . . I know not whether he died at Porto Rico; but it cannot be doubted, that it was he who learned from the Charibee traders, the name of the Manaos of Urubesh;” (Uarabaxa, a branch of the Rio Negro, the original seat of this nation).

The Juan Martinez of Raleigh, may have been the individual Albujar; but there is nothing which prevents the belief, that Albujar himself travelled to the place he describes, and gives an account of what he saw. The idea of Humboldt, that the author of the relation attributed by Raleigh to Martinez, was never there, and that the relation is purely fictitious, founded on reports of the Manaos of Yurubesh, and consequently either invented or imagined by Raleigh, or Berreo; is evidently derived from an opinion he had previously adopted, that no such place exists in Guyana. But, in opposition to it, I have already shown, that Juan Martinez is not the only person who, at that time, spoke of a place called Manoa, situated upon a lake in the interior of Guyana—that it was heard of, by several voyagers on the coast—by Keymis, at the Oronoke, Essequibo and Oyapoke rivers—by Berrie, on the Corentine—and by the Mariwin Inquirer, the associate of Robert Harcourt, in the most distinct manner, from an Indian from the head of the Surinam. Humboldt, himself, also observes, when he had arrived at Esmeralda, the last post on the Oronoke, which is west of the site of this supposed city, nearly in the same latitude, “so near the sources of the Oronoke, we heard of nothing in these mountains but the proximity of El Dorado—the lake Parima, and the ruins of the great city of Manoa.”* Further, De Pons, in his map of Venezuela, &c., before mentioned, published in 1805, prepared from observations made by him, during a four years’ residence in the Spanish territories, places upon the east side of his lake Parima, which figures conspicuously upon it, “Manoa, the supposed capital of Dorado:” designated by a mark. Such are the ideas entertained at so late a period, in Venezuela and Spanish Guyana, on this subject. But it will be hereafter shown, that, in 1775, an Intendant of Angustura was induced, by the representations of an Indian, to send an expedition expressly to discover this rich and splendid city in the interior of Guyana.

In this region, too, it was thought to exist by the French, after they had formed their colony of Cayenne. In 1674, was published a work, by two missionaries, entitled, “Journal of the Travels of John Grillet and Francis Bechemel, into Guyana, in order to discover the great lake of Parima, and the many cities said to be situated on its banks, and reputed the richest in the world.”

I am inclined, indeed, to think, that the name of Manoa was principally applied to a city or place on lake Parima. While it is often mentioned by visitors to the coast of Guyana, neither Orellana, nor D’Acugna—who made their voyage down the Amazon, before Condamine—heard

* Humboldt’s Trav. Narr., ch. xiv.
it on this river, which could not fail to have reached their ears, if a place called by this name was situated in this region. D'Acugna, indeed, supposes the space between the Yurubesh and the Iquiari, to be the site of the golden country and lake; but he does not speak of the city of Manoa, or mention, at all, this name. Condamine was the first that connects it with this region, which he does, as the Mahanaos residing there explain the origin of the name;—but he seems to take it entirely from Raleigh's narrative; for, to this place, also, he transfers the lake Parima—of which he knew nothing. "It is no other," he says, "than the little lake Mari-hi, or Para-hi, which communicates with the Yupura, a word which might easily have been changed into Parima"—an idea having as little foundation as that of an English writer, who thinks that the lake in Guyana took its name from Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who obtained the first grant of Surinam, and that he also gave his name to Paramaribo, (that fine sounding Indian word,) the capital of that colony.

The name may, however, have been applied by the Indians to both places, in consequence of the Mahanaos being the principal nation in each; but this is immaterial to my purpose, which is only to explain the origin of it, as designating a city in the interior of Guyana, and the relations made concerning it.

Connected with the account which Sir Walter Raleigh has given of the rich and magnificent city of Manoa, or El Dorado, which he received from the Governor of Trinidad and other Spaniards, he relates other circumstances concerning it, communicated to him by the Charibee chief on the Oronoke, with whom he made an alliance, which contributed not less, in the minds of some, to give interest to his narrative, while it furnished further materials to his enemies to represent him as a weak dupe of his credulity, or a dishonest fabricator of romantic tales, to impose on that of the public.

The relation of the Charibee chief he thus gives:

After acquainting him with the object of his visit to the Oronoque, and making inquiries of him respecting Guyana, its extent, and the nations inhabiting it, the chief answered: "That all his people, with all those down the river toward the sea, as far as Emeria, (the last province,) were of Guyana, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight, called Wacaraima, were of the same cast and appellation, and that on the other side of those mountains was a valley, called the valley of Amariocapana. In all that valley the people were of the ancient Guyanians; and that, in regard to the nations on the other side of the mountains, beyond the valley, he said that he remembered in his father's lifetime—when he was very old, and himself a young man—that there came down in that large valley of Guyana a nation, from so far off as the sun slept; with so great a multitude, as they could not be numbered nor resisted; that they wore large coats and hats of crimson color, and were called Oreiones and Epuremci, and who slew and rooted out the ancient people, who were very numerous, except two—the Iwaraqueri and the
Cassipagotos; that they had built a great town, called Macureguarai, at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guyana, which have no end; and that their houses have many rooms, one over another; and that therein their 'great King kept three thousand men, to defend the borders against them, and with all daily to invade and slay them. But that of late years, since the Christians threatened to invade his territories and theirs, they were all at peace, and traded with one another, except the Iwaraqueri and the Cassipagotos.* He told me further, that four days' journey from his town was Macureguarai, and that they were the nearest of the Epuremei, and the first town of apparelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold, which were scattered among the borderers, and carried to other nations, far and near, were from there, and were there made; but that those of the land within were far finer, and were fashioned after the image of men, beasts, birds, and fishes.”†

This relation of the Charibbe chief possesses great interest, from the names by which the invaders of Guyana are called; “the Oreiones and Epuremei;” for the Oreiones were the lords and nobles of Peru, and must therefore refer to an invasion of Peruvians. The “large coats and red hats of crimson color,” which they wore, are besides not applicable to any savage and uncivilized nation, and more appropriate to the inhabitants of Peru than to any other people of South America. Sir Walter Raleigh, not doubting of this, immediately connects it with the flight of one of the Incas into Guyana, and supposes that it occasioned a highly improved state of society in it. “Because,” he observes, “there may arise some doubt how this empire of Guyana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the Emperor now reigning, is descended from the magnificent princes of Peru. For, when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son of Guaynacapa, one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many soldiers of the empire, called Oreiones, and, with them and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great river Amazon and the Oronoke.”‡ In this description it is proper to distinguish the fact, stated by Raleigh, of the invasion of Guyana by one of the Incas, from the conclusion he draws from it. The former was a reasonable inference from the narrative of the Indian chief. If an invasion of Guyana was made by the Oreiones, or nobles of Peru, it is probable that it was conducted by one of the Incas. Such a large emigration could not have been produced but through the influence and under the guidance of some eminent chief; and who would more probably lead them than one of the Incas, who were immediately over them? In regard to the improvement which he supposes to have been, in consequence, produced in Guyana, he has given scope to his

imagination, filled with ideas of the rich cities of Peru, and pictured a state of things as necessarily arising from such emigration, of which he had no evidence; and whether it existed or not, could only be known when the deep forests of Guyana had been penetrated and explored:—but in forming such a picture, some allowance should be made to him, as his mind had already been prepared to fall into this delusion, by the impressions he received from Berreo, and the relation of Juan Martinez. But, however conjectural his idea was, it is entirely distinct from the position he assumes, and on which he founds it—the emigration of one of the Incas into Guyana.

It is remarkable, that intimations are given by several writers, of apparelled Indians in the interior of Guyana. Thus, Keymis says, he was informed, on the Oronoke, "that a nation of clothed people, called Cassanarí, dwell not far from where the river takes its name; and that far within they border upon a sea of salt water, called Parima:" which is the region I am examining—the site of Manoa. Thomas Masham, who wrote the account of the third expedition made by Raleigh, remarks: "The people in all the lower parts of the country go naked, both men and women, &c. In the upper country they are apparelled; being, as it were, of a more civil disposition (more civilized,) having great store of gold; as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some gold, which they bought and brought in the high country of Wiana:" (Guyana.)

A much later writer has given a confirmation of these statements. Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of Guyana, remarks: "The borders of lake Parima are inhabited by numerous nations; some are clothed, and do not suffer strangers to come thither. In the year 1755, upon the relations of a certain Indian chief, the Spaniards made three successive expeditions into the interior, to reach lake Parima; but were so much opposed by the Indians, and in the last especially, that they never desired to undertake it again, though they brought with them four prisoners of the clothed nation, which Mr. Persick, of the council of justice of Essequibo, and other traders, saw." To this I add, that M. De G——, protector of the Indians on the Essequibo, gave me, in 1820, the following statement: "Lake Parima is inhabited by several nations, and among them is a very remarkable one, who wear clothes, and shun all intercourse with other Indians. This he heard from several Indians."

Of the Guaypanabis, on the upper Oronoke, Humboldt remarks, "they are more industrious, he might almost say more civilized, than the other Indians of that region; and that the missionaries relate, that in the time of their sway they were pretty generally clothed, and had considerable villages.

Respecting the plates of gold, which the Oreiones and Epuremei are said to have possessed, no remarks are necessary, after what has been observed on the same subject, in the examination made of the relation of Martinez.
And before Sir Walter Raleigh is heavily censured, for his belief of what Hume calls his “chimerical flight of the Incas,” it will be proper to attend to the remarks of some writers on this subject.

It appears, from Humboldt, to be a fact, that Manco Inca, brother of Atahualpa, who was slain by the Spaniards, after this event fled; which, says he, gave rise to the idea of the empire of the Incas in Dorado. (It is to him that Raleigh refers, when he says: For when Pizarro, and others, &c., had conquered Peru, and put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, &c.) “Manco Inca,” says Humboldt, “acknowledged as the legitimate successor of Atahualpa, made war, without success, against the Spaniards. He retired, at length, into the mountains and thick forests of Vilcabamba. Of his two sons, the eldest, Sayri-Tupac, surrendered himself to the Spaniards, upon the invitation of the Viceroy of Peru. He was received with great pomp at Lima; was baptized there, and died peaceably in the fine valley of Yucay. The youngest son, Tupac Amaru, was carried off by stratagem from the forests of Vilcabamba, and beheaded on pretext of a conspiracy formed against the Spanish usurpers. At the same period, thirty-five distant relations of the Inca Atahualpa, were seized and conveyed to Lima, in order to remain under the inspection of the Audiencia, (Garcilasso, vol. 2, pp. 194, 480, 501.) It is interesting to inquire, whether any other princes of the family of Manco Capac have remained in the forests of Vilcabamba, and if there still exist any descendants of the Incas of Peru. This supposition gave rise, in 1741, to the famous rebellion of the Chuncoas, and to that of the Awayos and Campoes, led on by their chief, Juan Santos, called the false Atahualpa.”

Southey, who in his history of Brazil treats the whole account of El Dorado as entirely imaginary, originating from reports spread in New Grenada of the wealth of Peru; and there, of that of New Grenada, observes, that in support of the reality of Dorado, “it was said, in the Spanish provinces, that a younger brother of Atabalipa had fled after the destruction of the Incas, and founded in the region, where the golden city was supposed to be, a greater empire than that of which his family had been deprived.”

A more recent writer than either of the above, Compagnoni, an Italian author, has taken a view of this subject, which places the narrative of Raleigh in a still more favorable light. The work I have not seen; and my knowledge of it is derived from the North American Review, 1828, No. ix., which observes upon it: “In these volumes there is an investigation of the far-famed El Dorado. The circumstances collected by Compagnoni, certainly tend to show, that the existence of some offset of the Incas, within the interior of the continent, is neither so impossible nor so improbable as generally supposed. The traditions among the Peruvians have been constant, that a body of their countrymen, led by some

* The title of the work is “Storia del America, Opera Originale Italiana in Continuazione del Compendio della Universelle, del Signor Compte de Segur, by Compagnoni.”
of the surviving Incas, fled beyond the mountains, into regions not yet explored."

On this subject there is a most extraordinary passage in the Journal of the Mariwin Inquirer, the associate of Robert Harcourt, who made a voyage to the Oyapoke, in 1608—to whom I have several times referred. I have observed that he states, the ancient Indian, from the head of the Surinam, called lake Parima, Parroowan Parrocare Monoan, signifying White Sea of the Manoas. And that "the chief Captain, or as he called him, Acariwanora, there, was Pepodallapa." I do not hesitate to acknowledge the surprise with which I met with this name—for, can there be a doubt that it was meant for Atabalipa, the name of the Inca slain by the Spaniards, and which may have been taken by the representative of the family, as was the case in Peru in later times?

The chief of Manoas appears to have possessed great power and influence; for the Inquirer relates, once in every third year, all the Caciques, lords, and captains—some seven days' journey—do come to a great drinking, &c.; which might be considered a regular homage, or acknowledgment made to him.

A circumstance that gives weight to this relation of the Mariwin Inquirer, is, that he appears unconscious of the meaning of the name of the chief; and is therefore free from the suspicion of having introduced it to favor Raleigh; if, indeed, other circumstances did not protect him from it.

These remarks are perhaps all that, consistent with the plan of this volume, founded entirely upon well-authenticated facts, it is proper to make; and I might leave to the reader, to form his own opinion on the subject. Should the reality of the flight of one of the branches of the Incas, into Guyana, ever be fully established, an ample field for reflections will then be presented, far exceeding in interest any other passage in the history of the aboriginal nations of America. I cannot, however, but observe, that this event does not appear to be wholly beyond the bounds of probability. Other instances have occurred in South America, of nations whom the consternation excited by the invasion and conquest of their territories by Europeans, and the hatred the injuries they received from them occasioned, induced to abandon, entirely, their territories, and remove to some distant region. When D'Acugna made his voyage down the Amazon, he found the Tupinambas, a numerous, warlike and ingenious people, inhabiting an island sixty leagues in length, a few leagues below the Rio Negro. But this had not been long their abode. They were one of the most important nations of Brazil, extending over a vast country, in which they had eighty-two villages; but when the Portuguese established themselves at Rio Janiero, rather than submit to their yoke, they withdrew in a body, leaving not a single individual in any of their villages. They made a long journey on the east side of the Andes, crossing all the rivers that descend from it into the Amazon; and at length came to the island which they then inhabited.
Another instance, is that of the Omaguas, on the river Amazon, already mentioned—a numerous and warlike nation, and also more improved and civilized than any other on that river. They came, according to D’Acugna, from the province of Quixos, near Quito; but how long they had been on the Amazon, is not stated. Not all, however, removed; and those that remained when the Spaniards arrived, made peace with them; but wearied, at last, with the ill-treatment they received, they descended one of the streams which flow into the Amazon, and joined themselves to their kinsmen on that river. When D’Acugna wrote, there were some of this nation at the head of the Potamayo, which rises near Pasto, and who also were the last on the Yotan, a southern tributary of the Amazon, which has its source near Cusco. From a circumstance related by Southey, in his 'History of Brazil,' the dread and dislike of the Spaniards which the retreating Omaguas possessed, and which they infused into their countrymen, must have been very great. "It is surprising," observes the historian, "that Orellana, in his voyage down the Amazon, makes no mention of this nation; but the Omaguas of Quito explain the circumstance: they relate, that they were there when he came; but as he approached, they retired, and part went up the Rio Negro;" although Orellana appeared with only a single vessel, and a small party, and came with no intention to molest the natives.

If such were the dread and aversion which the European conquerors inspired in these nations, how intense must have been their operation in the minds of the family of the Incas, who ruled over, not a single tribe, but an extensive, and flourishing empire, filled with rich cities, containing edifices splendidly decorated with gold and silver; and a people whom they found wild and savage, without cultivation, arts, or comfortable abodes, and by their wise and benignant sway, had elevated to their present happy and prosperous condition; by whom they were in consequence not only beloved, but, connected with the mysterious manner in which the founder of their race appeared among them, reverenced as of celestial origin—Children of the Sun, the deity whom they worshipped. It was a sovereign race, possessed of such extensive power and authority, and so adored and revered by its subjects, that saw its empire overthrown; its seats of magnificence plundered; its splendid temples, after being stripped of their costly decorations, demolished; and after many grievances and humiliations suffered by them, their reigning prince, Atabalipa, put to death.

How great was their mortification at these disastrous, and overwhelming events, to themselves and nation, it is difficult for us to conceive. What the effect of them was upon the Peruvians, historians furnish some evidence. Such was the distress among them, says Herrera, when the tidings of his death was spread abroad, that many men and women killed themselves, to attend him in the other world. And the grief and regret they experienced, has been transmitted to their descendants to the latest times. 'The Indians of Peru,' says a historian, in 1748,
have not forgotten the love they bore their native Kings. In most of the
great towns in the interior, they revive the memory of the death of Ata-
balipa, annually, on a certain day, by a sort of tragedy; in which they
clothe themselves in their ancient manner, and wear images of the sun
and moon, with other symbols of their idolatry. At these festivals they
indulge in excessive drinking, and use in every mode their liberty. En-
deavors have been made by the Spaniards to suppress these solemnities,
and they have of late years debarred them the use of the stage in which
they represented the death of the Inca.* An English traveller, much
later (in 1923) remarks: "That some of the Peruvians living at a dis-
tance from the capital, and who are more immediately descended from
the last Inca, still continue to mourn for him, is a fact well known; and
the mournful songs, or yarrabies, which lament that unhappy transaction,
are chanted at this hour."† Under the feelings which the remaining
branches of the royal family would possess, after the disastrous events
which befell them, it would not be surprising if they resolved to remove
to some other region, not only from apprehension of meeting the fate of
Atabalipa, but from the great aversion produced in their minds to their
conquerors. But on this subject we are not left to supposition. It ap-
pears from the extract I have made from Humboldt, that it is admitted
that they fled across the Andes; and in a Spanish work I have met with,
I have found this fact not only confirmed, but the region mentioned, to
which they removed. "All the Indians," says the author, "who are on
the river Aprumack, one of the streams which form the Ucayal, one of
the largest tributaries of the Amazon, and rises in the mountains around
Cusco, are descendants of the army of forty thousand who fled with Manco
Inca, brother of Atahualpa."‡

Although there is no historical account of the progress of the family
of the Incas, or of any of them, down the Ucayal, this event does not
appear wholly improbable. It can scarcely be believed, that they would
be content to remain perpetually in a degraded state, in a corner of their
former empire; nor that the regrets and complaints of their subjects,
would not be too painful for them to support. We may reasonably sup-
pose, that after their spirits had, in a degree, recovered from the effects of
their humiliating overthrow, some one among them would embrace the
project of endeavors to restore their empire, in some region unknown
to their conquerors; and he would naturally seek it by descending this
river, which flows into the Amazon; and would in such case, with a cer-
tainty, be attended by a number of Peruvians; and particularly the
Oreiones, or nobles, who were immediately about the royal family. A
knowledge of the Amazon and the regions upon it, was possessed by the
Incas, who, according to Humboldt, had extended their arts and arms as
far as the Yupura; which is beyond the province of the Omaguas. But
the inhabitants in the interior of Peru, could not fail, without this circum-

* Relation of the earthquake at Lima.
† Travels of G. Calcuteugh to South America.
‡ El Maranon y Amazon, Historia, De los Descubrimientos—Madrid, 1594.
stance, to obtain this information; as the various streams that flow into
the Amazon, on the north and south side, descend from the Cordillera of
the Andes, and particularly those on the Ucayal, which, rising near Cusco,
were probably greatly traversed. On Orellana's passage down the Napo,
which enters it on the north side, nearly opposite to the Ucayal, he was
informed by a Cacique in the province of Coca—several hundred leagues
from its mouth—of a wealthy lord, on another river, who abounded in gold,
and who could be no other, than the chief of the Omaguas, who were
three hundred and seventy leagues below the Napo. This large settle­
ment of a partially civilized people, wearing apparel, having many gold
articles among them—and of Peruvian origin, on the Amazon, would
greatly encourage an enterprising leader in the family of the Incas to de­
scent the Ucayal into this great stream, and follow it, to seek on its bor­
ders, or their vicinity, a region in which to establish himself and plant the
germ of another empire. The Rio Negro—which flows into this river one
hundred and twenty leagues only below this province, and rises also from the
Andes—by the intelligence the Incas had, while their reign lasted, of the
remote provinces of their empire and the countries adjacent, was, un­
questionably, also known to them. Its great importance, and the many
nations upon it, were sufficient, also, to spread extensively the knowledge
of it: and there appears to have been a communication through the in­
habitants upon it, from its mouth to its source: "We were assured," says
D’Acugna, on the Amazon, "that this river was inhabited by a great
number of people, of different nations; the last of which wear clothes
and hats like ours—which sufficiently convinced us, that these people
were not far from the cities of Peru."* There was a particular circum­
stance, moreover, belonging to it, calculated to give it general notoriety ;
the communication existing between it and the Oronoke, by the Cassi­
quiri. It was, probably, formerly a great channel of emigration from
the west, down the stream, or southwardly, from the Amazon to the bor­
ders of the Oronoke. Several of the branches of the Saliva nation—who
are mild and tranquil tribes, the most numerous nation on that river, after
the Charibees—appear to have come from the Peruvian territories. "The
most ancient abode of this nation," says Humboldt, "appears to have
been on the western bank of the Oronoke, between the Rio Vichada and
the Guaviari; also, between the Meta and the Rio Paute."† That of the
Mapoyes, one of the branches of this nation, was on the banks of the
Assiveru, or Cuchivero. He often heard them mentioned above the mouth
of the Meta.‡ The Maypures, another branch of this nation, according
to Balbi,(Ethno-graphical Atlas,) speak a language incontestably similar to
that of the Moxos of Peru. The Atorays, who now inhabit the region of Pari­
ma, and who, I have observed, are probably the same with the Atures of the
Oronoke, have also some words in their language like those of the Moxos,
and also the Quichua, which is the general language of Peru. The Ar­
rowacks, who are spread along the coast of Guyana, are, I believe, allied

to the Saliva nation; as their language has some words resembling the Atorav and Maypure, and likewise the Moxos and Quichua.

These affinities are shown in the table, Appendix No. VI.

The period when the invasion of Guyana was made by the Oreiones and Epuremei, as related by the Charibee chief, corresponds with the time when the Spaniards were making their conquests in Peru, and over­turned the empire of the Incas; as his relation was made to Raleigh in 1595, when he was in a very advanced age; and he states that the invasion of the Oreiones occurred when he was a young man. And the hatred of the Spaniards, excited in the minds of the Peruvians by the conquest of their empire and the execution of Atabalipa, must have been greatly increased by the persecution the whole of the royal family receive­ed;—as Humboldt, it has been seen, states, that after it, thirty-five of his distant relations were seized and conveyed to Lima.

Southey, it has been observed, states, that a circumstance which encour­aged the idea of El Dorado in the minds of the Spaniards, was an opinion among them that one of the Incas had fled to some other country, where he had again built a city, and undertook to revive their empire; and Com­pagnoni remarks, that it was a general impression among them that he had fled to some region wholly unknown to them. This unknown region could refer to no part of Peru, or the northern or western part of New-Grenada, but only to the southeastern portion of the latter province, in which El Dorado was first sought, or to Guyana; both which regions were unex­plored. The country could not be any part of Brazil, for there was no passage into it by any of the southern tributaries of the Amazon west of the Rio Negro, all which descend from the Andes of Peru; and whatever branch of the family of the Incas was on this expedition in search of a retreat, his attention would not fail to be arrested by this river, from the information he received from the tribes on the Amazon, in its vicinity, though he had not directed his course to it. He would also be informed of its principal branch—the Rio Branco—and of the region of Parima and the White Sea, to which it led, which, as I have remarked, had probably acquired as great celebrity on the Amazon as in other directions; and, in determining to ascend the Rio Negro, he might prefer the deep forests of the interior of Guyana for an asylum, as a region where he would be less liable to be invaded by the conquerors of his empire, to the borders of the Oronoke, which were easily accessible from the sea, or by its western tribu­taries that flow from the mountains of New-Grenada, where the Spaniards were then, as in Peru, pursuing their conquests.

In addition to the information which he might have acquired among the inhabitants generally of the Amazon, regarding the region of Parima, the Omaguas, if they were on this river at that time, would have furnished him with a particular account of it; and if they had been previously dis­persed, and part retired up the Rio Negro, this last circumstance would strongly incline him to pursue the same route. And as he advanced far­ther, the Manoas of the Yurubesh, still nearer the Rio Negro—part of
bly gave rise to the name of Manoa, as of a city there, and kept up a
constant intercourse between their two establishments—would determine
all his doubts as to the place of his refuge, and might be willing to
conduct him thither. It is possible, indeed, that this expedition, if it took
place, led to the invasion and conquest of the region of Parima by the
Manaos. If the relation of the Mariwin Inquirer is to be credited, “that
the chief captain, or Aqueriwanora, of Manoa, was Pepodallapa, and if this
name was meant for Atabalipa, there would seem to be a connection be­
tween the Manaos and a branch of the family of the Incas. Perhaps the
royal exile may have been willing to accept the aid of this powerful and
warlike nation, to conquer from the Guyanians the region from which the
Branco flows, and establish himself in the bosom of its mountains, where
he would believe himself in perfect security from the invaders of his em­
pire; protected not only by its remoteness and obscurity, but by their supe­
rior bravery; while they, from respect to an ancient and venerated race,
whose misfortunes could not but have been heard of by all the tribes of the
Amazon—and as they astonished, excited universal sympathy and regret—
would readily become their conductors to it; and the conquest achieved,
feel proud to acknowledge themselves his subjects.

We may indulge the hope, that the veil of obscurity which is over this
region will ere long be removed;—that some scientific and enterprising
traveller will undertake to pass over the terra incognita which lies be­
tween the Essequibo and the Oronoke, and disclose the history of the
tribes now inhabiting it: in particular, who are the clothed Indians who
avoid all intercourse with others, reported to be there in 1755, who are
probably still there; as three nations described a century since by a trav­
eller as residing in this region, are yet in the same place, and as the account
of this clothed nation was confirmed to me in 1820;—a journey which
would be also greatly beneficial to geography, and by the investigation of
the various productions of this region, not only gratify the curiosity of the
naturalist, but, without doubt, bring to light many which would be useful
to the world.
CHAPTER V.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S REPORTS OF THE MINERAL RICHES OF GUYANA, EXAMINED. OPINIONS OF HUMBOLDT ON THE SUBJECT. DIFFICULTIES IN WHICH RALEIGH BECAME INVOLVED AT HOME, WHICH SUSPENDED HIS EXPEDITIONS TO GUYANA. HIS TRIAL AND LONG IMPRISONMENT.

Besides the account which Sir Walter Raleigh gave of the city of Manoa, "and the civil and apparelled people" who invaded Guyana, and established themselves in it, he incurred great censure and ridicule from his enemies at that time, and has received the explicit condemnation of some historians from representations made by him of the existence of gold in it, and in general, its rich mineral treasures. But that specimens of gold were found by him he afforded the most convincing proofs, by bringing some of the ore with him to England, which he presented to the lord high Admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, of the privy council, as he states in the preface of the Narrative of his voyage, which he addressed to them.

His enemies were not, however, silenced by this evidence. They endeavored to negative it, and prove him a gross deceiver. It was reported that the ore had been ascertained not to be gold; others asked, if the metal had been found, why he did not bring home a greater quantity of it; others again, said it was not obtained in Guyana, but brought by him from Africa.

To all these charges, he fully replies in his preface. "It is true," he observes, "that on being informed by an Indian, that not far from the port where he anchored, there were found certain mineral stones which they considered gold, he sent a party of his men there with orders for each to bring him a specimen, but which when brought he found was marcasite, and of no value; but some of them, trusting more to their ideas than his opinion, kept them, and showed them in several places. In Guyana, indeed," he says, "all the rocks, mountains, all stones in the plain, in woods, and by the rivers, are thorough shining, and marvellous rich, and are the true signs of minerals, but are no other than what the Spaniards call madre del oro, (the mother of gold,) of several sorts of which his company brought also to England. But he was assured that gold was to be found either in grains separate from the stone, as it is in most of the rivers of Guyana, or else in a kind of stone which they called white spar. . . Near one of the rivers he found a great ledge or back of this white spar, which he endeavored to open, as there appeared on the surface some small grains of gold. But not having any means for the purpose, seeking around the sides, he found a clef in the rock, from which, with dag.
gers and the head of an axe, he obtained small quantities of the metal, which he brought to England. Of this several trials were made in London, and it was found to contain gold." (He mentions the names of the persons by whom the assays were made; some of them belonging to the mint; and thus, publicly appeals to their testimony.) "Trials were also made by the same persons, at that time, on the dust of this mine, which held eight pounds six ounces weight of gold in the hundred. But, says he, because his men brought other specimens," (which were, perhaps, those referred to,) "all the others have been slandered, and his whole enterprise defamed."

In reply to the question, why he did not bring home a greater quantity? observing, first, that he was not bound to satisfy any one of the quantity, but such as advertised, he says, "that had all the mountains been of massy gold, it was not possible for him to have remained to work it, having neither men nor instruments for the purpose. Further, that the country was covered with such thick woods, reaching to the very edge of the rivers, that in ascending them, it was very difficult to find a place to land; and if this should be done, to penetrate into the country; not only from this cause, but the heavy floods of water which fall, inundating it so, that they would be obliged to wade several feet deep. In addition he was four hundred miles from his ships, which he left weakly manned, and in an open road, and had been absent a month, although he promised to return in fifteen days."

To the allegation, that the gold was brought from Africa, he thus feelingly replies: "Others have devised, that the same ore was had from Barbary, and that we carried it with us to Guyana. Surely the singularity of that device, I do not well comprehend. For mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise thereby, to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subject to perils, to diseases, to all seasons; to be parched and withered, and to sustain all the care and labor of such an enterprise, except the same had more comfort than the fetching of marcasite in Guyana, or buying of gold ore in Barbary. But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit, is not the way of honor or good opinion."

The above defence bears the marks of great sincerity, and in forming an opinion of Sir Walter Raleigh, from his Narrative, it is proper to distinguish the facts he states, from the views he formed upon them. His veracity in the recital of the former, there is no reason to question; while a further knowledge of the country has shown, that his ardent and enthusiastic spirit, and lively imagination, led him to form extravagant ideas of the mineral riches of Guyana.

But that he sincerely believed in the account he gave of the mineral treasures in this region, has furnished the strongest further evidence, by the expeditions he made to it the two succeeding years after, for the same object, though not able to accompany them himself.

Of the existence of gold in this part of South America, various voyagers and travellers also speak. The gold ornaments seen by Columbus upon the Indians on the coast of Paria, have been mentioned; and his biographer, Ferdinand Columbus, says he saw an Indian with a piece of gold, as large as an apple. Oviedo, in his account of the voyage of Vespucci, states, that as they sailed along the coast of Terra-Firma, they observed, that all along from Margarita to Cape de la Vela, the Indians bartered for gold and pearls. But a testimony more applicable to the subject, is that of Sir Robert Duddley, who made a voyage to Trinidad in 1595—the same year with Raleigh's expedition—whom I have before referred to, as a voyager deserving the utmost credit.

"I learned of the savages, that the names of the kingdoms on the main over against us, were in order these: The kingdom of Morocca, Seeawano, Waliane, Charibes, Yguire; and right against the northern part of Trinidad, the main was called the highland of Paria. In Seeawano we heard of a mine of gold to be in a town called Wackerew. The kingdom of Iguire, (Igyuire,) I found to be full of metal, called by the Indians nearo, which is rather copper, or very base gold. But lastly, to come to Waliane, it is the first kingdom of the empire of Guyana. The great wealth which I understood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden mine in a town of this kingdom, called Orocoa, in the river of the Oronoke, was much to be esteemed, not in words alone; but offered, upon pain of life, to be a guide himself to any place that he spoke of. I sent fourteen men in my boat with most of the discreetest men of my company. They found the main full of fresh rivers, the one entering into another. They entered into a small river, called Cabotas, the people named Veriotans—a courteous people. The next river they passed was named Mana, where the king offered to bring a canoe full of the golden ore; and to this purpose sent a canoe which returned and brought me this answer, that Armago, captain of the mine, refused them; but if they would come thither, he himself would make them answer. Upon this my boat went at his appointed place; he met them with some 100 men in canoes, and told them, that by force they should have nothing but blows; yet, if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and jewsharps, he bid them assure me he had a mine of gold, and could refine it, and would trade with me; in token whereof, he sent me three or four crescents or half-moons of gold, weighing a noble a-piece, or more."

But this subject has been fully elucidated by the recent investigations of Humboldt in Venezuela, who has shown that reports have always prevailed there of the existence of gold in various sections of it—that specimens of native gold have frequently been found there—that several attempts at mining have been made by the Spaniards, although it remains doubtful whether the ore exists there in sufficient quantity to justify operations to obtain it. "Their attention," he observes, "was first directed

* Hackluyt's Voyages.
to the western mountains of Venezuela; and there they, at an early period, wrought the gold mine of Barquisemento. But these works, like many other mines successively opened, were soon abandoned. Here, as in all the mountains of Venezuela, the ore has been found to be very variable in its produce. The lodes are very often divided, or cease; and the metals appear only in kidney-ores, and present the most delusive appearances."

Next to these and the works of Buria, those in the valley of Caracacas are the most remarkable. "An Indian of the Guykeries, having seen some bits of gold in the hands of the natives, succeeded in discovering, in 1560, the mines of Los Teques, to the southwest of Caracacas, in the group of the mountains of Cocuimo, which separate the valleys of Caracacas and Aragua. It is thought that, in the first of these valleys, near Baruta, the natives had made some excavations in veins of auriferous quartz; and that, when the Spaniards first settled there and founded the town of Caracacas, they filled the shafts which had been dug with water. It is now impossible to verify the fact. The mines of Los Teques could not be peaceably wrought till the defeat of the Cacique Guaycapuro, who so long contested with the Spaniards the possession of the province of Venezuela. In the mountains east of the valley of Caracacas, mining experiments have also been made. In these mountains the gneiss passes into a talcous state, and contains, among other minerals, lodes of auriferous quartz. The labors there, which were anciently begun, have often been abandoned and renewed."

The mines of Caracacas remained forgotten for more than a hundred years. But toward the end of the last century, they were resumed by an Intendant of Venezuela, Don Jose Avalo. Some Mexican miners were procured: "The choice," says Humboldt, "was not fortunate. They could not distinguish a single rock; everything appeared to them gold and silver. Their operations were directed toward the ravine of Tipe; and the ancient mines of Baruta, to the south of Caracacas, where the Indians gathered, even in my time, a little stream of gold. The zeal of the administration soon diminished; and after having incurred many useless expenses, the enterprise of the mines of Caracacas was totally abandoned. A small quantity of auriferous pyrites, sulphuretted silver, and a little native gold, had been found; but they were feeble indications, — and in a country where labor is extremely dear, there was no inducement to pursue works so little productive."*

On the subject, generally, of the existence of gold in this region, he gives the following opinion: "The rock of gneiss, passing into a granite of new formation, sometimes mica-slate, belongs, in Germany, to the most metalliferous rocks; but in the new Continent, the granite has not been hitherto remarked as very rich in ores worth working. In several spots of the valley of Caracacas, the gneiss contains a small quantity of gold, disseminated in small veins of quartz, sulphuretted silver, azure,

* Humboldt’s Pers. Nar., ch. xiii.
copper ore, and galena; but it remains doubtful, whether these different metalliferous substances are not too poor to attempt working them.*

The researches thus made by Humboldt, in Venezuela, do not, indeed, comprise the region visited by Raleigh, and to which his accounts relate, although in its immediate vicinity; but if such is the character of the mountainous chain along the coast, including its branches north and west of the Oronoke, it may be reasonably supposed, that those which extend over that river into Guyana are of the same character; especially, as it has been shown that the second chain of mountains of South America, or the Cordillera of Parima, presents similar appearances. On his return from his expedition up the Oronoke, he descended this river to Angustura, the capital of Spanish Guyana. The mineralogical examination he made there, was not as extensive as at Caraccas. The fatigue of a long journey through a wilderness region, probably, in some measure, prevented him.

The following are all the remarks he makes on the subject: "It were to be wished, that here, as in the fine and fertile province of Venezuela, the inhabitants, faithful to the labor of the fields, would not addict themselves too hastily to the search for mines. The example of Germany and Mexico prove, no doubt, that the working of metals is not at all incompatible with a flourishing state of agriculture; but, according to popular traditions, the banks of the Carony lead to the lake Dorado, and the palace of the gilded King; and this lake, and this palace, being a local fable, it might be dangerous to awaken remembrances that begin gradually to be effaced. I was assured, that in 1760, the independent Chari-bees went to Cerro de Pajarcaima, (a mountain to the south of Veia Guyana.) The gold-dust collected by their labor, was put into calebashes and sold to the Dutch at Essequibo. Still more recently, some Mexican miners, who abused the credulity of Don Jose de Avalo, the Intendant of Caraccas, undertook a very considerable work in the centre of the missions of the Rio Carony. They declared that the whole rock was auriferous; stamping-mills, brocards, and smelting furnaces were constructed. After having expended very large sums, it was discovered that the pyrites contained no trace whatever of gold. These essays, though fruitless, served to renew the ancient idea, "that every shining rock in Guyana, is una madre del oro." (These are the words of Raleigh.)†

These remarks, though brief, are important. 1. Humboldt states, that popular traditions continued, to the time of his visit, to prevail in Spanish Guyana, that at the head of the Caroni was the lake Dorado, and the palace of the "gilded King," which is the very region where Raleigh places his lake Cassipa, and the city of Manoa—and the existence of which is confirmed by the map of De Pons, on which, made as late as 1805, he marks on his lake Parima, in a very distinct manner, the site of this city, or El Dorado. 2. The attempt made by the Mexican miners to search for gold in the centre of the missions of Caroni, shows that an

† Humboldt's Pers. Nar., ch. xxiv
opinion then existed that gold was to be found in the neighborhood of that river, as Raleigh related. In his defence, it is not necessary to prove that it actually exists there in abundance. It is sufficient for the purpose to show, that there are appearances of it there, which have led others, like himself, into that belief. 3. The failure of the Mexican miners to find it in the particular spot where they sought for it, detracts nothing from his relation, as Humboldt states, that gold-dust has been obtained by the Charibees in that region, which they sold to the Dutch; a fact which gives the highest degree of probability to the statement of Raleigh, that the ore he took with him to England from the Oronoke, was obtained by him there; and not, as his enemies alleged, brought from other parts—particularly, from the additional remark of Humboldt, that the Charibees of the Essequibo, Caroni, and Cayuni, have been accustomed to wash the earth for gold from the remotest times—for it was with this nation with whom Raleigh chiefly had intercourse, and from whom he obtained his information of Guyana. In regard to the Charibees of the Essequibo, this remark of Humboldt corresponds with a fact I have mentioned, that in the middle of the last century, gold-dust was brought down that river and given to the Director-General of the Dutch colony upon it, who sent it to Holland.

An examination has thus been made of the relations in the Narrative of Raleigh, which I proposed to consider; and it has been shown that, as to the principal facts which he states, he is fully supported by contemporary and later travellers, and some local testimony; but on which he suffered his imagination to form extravagant and erroneous ideas: in particular, that there is a large body of water in the interior of Guyana, which remains, probably, for more than half the year, called by the Charibees the White Sea; which may, or may not be termed a lake—that it is salt, as stated by him, and confirmed by his associates, Keymis and Berrie, and that the Caroli, (or Caroni,) probably rises out of it; that there is at present about it a great collection of remnants of Indian nations, rendering it probable, that the population formerly there was considerable, and that they had gold ornaments in abundance; and the channel by which they might have obtained them, has been pointed out: that this settlement probably bore the name Raleigh gives it—Manoa, or Manaos, from the Mahanaos, or Manao, who still dwell upon it; that the facts stated by Martinez, who first applied the appellation "El Dorado" to this place, do not necessarily imply a rich and magnificent city—but which idea, Raleigh too readily imbibed from the oft-repeated rumors among the Spaniards of such a city, and their repeated enterprises to discover it. In regard to the invasion of Guyana by one of the Incas of Peru, by whom he supposes Manoa, or the imperial city, was built—an idea which he founds upon the relations of the Charibee chief on the Oronoke—it has also been shown, that there was, probably, in early times, a great influx of nations into Guyana, by the Rio Branco, from the Amazon; and, that it is not wholly improbable, a branch of the family of the Incas
may, on the invasion of Peru by the Spaniards, have fled from it, and retired into the interior of this country by the same route;—especially from the remarkable fact stated by the Mariwin Inquirer, as related to him by a Charibee chief, that the chief of Manoa was called Pepodallapa, a name which, we can hardly doubt, was meant for Atabalipa. It has likewise been shown, in regard to the mineral treasures which Raleigh related to be in Guyana, that gold has actually been found in small parcels in various parts of it; and that in Venezuela, north of the Oronoke, and on the Essequibo, indications of the existence of this ore have led to several enterprises to discover it; although the results of them, and the examination made by Humboldt, leave the question, whether there is a sufficient quantity of it in Venezuela or Guyana, to justify mining operations, undetermined.

But, under the influence of political prejudices and an ignorance of the subject, some writers commenting on his relations respecting that country, have inveighed against him in a style of the severest censure, and endeavored to throw the brilliant lustre of his great name into the darkest shade; foremost among whom is Hume, who, in his history of England, has poured upon him the following unmeasured invective:

"Raleigh's account of his first voyage to Guyana, proves him to have been a man capable of the most extravagant credulity, or the most impudent imposture. So ridiculous are the stories which he tells of the Incas' chimerical empire in the midst of Guyana, the rich city of El Dorado, or Manoa, two days' journey in length, abounding in gold and silver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favor of the English, who, he says, were expressly named as the deliverers of that country, long before any European ever touched there; the Amazons, or republic of women; and in general, the vast and incredible riches of that country, where nobody, as yet, found any treasures. His whole Narrative is a proof that he was extremely defective, either in solid understanding, morals, or both."

In regard to the heaviest charge against Sir Walter Raleigh, in this sweeping denunciation, "the most impudent imposture," the candid reader will not, I believe, hesitate, from the facts I have presented, completely to exonerate him; and to admit that, however he may have suffered his mind to form visions of that country, under the influence of an ardent imagination, which were not substantially founded, that he was sincere and honest in what he stated; and if anything further were necessary to prove this, it is, that after his first expedition to Guyana, his account of which was the ground of this invective, he made, the next and second year after, two other enterprises to it for the same object; the last of which was prepared entirely at his own expense. Can it be reasonably supposed he would have invested his money in an undertaking, when he knew it would be thrown away, merely to amuse the public with an attractive novelty, or to gratify his vanity by appearing as the patronizer of a splendid enterprise? Or was he led, from want of occupation, into a Quixotic scheme, to employ the otherwise dormant energies of his mind? But
Sir Walter Raleigh did not require to make distant voyages to foreign countries, to provide him with occupation, still less to engage in enterprises of a chimerical character, or at least of uncertain result for that purpose. He had resources within himself, which never failed. Had not this project, presenting itself to his mind in the most glowing colors, captivated and engrossed it, he would have found in the pursuits of literature sufficient to engage his attention, as in a future season of adversity he fully showed; and had fame been his object, he would have had in this occupation sufficient to gratify his utmost ambition. An insinuation has been made that, in forming this enterprise, he was influenced by interested motives; from a wish to regain the favor of Queen Elizabeth, by flattering her with the prospect of a splendid acquisition. But this idea cannot stand the test of examination. It is admitted, that if he had merely drawn out a highly colored representation of the wealth of Guyana, with the plan of an enterprise to conquer it, without having taken any steps to advance it himself, or embarked any property in the undertaking; such a suggestion, under the circumstances in which he was in regard to the court, might be made with some plausibility. But since he prepared not less than three expeditions for the purpose in as many successive years,—two of which were partly at his own expense, and the last entirely so, and one of which he accompanied himself,—although the hope of reinstating himself in his sovereign's good graces might have encouraged him in the undertaking, his conduct furnishes the best possible evidence of his sincerity in the representations he made. Would these several expeditions have been made by him when he was aware, that after wasting his time and property, he would be certain to meet, not the smiles, but the frowns of his sovereign?—not the applause of the public, but its jeers and ridicule? The unsuccessful result of the first, after which he was refused by the Queen admittance to her court, and the public received his accounts with incredulity, was sufficient to dispel from his mind a project—not merely if it had been founded on very slight grounds, but even had he not entertained the most sanguine hopes of its success.

But it may be inquired, if Raleigh sincerely believed the mineral riches of Guyana were such as he depicted, why he did not, on his first expedition, remain to prosecute the discovery of it. To this inquiry, which he anticipated, he gives the following answer. He states that the Charibee chief, on the Oronoke, from whom he obtained his information of that country, informed him that the Epuremei, the principal nation in the interior, and whom it was necessary to subdue, were too powerful for him to attempt it with the force he had; that on being asked if he should not be able to take "the first town of the civil and apparelled people," the chief answered in the affirmative; and that he would himself accompany him, with all the borderers, if the rivers were fordable, and he left behind fifty men to protect his people against the Epuremei, who would, after they left, invade them, in consequence of their furnishing guides to him; and being informed by Raleigh that it was not in his power to spare that num-
ber, he begged him to defer the enterprise to the next year, when the rivers would be fordable. These reasons being taken by Raleigh into serious consideration, and reflecting that an unsuccessful attempt at that time would injure his success hereafter, by rendering the Indians in the interior hostile to the English, as they were then to the Spaniards, seeing that they came for the same object, to sack and plunder—he concluded to defer the enterprise to another year; and after making an alliance with this chief, and giving him a promise to return at that time, proceeded to England.*

"This Cacique," says Raleigh, "is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Oronokoponi; and he so behaved himself toward me in all his answers, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and sound judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning or breed."†

That Sir Walter Raleigh made such a promise to this chief, is proved, not only by his actually sending out the next year another expedition to the Oronoke—being prevented by his public engagements himself accompanying it—but by accounts which voyagers, who sailed to the coast of Guyana some years after, gave of the inquiries the Charibees made of them respecting him, and their disappointment at his not fulfilling his promise. In the account of the voyage by Charles Leigh to the river Oyapoke, in Cayenne, in 1604, (nine years after) he observes, the Galibis, or Charibees, (who inhabit there) often asked him of Sir Walter Raleigh; and that one came from the Oronoke expressly to inquire respecting him, alleging the promise he made of his return.‡

Robert Harcourt, who made a voyage to the same river in 1608, states, that the chief upon it, with whom he made a treaty, said that he remembered the arrival of Raleigh on the Oronoke, and the submission of the Charibees to his sovereign; and that he had made a promise to return—for his not fulfilling which, says Harcourt, I excused him, by reason of his employments of great importance at home, and observed, that when he found he could not return, he had sent Captain Keymis in his place to visit them.§ And the Mariwin Inquirer, the associate of Harcourt, relates, that the ancient Indian, who gave him an account of Manoa, &c., and was from the Oronoke, said that Topiawari, the Charibee chief on that river with whom Raleigh made an alliance, "wondered that he had not heard from him according to his promise, and that he thought the Spaniards had slain him; and that Topiawari had drawn in several nations under two chiefs, Wanaritone, captain of Canuria, and Wacariopea, captain of Saya­ma, against Raleigh's coming, to have made war against the Epuremei, and that these chiefs were still expecting him."||

Dr. Bancroft, in his history of Guyana, published in 1766, says, that the Charibees of Guyana at that time—which was one hundred and seventy-one years after Raleigh's first voyage—retained a tradition of an Eng-

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lish chief, who, many years since, traded with them and encouraged them to persevere in enmity to the Spaniards; promising to return and settle among them, and afford them assistance. It is said they still preserve an English Jack, which he left with them to distinguish his countrymen. This, adds Bancroft, could be no other than Sir Walter Raleigh.

It is undoubted, that a warm and brilliant imagination, animated by the fire of a poetical genius, which threw the brightest colors on objects that presented a favorable aspect to him, was a conspicuous trait in the mind of Sir Walter Raleigh. But this, so far from being extraordinary in the pursuit of distant and hazardous undertakings, the possession of this faculty seems to be necessary to the success of any enterprise. Under the influence of imagination, distant objects may be sometimes pursued that are airy phantoms; but without it, no pursuit of what is difficult and uncertain would ever be attempted. It is the breeze that impels a ship on a voyage, and although it may sometimes drive it on shoals or rocks, without its influence the gallant vessel would remain motionless on shore. When an object is pursued with the hope of success, it is presented by the imagination in such bright and attractive colors, as to produce an ardor and a passion of the mind to obtain it, which overlooks all obstacles, or gives an energy to surmount them. But when viewed through the medium of sober calculation, and the dangers and hazards attending its pursuit, as well as the advantages expected from it, coolly weighed, doubt and indecision follow; delay arises; the novelty, which added much to its charms, wears away, until that which was once anxiously desired is viewed with indifference, as too difficult to be obtained, or if obtained, not worth the pursuit. Would Columbus have fostered the bold and magnificent idea of crossing the broad Ocean, which washes the shores of Europe, whose extent no one knew or could divine, with the expectation of finding a new world beyond it, had he calmly considered all the difficulties and hazards to be met with in the execution of the project, and deliberately weighed all the arguments in favor of and against his success? But his mind, susceptible of grand conceptions and bold resolutions, when the idea was presented to it, it struck into a congenial soil; and as he armed with the contemplation of it, an enthusiasm in the pursuit was produced which no difficulties could damp.

Such was the case with Sir Walter Raleigh. The accounts which he had read of El Dorado and the wealth of Guyana, had for years been the subjects of his thoughts; presenting to him a brilliant project, suitable to his enterprising genius to achieve; and in some of its features corresponding with the imaginative poetical cast of his mind, it took complete possession of it, and inspired him with an irresistible ardor to undertake it. Had he stopped to reason on the subject—to balance arguments on the one side and the other—a host of objections would have started up before him. The country he proposed to explore, was wholly unknown. It had never even been at all entered by European footsteps, except by the individual Juan Martinez, who first gave the account of "the rich
and magnificent city," which certainly required confirmation. This famed city had been sought, too, for a long time, by adventurers in various directions—by Belalcazar and Pizarro, from Peru across the Andes; Philip de Urra, southwardly from Venezuela; Orellana and Orsua, down the Amazon—the whole length of it to the Ocean—and numerous others, without giving any information of a city discovered by them at all corresponding to the description of the one they sought, excepting Urra, whose narrative was generally considered too marvellous to be credited. Then Guyana, through its whole extent, was covered with almost impervious forests; the Indians inhabiting it reported to be of the most ferocious character, and some even cannibals. The Spaniards, besides, were desirous of acquiring this region, and his attempt to conquer it would meet with their opposition.

But his mind, illumined by a fervid imagination, saw another prospect. The whole of Guyana, extending from the Amazon to the Oronoke, it is true, was wholly unknown. But for that reason, it might be desirable to examine it for this rumored Golden City. The disappointment of the numerous adventurers, who went on toilsome expeditions in search of it, ought not to deter. Their persevering pursuit of it, evinces their full conviction of its reality, and they sought for it, perhaps, in a wrong direction; and it may be found in the region now pointed out as its locality, yet unexplored. If the Spaniards, in their conquests in South America, found rich cities inhabited by the natives, abounding in gold, on the west of the Andes—may there not be such, at least one, discovered east of this chain toward the Atlantic? The rough state of the country, and the terror the native tribes inspired, were not sufficient to daunt him. The shores of North America had been examined and colonized under his direction, and the colonists sent there were not repulsed or ill-used by the inhabitants, but met from them, invariably, a welcome reception. The opposition of the Spaniards caused him no apprehension. The country was yet unpossessed by Europeans—the field was open—he would endeavor to discover and possess it; and if he succeeded in his attempt, would maintain it against them.

And, in the censures which some historians have passed upon him, it seems to have been entirely overlooked, that he is not the only one who was led away by the delusive idea of "the Golden City;" but that numbers before him, men of the first rank in Peru and New Grenada, brave military leaders and distinguished viceroys, enthusiastically followed the pursuit of it. If they should not only have yielded to the belief of it, but hazarded their lives and fortunes to discover it—fitting out the most expensive expeditions, which, says Mr. Southey, have cost Spain more than all the treasures she has received from her possessions in America—it is surprising that so great a want of candor should have been shown to an English hero, whose chivalric courage and enterprising genius were excited by the same dazzling prospect.
And even after his voyages to Guyana, although the ardor in search of El Dorado greatly diminished, and no expeditions by any numerous bands of colonists have been made, yet solitary enterprises have been undertaken and encouraged by Governors of the Spanish provinces, even to the latest period. "At Cuenza, in the kingdom of Quito," observes Humboldt, "I met with some men who were employed by the Bishop of Marfíl to seek at the east of the Cordilleras, in the plains of Macas, the ruins of the town of Logroño, which was believed to be situated in a country rich in gold. We learn by the journal of Hortsman, that it was supposed in 1740, Dorado might be reached from Dutch Guyana, by going up the Rio Essequibo. Don Manuel Centurion, the Governor of Angustura, displayed an extreme ardor for reaching the imaginary lake of Manoa. An Indian of the nation of the Ipurucutoes, went down the Rio Carony, and by false narratives inflamed the imagination of the Spanish colonists. . . . Another Indian chief, known among the Charibees of Essequibo by the name of Captain Jurado, vainly attempted to undeceive the Governor. Fruitless attempts were made by the Caura and the Rio Paragua, and several hundred persons perished miserably in their rash enterprises, from which, however, geography has derived some advantages. Nicholas Rodriguez and Antonio Santos were employed by the Governor."* Santos is the individual who has before been spoken of, as one of the four instances of travellers who came near the supposed site of lake Parima, of whose journal Humboldt had a perusal; and who went up the Caroni and the Paragua, one of its branches, then crossed the Cordillera of Parima, and came to St. Rosa, on the Uaripara, a tributary of the western branch of the Branco, from which he passed down the Branco into the Amazon and to the Brazils. De Pons, in his 'History of Caraccas,' gives some further particulars in regard to this adventure. "When the wild Indian appeared before the Governor of Spanish Guyana, he was assailed with questions, which he answered with as much perspicuity and precision as could be expected from one whose most intelligible language consisted in signs. He, however, succeeded in making them understand that there was, on the banks of lake Parima, a city, whose inhabitants were civilized and regularly disciplined to war. He boasted a great deal of the beauty of its buildings, the neatness of its streets, the regularity of its squares, and the riches of its people. According to him, the roofs of its principal houses were either of gold or silver. The high-priest, instead of pontifical robes, rubbed his whole body with the fat of the turtle; then they blew upon it some gold-dust, so as to cover his whole body with it. In this attire, he performed the religious ceremonies. The Indian sketched on a table, with a bit of charcoal, the city of which he had given a description. His ingenuity seduced the Governor. He asked him to serve as a guide to some Spaniards he wished to send on this discovery, to which the Indian consented. Six Spaniards offered themselves for this undertaking, and among others, Don Antonio Santos. They set off and

* Humboldt's Pec. Nar., ch. xxiv.
travelled nearly five hundred leagues to the south, through the most frightful roads. Hunger, the swamps, the woods, the precipices, the heats, the rains, destroyed almost all. When those who survived thought themselves four or five days' journey from the capital city, and hoped to reach the end of all their troubles and the object of their desires, the Indian disappeared in the night. This event dismayed the Spaniards. They knew not where they were. By degrees, they all perished but Santos, to whom it occurred to disguise himself as an Indian. He threw off his clothes, covered his whole body with red paint, and introduced himself among them by his knowledge of many of their languages. He was a long time among them, until, at length, he fell into the power of the Portuguese established on the banks of the Rio Negro. They embarked him on the river Amazon, and after a very long detention, sent him back to his country."

But in addition to the proofs which I have given, of the sincere belief of Sir Walter Raleigh in the representations he made of the wealth of Guyana at least—for I do not know how much longer the idea of El Dorado possessed his mind after the three expeditions which he made to this region, which have been related—there is the further strongest evidence in the fact, that the conquest and possession of this country continued afterward to be prosecuted by him with undiminished ardor; although difficulties, in which he became involved at home, from the jealousy and rivalry of contemporary statesmen, the budings of which had appeared some time before, threw obstacles in his way. Indications of the opposition to him of the Earl of Essex appeared, as has been mentioned, some time before, in the expedition against the city of Cadiz, in which Raleigh was engaged, under him. The leaders of this expedition, found a very gracious reception from the Queen on their return; but Essex was dissatisfied that more had not been done; and, to add to his mortification, found that Sir Robert Cecil had acquired a predominant influence with her, and been appointed Secretary of State. They thus became rivals and enemies, and headed two powerful factions, which divided the court, and contended for the supreme direction of affairs.† Raleigh was subsequently employed in various naval expeditions under Essex, and in the course of them, the animosity of the minister to him again disclosed itself. The danger to him, however, from this circumstance, began to be less, as he was then in the favor of the Queen, and on good terms with Cecil; and the influence of Essex at the court was on the decline. Various causes contributed to foment the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth against him; and Essex, at length seeing her fixed dislike, and the hopelessness of all efforts to regain her favor, set on foot those acts for the overthrow of her government, which cost him his life. He had, in the mean time, been courting the friendship of King James of Scotland, who looked to the succession to the throne of England; and in his correspondence, his own enemies were represented to James, as enemies to his succession;

among whom, Raleigh would naturally be included—and, with great appearance of probability, Essex may be called the first planter of a prejudice in the mind of James against him.

With the death of Queen Elizabeth, the good fortunes of Raleigh sank to rise no more. No sooner was the blow struck against Essex, than Raleigh found another rival appearing against him at the court. Cecil, as well as Essex, found it prudent, during the life of Elizabeth, to cultivate the favor of James, who was likely soon to become his sovereign. He commenced a secret correspondence with him, and in some of the letters, which have been published, he speaks of Raleigh in terms of strong disaffection. The cause of his opposition is but little known; but it is probable, that after the fall of Essex, their friendship terminated in a rivalship for power.

On the accession of James, the prepossessions thus early instilled in his mind against Raleigh, were increased by other causes. Raleigh appears to have been among those, who, in regard to the known feud between England and Scotland, had a desire that he might be bound by articles; and his enterprising and martial character was little agreeable to James.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that he received neglect at court. The tide of prejudice ran strong against him; and no thought or action of his life, was any longer innocent. Three months had not elapsed, before he was charged with treasonable practices against the government.* He was, it appears, at that time on terms of intimacy with Lord Cobham; who, being also out of favor at court, was engaged in various schemes to revenge himself against it. Among others, he had an intercourse with persons concerned in a Popish plot, and this treason being discovered, he became suspected. In consequence of Raleigh's intimacy with him, doubts also arose in regard to him. Upon this, they were all apprehended. The leading conspirators were first tried, condemned, and suffered the penalty of the law. Sir Walter Raleigh was then, on the seventeenth of November, 1603, tried; and by the influence of the court, and the vehement, abusive eloquence of the Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, without any color of evidence, was convicted of high treason.† But the King did not sign the warrant for his execution. He was committed to the Tower, with the sword hanging over his head, to suffer under the constant apprehension of the execution of the sentence, or with the alternative of an indefinite, perhaps, perpetual imprisonment. In his confinement, however, he was allowed various privileges; and he had many friends and pityers in his adverse fortune, among whom were the Queen, and the celebrated Henry, Prince of Wales. An attachment of peculiar strength appears to have subsisted between Prince Henry and him. "No king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage," was a remark of his. His death, in his nineteenth year, was a loss to Raleigh, of the widest extent imaginable, as well from the real esteem which he manifested for his character, as from the future prospects

which the Prince's patronage afforded him. The death of Cecil, six months before, had inspired him with the hopes of obtaining his freedom; as, in the Earl of Somerset, who succeeded him, he had a steady friend, which would naturally be much discouraged by the latter event, but were entirely dispelled by this minister's falling into disgrace. Villiers then became the favorite; and, by this event, Raleigh effected by money, what the most powerful patronage could not accomplish. Fifteen hundred pounds, given to two friends of the minister, procured their influence with him, and the King's consent to his enlargement; and thus, on the seventeenth of March, 1616, after an imprisonment of more than twelve years' duration, Sir Walter Raleigh at length obtained his freedom.*

During his long confinement, it may naturally be supposed, he did not suffer his brilliant talents to be unemployed and wasted in unavailing repinings, or sullen indolence. The frowns of a monarch, or the gloom of a prison, were unable to repress the activity of his ardent and vigorous intellect. The pursuit of literature and science in various departments, was his constant employment; and his efforts in which, have made him as distinguished as his daring enterprises on sea or land. "The advantages of a cultivated understanding," says Mr. Cayley, "have, perhaps, seldom been more truly recognized, than they were at this time, by Sir Walter Raleigh, in alleviating confinement, and supporting the endless diversity of fortune. The disposition he made of his time, discovered in this, not less than on other occasions, the superiority of his mind; for, in the calm contemplation of his intellectual talents, he found the resource of all others best adapted to relieve his situation, and which a superior mind could alone advert to. His History of the World, and many of his political pieces, were composed in the Tower; and much of his time was amused with chemical pursuits, to which he appears to have had a strong partiality." †

As one of the most elegant writers of England observes:

"His vigor sunk not, when a coward reign
The warrior fettered:
Then active still, and unrestrained, his mind
Explored the vast extent of ages past,
And with his prison hours enriched the world."


† Cayley, vol. 2. p. 46.
CHAPTER VI.

HIS LIBERATION FROM IMPRISONMENT—PREPARES ANOTHER (HIS FOURTH) EXPEDITION TO GUYANA—UNFORTUNATE FAILURE OF IT—HIS RETURN HOME—GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE KING AGAINST HIM—HIS TRAGICAL END—CONSEQUENCES OF HIS VOYAGES TO THAT COUNTRY—COLONIES SENT TO IT FROM ENGLAND—SKETCH OF THE SETTLEMENTS MADE IN IT BY OTHER NATIONS.

It may also be readily conceived, that, to the enterprising mind of Sir Walter Raleigh, while in confinement—entertaining, as he no doubt would, the hope that the efforts he was continually making for his liberation would be successful—the field of future action would, amid his studies, present itself; especially, the favorite scheme which he had for years before pursued with persevering ardor—the conquest of Guayana.

I have remarked that, although, after the third expedition made by him to that country, the difficulties, in which he became involved at home, caused impediments to the attainment of his object, they were little able to relax his ardor in the pursuit of it. How great were the distresses and troubles into which he was plunged, has just been shown. But, that amid them all, this enterprise, in which he had formerly so enthusiastically embarked, was not forgotten, is seen by the following passage from Dr. Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

"Among the subjects which occupied his mind, a prominent one was his old scheme of settling Guyana; a scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first discovered, so he constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when, considering the many great employments he engaged in, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded, and that upon the best evidence in the world, his own eyesight and judgment, that this was the richest country in the world, and the worthiest of being settled for the benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that, during his confinement, he held a constant intercourse with Guyana; sending, at his own charge, every year, or every second year, a ship to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he made them, of coming to their assistance and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought out several of the natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower."
Two years before his liberation, he offered to the court a scheme for the settlement of it, but on which nothing could be done, as he was not yet able to obtain his discharge. But soon after he was liberated, viz: on the twenty-sixth August of that year, he obtained a royal commission to undertake it at his own expense, with the most ample grant of powers;* and as soon as he received it, he made preparations for procuring funds for a new expedition to that region. Circumstances favored the undertaking. A new and bright prospect opened to him, and his mind was elated with the almost certain expectation, of at length realizing the object of which he had so long been in pursuit. The opinion of the public, in regard to him, was altered, and this enterprise received from it greater attention and encouragement than his former ones. Co-adventurers likewise were obtained, among whom were some foreigners.†

Hume, who, of all his censurers, has inveighed most bitterly against him, makes the following remarks on this period of his life: "The sentiments of the nation were much changed in regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigors of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amid naval and military enterprises, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as the History of the World."

Sir Walter Raleigh, with the means which he and his associates provided, equipped a fleet of eight vessels, of which one was built at his own charge, and he accompanied in her as captain. There were also on board of her two hundred men, of which eighty were "gentlemen volunteers," and adventurers, many of them his relations, which number was afterward increased. Of the other vessels, most of them were of a smaller size, as tenders.

On the twenty-eighth May, 1617, twenty-two years after the first expedition made by him for the same object, the fleet had dropped down the Thames. Stress of weather obliged him to put into Cork, and it was late in August before he could proceed. He arrived on the coast of Guyana, at the river Cayenne, twelfth November, 1617, a district inhabited by the Charibee Indians, belonging to the same nation with those on the Oronoke, with whom, on his first arrival, in 1595, he made an amicable alliance; and long as had been the period of his absence, he found their friendly sentiments to him were not in the least diminished. In a letter which he wrote to Lady Raleigh from this place, he says: "To tell you that I might be here King of the Indians, were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with all that the country yields. All offer to obey me."

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.  
But the prospect of a favorable result to this expedition, which this welcome reception by the Charibees was calculated to inspire, was soon dispelled. Disastrous events commenced, which dissipated all his cherished hopes, and led to consequences which finally entirely overwhelmed him. His illness, in the course of the voyage, which was not extraordinary after his close confinement in the walls of a prison for thirteen years, rendering him little prepared to encounter a change of climate, the sea air, and other inconveniences of a voyage, laid the foundation for the unfortunate events that subsequently happened. He remained at Cayenne river until the fourth December, having been dangerously ill for six weeks—when, not wishing to incur any longer delay in prosecuting the expedition, and being unable himself to accompany it, he gave orders to five small vessels, each of which to have a company of fifty men, to sail to the Oronoke, under the direction of Captain Keymis, his trusty associate, who had commanded the second expedition made by him to this river, in 1596. Keymis proceeded up the Oronoke with the vessels intrusted to his charge, (the other ships remaining at Trinidad,) to accomplish the object of the expedition. He was absent above two months; and on his return, gave Raleigh the unwelcome and most unexpected intelligence of the total failure of the enterprise, accompanied with the afflicting account of the death of his son. He related, that the Spaniards had a settlement or town on the river, two miles below the mine; that he intended to proceed at once to the mine, but, from the lowness of the river, he could not approach to it nearer than a mile; when he landed his companies, intending to remain on the bank of the river until the next day, when they were set upon in the night and charged by the Spaniards. To repel this force, they charged back, and following the Spaniards in their retreat, entered the town, of which they took possession, and drove them to the woods; in which assault young Raleigh was killed. The town being thus possessed, he prepared to discover the mine, and went to it in a shallop with eight men. But on approaching near the bank where he intended to land, he received from the woods a volley of shot, which slew two of the company, and wounded others.

He made no further attempts to reach the mine, and returned with his vessels to Trinidad. For not proceeding to it and making further discoveries, he gave as excuses to Raleigh, the death of his son, and his fear that he was himself dead, or, that the news of his son would hasten his end: to which he added, that the Spaniards being in the woods between the mine and the town, it was impossible to reach the mine unless they had been driven out; for which they had no men, as the greater part of the three companies guarded the town against the daily and nightly alarms, with which they were troubled; that it was also impossible to keep any companies at the mine, for want of provisions from the town, which they were not able to carry up the mountains. The following circumstance is mentioned by Raleigh, in one of his letters, as having had, also, weight
ITS FAILURE.

in inducing him to give up the enterprise. Letters from the King of Spain were intercepted by him, containing an order for strengthening the Spaniards on the Oronoke, with one hundred and fifty soldiers, who were to have descended the river from New-Grenada; and one hundred and fifty to have come up it, from the island of Porto Rico, with ten pieces of ordnance; the arrival of which he was hourly apprehensive of, and by which he might have been inclosed.

Birch, in his Life of Raleigh, gives the following account of the cause of the failure of this expedition: "The five ships found a new Spanish town, called St. Thomas, consisting of about one hundred and forty houses, though lightly built—with a convent, a chapel of Franciscan friars, and a garrison, erected on the main channel of the Oronoke, about twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo attempted to plant. Keymis and the rest thought themselves obliged, through fear of having the enemy's garrison between them and their boats, to deviate from their instructions—which enjoined them, first to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under shelter of their camp; and then to deal with the Spanish town as it should behave toward them. They determined, therefore, to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town; by which means, though themselves were the stronger, their boats were exposed, and the mine left untried, contrary to Raleigh's orders. For, about three weeks after their departure, landing by night nearer the town than they suspected, and intending to rest themselves on the river's side till morning, they were, in the night-time, set upon by the Spanish troops, apprised of, and forewarned of their coming."

But whatever were the causes which produced a failure of the expedition, the intelligence of it, communicated to Raleigh, overwhelmed him. The letters and dispatches which he wrote to England, at this time, are in the strain of a heart-broken man, and bear the strongest internal evidence of the sincerity of his intentions, in planning the enterprise, and his confident expectations of obtaining the great results from it which he held forth. And, certainly, abundant cause existed for his deep dejection. After having resolved on this project more than twenty years—even during his long imprisonment, maturing plans for its accomplishment—when his freedom at length obtained, embarking all his property, he succeeded in preparing another expedition for the purpose; seeing the fleet which he equipped, safely cross the ocean, and touch the shores of the country, to him so full of bright anticipations; and now, when about to seize the prize on which his eyes had so long rested—to behold all his hopes suddenly blasted—this last attempt made by him to effect his long cherished object, frustrated, probably, never again to be resumed—in addition, his son killed, and himself lingering under disease; this calamitous reverse was sufficient to depress, with gloom and melancholy, even his buoyant and gallant spirit, which had, through life, borne itself above every difficulty and adversity.

* Birch's Life of Raleigh, pp. 76-77.
After he had heard the relation of Keymis, he told him that he had undone him, and ruined his credit with the King past recovery. Keymis himself, deeply mortified at the result, solicited Raleigh to write a letter to England, in his own name, presenting the excuses he offered for his failure; which being declined, he withdrew, and soon after, on going to his cabin, was found dead, having shot himself with a pistol.∗

Raleigh, knowing the enemies he had at home—that the King himself was his determined foe, and that the relenting of his resentment was produced only by the expectations he formed from this expedition; and recollecting what efforts had been made to discredit all his former enterprises, having the same object—looked forward to his return to England, bearing the news of the failure of the present, with the most fearful apprehensions of the disastrous consequences to him. And they were most fully verified.

On the return of the fleet to England, which was probably about May, 1618, he encountered a burst of public censure, as a gross deceiver and pretender; who, to procure his liberation, had held out the prospect of a gold mine in Guyana, which was a mere chimera, an imaginary thing—and experienced a most decided manifestation of the royal displeasure. His co-adventurers, disappointed in their expectations, contributed to increase the public displeasure against him. They concluded that they were deceived by him; that he had never known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder the Spanish town, St. Thomas, and having encouraged his company with the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of other Spanish settlements in South America, and that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprises.†

To all these charges, Raleigh, in his apology, thus forcibly and feelingly replies: "If they (his co-adventurers,) could not force Keymis to go to the mine, when he was, by his own confession, within two days' march of it—to examine where the two ingots of gold which they brought in, were taken, which they found laid by for the King of Spain's fifth part, or the small pieces of silver which had the same marks or stamps—if they refused to send any one of the fleet into the country to see the mines which the Cacique Carapana offered them—I say there is no reason to lay it to my charge, that I carried them with a pretence of gold, when neither Keymis nor myself knew of any in those parts. If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life in manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to have turned pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain, or cast into the sea, because I refused it?

"A strange fancy had it been in me, to have persuaded my own son whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife to have冒险 the eight thousand pounds, which his majesty gave them for Sherborne, and

∗ Cayley's Life of Raleigh, ch. viii.  
when that was spent, to persuade my wife to sell her house at Mitcham, in hope of enriching them by the mines of Guyana, if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes? For being old and weakly, thirteen years in prison, and not used to the air, to travel and to watching—it being ten to one that I should ever have returned—and of which, by reason of my violent sickness, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope, what madness would have made me undertake the journey, but the assurance of this mine?—thereby, to have done his majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children to the estate they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways and means. For that I had no purpose to have changed my master and country, my return in the state I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man."

The relation of the events which befell Sir Walter Raleigh, connected with his expeditions to Guyana, which has thus far been given, is sufficient for the purpose for which it was made—the exculpation of this distinguished man from the charge of deception, in the representations he made of that country. No candid person who reads the narrative of the measures taken by him in regard to the acquisition of it, through a long course of years; the strong possession the project took of his mind, and the sacrifices he made for the purpose; but must be convinced that,—however he may, through the influence of a warm imagination and enthusiastic temper, have been deluded into the belief of the existence of great mineral treasures in Guyana, which a better knowledge of the country has shown to be without foundation—he fully believed in the representations he made, and did not impose upon the world a fabrication of his own; and, particularly, this last enterprise undertaken by him, for this object, under the peculiar circumstances in which it was made, and after such a lapse of time, ought to be sufficient to demonstrate the charge of deception and imposture made against him, to be entirely unfounded.

But although in regard to the vindication of Sir Walter Raleigh, I might here close my remarks; yet, as his last expedition to Guyana, which has just been related, was the cause of his melancholy fate, it will not, I think, be uninteresting to the reader, briefly to relate the events that subsequently befell him.

The dissatisfaction of the King with him at the failure of his expedition, was increased by his collision with the Spaniards, who had established themselves on the Oronoke, prompted by Gondomar, the Spanish minister. This envoy, it was believed, had acquired considerable influence over him, and having looked upon Raleigh's former voyages with uneasiness, and carefully watched his movements when he was preparing his last expedition; complained of it to the King as hostile and piratical to Spain; and drew from his weakness, every particular of the voyage, on which the King sent for the patent to Raleigh and corrected it. Circumstances subsequent—

* Cayley, vol. 2, pp. 110—111.
ly occurred, which enabled Gondornar to exert still greater power over
him.

The King, in giving his consent to this expedition, it is presumed, as his
wants were great at this time, had placed great hopes on the discovery of
the mine which Raleigh had represented to exist on the Orenoke. But
afterward a project being started of a Spanish matrimonial alliance, which
he began to idolize, he found it more important to him to preserve peace
with Spain, and grew less in favor of Raleigh's enterprise. Such being
the state of his feelings, on the return of Raleigh, Gondornar availed him­
self of it to procure his ruin. Accordingly, as soon as intelligence arrived
in London of Raleigh's proceeding, he proceeded to the King, exclaiming,
"Pirates! pirates! pirates!" without adding more.

By all these causes King James was prepared, on the arrival of Raleigh,
to make him suffer the penalties of the law, on the ground of his having
committed acts of hostility against a power with whom England was then
at peace; and, on the tenth of June, published a proclamation, declaring
his detestation of the conduct of the expedition, and charging such of his
subjects as could give any information respecting it, to repair immediately
to the privy council. Raleigh no sooner reached Plymouth, and heard
of the proclamation, than he resolved to surrender himself, confiding, as
he confessed before his death, too much in the King's goodness. On his
way to London he met with his relative, Sir Lewis Stukely, with author­
ity to arrest and bring him to London. With him he returned to Ply­
mouth, where, panic-struck, upon a closer view of his situation, he once
meditated an escape to France. Still, however, the goodness of his cause
prevailed over every apprehension, and the project was laid aside. Yet
he found it necessary, on his journey to London, to gain time for prepa­
ing his vindication, by the expedient of feigning sickness, and in that in­
terval wrote the apology for his voyage. As he approached to London,
when a messenger appeared with a warrant for the speedy bringing up of
his person, his constancy forsook him, and he again attempted an escape
to France. But he greatly misapplied his trust in the agents he employ­
ed. His relative, Stukely, after encouraging, and even pretending to lend
a hand in the design, received a bribe and betrayed him. In a boat, in
the very act of making his escape in disguise, he was apprehended and
committed to the Tower.

Much deliberation was exercised by the Chancellor and Commissioners,
which continued two months, in regard to the manner of proceeding against
him. It was at last determined, that the sentence which had been passed
against him fifteen years since, the execution of which had been suspend­
ed, should be enforced; and soon after the decision had been made known
to the King, a privy seal was sent to the Judges to order immediate execu­
tion.

Raleigh was then called to the bar, and being informed by the court of
the order of the King, and asked, in the customary form, why execution
should not be awarded against him?—after apologizing for the weakness of
his voice, in consequence of his late sickness, he hoped that the judgment which he received should not be strained to take away his life, as his majesty had given him permission to proceed on a voyage beyond the seas, where he had power, as marshal, on the life and death of others, which he considered discharged the judgment. But he was interrupted by the Chief Justice, who told him that was not sufficient; that in case of treason, by express words, and not by implication, pardon was granted; and after exhorting him to meet his fate in a manner suitable to his high character, as a valiant and wise man, ordered execution. The warrant for his execution dispensed with the former judgment of hanging, drawing and quartering. Some petitions are said to have been presented to the King in his behalf, as well as solicitations from persons of distinction, which proved ineffectual. The Queen appears to have been in the number of his intercessors.

"Few have acted," says Mr. Cayley, "so difficult a part in the last scene of his life, with the spirit and firmness which Raleigh displayed in it. The inefficacy of the intercessions with the King in his behalf, proved no disappointment to him. He no longer expected—he seemed not to wish for mercy. To some of his friends, who deplored his misfortune, he said, with calmness, 'The world is but a larger prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution.'"

"On Thursday morning, the twenty-ninth of October, he was conducted by the sheriff to the scaffold. His countenance was cheerful. He saluted the lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance who were present, and then entered into an explanation of his conduct. Having finished, he prepared himself for his execution. Having taken off his gown and doublet, he asked the executioner to show him the axe, and felt the edge, and smiling, said to the sheriff, 'This is a sharp medicine, but it is a remedy for all diseases.' He then laid down, and after a short pause, made a sign that he was ready; and was beheaded, without the least shrink or motion of his body."*

Thus did Sir Walter Raleigh lose his life, under a sentence which had lain dormant for fifteen years; and which he considered was virtually abrogated, and his pardon granted, by the patent for the conquest of Guyana granted to him by the crown, by one clause of which he was constituted Governor and commander-in-chief of the enterprise; by another, appointed Governor of the new colony he was to settle, with ample authority; and by the third, he had a power rarely intrusted to admirals, that of exercising martial law by sea and by land. And if he had thought it necessary, he might have obtained his pardon, for his friends at court, through whom he had procured his liberation from the Tower, offered £700 to obtain it for him, and this without requiring him to make the expedition to Guyana; but when he consulted Sir Francis Bacon, the most eminent lawyer in England, whether it were advisable to pay a sum of money for his pardon in the common form, he said to him, "Sir, the knee-timber of

your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already; the King having, under his broad seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of martial law over your officers and soldiers."

Raleigh, too, might have considered the long confinement which he endured, while the sentence was suffered to lay dormant, was a fulfillment of it, instead of the exaction of the literal penalty, and his liberation without any condition or restriction, was itself a virtual pardon. But he could not only justly complain of the form of proceeding adopted against him, but he contended, and on rightful grounds, that he had committed no act rendering him amenable to law.

He was charged with a piratical proceeding against the possessions of the King of Spain. To this he replied, that Guyana belonged to England, having been first discovered by himself twenty-three years before, although the Spaniards came afterward in his absence and made a settlement there; and that England actually considered it to belong to her, for, in 1609, seven years before his last expedition, she made a grant of nearly the whole of it to Mr. Robert Harcourt, resting her claim to the country on no other ground than his discovery, according to the rules adopted by all Protestant nations at that time, that the right of discovery gave a title to possessions in the new hemisphere. On this basis it was, that having, under the patent of discovery granted by Queen Elizabeth, discovered Virginia, he claimed it as belonging to England, for his benefit; although Amidas and Barlowe, who were sent out by him with two vessels and made the discovery, after examining the country, only drew up a record signed by a number of their company as evidence that they had taken possession of it, and came away without making any establishment upon it, or leaving a single person behind. Against the claims of Spain to Guyana, Raleigh could also allege the amicable league he had made in behalf of the English with the Charibees, on the Oronoke, the rightful owners of the country; who invited him among them, while they expelled the Spaniards, and relied on the assistance of the English against them. Besides, he had the King's leave to sail to the Oronoke and take possession of the mine he related to be there; which the King would not have granted, if he had considered that the country belonged to Spain; for the proceeding was equally piratical with the burning of a Spanish town. Spain, on the other hand, while she wholly disregarded the rights of the aborigines in the new hemisphere, pretended an exclusive claim to all the undiscovered land in it, under a grant from Pope Alexander Sixth, who then filled the papal chair, and that no other nation had a right to any part of it on the ground of first discovery, and treated the claims of Raleigh as a perfect nullity.

To this extravagant pretension of Spain, King James, in regard to the matrimonial alliance he had in view with it—being desirous to preserve amicable relations with it—found it expedient to yield, in opposition to the

*Cayler, vol. 2, pp. 63-64.
rules and principles uniformly followed by England in regard to foreign discoveries, and to sacrifice to a rival Power one of the brightest ornaments of his country.

That the proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh were clearly unjust and oppressive, has been proclaimed by the unanimous voice of after times. Able pens have done justice to his merits, while they have exposed the iniquity of his condemnation, and sympathized with the misfortunes of one so distinguished for his talents and services, who combined an assemblage of qualities seldom united in one individual, fitting him for any scene of action, public or private—at once Statesman, Soldier, Seaman, Philosopher and Poet; and his history will ever remain a conspicuous, but clouded page, in the history of his country.

Even his most violent enemies have been compelled to condemn the conduct of the Government toward him.

"No measure of James's reign," says Hume, "was attended with more public dissatisfaction than the punishment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To execute a sentence which was originally so hard, which had been so long suspended, and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new trust and commission, was deemed an instance of cruelty and injustice. To sacrifice to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation who had a high reputation for valor and military experience, was regarded as meanness and indiscretion; and the intimate connections which the King was now entering into with Spain, being, universally distasteful, rendered the proof of his complaisance still more invidious and unpopular."

Thus it has been seen that the project, which twenty-three years before seized on the mind of this distinguished man, and excited in him the most enthusiastic desire for its accomplishment; and which, during that long period, he ardently and perseveringly pursued, he was unable to achieve; while his unavailing efforts, after consuming all his estate, brought him to a melancholy end. But, although his enterprises to Guyana produced no benefit to him, but only misfortune, they were not profitless to his country. Guyana was, therefore, in consequence of his discovery, claimed by England as belonging to her; and others soon entered upon the field which he had opened, wrested the prize from him, for which he had so long contended, and reaped the benefit of all his toils and efforts.

The description he gave of this country in his Narrative, with the glowing colors of a warm imagination, drew strongly public attention in England to this region; and gave rise, even before his last voyage, and while he was yet in prison in the Tower, to two voyages to it, by persons wholly unconnected with him. In 1604, Charles Leigh fitted out a vessel, and sailed to the river Oyapoke in Cayenne, and took possession, for England, of all the country lying between the Oronoke and Amazon. In 1608, Robert Harcourt, Esq., whose voyage and narrative have been frequently mentioned, set sail for the same river with a colony, where he arrived May seventeenth, and commenced a settlement. He took "possession, in his
southern's name, of all the spacious country of Guyana, bounded on the
north with the Oronoke and the sea, on the east and south with the river
Amazon, and on the west with the mountains of Peru." On his return to
England, he, with Sir Thomas Challoner and John Rowenson, obtained
letters patent from James I. to settle all the lands between the Amazon
and Spanish Guyana. It was this grant which Raleigh contended com-
pletely exonerated him from the charge of any piratical proceeding against
Spain, as by it England claimed the country as belonging to her. The
attention of the English appears also to have been early turned to the
river Surinam; a company of colonists from England having settled there
in 1634, engaged in the cultivation of tobacco, and in 1650 a plan for the
colonization of it was set on foot by Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who
sent to it a vessel with some men, where they were favorably received by
the Indians and made a settlement on it, and in 1652 he obtained, together
with Lawrence Hyde, a son of the Earl of Clarendon, a grant from Charles
II. of all the country between Cayenne and Spanish Guyana, under the
name of the Province of Surinam.*

The French, also, now began to turn their attention to Guyana, and
made successive attempts to colonize Cayenne, from 1624 to 1652; but
which were frustrated by the opposition of the Charibees, who were the
principal native population of that country—till at length an association
formed in France, under the name of the French Equinoctial Company,
in 1663, sent a colony to it, of sufficient force to withstand them and
maintain possession of the country, which laid the foundation of the pre­
sent colony. Prior to the arrival of either the English or French on this
coast, a settlement had been made on the Surinam river by the Portuguese,
or Spaniards. But they, also, commencing acts of cruelty against the
Charibees, they attacked them, and destroyed the settlement.

The Portuguese were, also, the first to settle on the Essequibo river,
where they erected a fort, which was found deserted when the Dutch first
came to it; for they, at that time the commercial rivals of England, were
also among the earliest navigators to the coast of Guyana. As early as
1580—which was some years before the voyages of Raleigh—they
attempted to form settlements on the Amazon, Oronoke, and Pomeroon,
for trading purposes; and on the last river they had a factory called New­
Zealand. In 1581, the States General of Holland, privileged certain
individuals to trade to this coast.† Before 1596, nine or ten armed ves­
sels from Holland were seen trading in the Oronoke, for tobacco; and
before that time, also, they had made a settlement on the Essequibo. But
the Spaniards looking on these proceedings with a jealous eye, drove the
Dutch away from this river and the Pomeroon. In 1602, they planted a
colony on the river Berbice, and about the same time had succeeded in
establishing themselves on the Essequibo. In 1741, the colonists on this
river, thinking the lands near the sea more productive than the upper

* Hartynck Beschryving von Guiana, p. 152.
† Hartynck.
country, on which they had previously settled, began to form plantations on the river Demerara."

The acquaintance which the Dutch so early formed with the Oronoke, and which was before the first voyage of Raleigh, is not considered to affect his claim to the country upon it, as first discoverer, as it does not appear that they succeeded in making a location upon it, or that they entered into any treaty with the natives. Nor did they assert a right to this country, as first discoverers, against the English, although they were well acquainted with the expeditions of Raleigh to it; for the first map of Guyana was made by Hondius in Holland, and was prepared from his narrative, and entitled, "A Chart of the Wonderful Region of Guyana, discovered by Sir Walter Raleigh."

To the coast of Guyana, the Portuguese, undoubtedly, had a precedent claim as the first discoverers; as they not only were the first to locate themselves on the Essequibo river, but erected a fort upon it; and the grants of this district, subsequently made by England, as belonging to her on the ground of the first discovery by Raleigh, therefore assumed a basis which was not correct. But asserting her right to it on this ground, she admitted the claim made by Raleigh to the borders of the Oronoke, and proved the clear injustice of the punishment which afterward fell upon him.

The Dutch made early settlements also, in Cayenne; but the efforts of the French to possess that country, obliged them to discontinue them. They also commenced them on the river Surinam, which were likewise thwarted by the measures the English took to maintain the colony they had established there, which continued with the bounds, as granted to Lord Willoughby, viz.: from Cayenne to Spanish Guayana, an appendage to England, until the year 1667.

In this year, during the war which then existed between England and Holland, a Dutch fleet of three vessels, under Admiral Cryssen, came to the river Surinam, and ascending it to the English settlement, took the fort, and received the capitulation of the colonists.† In the mean time, England had conquered from the Dutch, their colony of New-Amsterdam, in North America, afterward called the province of New-York, and now one of the United States of America; and by the treaty of peace which was concluded with her and Holland, in 1667, it was agreed, that each Power should retain the conquests it had made; and Surinam was ceded in perpetuity to Holland, and the province of New-Amsterdam was yielded in like manner to England.§

The colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, formed by the Dutch within the limits of Surinam, now called British Guyana, were ceded to Great Britain, by Holland, for a valuable consideration, by a convention signed at London, thirteenth August, 1814.§
The fact which I have stated, of the exchange of the province of Surinam for the territory now constituting the State of New-York, may be thought by some incredible; but it is to be considered, that the present colony which bears that name, forms but a part of its bounds, as they were at that period;—which were from Cayenne to Spanish Guyana, comprising an extent of coast of three hundred miles, and extending an equal distance, at least, into the interior. (embracing the portion now called British Guyana,) an area full as large as that of this State. Nor in regard to the value of the country, were the Dutch dissatisfied with the exchange. Guyana, it has been seen, was, during the first part of the seventeenth century, a prize contended for by various European powers. Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Holland, all endeavored to acquire possessions in it. The mineral riches reported to be there, not only the fable of El Dorado, but of mines of gold, gave the first impulse to the desire of Europeans to possess it, and presented it to them for some time as a land of promise. At the period of this exchange, the fable of El Dorado began to die on the ear; the golden city, pursued like an ignis fatales, but never discovered, was at length considered merely an idle tale; and the mines of gold proved not to be so easily found, or when found, not of such certainty as to be much relied on. But the Dutch, who had some years before commenced settlements in Cayenne and Surinam, from which they had been overpowered by the French and English, found there was a richer mine in the fine alluvial soil along the coast of Guyana, well adapted to the cultivation of sugar and coffee; the proof of which was seen in the profitableness of the colonies to Holland, which they formed upon it. But valuable as they are, what a contrast do they afford to the present elevated and flourishing condition of their northern colony, which they surrendered for this territory. They had not the gift of prophecy, to foresee, that over the large expanse of country embraced within its bounds, which extends westward from the Hudson river—then an unbroken wilderness, which they viewed only as the abode of the savage tribes who inhabited it, whose inroads they continually dreaded—streams of population would, in time, in rapid succession spread, subduing the forests, and building up towns and villages without number, accompanied with the comforts, and even refinements of life, which in other countries belong only to an advanced period of their existence; and that before the close of two centuries, their small and feeble colony would become the principal member of an important empire, with a population equal to that which Holland, its parent State, itself possesses.
CHAPTER VII.

EXAMINATION OF SEVERAL REMARKABLE RELATIONS MADE BY RALEIGH OF INDIAN TRIBES IN GUYANA AND ITS VICINITY, PARTICULARLY OF A NATION OF FEMALE WARRIORS ON THE AMAZON—SIMILAR RELATIONS MADE BY VARIOUS TRAVELLERS.

I cannot close my examination of Sir Walter Raleigh's Narrative of his first expedition to Guyana, without adverting to some other matters contained in it, of a tendency, unexplained, to affect him injuriously. The censure and ridicule which he incurred from the relations he made in it, of the mineral riches of that region and the city of El Dorado, were probably increased by accounts which he gave of some extraordinary tribes in it; one of which, it is certain, contributed greatly to throw discredit on his whole relation—that of the existence in Guyana of a community of female warriors, and is particularly mentioned by Hume in the denunciation he has made of him. On a candid examination, however, of these relations, which I propose to make in the present and succeeding chapter, his character will, I believe, be entirely relieved from any liability to censure in respect to them.

One of these accounts, is that which he gives of a nation called Tittivivas, inhabiting the numerous islands in the Delta of the Orinoco, whom he thus describes: "In the summer, they have houses on ground as in other places, and in the winter they dwell upon trees, where they build very artificial towns and dwellings. They never eat anything that is set or sown. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, &c., for their sustenance. They are, for the most part, makers of canoes, which they sell into Guyana for gold, and into Trinidad for tobacco."

But that Sir Walter heard this account, there cannot be any doubt. The people who inhabit these islands are the Guaranos, whom Gumilla thus speaks of: "When their islands are periodically inundated by the rise of the Orinoco, they erect their huts on piles, to be above the water. These huts are made of the mauritia palm, which grows abundantly in these islands, and are covered with the leaves of it. From the fibres of the leaf, they make their hammocks and their cords for fishing, and bowstrings. Around the pulpy shoot that ascends from the trunk, is a web-like integument that serves them for the slight covering they wear. On the productions of this tree, also, they entirely subsist. The pulpy shoot is eaten as cabbage, and the tree bears a fruit like the date, but somewhat larger. When the inundation ceases, the tree is cut down, and

being perforated, a palatable juice exudes, from which they make a drink. The interior substance of it is then taken out, and thrown into vessels of water and well washed, and the ligneous fibres being removed, a white sediment is deposited, which, dried in the sun, is made into a very palatable bread.*

It is not improbable they formerly lived in the manner that Raleigh describes, if they do not at present; for Humboldt thus speaks of them, but only on report, as he did not descend the Oronoke to its outlet: "During the inundation, they sometimes ascend the mauritia palm-tree, and remain on it while it continues, hanging mats on it, which they fill with earth, and kindle, on a layer of moist clay, the fire necessary for their household wants."

Thomson, the elegant poet of the 'Seasons,' has introduced among his descriptions, an account of the singular mode of life of this people in the following lines:

"Wide o'er his isles, the brandling Oronoque
Rovls a brown deluge, and the native drives
To dwell aloft on life-sufficing trees,
At once his dome, his robe, his food, his arms."

It is not necessary for the defence of Raleigh, to inquire whether the accounts he heard of this nation, and which are confirmed by Humboldt, are correct or not. It is sufficient to prove, in his vindication, that they are not his invention, that so distinguished a traveller as the one just mentioned, has repeated the same.

Nor is the mode of life of these Indians, as described by both, without a parallel.

Herrera observes, that at Maracaybo, on the coast of Venezuela, were houses set upon piles in the water, so that boats could pass under them,† and that Balboa observed, on the shores of the Isthmus of Darien, Indians living on trees above the height of the overflowing waters.‡ He states further, that on the South Sea, in the province of New-Grenada, were barbarous people who had their houses on trees, because the country is subject to be overflowed; who, at the proper seasons come down to reap and fish, and returned back to their houses to avoid drowning.§

In the account of the first voyage of discovery, made by Vespucci, there is also mention of a people on the coast of South America, living thus above water. He first saw land on the coast of Brazil, two hundred leagues from Paria, from which he proceeded westward along the coast, often trading, till he came to a place "where he saw a town in the water, much in the same manner as Venice, containing twenty-six large houses, like bells, raised on pillars, with draw-bridges to go from one house to another." It is probable, indeed, these were the Guaranos, who are described as sometimes having their houses on piles, and sometimes living in trees—as this town is said to be eighty leagues from Paria, which agrees with the distance of the Oronoke from it.

* Gumilla, Chap. viii.
† Dec. 6. ch. xxv.
‡ Dec. 6.
§ Dec. 4. ch. i.
Sir Walter Raleigh speaks of the Tibivivas, (or Guaranos,) as for the most part, "makers of canoes, which they sell into Guyana for gold, and into Trinidad for tobacco." The same account is given of them by very recent writers. Dr. Hancock, who resided some time on the Oronoke, in his 'Observations on Guyana,' says:

"They are skillful makers of canoes, which is their principal employment during the recess of the waters. They construct them on the best model for beauty and safety. The pith of the large branches of the mauritia, divided into thin lamina, furnishes them sails, and the fibres of the leaf, materials for ropes. The famed Spanish launches on the Oronoke are made by them." And another writer says, that "from their skill on the water, and their knowledge of its mouths, they are accustomed to hire themselves as sailors in the colonial craft, and constitute a great majority of the crews."

Of the language of this nation, I obtained a vocabulary, taken down by my own hand, which is in the table, Appendix No. III.

A very singular remark is made by Raleigh, respecting this nation, which has not attracted any notice: "The plains of Saymas," (Chaymas, which extend from the Oronoke to Caraccas,) he was informed, "were inhabited by four principal nations: the first, are the Sayma; the second Assawai; the third and greatest, the Wiki; the fourth are called Aro-ras, and are as black as negroes." The Guaranos are called by the Charibees, U-ara-u; and by the European colonists, Worrows; and inhabit not only the islands, but also the adjacent coast. This circumstance mentioned regarding them, is partially confirmed by travellers. Dr. Bancroft, in his History of Guyana, says, "their color is much darker than that of the Charibees." Captain Alexander, in his late Travels, also says, "their color is darker." This was also mentioned to me as a striking peculiarity in their appearance. The relation made by Raleigh, brings to mind a circumstance of which Columbus was informed at Hayti, that black men had come to this island from the south and southwest, the heads of whose javelins were pointed with a sort of metal called guanin. Charlevoix conjectures, that "these black people may have come from the Canaries, or the western coast of Africa." But the southern direction from which it is said they arrived, is at variance with this hypothesis, while it agrees with the residence of the Guaranos; and the metal guanin, is frequently mentioned by the early voyagers, as found among the Indians on the northern coast of South America, and spoken of as an inferior species of gold; but which was a compound metal, consisting of gold, silver and copper.

The following relation made by Sir Walter Raleigh, was calculated still more to represent him as a dealer in fable and romance.

"Next unto Arvi, (a branch of the Oronoke from the south,) there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora; and on that branch which is called Caora,
(the Caura,) are a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders, which, though it may be thought a fable, I am resolved it is true; because every child in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri, affirm the same; they are called Ewaiponama.

"They are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts. The son of Topiawari, (the Charibee chief on the Oronoke,) whom I brought with me into England, told me, that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of Guyana—and when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them; but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces."

Lawrence Keymis, who commanded the second expedition made by him, makes a similar relation. A Charibee captain with whom he conversed, on entering the Oronoke, he observes, "certified me of the headless men; and that their mouths in their breasts are exceeding wide. The name of the nation in the Charibee language, is Chiparemni, and the Guyanians call them Ewaipanomos."

It is this account, no doubt, which led the great dramatist of England, to introduce the following passage in the tragedy of Othello, where the Moor, describing to his fair hearer the hardships he had endured, and the wonders he had seen in his travels, speaks,

"Of the Cannibals, who each other eat,
The Anthropophagi—and of the men whose heads*
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

That Raleigh heard these relations, which is all that is necessary to be proved in regard to his justification, there is, on first view, a decided presumption; for, although in regard to the wealth of Guyana, the great object of his pursuit, he might be led undesignedly to exaggerate, it is wholly improbable he should fabricate so strange a relation, which had no tendency to advance his object; but was rather calculated to injure it, by representing such a deformed nation to be in that region, while it added nothing to the dignity of his narrative, and was altogether uncongenial with his fine genius and elegant taste.

And strange and extraordinary as it is, it is not the first time that wonderful tales have been brought by travellers, from rude and savage nations, which it never has been doubted, were related to them, and the charge of imposture made only against the relators.

Pliny, in his Natural History, lib. vii., has recited the names of a number of nations, in his time, who were said by travellers to be wonderfully deformed. He remarks, India and Ethiopia abound in wonders. Megathenes relates, that in a mountain in India, called Nul, the men have feet turned backward, and eight toes to each foot. Ctesias speaks of several mountains inhabited by men with the head of a dog, covered with the skins of wild beasts, and bark, instead of speaking: also, of a
race of men, who have only one leg, and who leap with surprising agility. They are the neighbors of the Troglodytes; at a little to the west of these are some men without heads, and who have eyes in their shoulders.

These marvels, however, are not related by Pliny alone. Herodotus observes, that the Issidones, who are north of the Scythians, affirm that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins, who are guardians of the gold. In the Scythian tongue, they are called Arimaspians, from arima, the Scythian word for one, and spu—an eye, (Book 4, ch. 28). The same historian repeats, also, the relation of Pliny, of men in Africa, who had the heads of dogs; and of others, who had their mouths in their breasts.” Here, also, he observes, “are the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali, who, if the Libyans may be credited, have their mouths in their breasts.”

In the list of Pliny, it will be seen, is a description of a nation resembling that of which Raleigh has given a relation, viz: “men without heads, and who have eyes in their shoulders,” or the Acephali of Herodotus. Mr. Beloe, the translator of the Greek historian, in a note, observes: “The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboon, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, I can give no better account than by copying the ingenious author of Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans: “There is,” says he, “in Cinnabar, a race of savages who have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial; and to give it to their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, so as to make the vertebra of the neck enter, if we may so say, the channel-bone, (clavicule). These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have the mouth in the breast; and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, be taken to be men without heads.”

If such accounts are related by ancient writers, it is not wholly incredible, that some of a similar kind may be heard among the American Indians; and if Herodotus and Pliny have thought proper to embody them in their history, it is extraordinary, that Sir Walter Raleigh should have been subject to ridicule for having done the same. But that such a report as he has related, is actually spread, even at the present day, in the region which he visited, is moreover established by the highest evidence—that of Humboldt.

“After ascending the Oronoke, beyond the cataract of Maypures,” he observes, “we passed first on the east, the mouth of the Rio Sipapu, called Tipapu by the Indians; and then on the west, the mouth of the Rio Vichadi. The forests of Sipapu are altogether unknown, and there the missionaries place the nation of the Rayas, who have their mouth on the naval. An old Indian, whom we met at Carichana, and who boasted of having often eaten human flesh, had seen these “Acephali” with his

* Terwisteine. 131.
own eyes. These absurd fables are spread as far as the Llanos, where you are not always permitted to doubt the existence of the Raya Indians. (In a note he observes, they are called Raya, on account of the pretended analogy with the fish of that name, the mouth of which seems as if forced below the body.) Beyond the great cataracts an unknown land begins. None of the missionaries who had described the Oronoke before me, had passed the raudal of the Maypures. We found but three Christian settlements above the Great Cataracts along the shores of the Oronoke, in an extent of more than a hundred leagues; and these three establishments contained scarcely six or eight white persons, that is to say, persons of European race. We cannot be surprised that such a desert region should have been, at all times, the classical soil of fable and fairy visions. It is there that grave missionaries have placed nations, with one eye on the forehead, the head of a dog, or the mouth below the stomach. It is there they have found all that the ancients relate of the Arimaspes and the Hyperboreans. It would be an error to suppose that these simple and rustic missionaries had themselves invented all these exaggerated fictions. They derived them, in a great, part from the recitals of the Indians. These tales of travellers and of monks, increase in improbability in proportion as you increase your distance from the forests of the Oronoke, and approach the coasts inhabited by the whites. When at Cumana, New-Barcelona, and other seaports which have frequent communication with the missions, you betray any incredulity, you are reduced to silence by these few words: "The Fathers have seen it—but far above the great cataracts."

The report of the existence of such a nation may have originated in a custom practiced by some Indians, similar to that of the people of Cinabar; for Ciesca, an early traveller, speaks of it as found in the provinces of Cali and Quimboya, in New-Grenada, west of the Andes, "where they shape the child's head when first it is born, as they please, so that some have no nape of the neck; others the forehead sunk; others very long; which they do with little bands, when they are just born."

But it is for the account Sir Walter Raleigh has given of a nation of female warriors, existing on the river Amazon, that he has been principally charged by his detractors with gross credulity, as a dealer in fable and romance, or with sheer imposture. This account is as follows: "I made inquiry among the most ancient and best-travelled of the Oronikponi," (the name which the Charibees, the principal nation on the Oronoke, gave themselves,) "respecting the warlike women, and will relate what I was informed of as truth about them, by a Cacique who said he had been on that river, (the Amazon,) and beyond it also. Their country is on the south side of the river, in the province of Tobago, and their chief places are in the islands on the south side of it, some sixty leagues from the mouth, (of the river Tobago.) They accompany with men, once in a

* Travels in South America, by Peter de Ciesca.
year, for a month, which is in April. The Kings of the Borderers assemble, and the Queens of the Amazons, who first choose their companions, and then the rest cast lots for their valentines. The whole month is spent in feasting, dancing, and drinking; at the end of which, they all depart to their homes. Children born of these alliances, if males, they send them to their fathers; if daughters, they take care of them and bring them up. But that they cut off the right breast, I do not find to be true. I was informed, that if in their wars they took any prisoners, they also accompanied with them for a time, but in the end certainly killed them; for they are said to be very cruel and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. They have also a great quantity of those plates of gold, which are in the form of crescents; which they obtain in exchange for a certain kind of green stones, which the Spaniards call piedras hijados, and we use for spleen-stones.*

In regard to this account, it is to be observed, in the first place, that whether true or false, Raleigh does not express a belief of it. He seems rather to guard against this being implied, by his observing, “that on this subject I will deliver what has been told me.” And it is extraordinary, that he should have been subject to so much censure and ridicule, for publishing relations of this kind, which he had heard from Indians on the Oronoke, as if he were the only one who had ever stated the existence of them in South America. But such reports are almost coeval with the discovery of America. The name of the largest river in the southern continent, I have observed before, derives its name from an account brought by Orellana, its discoverer, of having met with such a nation on its banks. I have related by what circumstances he was induced to leave Pizarro, whom he had accompanied, in his search for El Dorado; that after separating from him, he descended the river Napo, which falls into the Amazon; and at the mouth of it came to a town, where the principal men were dressed in gold plates and jewels. Herrera, from whom the account of his voyage down the Amazon is taken, gives the following particulars learned by him, respecting the existence of such a nation on its banks. He mentions that Orellana heard of it first, at this town, at the mouth of the Napo; that F. Gaspar de Carvajal, who was present, relates, that one of the Caciques “gave information of the Amazons, and of the great wealth that was farther down.” Leaving this town, he proceeded two hundred and twenty leagues, when he came to another town on the same side of the river—none having been seen before—and afterward to another on the opposite side. Proceeding thus in sight of good towns, the next day four canoes came to the boat, offering provisions. They invited him to see their lord, whose name was Apuria, and said, that if they were going to see the Amazons, whom he called Coniapuyara, signifying Great Ladies, they were too few, those women being very numerous. Orellana proceeded down the river about

five hundred leagues farther, when he landed at a place where the Indians defended themselves with large bucklers; and presently after, on the left hand he saw another river, emptying into the great one, the water of which was as black as ink. (From the distance he had run, and the color of the river, this must be the Rio Negro.) Proceeding on, he passed between very large towns and provinces, taking in provisions. At one town he took an Indian, who said that the Amazons were ladies of the place; and they found a house there, in which were garments made of feathers of various colors, which the Indians wore at their festivals, to dance in. Orellana held on his way, passing through a well-peopled country, stopping occasionally, and meeting with no annoyance from the natives. He then came to a place where the Indians, when he offered them toys by way of barter, made a jest of them; on which he ordered the vessels to steer to the place, and the Indians there shot such a flight of arrows, that they wounded five of the Spaniards, and on their landing fought furiously; which F. Carjaval says, they did as being tributaries of the Amazons; and that he and all the rest saw ten or twelve of them fighting like commanders before the men, so desperately, that these Indians durst not turn their backs; and if any one happened to run away, they beat them to death with cudgels. These women appeared to them very tall, strong-limbed and fair; their hair long, wound about their heads in tresses, stark naked, carrying bows and arrows;—seven or eight of whom the Spaniards killed, upon which the Indians fled. Orellana then passed through a country which he called the province of St. John, extending one hundred and fifty leagues along the coast. Having passed it, he went to rest in a wood of oaks, where he asked a prisoner he had, many questions; and was informed by him, that the country was subject to women, who lived like Amazons, and were very rich in gold and silver, and had five temples of the Sun, plated with gold, the structures of stone; their cities walled; and so many other particulars, says Herrera, that I neither dare believe nor report them.*

But Orellana is not the only one who has given an account of the existence of such a nation on the Amazon, or its vicinity. Reports of a similar kind have been repeated by a succession of voyagers down this river at great intervals of time, and assigning nearly the same locality to it. About the same time, a very positive relation of them came from the Spanish territories, south of the Amazon. In 1541, Cabeza de Vega ascended the Paragua, and marched into the country toward Peru, in search of gold. He had sent before him Hernando de Ribeiro, with fifty-two men, in a brigantine, to the lake Xarayes, to make inquiries of the country farther on, and explore the waters. This lake, which, like that of Parima, is a tract of country periodically inundated, is placed between twenty and fifteen degrees of south latitude, and east of the country of the Moxos in Peru. Ribeiro set out on the twentieth December, in a brigan-

* Herrera, Dec. 4. book 6. ch. xii.
ORELLANA'S ACCOUNT.

tine, to the nation of the Xarayes, and was eighteen days going to them. When he arrived there, the chief came out and received him hospitably, and asked what he was in pursuit of; and he answered, gold and silver. Upon this, the chief gave him a few silver trifles and a little plate of gold, saying this was all he had, and he had won it of the Amazons—that it was a two months' journey to them, and to reach them then, would be impossible, as the country was inundated. This he did not regard; but, obtaining from the chief, some Indians to carry the baggage of his company, he set out on his march, and eight days they travelled through water up to their middle. They came to the Siberis, a tribe having the same language and customs as the Xarayes, who told them they would have four days more to travel through water, and then five by land, when they would reach the Urtueses. They proceeded, and on the ninth day came to this nation, who told them it was a month's journey to the land of the Amazons, and still through floods. But here they found an insuperable obstacle. The locusts had for two succeeding years devoured everything in the country, and plague had followed the famine which they occasioned. No food was to be had. Here some Indians of the adjoining tribes came. They wore coronets after the fashion of Peru, and plates of a metal, which, in Ribeira's report, is called chafalonía. Of these people, the Spaniards renewed their inquiries respecting the Amazons. Ribeiro solemnly swears, that they told him of a nation of women, governed by a woman, and so warlike as to be dreaded by all their neighbors; they possessed plenty, both of the white and yellow metal; their seats and all the utensils in their houses were made of them. They lived on the western side of a large lake, which they called the Mansion of the Sun, because the sun sunk into it.*

Another confirmation of the account of Orellana, was given by D'Acugna, who, a century after him, in 1639, descended the Amazon from Peru, in search of the country of gold, or El Dorado, as I have already related, and who expresses his belief, in the most positive manner, in the existence of this community of female warriors.

"The proofs," he remarks, "that give assurance that there is a province of the Amazons on the banks of this river, are so strong and convincing, that it would be renouncing moral certainty to scruple giving credit to it. I do not build upon the solemn examinations of the sovereign court of Quito, in which many witnesses were heard, who were born in these parts, and lived there a long time, and who, of all matters relating to the countries bordering on Peru, as one of the principal, particularly affirmed that one of the provinces near the Amazon is peopled with a sort of warlike women, who live together and maintain their government alone, without the company of men; but at certain seasons of the year, seek their society to perpetuate their race. Nor will I insist on other information, obtained in the new kingdom of Grenada, in the

*Southey's Hist. of Brazil, ch. vi. pp. 156–158.
EL DORADO.

royal city of Pasto, where several Indians were examined; but I cannot conceal what I have heard with my own ears, and concerning the truth of which, I have been making inquiries from my first embarking on the Amazon; and am compelled to say, that I have been informed at all the Indian towns in which I have been, that there are such women in the country, and every one gave me an account of them by marks so exactly agreeing with that which I received from others, that it must needs be that the greatest falsehood in the world passes throughout all America for one of the most certain histories. But the most distinct information of the province where they reside, and their customs, was obtained in the last village which makes their frontier town, between them and the Tupinambas. (The Tupinambas inhabit an island, which commences about two degrees below Rio Negro.) Thirty-six leagues below their last village, as you descend the river, another stream enters it from the north side, which comes from the very province of the Amazons; which river is called Cunuris, from the Indians who dwell upon it nearest its mouth. Above them on it, are the Apotoos; next to them, are the Tagaris; and above these, are the Guacares, who are the people that have intercourse with these valiant women. These women are very courageous, and have always maintained themselves alone, without the help of men. When their neighbors visit them at a time appointed by them, they receive them with their bows and arrows in their hands, and exercise them as if about to engage with enemies; but, knowing their object, they lay them down and receive them as their guests, who remain with them a few days. They never fail to make this visit once a year, at an appointed time. The children that are born from this yearly intercourse, if girls, are brought up by the mothers, and instructed by them in the use of arms, as well as inured to labor. As to the male children, it is not certain what they do with them. I saw an Indian, who told me that, when he was a child, he accompanied his father on one of these visits, and assured me that they gave their male children to their fathers on the next occasion of their visiting them. But the common report is, that they kill all their males as soon as they are born."

Another account of them was given by F. Cyprian Bazarre, a Jesuit missionary, at the close of the seventeenth century. He performed his labors among the Tapacuras, who formerly were part of the nation of the Moxos; but dissensions among them induced them to separate and remove to a country about twenty leagues distant, toward a long chain of mountains—through whom he obtained some knowledge of the Amazons. They all informed him, that eastward was a nation of warlike women, who, at certain seasons of the year, admitted men among them, and killed all the males who were born, but brought up the females with the utmost care, and inured them early to the toils of war. The country where this writer was informed they were, to the eastward of the Moxos, was in the

direction in which Ribeiro, from the information he received, sought them from Paraguay.

The voyage made by Condamine down the Amazon, in 1744 and 1745, furnished another strong confirmation of the existence of such a community in South America. "He interrogated, he observes, in the course of his voyage, everywhere, Indians of different nations, and all told him that they had heard their fathers speak of them, adding a thousand particulars, all tending to establish the fact of there being in South America a republic of women, living without men; and that they have removed to the north by the Rio Negro, or by some other northern branch of the Amazon. . . . An Indian of St. Joachim told him, that he should, perhaps, find at Coari an old man, whose father had seen the Amazons. He learnt at Coari that he was dead; but he spoke to his son Punilha, who appeared seventy years of age, and who commanded the other Indians of the same village. He assured him, that his grandfather had actually seen these women pass the mouth of the river Cuchivara; that they came from the mouth of the Cayamé, on the south side, between Tefe and Coari; that he spoke to four of them, one of whom had a child at the breast, and mentioned the name of each of them. He added, that in leaving Cuchivara, they crossed the Grand river and passed up the Rio Negro. Below Coari, the Indians everywhere told him the same things, with some variety in the circumstances, but all agreed in the principal point. Among the Topayos, he found certain green stones, known by the name of the Amazon stone; and they told him they inherited them of their fathers, and that those had them of the cougnan tainse couma; that is to say, in their language, women without husbands, among whom, they add, they are found in great quantity.

Thirty years after Condamine, (in 1774,) M. Ribeiro, a Portuguese astronomer, who traversed the Amazon and the tributary streams which run into it on the north side, confirmed, on the spot, all that he had advanced.† He found a man who well remembered Punilha, who said that "he had heard the same account from him, (and he was a native of Cuchivara,) and affirmed that it was a received tradition there, that they had passed that place on their way to the north, as Condamine was informed." These accounts Ribeiro collected with so much more impartiality, as he expressly avows his disbelief of the existence of such a community in South America.‡

The account which Condamine gives of their having passed to the north, is confirmed by other travellers. D'Acugna, it has been seen, speaks of there being in his time, in the country north of the Amazon, on the river Cunuris, at the head of which are the Guacares, who are the nation that have intercourse with them. It is remarkable that Sir Walter Raleigh says, "there is a province in Guyana called Cunuris, which is governed by a woman." A more recent writer, Gili, a missionary on

* Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits.  † Humboldt's Pers. Nar.  ‡ Southey's Hist. of Brazil.
the Orinoco, cited by Humboldt, makes the following most positive statement on this subject: "Upon inquiring of a Quaqua Indian, what Indians inhabited the Cuchivero, he named to me the Achirigotoas, the Pajuroas, and the Aikeambenanoes. Well acquainted with the Tamanac tongue, I instantly comprehended the sense of this last word, which is a compound, and signifies women living alone. The Indian confirmed my observation, and related that the Aikeambenanoes were a community of women, who fabricated long sarbacans and other weapons of war. They admit, once a year, the men of the neighboring nation of Vokearoes into their society, and send them back with presents of sarbacans. All the male children born in this horde of women, are killed in their infancy."]

These Vokearoes are, perhaps, the Guacares of D'Acugna.

It thus appears that the relation made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his Narrative, of a report existing in South America, of a nation of female warriors there, has been confirmed in the ampest manner by various voyagers on the Amazon; and by a missionary on the Orinoco, the river on which he obtained his information. It appears, also, that Condamine, one of the relatres, places them in the same locality which he gives to them. "Their country," says Raleigh, "is on the south side of a river in the province of Tobago. They have a great quantity of plates of gold, which they obtain in exchange for certain green stones, which the Spaniards call piedras hijadas, or spleen-stones." And Condamine remarks, "among the Topayos, (the river Topayos, which gives name to the people, falls into the Amazon on the south side, one hundred and fifty leagues above Para,) he found certain green stones, known by the name of the Amazon stone; and that they had them of the Cougnantainsecouma, or women without husbands, among whom they are found in great quantity." Ribeiro, also, in his journey from Paraguay, was informed by the Xarayes, among whom he saw plates of gold, that "they obtained them from the Amazons:" and Raleigh says, "the Amazons received these plates of gold in exchange for their green stones."

* Humboldt's Pers. Nar.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUBJECT OF THE AMAZONS CONTINUED—RELATIONS HEARD BY THE AUTHOR IN GUYANA, RESPECTING THEM—OPINIONS OF DIFFERENT WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT—ACCOUNT OF THE GREEN STONES, THEIR PECULIAR ORNAMENT—PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THIS NATION.

The reader will, I have no doubt, be desirous to know, whether in Guyana—a country which the Oronoke and Amazon border, and into which such reports, if they existed, would unavoidably spread—they have at any time been heard. The subject did not escape my attention during my residence there, and I will state, with the utmost exactness, all that I learned on the subject. In perusing the Narrative of Raleigh, the extraordinary relation made by him, now under consideration, did not, at first, receive from me more than a passing notice; having adopted the opinion of others, that it was a marvellous tale of the Indians, which he too readily believed. None of the relations of a similar kind, by other travellers in South America, which have been mentioned, had been seen by me—although I was aware that Orellana had given the name of Amazon to the river discovered by him, from having heard, as he relates, that such a nation was upon it. At that time, however, I had in my possession the voyage of Condamine; and in perusing it, was much struck with the positive manner in which he states having received accounts in various quarters of the existence of such a community on that river or its vicinity, and particularly, with the following passage, in which he assigns a locality to it, different from that before given.

"An Indian of Mortigura, a mission near Para, offered to show him a river, by which he said 'one might ascend to a small distance of the country inhabited by the Amazons,' which he called 'the Irijo,' and which empties into the Atlantic, between Macapa and the North Cape, (this is a part of the coast between the Amazon and Cayenne;) and an old soldier of the garrison at Cayenne, who was then living near the falls of the river Oyapoke, assured him that a detachment to which he belonged, sent into the interior to explore the country, in 1726, penetrated among the Amicuanes, or nation with long ears, who dwell above the sources of the Oyapoke, and near those of another river which passes into the Amazon; and that there they had seen on the necks of their wives and daughters, the same green stones of which I have spoken; and having asked the Indians where they obtained them, they answered, that 'they came from the women who had no husbands, and whose country was seven or eight days farther to the west.'"
"All these testimonies, and others, that I have omitted," adds Condamine, "as well as those of which mention is made, in the informations made in 1726, and since by two Spanish Governors of the province of Venezuela, (Don Diego Portales and Don Francisco Torralva,) agree, in substance, upon the fact of the existence of these Amazons; but, what deserves not less attention, is, that while these different relations designate the retreat of the Amazons, some toward the east, some toward the north, and others toward the west—all these different directions meet in one centre, which is the mountains in the interior of Guyana; and in a district where neither the Portuguese of Para, nor the French of Cayenne, have hitherto penetrated.*

This account, pointing to a country in which I was then residing, could not fail strongly to arrest my attention, and to lead me to make some inquiries on that subject, when a favorable opportunity occurred. The first which presented itself, was in the interview which I had with Mahanerwa, the Charibee chief, at the head of the Essequibo river, and none could be more suitable. The branch of the Charibees to which he belonged, he informed me, are the Teyrous (Tairas,) of Cayenne. He had a son living there, and a communication is maintained between the Charibees of that country and those on the Essequibo. I inquired of him whether he had ever heard of such a nation, to which he replied, as follows: "He had not seen them, but had heard his father and others speak of them. That they live on the Wasa. Their place of abode is surrounded with large rocks, and the entrance is through a rock. That when in their journeys they capture a man, they convey him home, and shut him up in a cabin, before the door of which they place a heap of sand, that it may be known if any one has entered it. If they discover him with a woman they kill him. That the Charibees on the river Mariwin are those who associate with them, whose name is Teyrous, (the branch to which his family belong.*)"

This relation of the Charibee chief is extremely interesting. The situation of the river Wasa I did not inquire of him, but I was aware that it must be in Cayenne, from the Mariwin being stated to be near it. On examining, afterward, a map of Guyana, I found the river Ouassa (according to the French orthography,) to be actually a branch of the Oyapoke, on which river it was that the old soldier, who gave Condamine information of the Amazons, resided; and who said they lived seven or eight days' journey west from the Amiouanes, or nation with long ears, who dwell above the sources of it.

This nation, among whom the veteran saw the green stones, which the women without husbands wore, and who obtained them from them, it appears, from the account of Harcourt's voyage to this river in 1608, were Charibees; and who also states, that there was a great number of this great-eared nation on the Mariwin—and, again, that most of the Indians on this river were Charibees.† The account of Condamine thus agrees

*C Condamine, pp. 102—103.
† Purchas's Coll., Book VI., ch. xvi., p. 105.
with the relation of Mahanerwa, that the Charibees of the Mariwin are the Indians who associate with the women without husbands. The sources of this river are in the same mountainous country in the interior of Cayenne, as those of the Oyapoke; but by the turning of the coast, while the Mariwin flows from south to north, the Oyapoke runs from southwest to northeast.

Arewya, the son-in-law of Mahanerwa, in a separate conversation I had with him, also said he had heard of this nation; that the Charibees of Cayenne are the Indians with whom they associate, who visit them one by one; that the entrance to their country is through an arched rock. I give this relation as I heard it. In the words of Martyr, I say, "hec dant hec acciptio." But, although not vouching for its truth, I think it proper to add the following passage from the Mariwin Inquirer: "The passage to the head of the Mariwin, from the men with long ears, (which is the thirteenth town from the mouth,) is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concave rocks, wherein harbor bats of an unreasonable bigness, which, with their claws and wings, do wound the passengers shrewdly; yea, and oftentimes deprive them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very dark, for the rocks are close about and fashioned like an Indian house,) they are forced to make great fires in their canoes, and put over their heads some of their crab-baskets, to defend them from the force of their claws and wings."* On my return to the post, I conversed on the subject with the Indian agent, and he said there was certainly such a nation in the interior of British Guyana, within the limits of his agency, and that he once made a report of them to the Governor of the colony, and the number was about five hundred. His wife, who was present, added an account she had received of them from a Macoussie Indian, describing them, with many particulars, but much in the same manner as other accounts of the Amazons, and who said their abode was at the sources of the Mazerouni, which are in the mountains of Parima. These accounts place them in a different locality. On passing down the river, I stopped at the plantation of Mr. De G——, protector of the Indians—whose testimony I have once or twice produced on other subjects—and on stating to him what had been told me, and inquiring his opinion respecting it, he said he had been informed by an Indian, that such a nation exists somewhere in the interior of Cayenne; that they are visited by men once a year; their country is surrounded with rocks, and the entrance to it by a stream through an opening in them, by which you pass into a wide open country. This relation conforms to that heard by Condamine, and that given to me by the Charibee chief.

I omit several other accounts I received of this nation, and will only mention the two following:

A native of the country, partly of Indian extraction, residing on the Demerara river stated to me positively that such a people existed; that

* Furtellas, Book 5, ch. xvii.
the brother of the relater had been to them many times, and once brought from them a green stone three inches in length; that their name is Wirisamoca; they work their own grounds, shoot the bow and arrow, and use the blow-pipe, (sarbacan;) hold no intercourse with other Indians; their male infants they kill. They told him to tell the men of his nation and other Indians, that they might visit them once a year, but not more than twenty at a time.

This account, it will be perceived, remarkably coincides with the relations generally given of this community. But the most interesting fact in it is the name Wirisamoca, by which they are called, which was not translated for me; but having previously made a vocabulary of the Chari-bee language, I found that woroe, or wooresan, as I spelt the word, signified in it women. In one prepared by Biet, in Cayenne, I find aunig to signify alone, and from the various modes in which a word is pronounced by different branches of this nation, amoc or amoca may be the same word; and thus Wirisamoca would signify women alone, which is the same meaning as Aikeambenanoes, the name in the Tamanae tongue by which, Gili says, the Amazons, on the Cuchivero, are called. The particular locality of the Wirisamocas I did not inquire, but from the circumstance stated, that they use the blow-pipe, or sarbacan, it seems probable that it is in the mountains of Parima; for these instruments are all obtained from the Macoussies, one of the tribes there, who are the sole manufacturers of them in British Guyana. This locality would agree with that mentioned to me as their residence at the Indian post, on the Essequibo.

The other account, which I will relate, was received from a very different source. Subsequent to this time, I was informed there was in the possession of a gentleman of Demerara, a journal made by a person who had resided some time in the far interior of the colony, among the Indian nations. I was desirous of seeing it, not with the least reference to the present subject, but from a wish generally to obtain some information of that unknown region. He was by name James Glenn, a native of Scotland, and who had been a non-commissioned officer in the British army. He appears to have had some advantages of education, and had a taste for natural history. His journal is interspersed with remarks on subjects relating to it, and it was from that I obtained the Indian names for twenty-nine species of honey-bees in Guyana, which I have mentioned in my remarks on lake Parima. Of this journal I had only a hasty perusal, on a visit I made to the gentleman who had it, and made but a few extracts from it. The following remarks respecting the Indians, which I took from it, I have thought worth presenting here, as connected with the fact I have just related, and as exhibiting the character of the writer. I copy them literally.

“Of every circumstance attending these nations, nothing strikes me with more wonder and admiration than the difference of language; for most of them are radically and essentially different even from their next neighbors, with whom they associate. Now, as to invent a language
exceeds the powers of the human mind, a question here naturally arises, from whence comes this variety and difference of languages among tribes totally ignorant of letters? for there is not an animal, vegetable, mineral, or meteor that they have not a name for; if not a specific or distinct name, yet a name for the genus or kinds;—but I defy Linnaeus or his disciples to specify animals, especially, more particularly and descriptive, than many, perhaps all, of these nations do. Europeans, or civilized nations, fall very far short of these Indian nations in this important article of natural history; that is, so far as their own clime and soil presents to their observation and experience."

Another extract, which I made from his journal, was the following "List of nations which inhabit Guyana:"

"On all the rivers emptying into the Atlantic, are the Warow, Arro-wack, Charibes, Ackoways, and several branches of the last. On the Oronoke, Mahanaos, Maipurian, Wyado, Dobuli, (Charibes,) Arawyaddo, Akuriya, Kamoya, Waiki, Waikiri, Karianna."

He then mentions the following nations as belonging to the Essequibo, by which, from comparing his list with other accounts, and his mentioning some on other rivers, he must mean those which are nearer to it than the Oronoke.

"Paramuna, branches of Ackoways.
Kanaranai, Yakanaiaama, on the Parima.
Macoussie.
Atorays.
Arekuna, branch of Macoussies.
Wapesana.
Sapora, on the Parima.
Quarin.
Uresan.
Quabianotto, (Portuguese) on the Karibis.
Itali.
Piannakotto, on the Karibisse, branch of the Corentiu.
Karayou.
Makei."

After this list, he makes the following remarks:
"The last thirteen are mountaineers, dwelling in far among the high and rocky inlands.
"Urisan and Utili, do never go to war. All the rest are warlike nations.
"The Querin dwell on the very highest mountains; are large and tall men, but hospitable and kind to friends.
"The Urisan are all women—use bow and arrow like the other Indians. Their male infants they kill."

This passage, giving unexpectedly a further account of the nation of female warriors, greatly surprised me; and the interest it produced, was
increased by the fact, that Urisan is, in the Charibee language, as I have already observed, women; and this, the writer does not appear to be aware of. This nation is also introduced in the list in a simple, artless manner, without any reference to the reported Amazons. As it cannot be supposed, therefore, that the name he gives to them was invented by him, the conclusion seems to be unavoidable—whether he saw the Urisans, or gives an account of them only on hearsay—that a nation denominated "the women," which must denote a community consisting entirely of females, was spoken of in that region by the Indians, as one of the tribes inhabiting it.

In regard to their locality, it corresponds with that which was given to me at the Indian post, as the residence of "the women without husbands."

A serious difficulty, however, exists, in crediting this and the other accounts which place this nation of "women alone" in the mountains of Parima, that Mahanerwa, the Charibee chief, did not mention them to me. This may perhaps be removed by the fact stated by James Glenn, that they dwell in "far among the high and rocky inlands;" and it is evident, that the Charibee chief had no particular curiosity regarding "the Amazons;" for, although he heard from his father of such a nation being in Cayenne, who associated with the same branch of the Charibees to which his family belonged, yet it appears he never made any inquiries about them.

The different locations assigned to "the Amazons," by the several relations I have given—part placing them in the interior of Cayenne, and another in the mountains of Parima—is also a difficulty to overcome in crediting them. The discrepancy might produce a hesitation which to adopt, or lead to a conclusion that none of them should be relied on. As my purpose is not to prove the existence of such a community, but in justification of Raleigh, to show that relations to that effect are heard in Guyana—which has, I believe, been fully accomplished—the determination of these questions I might leave to the reader. I may add, however, that perhaps the nation related as being on the Oyapoke, in Cayenne, has removed, or, it is possible there may be two nations or companies of "the Amazons." From the explicit and decided testimony of Condamine, so particularly confirmed by the Charibee chief, it seems that it cannot be doubted, if such a nation exists anywhere, it is to be found in the interior of Cayenne—unless it has removed; for this chief only spoke of them as existing there in the time of his father. But Gili, a missionary, heard of a nation of the same kind, on the Cuchi-vero, a branch of the Oronoke, and expresses his entire belief in its existence: and the learned author of Mithridates, thinks his testimony too strong to be rejected. May not the latter tribe have passed across Guyana to the region of Parima? I have shown that several nations of the Oronoke, are probably now between the sources of the Branco and Essequibo. It is remarkable that the circumstance mentioned of the Wirisamocas, that they use long sarbacans, is also related of the
Aikeambenanoes of Gili. Condamine also speaks of two branches, one of whom as living at the sources of the Oyapoke, and the other as having crossed the river Amazon, and gone up the Rio Negro.

In regard to the opinions which have been entertained by others, on the general subject of the existence of such a nation in South America, it has been seen that Orellana, D'Acugna, and Condamine, not only in the most positive manner state that they heard accounts of the kind over and over again, but likewise avow their full belief in them. The latter, in addition to what I have before cited from him, remarks: "I am well aware that the Indians of South America are great falsifiers, credulous, fond of the marvellous; but none of them had ever heard of the ancient Amazons of Diodorus and Justin—and this nation of women without husbands, was spoken of, among the Indians of South America, before the Spaniards had penetrated there—and it has been mentioned since among those who had never before seen Europeans, as is shown by the advice given by the Cacique to Orellana, as well as the traditions reported by D'Acugna and Baraze. Can it be believed, that savages of countries the most distant from each other, should have concurred in imagining the same fact, without any foundation for it; and that this pretended fable should have been adopted so uniformly, and so universally at Maynas, at Para, at Cayenne, and at Venezuela, among so many nations, and who have no intercourse together?"*

Other writers, who have commented on the testimonies produced by these voyagers, have likewise given their assent to the conclusions they have drawn from them. Professor Vater, in his learned work Mithridates, inclines to the belief of the "Solle Donne," of Gili; as he thinks his testimony is one which is not to be disregarded. Carli, an Italian writer, who has attentively examined American Antiquities, does not hesitate to express his entire belief in the existence of such a community. Southey, in his History of Brazil, thus expresses himself on the subject: "The testimony of Orellana and his Dominican vouchers, might be doubted; but there is not the least reason for doubting the veracity of Acugna. He certainly heard what he has related. When Condamine came down the same river, in 1743, he omitted no opportunity of inquiring into the truth of the story. From all the various tribes along its course, he heard the same story, and all agreed that these women had retired up the country by the Rio Negro, or one of the streams which flowed in the same direction. These accounts agreed, from whatever quarter they came, in placing the Amazons in the heart of South America—which no Europeans had, at any time, explored. Other accounts, obtained afterwards, by two of the Governors of Venezuela, point to the same centre. The reports which the Spaniards heard in Paraguay, assigned them a very different situation; but it must be remembered, that if they removed from that situation to the country which has since been represented as their abode, Cochinvara, where they are so positively

* Condamine, p. 109.
said to have been, is in the direct line of their emigration. The evidence in favor of the existence of this race of warlike women, is too strong and coherent to be lightly disbelieved. Had we never heard of the Amazons of antiquity, I should, without hesitation, believe in those of America. Their existence is not the less likely for that reason; and yet it must be admitted, that the probable truth is made to appear suspicious by its resemblance to a known fable." This opinion of the celebrated writer, is entitled to greater weight, as it was prompted by no partiality to Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as has been seen, has received from him unqualified censure, in regard to his account of El Dorado.

Another eminent writer, Humboldt, on a review of all the testimony on the subject, which had been published, has expressed a similar opinion; which was not seen by me until two years after I received, in Guyana, the relations I have given.

"We found," he observes, "in the possession of the Indians of the Rio Negro, some of those green stones, known by the name of the Amazon stones—because the natives pretend, according to an ancient tradition, that they came from the country of the women without husbands, (Coug-nan-tainse-couma,*) or women living alone, (Aikeambenano.*) The history of the jade, or green stones of Guyana, is intimately connected with that of the warlike women, whom the travellers of the sixteenth century named the Amazons of the New World. M. de la Condamine has produced many testimonies in favor of this tradition. Since my return from the Oronoke and the river Amazon, I have often been asked, at Paris, whether I embraced the opinion of that learned man. This is the place for me to express myself with frankness, on a tradition which has so romantic an appearance—and I am farther led to do this, by M. de la Condamine's assertion, that the Amazons of the river Cayenne, crossed the Maragnon to establish themselves on the Rio Negro. A taste for the marvellous, together with a wish to adorn the descriptions of the new Continent with some features drawn from classic antiquity, has, no doubt, contributed to give great importance to the first narratives of Orellana.

Sir Walter Raleigh had a less poetic aim. He sought to fix the attention of Queen Elizabeth on the great empire of Guyana, the conquest of which he proposed to the Government. He gave the description of the rising of that gilded King, (El Dorado,) whose chamberlains, furnished with long sarsbacans, blew powdered gold every morning on his body, after having rubbed it over with aromatic oils; but nothing could be better adapted to strike the imagination of Queen Elizabeth, than the warlike republic of women, without husbands, who resisted the Castillian heroes. I point out the motives which led those writers, who have given most reputation to the Amazons of America, to exaggerate; but these motives do not, I think, suffice, for rejecting a tradition entirely, which is spread among various nations who have no communication with each other. The testimonies collected by M. de la Condamine, are very

* Of Condamine
† Of Gili.
VARIOUS TESTIMONIES.

He has published them in detail, and I have a pleasure in adding, that if this traveller has passed in France and England for a man whose curiosity was most constantly awake, he is considered in Quito—in the country he described—as the traveller who has adhered most steadfastly to truth. Thirty years after M. de la Condamine, a Portuguese astronomer, M. Riberio, who has traversed the Amazon and the tributary streams which run into that river on the northern side, has confirmed, on the spot, all that the learned Frenchman had advanced. He found the same traditions among the Indians; and he collected them with so much the greater impartiality, as he did not himself believe that the Amazons formed a separate horde. Not knowing anything of the tongues spoken on the Oronoke and the Rio Negro, I could learn nothing certain on the popular traditions of women without husbands, and on the origin of the green stones. I shall, however, recite a testimony of some weight, that of Father Gili, (which I have already related.) What must we conclude from the narrative of the ancient missionary of Encaramada? not that there are Amazons, on the banks of the Cuchivero, but that women in different parts of America, wearied with the state of slavery in which they were held by the men, united themselves together like the fugitive negroes in a palenque, (staccado;) that the desire of preserving their independence, rendered them warriors; and that they received visits from a neighboring and friendly horde, perhaps a little less methodically than tradition relates.” [Pers. Nar., vol. 5.]

In the remarks made in the above extract, on Sir Walter Raleigh, it is seen that Humboldt imputes to him a desire to exaggerate in the account he has given of this community. But I think it will appear on a more attentive examination, to be the most simple, artless, and unprejudiced of all the different narratives that have been made. No embellishment, or coloring, is given to it, no desire to assimilate them to the Amazons of antiquity. On the contrary, Raleigh expressly disclaims the resemblance, adding: “that they cut off the right breast, I do not find to be true.” And so far from expressing his positive belief in their existence, he merely states, that he relates what he had heard. “I made inquiry among the most ancient and best-travelled of the Oronokoponi, respecting these women, and will relate what I was informed of as truth about them, by a Cacique.”

Numerous, however, as the testimonies may be, in favor of a supposed fact, its character may be such as to give it so great a degree of improbability, that doubt will still attend it. The object of this examination being only to show that such relations have been made, and not to verify them—which it is believed has been sufficiently attained in the remarks already made—I might here close the subject; but still it may be a matter of curiosity to inquire, whether the existence of such a community is so improbable, that no amount of evidence will render it credible; or whether there are any circumstances which may have given rise to it. In examining this subject, we are to view this nation as they are generally
represented by those who have spoken of it, divested of appendages which some have added to it—probably to assimilate them to the ancient Amazons—such as that of cutting off the right breast, and their living in a state of perfect separation from the other sex, and not that they associated with them only at periodical seasons.

From the latter circumstance, attributed to them, Ribeiro, the Portuguese astronomer, who has himself collected testimonies in support of their reality, considers the whole as a fable. He maintains, that no community of women could possibly be induced to live apart from men. But to this, Southey replies: "He must have studied history and observed mankind to little purpose, who has not learned, that political institutions, whatever may be their power of exalting human nature, are capable of moulding, perverting, and even extinguishing, its instincts. The argument also, if it were true—which I absolutely deny—would apply to the nunneries of his own nation—not to the Amazons who had, like birds, their yearly mating time."

The account given by most of those who have spoken of them, is simply this. There is on the river Amazon, or in Guyana, a nation of women, who use the bow and arrow, and other warlike weapons—cultivate their grounds, and live separate from the other sex; but are visited annually by the males of some particular tribe, with whom they associate; and that the daughters born, are brought up by them. In regard to the sons, the relations vary; some saying they are killed, others, that they are given to their fathers.

In regard to the different circumstances mentioned in this relation, some of them it will not be difficult to suppose real. 1. As to the warlike character of these females. This there can be no difficulty in giving credit to. Abundant testimonies can be produced to show, that this was the character of females in various nations of the new hemisphere. Columbus, on his second voyage of discovery, encountered at St. Croix a canoe, in which, among the Indians, were some women, who fought as well as the men. And at Guadaloupe, he saw on the beach an array of armed females, prohibiting his landing. Of these islands, and others inhabited by the same nation, Martyr remarks; "Both sexes possess great power, from the use of the bow and poisoned arrows. When their husbands are at any time absent from their homes, their wives protect themselves from injurious aggressions, in a manly manner."* The females of the continental Charibees, possessed the same character. The same writer observes, "in the bloody struggles which they made against the Spaniards, the women, after the death of their husbands, defended themselves with such desperation that they were taken for Amazons."† I was informed, on the Essequibo river, that in the wars which the Charibees of that river formerly carried on, their wives accompanied them, and not only used the bow and arrow, but also the war-club.

* Herrera, Dec. 3.
† Herrera, Dec. 1, book iii., ch. i.
2. In regard to their cultivation of the ground. To this employment, females universally, among the native tribes both of North and South America, are trained. It is their appropriate and exclusive province. On their labors in the fields, the whole tribe relies for a supply of the productions of the earth. With the cultivation of them, the men have no concern; whose duties are confined to the procural of game, by hunting and fishing. The only circumstance in the above account which is of a marvellous character, and difficult to be believed, is, that this tribe of females should prefer to live separate from the other sex, as an independent nation, and resolutely oppose uniting with them, though they allowed of occasional visits from them, to perpetuate their community. The following explanation has been given of it by several writers: "The existence of such a tribe," says Southey, "would be honorable to our species, inasmuch as it must have originated in resistance to oppression. The lot of women is usually hard among savages. The females of one horde may have perpetrated what the Daedalides are said to have done before them, but from a stronger provocation; and if, as is not unfrequent, they had been accustomed to accompany them to battle, there is nothing that can even be thought improbable to their establishing themselves as an independent race; and securing, by such a system of life, that freedom for their daughters, which they had obtained for themselves."

This explanation, it has been seen, has also been given by Humboldt; Condamine, before, took the same view. "All," he observes, "that is necessary to establish is, the existence in America of a tribe of women, who never had any men living in their society. The other customs, particularly that of cutting off the breast, which d'Acugna attributes to them, are accessory circumstances, which have probably been altered or added by Europeans, to assimilate them to the Amazons of Asia. . . In fact, it is not said that the Cacique, who informed Orellana of the Amazons, whom he calls Coniapuyaras, mentioned the exciscd breast; and an Indian of Coari, whose grandfather saw four Amazons, one of whom had an infant at her breast, does not speak of this circumstance, too striking not to be remarked. If the impossibility of their existence is alleged, I will content myself with remarking, that if ever there could have been Amazons in the world, it is in America, where the women follow their husbands to war; and being not happier at home, the idea may have been suggested to their minds, to whom frequent opportunities offered, to shake off the yoke of their husbands, and seek to form an establishment where they might recover their independence, and at least not be reduced to the condition of slaves and beasts of burden."

Another reason may be given for the existence of such a community. When a tribe engaged in war was conquered, and the males all slain; their wives, who accompanied them, and were accustomed to the use of arms, may have rallied, returned upon the foe, repulsed them, and continued ever after an independent horde.

* Condamine, pp. 106—108.
But, although both these explanations may be sufficient to explain the origin of such a tribe, some other reason must be found to account for the fact of their never having been subdued by any other nation, but suffered to remain in their separate state—particularly as to those reported to be now in Guyana, that they have not been conquered and their community broken up by the Charibees, a nation whose warlike spirit prompted them to the subjugation of all the tribes around them, wherever they extended themselves—among whom polygamy prevails—who pride themselves on the number of their wives, and whose wars are frequently undertaken to obtain an addition to them. Yet it is with this very nation, as the Charibee chief on the Essequibo stated, that they associate.

A solution of this singular circumstance—if in reality such a nation exists—will, I believe, be found in those green stones which they possess. I have observed, that Humboldt found them among the Indians on the Rio Negro. "They are worn there," he says "suspended from the neck as amulets; because, according to popular belief, they preserve the wearer from nervous complaints, fevers, and the sting of venomous serpents. Thus they have been for ages an article of trade, both on the north and on the south of the Oronoke. The Charibees made them known on the coast of Guyana .... The form given to them most frequently, is that of the Persapolitan cylinder, longitudinally perforated, and loaded with inscriptions and figures. The substance of which they are composed, belongs to the saussurite—to the real jade. It takes a fine polish and passes from apple green to emerald green. It is translucent at the edges, extremely tenacious, and sonorous to such a degree, that being formerly cut by the natives into very thin plates, perforated at the centre and suspended by a thread, it yields an almost metallic sound."

These green stones are also worn by the Charibees, and are the most highly valued of all their ornaments. They were formerly frequently met with in Demerara, but now rarely; where they were called Macuaba, or Calicot stone. One of them is in my possession. Their common form there is, as described by Humboldt, cylindrical and perforated. Biet relates, that in Cayenne a number of them are strung together and worn as a necklace. But they are sometimes made in the form of fishes and other animals; and we now discover whence they were obtained. But where did the women living alone obtain them? "We are told," says Humboldt, "at San Carlos, on the Rio Negro and in the neighboring villages, that the sources of the Oronoke east of Esmeralda; and in the missions of the Caroni and at Angustura, that the sources of the Caroni are the native spots of the green stone." * Both these directions point to the mountains of Parima, where two of the relations made to me respecting this female nation, place them. Humboldt again observes: "In the rocky dike that crosses the Oronoke, forming the Randal of the Guahariboes, Spanish soldiers pretend to have found the fine kind of saussurite (Amazon stone) of which we have spoken. This tradition is, however,

uncertain; and the Indians whom I interrogated on this subject, assured me that the green stones, called *piedras de macagua* at Esmeralda, were purchased from the Guiacas and Guaharibos who traffic with the hordes much farther to the east;” (which must be the nations about the sources of the Essequibo.)

It is worthy of remark, that the name of these stones on the Oronoke is *macagua*, and in Demerara, *macauba*—which is probably the same word. But the region of Parima does not appear to be the native place of this mineral. Humboldt observes, that “neither Surgeon Hortsman, who passed from the Essequibo down the Branco, nor Don Antonio Santos, who went from Spanish Guyana over it to the Amazon, had seen it in its natural place. . . . A fine geographical discovery remains to be made in the eastern part of America; that of finding, in a primitive soil, a rock of euphotide, containing the *piedras de macagua*.”

But should this discovery be made, a difficulty would still exist—how it was worked into so many different forms? “It is not,” observes Humboldt, “the Indians of our day, the natives of the Oronoke and Amazon, whom we find in the last degree of barbarism, that pierced such hard substances, giving them the form of animals and fruits. Such works, like the perforated and sculptured emeralds which are found in the Cordilleras of New-Granada and Quito, denote anterior civilization.”

Among the natives themselves, wherever these green stones are found, a very singular popular delusion prevails as to their origin. “I have been assured,” says Barrere, “that a nation called Tapouyes, who live one hundred and fifty leagues above Para, on the Amazon, make them; (the same nation from whom, according to Condamine, they are obtained,) that the material is a soft mud, of white color, which they work into a paste, and give it the figure and impression they desire. They keep the articles prepared for a certain time in the river. It is this water, they say, which gives the color, hardness, and polish to these stones.” The same is stated by the Chev. des Marchais.† The greatest riches of the Galibis consists in necklaces of green stone, which come from the river Amazon, which is made of a mud they find at the bottom of certain places in the river; and they make it into what forms they please. And Charlevoix speaks of a green stone with which the Haytians hollowed out their canoes; and remarks, there never have been found in that island or elsewhere, quarries of this stone; and the common opinion is, that they came from the river Amazon, the mud of which hardens, when exposed to the air.”†

Humboldt, having stated that a mineral of this kind has nowhere yet been found in Guyana, observes: “Although a distance of five hundred leagues, separates the banks of the Amazon and Oronoke from the Mexican table-land; although history records no fact, that connects the savage nations of Guyana with the civilized nations of Anahuac; the monk Bernard de Sahagun, at the beginning of the conquest, found green stones

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* Humboldt’s Per. Nar. vol. 5., p. 463. † Trav. in Cayenne. ‡ History of St. Domingo.
which had belonged to Quetzalcoatl, preserved at Cholula as relics. This mysterious personage is the Buddha of the Mexicans. He appeared in the time of the Toltecs; founded the first religious congregations; and established a government similar to that of Meroe and of Japan."

Concerning these green stones of Mexico, I have collected the following additional facts:

They are, according to Clavigero, the same mineral as those of Guyana. The Mexican name is Quetzalitzli; but they are commonly known by the name of the nephritic stone. The Mexicans formed of this mineral various and curious figures, some of which are preserved in different Museums in Europe.* The Mexican jewellers not only had skill in gems, but likewise understood how to polish, cut, and work them; and made them into whatever form they chose. The green stone which I brought from Guyana, a scientific person in New-York, to whom I showed it, said, was the mineral "nephritic-jade."

Quetzalcoatl was, among the Mexicans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, the god of the air. At Cholula, two lofty pyramids were erected; one, to him or the Sun, with which he was identified; the other, to the Moon. The Cholulans preserved with great veneration some small green stones, very well cut, which they said had belonged to him.† Torquemada, who perfectly understood the Mexican language, and had those names repeated to him by the ancient people, says that the name of this deity signifies, "serpent clothed with green feathers." "In fact," says Clavigero, "coatl signifies serpent, and quetzalli, green feathers.‡ Quetzalitzli was the name of these stones. Itzli, is, in Mexican, stone. Hence, this word signifies green stones; or, by contraction, stones dedicated to, or belonging to, Quetzalcoatl. That the mineral, of which they are made, was found in Mexico, appears probable, from the following passage from the same author: "With respect to precious stones in Mexico, there were, and still are, diamonds, though few in number; amethysts, turquoises, cornelians, and some green stones resembling emeralds, and not much inferior to them; and of all these stones, the Mixtecas, Zapotecans, and Cohuxians, in whose mountains they were found, paid a tribute to the King."§

Green stones and green feathers, appertained, also, to the worship of Quetzalcoatl. "The usual ministers," observes Clavigero, "of the Mexican sacrifices, which were made to this deity, were six priests; the chief of whom, in the performance of his functions, wore a crown of green and yellow feathers; at his ears, hung gold ear-rings and green jewels; perhaps emeralds.||

Why the color of green was appropriated to this deity, it is not difficult to explain, as the effect of the heat and light of the sun is to promote vegetation, and clothe the earth with verdure.

The green stones of Guyana, are also held in the highest estimation. They appear, even, to be of a sacred character; "for they are covered," says Humboldt, "with inscriptions and figures;" an idea which is supported by the fact, that they are everywhere worn as amulets—from an opinion that they are a preventive of epilepsy, and some other disorders. For this reason, they are called by the Spaniards *piedras-hejadases, or spleen-stones. The same opinion of them existed among the inhabitants of the West India islands, where they were found among the Charibees. Labat, who was a missionary among them, has even in a measure as­sented to this opinion. "It is not true," he says, "that they cure these disorders radically; but that they suspend them as long as they are worn by the person, placed between the skin and the flesh," he was convinced of by an actual experiment he made.

They were held by the Charibees in the highest regard. They were the most precious of their jewels. "They valued them," says Barrere, "more than we do gold or diamonds. The females believed themselves best arrayed, when they had several of them on. A necklace was the price of a slave." Sir Walter Raleigh met with them on the Oronoke, and observes, "Every King, or Cacique, had one, which their wives, for the most part, wear; and they esteem them as great jewels." These green stones were used in Guyana also, as a medium of exchange; for Lawrence Keymis, speaking of the Charibees, and some other Indians on the Arawari river, below the Oyapoke, observes, "All their money is of white and green stones;" and when at the Corentine, he remarks, "some images of gold and spleen-stones, are found along this coast; and the Indians do extraordinarily esteem them, for everywhere they are current money."

The inquiry now arises, in what manner did these green stones find their way into Guyana? Humboldt, it has been seen, considers the existence of them in this region very difficult to be accounted for, as history records no fact, that connects the savage nations of Guyana with the civilized nations of Anahuac, (the ancient name of Mexico.) But, although the derivation of any of the nations of Guyana, has not been heretofore traced to Mexico—yet, as the ancient people of Peru, according to Garcillaso, and those of New-Grenada, as related by Herrera, came from it through the Isthmus of Darien; it is very probable, that some of the nations of Guyana, as well as those of other parts of South America, flowed from the same source. I have, at least, satisfied myself, that the Charibees—who are the most numerous and predom­inant nation of Guyana—had this origin; part of them spreading along the coast of Terra Firma, while another portion, probably, moved south­wardly into New-Grenada, and thence, by some of the streams that flow south-eastwardly from the Andes, passed to the Amazon, and descended that river to its mouth; and then spread over Cayenne, and into the Brazils. These green stones may, therefore, have been brought into

Guyana by them, or other nations, who may have come there from the same region. But it is a more probable supposition, that they were brought from Mexico by the Amazons themselves, who may have been established some time in New-Grenada, before their final emigration into Guyana. To this conclusion, I think, we shall be led, by an examination of the question—whence it arises, that they are their peculiar ornaments and jewels, and are always obtained from them? And the answer to this question, will also explain the principal difficulty, in regard to the existence of this nation—why they have been suffered by the Charibees to remain in their state of separation from the other sex. I think the circumstance of their having these jewels, and wearing them as their peculiar ornaments, denote that they were originally attached to the worship of the Mexican divinity—to whom they were dedicated; that they were once a religious community of vestals, devoted to the service of the temples appropriated to his honor; that they are hence viewed by the Charibees emigrating from the same region, with feelings of reverence; and that it is from a sentiment of religion, and traditional ideas, that they, and other nations, suffer them to remain in their state of isolation.

This conjecture is supported by the following fact, related in Orellana’s account of his Amazons. The last report which he heard of them, he gives as follows: “An Indian whom he had taken prisoner, informed him that the country was subject to women, who lived like Amazons, and were very rich in gold and silver, and had five temples of the Sun, plated with gold, &c.” Allowing for much exaggeration in this account, there is nothing improbable in the fact stated, that they, like other Indians on the Amazon, had gold ornaments. In regard to the temples, plated with gold—it may only have been that they had gold plates hung up in them; that is, these ornaments; as a similar ambiguity in the word, as I have observed, perhaps gave rise to the idea of golden tiles on the roofs of the houses in Manoa. It is remarkable that this ambiguity has led Humboldt into a mistake regarding the Amazons of Guyana. He represents them as described by Raleigh, as having golden vessels, (out of which it was probably supposed they took their meals,) which they received in traffic for these green stones; while Raleigh actually says, “they have a great quantity of those plates of gold, (which he had before mentioned as golden ornaments, in the form of a crescent,) which they obtain in exchange for a certain kind of green stones.”

The relation of Orellana is further rendered not so improbable, from the following account given by George de Espira, one of the adventurers who went in pursuit of El Dorado. He relates, that after leaving Coro and proceeding southerly, he crossed the Meta, then arrived on the banks of the Caqueta, or Yupura, which falls into the Amazon some degrees west of the Rio Negro;—the space between which and the latter river, as has been related, from the existence of native gold there, D’Acugna and Condamine both consider the locality to which the first expeditions in pursuit of Dorado, or the golden country, were directed. Near this river
Caqueta, or Yupura, Espira found a Casa del Sol, or temple of the sun, and a convent of Virgins, similar to those of Peru and New-Grenada.

It would not be extraordinary, if, on the conquest of those countries, and the emigration of the Indians consequent upon it, some of the vestal communities connected with the religious establishments there, after their destruction, should have also transplanted themselves.

The following relation, too, favors the idea of the religious character of the reported Amazons. "Orellana," says M. Carli, (Lettres Americaines) "though generally thought so, was not the first who gave an account of the Amazons. Nugno de Gusman sent to Charles V. a relation, dated July 8th, 1530, at Omitlan, in which, among other things, he says, that he has a design to penetrate in the province of Azatlan, to pass into the country of the Amazons, who, he said, lived ten days farther. Some say that they live on the sea; others, that they are on an arm of it, and that they are regarded as goddesses. They are said to be whiter than the other women of the country. The other particulars as to their warlike character, &c., are the same as those usually given."

And the name by which Orellana heard them called when he first heard of them, Coniapuyara, which signified great ladies, denotes that they were much respected, and considered as a community of a superior order. It was not applied to a few, or the Queens among them, but to the whole nation.

Martyr, also, relates the following instance of females living in this manner, as a religious community, on the coast of Yucatan: "Grijalva, sailing along this coast, came to a bay, in which were three small islands, in which sacrifices were made to great extent, which he called the islands of Sacrifices. There were other islands on the neighboring shores, in which only women lived, without intercourse with men. Some think they live in the manner of the Amazons. Those who have considered the matter best, suppose them to be virgins, dedicated to religious services, as nuns, or as the vestals among the Romans. At certain seasons of the year, they are visited by men, solely to prepare their fields and gardens for them. It is reported, also, that there are other islands inhabited by women, who excise the right breast, that they may the better use the bow and arrow; and that they are visited by men, who have intercourse with them, but do not keep the male children. But this," says Martyr, "I think a fable."†

Connected with the view I have taken of the probable origin of the Amazons from Mexico, is very interesting, and is rendered more so by the following fact, stated by Herrera:

James Lopez de Salvado, having been sent over from Spain to govern at Ybuerras, on the coast of Honduras, found, that in those parts, there were three principal idols worshipped in their several temples, and four leagues from Truxillo another, in a town twenty leagues distant, and the

third in an island fifteen leagues from that town. They had all the shape of women, made of a green sort of stone like marble.*

One of the islands in the West Indies, belonging to the Charibean group, is also stated by the early writers, to have been inhabited, at the period of their discovery by Columbus, solely by women. His son Ferdinand, his biographer, observes, the Indians whom Columbus saw on the north coast of Hayti, (on his return to Europe in his first voyage,) being asked where the Charibees dwelt, pointed to the eastward; and said, that the island Matinino was all inhabited by women, with whom the Charibees cohabited at certain seasons of the year; and if they brought forth sons, they gave them to the fathers to carry away.†

And Columbus himself relates the same, in the letter he wrote to his royal patrons from Lisbon, on his return to Europe, giving an account of his discoveries.‡ "The islanders of Charis, next to Hispaniola, (which was St. Croix) he observes, are considered by their neighbors very ferocious, and are objects of great terror to them. They cohabit with a race of women, who are the sole inhabitants of another island, immediately succeeding Hispana. These women are not employed in the common occupations of their sex, but, like their husbands, carry bows and arrows, and are protected with plates of brass, with which their country abounds."

Martyr relates, that Columbus heard of them also on his second voyage. On this voyage he first visited Guadaloupe, and thence sailed toward Martinique, which, says Martyr, the Indians he had on board, whom he had taken to Spain on his first voyage, as well as some who had fled to him at Guadaloupe from the Charibees, called Madanimma, and said it was inhabited solely by women,—as we heard on the first voyage—who were visited at a certain time of the year by the Cannibals, (the Charibees) and the sons born, sent to them to be brought up; but they retained the daughters with them. They are said to have subterranean retreats, to which, if the cannibals visit them at any other time than the stated period, they fly; and if their pursuers attempt to enter them, they protect themselves with their arrows, which they shoot with great dexterity.§

These relations have been considered, by some historians, entirely fabulous tales received from the Indians. A late writer thinks that the idea of such a female nation in that island, arose from the circumstance that the wives of the Charibees, were taught the use of the bow and arrow, and, in the absence of their husbands, were accustomed to defend themselves from the attacks of enemies.|| But the relation by Martyr represents this nation as living entirely distinct from men, and with all the circumstances mentioned of the Amazons, as they are called, of South America.

Concerning the question of the existence of such a nation in the West Indies, but a single remark is necessary. If the accounts given by the natives of South America, of a similar community on that Continent, are

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* Decade 3. book 3. ch. iii.
† Chap xxxvi. p. 46 in Churchill's Collection.
‡ This letter is found in the Edinburgh Review, No. liv., Dec. 1816.
§ Decade, 1.
|| Irving's Life of Columbus.
to be entirely discredited, the relations made to the early voyagers to the West Indies, respecting the inhabitants of Martinique, must be equally discarded. But if the evidence in favor of the existence of the former is too strong to be resisted, we cannot totally deny the reality of the latter. Indeed, if it is true that Guyana is the residence of the Amazons, and the Charibees are their mates or associates, it would seem not improbable, on the emigration of the Charibees to the islands, that some of them would accompany them, and maintain there the same state of society that previously belonged to them.*

* Appendix, No. IV.

T H E E N D.
APPENDIX NO. I.

Relation of the Mariwin Inquirer, from Purchas's Collection of Voyages, Book 6, Chapter xvii. entitled, "Relation of the habitations, and other observations of the river Mariwin," and which is placed immediately after the voyage made by Robert Harcourt to Guyana, in 1608.

Purchas states in the margin: "I found this fairly written among M. Hackluyt's papers, but know not who was the author." But that it was made by Fisher, called by Harcourt his "Cousin Fisher," whom he sent to explore the Mariwin, there can be no doubt, on comparing some passages in the account of the voyage of the former, with a part of the Relation.

Harcourt, on returning down the Mariwin, after his unsuccessful attempt to explore it, stopped at the third town from the mouth, of which Maperitaka and Arapawako were chief captains, and then observes: "At this town I left my cousin Fisher, an apothecary, and a servant to attend him, having first taken order with Maperitaka for their diet and other necessaries, both for their travel and otherwise, who ever since, according to his promise, hath performed the part of an honest man and faithful friend." Of the information given by Fisher, he gives the following account: "When the waters of the Mariwin rose, and the river became passable, he began the discovery thereof, in company of the apothecary, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteen others; and proceeded eleven days up the river, to a town of Charibees, called Taupuremune, distant from the sea above a hundred leagues, but was four days' short of Moresheego, which is also a town of the Charibees—the chief captain thereof is Areminta. He understood, by the relations of the Indians of Taupuremune and also of Areminta, that six days' journey beyond Moresheego, there are divers mighty nations of Indians, having holes through their ears, cheeks, nostrils, and nether lips, (whose names are mentioned,) and were, of strength and stature, far exceeding other Indians. What the Indians report of the greatness of their ears, I forbear to mention, until by experience we shall discover the truth thereof. That it was twenty days' journey from Taupuremune to the head of Mariwin, which is inhabited by Arawacas, Suppaïos and Paragotas, and some Yaios; and that a day's journey from thence to the landward, the country is a plain and champaign ground, covered with long grass."

The following is an extract from the "Relation," &c. which I term that of the Mariwin Inquirer:

TOWNS ON THE MARIWIN.

"Imprimis: Maracoun, a little village, so called, where the Arawacas dwell, &c. Secondly, a little village, so called, where likewise Arawacas dwell, &c. Thirdly, Moyyen, &c., lately inhabited by Pariawagottos and Yaios, whose chief
captain is Maperitaka, being the captain with whom the General left us, and with whom we continue." He then mentions eleven towns in succession, all inhabited by Caribbees, the last of which is Tapouremee. He then continues: "Twelfthy. A day's journey from thence, is a town called Mooreshego, whose inhabitants are Caribbees. About some twenty days' journey from Mooreshego, is a town called Aretonone, whose inhabitants be Careebees, having very long ears hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to be a very gentle and loving people. Some twenty days farther is the head of the River Marwin, where dwell Pariawagotos, Arwaccas, and Suppay, and after a day's journey in the land, they report the way to be very fair and champaign ground with long grass."

A further evidence that this is the journal of Fisher, is, that it principally consists of an account of "Manoa," spoken of by Sir Walter Raleigh, which is the information that he was particularly directed by Harcourt to obtain—as will appear by the following extract from it, which is the part from which I have made my quotations in the text:

"I was also informed by a Yaio, an ancient man, who came down the river Selinama (Surinam,) in a little canoe, with four others and a boy, (three of which were Arrawacs, and one Yaio, who was born in Orecoq, and, as I judge, about four-score years or little less,) who reported to me that he was one of them which, with Morequito and Putimay, was present at the killing of nine Spaniards and a Spanish Pedas, and how Morequito was put to death, and a great many of his Indians hanged. Himself was taken prisoner, and pinched with pincers for his punishment, and his ears nailed to wood, which I conjecture was a Pillory... . . . The reason why they put him not to death, was because he had been a great traveller, and knew the countries well; and so they kept him for a guide.

"It so chanced that the Spaniards, after his informing them of the Cassipagotos country, and how rich they were, and how he would be their guide, went with some company to conquer it. The captain of the Spaniards was called Alexander, as he saith. But the Cassipagotos, knowing his cruelie, thought it better to fight it out than to trust to his clemency, and so overthrew him and his company, driving them to their canoes: in which fight he escaped. But yet afterward, it was his mishap to be again in the hands of his adversarie, by the means of Caripana, King of Emeria, and put in chains and handled cruelly.... . . . Within some small space, he, with another Yaio and three Arawaccas, were chosen to goe a-fishing some two days' journey from the town. Likewise, there went as overseers over them four Spaniards; thre of which, while they were a-fishing, went into the woods a-fowling; and the fourth, which was left for the overseer, by chance fell asleep; which they espying, agreed to release themselves, and to slip from the shore with their canoes, and went up Selinama, seven days' journey from the head thereof, to a town of the Arwaccas, called Cooreipan, where he now dwellth. And his name is Weepackea..... This Yaio told me of a mountain at the head of Dissikeehee, which is called Oraddoo, where is a great rocke of white spar, which hath streams of gold in it about the breadth of a goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also, he speaketh of a plaine which is some seven or eight days' journey from the mountaine, where is great store of gold, in grains as big as the top of a man's finger, and after the floods be fallen they find them; which plaine is called Mumpara.

"Further, he spoke of a vall{y} not far dist. from thence, which is called Wan-coobanona, which hath the like; and he said they gather them the space of two moneths together! which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and gravel from the grasse, which groweth in tuftets, and
then they may perceive the gold lie glistering on the ground. And of these they are very charie; and the captains and priests, or pecays, doe charge the Indians very strictly, yea, with punishment of the whip, that they be secret and not reveal it to the Spaniards. But it seemeth they are willing the English should have it, or else he would not have related so much of the state of his country.

"He spake very much of Sir Walter Raleigh. He likewise knew Francis Sparrow and the boy which Sir Walter left behind him at Topiaiwarie his house. He further said, that Topiaiwarie wondered that he heard not from Sir Walter, according to his promise; and how Topiaiwarie did verily thinke that the Spaniards had met with him and slaine him. He likewise said how Topiaiwarie had drawn in the Indians of Wariwackeri, Amiariocopana, Wickeri, and all the people that belonged to Wanuritone, Captaine of Canturia, and Wacariopea, Captaine of Sayma, against Sir Walter his coming, to have warred against the Yeanderpureweis; and as yet Wanuretone and Wacariopea do expect his coming. He added, further, how he knew the two nations of Tivitivas, called Ciawani and Warawitty, who are forced in the floods to build their houses on the top of trees. And now, he saith, the Spaniard hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping divers of them to make and mend his canoes. Further, he knew Toparimaca, and sayth he is yet living and Captaine of Arawaca, a Napoy, who likewise doth expect Sir Walter his coming, and had drawn a company of Indians for the aide and assistance of Sir Walter. Likewise, how Putimay is yet living, and how the Spaniards have laid great waite for him, but could never finger him, to be revenged for his part of killing the nine Spaniards. Further, he addeth, how the Spaniards were killed at a mountain called Riconeri, in Putimay's country; and how Putimay expected long for Sir Walter Raleigh. Likewise, he saith how the Epurewei have now two very fair towns, one called Aruburguary, and the other Corburrimore; and saith they are not good people, yet they dare not warre with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher than their heads, which he called Wywaypanamy, and offereth to go up with me thither, if I come up in their high countrey; for since the death of Topiaiwarie, they are friends, and bend their forces against the Spaniards. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge rocke, under a mountain's side, which is called Mattuick; that on a sunshine day, if a man looked on it, it would dazzle his eyes exceedingly. He showed me, before his departure from me, a piece of metal fashioned like an eagle, that is, I guess, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces, troy-weight. It seemed to be glick, or at least two parts gold and one copper. I offered him an axe, which he refused; to which I added four knives, but could not get it of him. But I imagine the Dutch at Selinama have bought it of him; for their only coming was for axes, as he said, hearing that the Dutch were at Selinama. I demanded where he had that eagle: his answer was, he had it of his uncle, who dwelt among the Wearapoyns, in the country called Sherrumerrinary, near the Cassipagos country, where there is great store of these images. Further, he said, that at the head of Selinama and Mariwin, there were great store of the half-moons, which he called by the name of Unnatons."

"He likewise spake of a very fair and large city in Guyana, which he called Monooan, which I take to be that which Sir Walter called Mona, which standeth by a salt lake, which he called Parrooovan Parrocare Monooan, in the province of Aasacna: the Chief Captain or Acaruwanorra, as he called him, was called Pepodallapa."

"He further said, that after a man is up at the head of the river, and some ten days' journey within the land, every child can tell of the riches of Monooan. Further he addeth, how that once in every third year, all the Caciques or Lords
and Captains, some seven days' journey from Manoan, do come to a great drinking, which continueth for the space of ten days together, in which time they go sometimes a fishing, fowling and hunting; their fishing in the salt lake, where is abundance of canoes, which are very great. They have many fish-pools of standing water, wherein they have abundance of fish. They have a store of wild porkes and deer, and other beasts, which are very good meat. Their houses be made with many loftis, and partitions in them, but not boarded, but with bars of wood, only the lower floor on the ground is spread with clay, very smooth, and with fires hardened, as they do their pots; then, presently, they build their houses. Also, he affirmeth, that within the citie at the entering in of their houses, they hang Caracoore on the posts, which I take to be Images of gold.

"He likewise saith, that it is but a month's journey by land, from the head of Marawin to the head of Dissekkeebee; and from the head of Dissekkeebee to the head of Orenoq, a month's travel."
APPENDIX NO. II.

The following testimony is given by Sir Walter Raleigh, in an Appendix to his Narrative, in further support of the opinion he entertained of the wealth of Guyana, and the existence in it of the rumored El Dorado.

It consists of extracts of some Spanish letters, which he states were found in a prize vessel, taken by Capt. George Popham, in 1594, the year before his expedition, who, hearing of his discovery, on his own return to England, two month's after, delivered them to some of Queen Elizabeth's council. The authority of these papers cannot be questioned, as reference is thus publicly made to Captain Popham. Nor would Raleigh have made the assertion, that they were presented to the privy council, had such not been the case, which might also have been easily shown to be false. And, notwithstanding the attention given to his Narrative, and the detraction and ridicule which he, in consequence, received, it does not appear that any doubts were entertained of the genuineness of these letters.

Alonzo's letter from the Great Canaria, to his brother, being Commander of St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

"There have been certain letters received here, of late, from a land newly discovered, called Nuevo Dorado, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery. They write of wonderful riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that gold there is in great abundance. The course to fall in with it, is fifty leagues to the windward of Margueretta."

(The name of Nuevo Dorado, or the new El Dorado, was given to it, to distinguish it from the former sought by the Spaniards, southwest of the Rio Negro, toward the Amazon.)

Alonzo's letter from thence to certain merchants of St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

"Sir: We have no news worth writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards, in a new land, called Nuevo Dorado, which is two days' journey, sailing to the windward of Margueretta. There is gold in such abundance, as the like has not been heard of. We have it for certain, in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents in this city. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said Dorado, as I pass in my journey toward Carthagena. I have sent you these, with part of the information of this discovery, that was sent to his majesty."
This information is of great importance in the history of El Dorado, in this new locality. It has been remarked in the first chapter, that two years before the expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, an attempt for the discovery of it was made by Berreo, Governor of Trinidad, who had obtained a patent for the purpose, from the King of Spain. In furtherance of his object, he sent two officers to explore the Oronoke, who ascended to the residence of the Charibee chief, by whom they were well received: and the document referred to, in the above letter, is an account of this expedition, prepared by one of these officers, Domingo de Vera, who styles himself "Master of the Camp, and General for Antonio de Berreo, Governor General for our Lord the King—between the Oronoke and Amazon, and the Island of Trinidad."

He commences by stating, that on landing upon the Main, on the 23rd of April, 1593, he performed various ceremonies for taking possession of for Berreo, which claim of possession was afterward renewed before the Charibee chief. To this, Raleigh, in his remarks prefixed to these letters, observes: "Although the Spaniards seem to glory much in the formal possession taken before Morequito, (the Charibee chief,) it appears that after they were gone out of their country, the Indians there, having further consideration of the matter, having known and heard of their former cruelties upon the Borderers, and other of the Indians elsewhere, at their next coming, being ten of them employed, for a further discovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another manner of sort than they had done before—that is, they slew and buried them in the country they so much sought. Other possession they have not had since. Neither do the Indians mean, as they protest, to give them any other."

The master of the camp, having stated his taking possession of the country, goes on to say: "The first of May, they prosecuted the said discovery to the town of Carapana, the first chief on the river. We thence passed to the town of Toroco, whose principal is Topiawari, uncle of Morequito, being five leagues farther within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited. The fourth of May, we came to a province about five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in a peaceable manner; and he was called Revato. He brought us to a very large house, where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreters asking from whence that gold was, he answered, 'From a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold, as all yonder plain will not contain it; in which country, when they enter unto their borracheras, or drunken feasts, they take of the said gold, in dust, and anoint themselves all over therewith, to make the braver show, and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a gluey substance.' And they have war with those Indians. They promised us that, if we would go in unto them, they would aid us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got the same gold, we were told they went to a certain down or place, and pulled and digged up the grass by the root, which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder, they kept for their borracheras, or drunken feasts, and that which was a piece, they wrought into eagles. The eighth of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues. At the foot of a hill, we found a principal, called Aratoco, with three thousand Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison, in great abundance, and many sorts of wines. He entreated us to go to his house, and rest that night in his town, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked where he had those hens. He said they
were brought from a mountain, not passing a quarter of a league thence, where
were many Indians, yea, so many as the grass on the ground; and if we would
have any we should send them jewsharps, for they would give for every one two
hens. We took an Indian, and gave him five hundred harps; the hens were so
many that he brought as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither.
They told us they were now in their borracheras, or drunken feasts. We asked
how they made these borracheras. He said they had many eagles of gold hanging
on their breasts, pearls in their ears, and that they danced being all covered with gold.
The Indian said unto us, if we would see them we should give him some hatchets.
The master of the camp gave him one hatchet; he brought us an eagle that
weighed twenty-seven pounds of gold. ... The eleventh day of May, we went about
seven leagues from thence, to a province where we found a great company of
Indians, apparelled. They told us that, if we came to fight, they would fill up
those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should
enter, and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see
Christians. And then they told us of all the riches that were. I do not here set
it down, because there is no place for it; but it shall appear by the information
that goeth to his majesty."

The letter of George Burien Britton, from the said Canaries, unto his cousin,
a Frenchman dwelling at St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

"Sir, and my very good cousin: there came of late, certain letters from a new
discovered country, not far from Trinidado, which they write hath gold in great
abundance; the news seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good
among the best of this city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to
his majesty, goeth inclosed in Alonzo's letters. It is a thing worth the seeing."

Report of Domingo Martinez, of Jamaica, concerning El Dorado.

"He saith, that in 1593, being at Carthagena, there was a general report of a late
discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a little before his coming thither, there
came a frigate from the said Dorado, bringing in it a portraiture of a giant, all of
gold, of weight forty-seven quintals, which the Indians there held for their idol."

The Report of a Frenchman, called Bourtillier, of Sherbrooke, concerning
Trinidad and Dorado.

"He saith, being at Trinidad, in 1591, he had of an Indian there a piece of gold,
of a quarter of a pound, in exchange of a knife. The said Indian told him he had
it at the head of that River, which cometh to Paracoa in Trinidad; and that,
within the River of Oronoke, it was in great abundance, &c."

Reports of certain merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

"They said that Nuevo Reyno yieldeth very many gold mines, and wonderful
rich; but lately was discovered a certain province, so rich in gold, as the report
thereof may seem incredible. It is there in such abundance, and is called El
Nuevo Dorado. Antonio de Berreo made the said discovery."

The Report of a Spaniard, Captain with Berreo in the discovery of El Nuevo
Dorado.

"That the information sent to the King was, in every point truly said; that the
river Oronoke hath seven mouths or outlets to the sea, called Las Siete Bocas de
Dragon; that the said River runneth far into the land, in many places very broad;
that Antonio de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to go and conquer and peo­
ple the said Dorado.*

* Cayler's Life of Raleigh, Appendix, No. IX.
For more full account of the bravery and warlike character of the Charibees, I extract the following passage from my History of this nation:

"It is unquestionable, that the wives of the Charibees engaged in the warlike encounters of their nation, and that they were trained to possess a physical activity and energy, and a hardihood of character, analogous to the character of their husbands.

"Of the Cumanians, (a branch of this nation,) Martyr remarks, that the females run, swim, and leap as the men. On the coast of Paria, (which also was inhabited by some of this nation,) Ogilby observes, the women oftentimes, without any boat or floating pieces of timber, venture two or three leagues into the sea. They follow the men in wars, and carry their provisions and weapons, to which labor they are so much used, that they will bear on their shoulders, fifty leagues together, such luggage as three Spaniards are scarce able to lift from the ground."

The ordeal which the father underwent on the birth of his sons, from a strange idea that his patient endurance of it would impart bravery to them, was sometimes practiced in the case of the daughters. And Lafitan says, that among the Charibees in Brazil, when females arrived at the age of about fourteen, they were themselves to undergo an ordeal, which he thus describes: Their hair is first cut close to the head or burnt off. They are then made to stand on a flat stone, and the officiator, with the tooth of the Agoutis, makes two gashes down their back from each shoulder obliquely in the form of a cross, and several other cuts, which causes the blood to flow, and, though the pain they feel they manifest by the grinding of their teeth, and their contortions of body, not a single sigh escapes them. The gashes are then rubbed with the ashes of a wild gourd, which greatly aggravates the pain, and renders them ineffaceable. Then their arms are tied close to the body, which is bound round with cotton cord, and round their necks are hung the teeth of a certain animal, and they are placed in a hammock, in which they are so enveloped as not to be seen. In this situation they remain three days without being allowed to converse with any one, and keeping a very strict fast, without eating or drinking the least of anything. At the end of the three days they are to be taken from the hammack, and placed upon the flat stone, being not yet allowed to touch the earth, and then unbound. After which they are returned to the hammack, to remain in it a month, living only on some uncooked roots, a little farina, (the meal of manioc,) and water, and wholly prohibited from eating anything else. At the end of the month, they are taken from the hammack, and cut over the whole body, from head to foot, in a more cruel manner than in the first operation. They are then placed in the hammack, to remain there a second month and undergo another abstinence, not quite so rigorous as the last; but are not allowed, during..."
this time, to leave the hammock a moment, nor converse with any one; and are obliged to be occupied continually with picking and spinning of cotton. At the expiration of the second month, they are rubbed over the whole body with a black dye, and commence again to work in their fields.

That the wives of the Charibees assisted their husbands in their wars, and fought like them, there is no want of evidence. Of the Islanders Martyr remarks: "Both sexes possess great power from the use of the bow and poisoned arrows. When their husbands are at any time absent from their homes, they protect themselves from injurious aggressions in a manly manner." And Columbus, on his discovery of the Antilles, witnessed several instances of female bravery. In the account given in the first chapter of his progress through these islands, I have observed, that on his second voyage one of his boats had an encounter at St. Croix with a canoe of the Charibees, in which were four men and as many women, which were taken. Herrera adds the following particulars: "As the canoe approached, both men and women discharged their arrows with astonishing rapidity; and before the Spaniards could cover themselves with their shields, one of the men was killed by an arrow shot by a woman, who wounded another severely. One of the females shot with such force as to pierce through a target. There was a female in the canoe, who, from the respect paid to her, seemed to be a queen. She was accompanied by a son, a youth of a robust form and terrific look. The Spaniards then ran their boat forcibly against the canoe, and overset it. But the Indian women, as well as the men, while swimming in the water, with not less activity sent forth their darts against the Spaniards; and collecting on a covered rock, strenuously defended themselves, but were at length taken, one being killed." 

On the second visit made by Columbus to Guadaloupe, on his return to Spain, on his sending a boat ashore, before reaching it, the men beheld the sight of an assemblage of many females on the beach, coming forward with bows and arrows to hinder their landing. The boat not being able to land, as the sea ran high, he sent two of the Indians he had on board swimming, to inform them they came only for provisions; on which they replied that they should go to the other side of the island, where their husbands were. The ships proceeding thither, a great multitude of men appeared, shooting great flights of arrows; and the boats firing on them and wounding some, they fled to the mountains. Columbus sent on shore a party of men who brought away, as captives, forty females and three boys. One of the females, who was the wife of the Cacique, possessed so much strength and agility as almost to resist the attempts of the Spaniards to take her. One of the men, a native of the Canaries, extremely swift of foot, had great difficulty in overtaking her, for she ran like a stag; and when she perceived she was likely to be overtaken, she turned, clasped him in her arms, and would have strangled him had not others come to his assistance.

The Charibees of the Continent possess the same character. (I omit several instances which I have recited in the present volume, and add only the following:)

Herrera relates that in the expedition made in 1532, by De Heredia, for the conquest of Cararamas (now Carthagena,) the inhabitants of which considered themselves descended from the Charibees, in an engagement which he had with some Indians, in which they fought furiously with poisoned arrows, and clubs of hard wood, "the maidens fought as well as the men." And "there was one," says a

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writer, quoted by Purchas, "who, before they could take her, being about eighteen years old, slew with her bow eight Spaniards."*

But this trait is not peculiar to the females of the Charibees. Instances of it are met with, also, among other American Indians. "Before the time of the Incas," observes Herrera, "the inhabitants of Peru went naked, wandered about in flocks like the Arabs, without houses or settled dwellings, except only some caves, and some made fortresses on the highest hills, where they settled, to fight with their neighbors for the tilled lands. At that time a very brave man, called Zapona, started up in the province of Callao, who subdued a considerable part of it; and the Indians say the war was carried on very resolutely by some women, who, for their defence, made several walls of dry stone, trenches and forts, of which there are some remains to be seen at this day. These women having done wonders, were at last vanquished by Zapona, and their name forgotten."

This trait is also found among the females of some North American Indians. "The Choctaws," observes Bossu, "love war and are acquainted with stratagems, &c. Some of their women are so fond of their husbands as to go to the wars with them. They stand by their sides in the battle, with a quiver full of arrows, and encourage them, telling them they ought not to fear their enemies, but die as true men."† In the narrative of De Soto's expedition to Florida, we have also a particular account of the martial bravery of some Indian women. He had a serious encounter with some Indians at a place he calls Mauville, (now Mobile,) which lasted seven hours; but they seeing the number of men they had lost, while the fire of their enemies increased, implored the aid of the women, and called on them to revenge the death of the many brave Indians who had been killed. All this time some women were already fighting at the side of their husbands, but as soon as they were thus called on, they all ran en masse, some with bows and arrows, others with swords, halberds and lances which the Spaniards had left in the street, which they adroitly made use of. They all placed themselves in front of their husbands, and full of rage and hatred braved the danger and exhibited a courage beyond their sex. But as soon as the Spaniards saw they fought only against women, and that they sought rather to die than be conquered, they spared them, not evenwounding one.‡ De Soto afterward attacked another village, called Tula, where a similar scene occurred. The inhabitants, who were unapprised of his approach, took up arms as soon as they saw the Spaniards, sallied out against them, and were seconded by many women, who fought very valiantly. The Spaniards broke through them and pushed on to the town, when the combat became warmer, for the Indians and their wives fought in despair, and showed they preferred death to slavery. It becoming late, De Soto sounded a retreat and returned to camp, much surprised at the courage of the Indians, and principally of their wives, who combatted with more obstinacy than the men.‡

But this was also the character of the females of the Scythians, between whom and the Charibees so many strong points of resemblance have been shown to exist. The Scythians, says Justin, have been as much distinguished by the valor of their females as by the victories of their warriors, and when the great exploits performed by their men and by their women are considered, it is uncertain which sex among them was most conspicuous. The wives of the Sarmatians, (Sauromate) who sprung from the Scythians, observes Herodotus, pursue the chase on horseback, sometimes with, and sometimes without their husbands, and dressed in the

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* Purchas, book 5, chap. 1.
habits of men, frequently engage in battle. With respect to their institutions of marriage, no female is permitted to marry, until she first shall have killed an enemy. They married several wives, and carried them with them to war, and even to battle. The same character belonged to the wives of the Tartars, who were another branch of the same nation. "The Tartars of Great Bucharia," says Abul Ghazi, "pride themselves on being the most robust and brave of all the Tartars. The women of this country, also, value themselves for an approved bravery. They often go to war with their husbands, and do not fear to come to blows upon occasions." "The Tangasi are good horsemen, and their wives and daughters ride as well as themselves. They never go out without being well armed, having also the reputation of managing their arms very dexterously."
APPENDIX NO. IV.

HAVING closed my examination of the different relations made by Sir Walter Raleigh in the Narrative of his expedition to Guyana, I cannot avoid referring to the noble and elevated sentiments which he possessed, and are exhibited in his writings, as affording the strongest evidence that he was incapable of the deception and fabrication imputed to him by his enemies in that publication; and for this purpose, I extract from his Biography by Mr. Cayley two pieces: First, a letter which he wrote to Prince Henry, the son of King James, and heir-apparent to the throne,* who in his adversity proved his steady friend; and which I select with more pleasure, as affording also a specimen of his literary ability, as it is believed that for vigor of style, elegance of language, and elevation of sentiment, few compositions in the English language surpass it. The other piece is entitled "Instructions to his Son and to posterity;"† in perusing which, we cannot but admire the diversity of talent which he exhibited. We behold him, at one time, seizing with enthusiasm the bold and magnificent project of achieving the conquest of a rich and splendid empire in a distant country—an enterprise attended with the utmost risk and difficulty: at another, studying the philosophy of ordinary life, and, with the sagacity of a Bacon or a Franklin, laying down rules to regulate the conduct of man in all his private relations and daily intercourse.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO PRINCE HENRY.

"May it please your Highness:

"The following sheets are addressed to your highness, from a man who values his liberty and a very small fortune, in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honors that he could anywhere enjoy under any other establishment. You see, sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father God's vicegerent; which ill men have turned both to the dishonor of God, and the impeachment of his majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare that may lie under such gross adulations; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers, who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, oh! my prince; hear them not, fly from their deceits. You are in the succession to a throne from whence no evil can be imputed to you, but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called the vicegerent of Heaven. Shall man have authority from the Fountain of good to do

* Page 49. † Page 216.
APPENDIX.

evil? No, my prince, let mean and degenerate spirits, which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

"Let me not doubt, but all plans which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature.

"Exert yourself, oh, generous prince, against such sycophants, in the glorious cause of liberty; and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery; from a condition as much below that of brutes, as to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free-agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, my prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While your highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many common-places in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice, they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking, is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages which will ever attend your highness, while you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your subject when you have lost his inclination; you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies, of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose, therefore, to be the king or the conqueror of your people; it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience, that is passive.

"I am, sir,
"Your highness's most faithful servant,

"WALTER RALEIGH.

"LONDON, August 12, 1611."
SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON,

AND TO POSTERITY.

CHOICE OF FRIENDS.

There is nothing more becoming any wise man, than to make choice of friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them, therefore, be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain. But make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy. For if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care, that thou never trust any friend or servant, with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thyself a bondslave to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself alway to his mercy. And, be sure of this thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such, therefore, as are thy inferiors, will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will alway be had.

And if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess. But if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee,) then therein trust no man; for every man’s folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember alway, that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things, for such labor for themselves and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honor; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is mere madness. And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would; and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it and have tasted it in all the course of my life. When thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like. Let thy love, therefore, be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate before all others. For the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day, hateth to-morrow; but let reason be thy school-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.”
CHOICE OF A WIFE.

The next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife. And the only danger therein, is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires; leaving the care of honor, credit, and safety, in respect thereof. But remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and, therefore, better to be borne withal in a mistress, than in a wife. For when thy humor shall change, thou art yet free to choose again, (if thou give thyself that vain liberty.) Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that, which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained, and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry nurse, and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her: so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years.

And, therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link; after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love. Yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches. Have care therefore both together; for if thou have a fair wife, and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want; for she is the companion of plenty and honor. For I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon, *favor is deceitful and beauty is vanity;* she saith farther, *that a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household,* and eateth not the bread of idleness.

Have therefore evermore care, that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations. First, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee, in conversation without thy instruction, for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred. Let her have equal part of thy estate while thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy. For he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, thy memory, and thine; and shall possess the quiet of thy labors, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travail. Yet always remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her
widowhood. For if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same
bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which
death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children,
in which thou livedst upon earth while it lasted. To conclude; wives were or-
dained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them, and diminish them;
either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth
in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it,
ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy
flower will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and
sorrow. Thy best time will be toward thirty. For as the younger times are un-
fit, either to choose or to govern a wife and family, so if thou stay long, thou shalt
hardly see the education of thy children, which being left to strangers, are in effect
lost. And better were it to be unborn, than ill-bred; for thereby thy posterity
shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it
be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend thy prime and summer of thy life
with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and
be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou
 shalt purchase to thyself; for there never was any such affection, which ended not
in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, there is a way which
seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death; for howsoever
a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will
study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and un-
bridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, and dost mingle thy
vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only.
Bestow, therefore, thy youth so, that thou mayst have comfort to remember it
when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof.
While thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the
longest day hath its evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never
turns again. Use it therefore as the spring-tune, which soon departeth, and
wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

FLATTERERS.

Take care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are
abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors;
for they will strengthen thy imperfection, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee
in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies, as thou shalt never,
by their will discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men
are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is
most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a
vain-glorious fool, neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou
deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal
warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers have never any virtue, they are base, creep-
ing, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling; it is
said by Isaiah in this manner, my people, they that praise thee, seduce thee and dis-
order the paths of thy feet. And David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flat-
terer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious, and full
of protestations; for a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flat-
terer is compared to an ape, who, because she cannot defend the house like a dog,
labor as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks and provoke laughter. Thou mayst be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred for there are few men that can endure it. Every man, for the most part, delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

**APPENDIX.**

Be careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables among choleric or quarrelsome persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with ruffians. For thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle, wherein thou mayst get honor to thyself, and safety to thy prince and country. But if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour; for honor and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth itself cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, he that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life. Do therefore right to all men, where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love; and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true, (if thou be not constrained,) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country; for there is nothing more dishonorable (next to treason itself,) than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee, for any respect, lose thy reputation, or endure public disgrace; for better it were not to live than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself. If it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thyself; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law; if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonored. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee for their own; but if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honor, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much, also, is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and, as Solomon saith, the mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth, or thinketh, he uttereth. And by thy words and discourses men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds. Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest; whether touching religion, state, or vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a city without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore, if thou observest this rule in
all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err. Restrain thy choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

According to Solomon, life and death are in the power of the tongue; and as Euripides truly affirmeth, every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that men’s fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more men’s fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, arise from unadvised speech; and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thyself observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busy themselves with other men’s estates; that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for, assure thyself, such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper or respected among worthy or wise men.

Take heed, also, that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man; he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in St. John saith, that it is a vice proper to Satan, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs, that God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies shall perish. Thus thou mayst see and find in all the books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good, except in the extremity of saving life; for a liar is a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

**PRESERVATION OF ESTATE.**

Among all other things of the world, take care of thy estate; which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things. First, that thou know what thou hast, what everything is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend anything before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man’s estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men’s faults, and scourged for other men’s offences, which is, the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men’s riot, and the charge of other men’s folly and prodigality. If thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men.

If any friend desire thee to be his security, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all; for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself, than offereth it. If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim; if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself; if for a rich man, it need not. Therefore from surtyeship, as from a man-slayer, or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for
whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised. Beside, poverty is oft-times sent as a curse of God; it is a shame among men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thyself nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to show them; thou shalt be a burden, and an eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company; thou shalt be driven basely to beg and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds. Let not vanity therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves and thine own fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs, that he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretyship, is sure, it is farther said, the poor is haled even if his own neighbor, but the rich have many friends. Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost. Be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

SERVANTS.

Let thy servants be such as thou mayst command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare. If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterward for tediousness neglect it. I myself, have therefore lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and beside, 'tis the way to make thy servants thieves, who else would be honest.

BRAVE RAGS.

Exceed not in the humor of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women.

RICHERS.

On the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means; destroy no man for his wealth, nor take anything from the poor; for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonorable before worthy men, to wrest anything from the needy and laboring soul. God will never prosper thee in aught, if thou offend therein. But use thy poor neighbors and tenants well, pine not them and their children to add superfluity and needless expenses to thyself. He that hath pity
on another man's sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this precept, he that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given. I do not understand those for poor who are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labor to live, such as are old and cannot travail, such poor widows and fatherless children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expenses; on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy; for if he curse thee, in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

WINE.

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honor or preterment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men, hated in thy servants, in thyself and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And, remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the older he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulled the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut. Take heed, therefore, that such a cureless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their father. Anacharsis saith, the first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness; but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted, for it putted fire to fire, and wasted the natural heat and seed of generation. And, therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body, by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat; and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art. Who have misfortune, saith Solomon, who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups. Pliny saith, wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things. Whosoever loveth wine, shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not only a beast, but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends, will despise thee. In drink, men care not what they say, what offence they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain; and yet by drunkenness and gluttony, (which is the drunkenness of feeding,) we draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous, old age. And St.
Augustine describeth drunkenness in this manner; *ebrietās est blandus daemon, dulces venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum not facit, sed ipse est peccatum*. Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.

Innocentius saith, *quid turpius ebrioso, cui fetor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? Nullum secretum ubi regnati ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum? Facundī calices quem non fecere disertum? What is filthier than a drunken man, to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; who uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? There is no secrecy where drunkenness rules; nay, what other mischief doth it not design? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?*

When Diogenes saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, *I thought at the last, quoth Diogenes, he would spew out a whole house; sciebam inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

**GOD.**

Now, for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the author of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavors to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with prayer, lest if he frown he confound all thy fortunes and labors, like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice, and fatherly instructions, sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his grace!
APPENDIX NO. V.

VOCABULARIES

OF THE

LANGUAGES OF FIVE INDIAN NATIONS IN GUYANA.

Supreme Being, Ackoway.
Evil Spirit, Akoray.
Woman, Macoussie.
Head, Ayupai.
Eyes, Ayainu.
Mouth, Onda.
Hair, Aysunsai.
Hand, Yaiena.
Foot, Ochta.
Heart, Aiysairae.
Bone, Amoune.
Blood, Caraiepa.
Father, Ee-e-waireesa.
Mother, Achpo.
Brother, Kipou.
Sister, Touna.
Death, Waityu.
Fire, Capou.
Earth, Capou.
Water, Sun.
Wind, Moon.
Star, Star.
Island, Coorannhoo.
River, Waranabee.
Yellow, Capa-capai.
Red, Toona.
Black, Taiwinkoree.
White, Capouee.
Tree, Paco.

ACKOWAY.
ATORAY.
MACOSSIE.
TIBERACOTTI.
GUARANO.

Maire,* Wyeemeebee, Oopopu, Kwareessabarote.
Parai, Wianu, Haiboo.
Yawanai, Oondah, Naiboora.
Kanaro, Apoupi, Teera.
Reerwoo, Queymya, Kwa.
Pandaiee, Oboro, Moo.
Owo, Ooropata, Moko.

Achta, Ooro, Heeoo.
Pee, Yapo, Mamoohoo.

CAMAIPEO, Apot, Mamoo.
TOEKAIROE, Papa, Aka.
WONEE, Ekii, Achu.

EE-WAIREESA, Camaipeo, Apo.

ACHPO, Wonee, Haikoono.
KIPOU, Wonee, Obe.
TOUNA, Babo.
WAITYU, Ho.

CAPOU, Yaa.

COORANHOO, Woonee, Cabo.
WARANABEE, Sadahana, Wone.
CAPA-CAPAI, Bodalee, Wone.
TOONA, Cono, Con.
TAIWINKOREE, Conopee, Cono.
CAPOUEE, Canoco, Cono.
PACEKKUU, Padeekuoo.

TOONACAHASA, Toonacahasa, Kipung.
SANAQPONG, Sanaqpong, Tippara.
ECHUWAW, Echuwaw, Tapera.
ORIS, Oris, Tekwara.
TIAOONG, Tiaong, Taumutna.
YIOS, Yios, Yaa.

HOOtakwi.
BOOROBO.
NABA.

DOOOGA.
APPENDIX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ackoways</th>
<th>Atohay</th>
<th>Macoussie</th>
<th>Tiberagotti</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House, Yaiwoutoo,</td>
<td>Woorapai,</td>
<td>Ooboonee,</td>
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<td>Arrow,</td>
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<td>Plantain,</td>
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<td>Sweet Potatoe,</td>
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<td>Twenty,</td>
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* This word I take from the Travels of Grillett and Bechamel in Cayenne, in 1674.
The following Table exhibits a comparison of the Arrowack, A toray, Maypure, Moxos, and Quichua languages; the words from the two first, taken from vocabularies I made in Guyana, one of which is in Appendix No. III., the others from Professor Vater’s Mithridates, except where noted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrowack</th>
<th>A toray</th>
<th>Maypure</th>
<th>Moxos</th>
<th>Quichua</th>
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<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Wooni</td>
<td>Ueni</td>
<td>Uni</td>
<td>Uni</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Hekehe</td>
<td>Tekairee</td>
<td>Catti</td>
<td>Jucu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heaven</td>
<td>Ayamooni</td>
<td>Eno</td>
<td>Anumo</td>
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<td>Moon</td>
<td>Katchi</td>
<td>Kejape</td>
<td>Maps</td>
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<td>Honey</td>
<td>Maba</td>
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<td>Mopomo</td>
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<td>Maize</td>
<td>Mareese</td>
<td>Mareese</td>
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<td>Maps</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>Hachi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Muruchu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>D’asseere</td>
<td>¹ N’ukiri</td>
<td>¹ N’uairi</td>
<td>Uchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>D’acoose</td>
<td>¹ N’uchabi</td>
<td>N’uboa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>D’ackaboo</td>
<td>Achtu</td>
<td>N’uanna</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>D’adinna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Hearo</td>
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</table>

* Garcilasó’s Commentaries on Peru, Book 8, chap. 9, p. 318: “Their maize is of two kinds, one of which they call muruchu.”

† Garcilasó’s Commentaries on Peru, Book 8, chap. 9, p. 318: “Their red pepper they call uchu, which is the same as the Spaniards call achi, (the Haytian name for it.)”

¹ The (N) prefixed to these words, and those which follow in the same lists, is probably only a pronoun, as the letter (D.) the first in the corresponding words of the Arrowack, is the pronoun di, in that language, signifying my.”
THE NEW WORLD.
A WEEKLY FAMILY JOURNAL OF
Popular Literature, Science, Art, and News
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HISTORY

OF

The Humane Society

OF

Massachusetts:

WITH

A SELECTED LIST OF PREMIUMS

AWARDED BY THE TRUSTEES, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME:

INCLUDING

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE,

A STATEMENT OF THE FUNDS, AND A LIST OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS.

PREPARED BY DIRECTION OF THE TRUSTEES.

Boston:

Samuel N. Dickinson, Printer.

1845.
NOTICE.

For many years after the institution of "The Humane Society," an annual Report of its transactions, with the correspondence of the year, and a list of the premiums adjudged, was appended to the discourse usually delivered on the day of its anniversary. But when, in 1818, it was deemed expedient to discontinue its public celebrations, the annual reports also ceased; nor, with the exception of a publication in 1829, has any account since been published of its doings. Nearly sixteen years having now elapsed from the date of that pamphlet; and events, interesting, both in relation to the immediate objects of the institution, and its connexion with some kindred charities having occurred within the interval, it was thought proper that another history should be prepared. And the President, with the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, having been appointed a committee for the purpose, the following statement is by them, on behalf of the Trustees, respectfully presented to the members of the Society, and to others interested in its objects.

Francis Parkman,
John Homans,
John L. Gardner.
"The Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," was instituted in 1786. Its origin at that time, or the immediate occasion of its formation, was the result of an interview between the late Rev. Dr. James Freeman, Dr. Aaron Dexter, Royall Tyler, Esq., and Dr. Moyes, a gentleman from England then residing in Boston, who, though blind from his childhood, had distinguished himself by his scientific attainments, and by his zeal for the interests of philanthropy. In conversing on the various charitable institutions established in Great Britain, Dr. Moyes, as we learn from a document already published, "suggested the outlines of a plan of a society, similar to that of the British Royal Humane Society, incorporated in 1774, in imitation of one in Holland, to restore to life persons apparently dead," &c. The proposal engaged the earnest attention of the above-named gentlemen, who communicated it to the Hon. James Bowdoin, afterwards its first President, and obtaining with his the cordial concurrence of several other influential citizens, it was resolved at once to carry it into effect. Subscriptions were opened for the establishment of a fund, and a meeting of the subscribers, thence-
forth its members, being held at "The Bunch of Grapes Tavern," in State street, a Society was duly organized, January 5, 1786, by the appointment of officers, in number and description precisely the same as have been annually elected from that to the present time.

The Society was incorporated in 1791, John Hancock, Esq. being then the Governor of the Commonwealth.* And "the end and design of the institution," as expressed in the Act, is "for the recovery of persons who meet with such accidents as to produce in them the appearance of death, and for promoting the cause of humanity, by pursuing such means, from time to time, as shall have for their object the preservation of human life, and the alleviation of its miseries."

The formation of charitable societies, now so common, was at that time of very rare occurrence; † and among a people just tasting the first fruits of their independence, and engaged in establishing their own institutions, excited no common interest. The excellence of the objects proposed, approving themselves at once to every enlighten-

* Note A. page 29.
† Excepting the Marine Society, founded in 1742; the "Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society," incorporated in 1786; and the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and others, in North America," incorporated in 1787, no charitable associations, originating among our own citizens, had as yet been formed. The Boston Dispensary was of much later origin; and the only exceptions, that can be adduced to the statements above made, are the institution of "The Quarterly Charity Lecture," and the Boston Almshouse.
ed mind; the example of a most flourishing so-
ciety for the same purpose in Great Britain, com-
manding the general as well as the royal patronage,
united, perhaps, with a disposition in our commu-
nity, early developed, and still active, to delight itself
in things new, gave to the beginnings of this Society
a marked distinction. Nor did this cease with its
earliest days. For a series of years, the most re-
spectable and influential of our citizens, in different
parts of the Commonwealth, were enrolled among
its members.* The most distinguished professional
gentlemen, lay as well as clerical, were selected for
its orators; liberal contributions to its funds showed
the sense entertained of the importance of its de-
sign; while its anniversaries, in the pleasant month
of June, which the Executive with the legislature of
the State, then in session, repeatedly adjourned to
attend, were honored by crowded assemblies, and
attended by somewhat of the “pomp and circum-
stance” belonging to those days, but which, with
familiarity and changes in the habits of society have
now passed away.†

* Note B. page 31.
† The first Catalogue of the members of the Society was appended to Dr.
Lathrop's Discourse at the first Anniversary, 1787, and contains one hundred and
forty names. The Catalogue of 1810 exhibits the names of six hundred and
eleven members, residents of various parts of the Commonwealth, besides a list of
honorary members, among whom are Drs. Fothergill and Lettsom, with the Earl
of Stamford and others of Great Britain, Dr. Baron of Calcutta, Dr. Rush of
Philadelphia, and various distinguished gentlemen in other parts of the United
States.

Members were at first, and afterwards, for a long series of years, admitted only
on the recommendation of a Trustee, or some other member. And in instances
as late as 1824, were on their request as formally dismissed, or in other words
released from the payment of an annual subscription.
No sooner was the Society formed, than application for the aids it contemplates were presented. Of the first meeting of the Trustees, at the house of Dr. John Warren, February, 1786, one month from the time of its organization, the following is a part of the record.

"It being made to appear to the Trustees, that Mr. Andrew Sloane had, since the institution of the Society, by a signal exertion saved a lad from drowning, who had fallen into the ice through the Mill-Dam: — Voted, That said Sloane be paid the sum of twenty-eight shillings, agreeably to the fourteenth article."

As this was the first premium adjudged, followed soon after by one of a similar description, so the first instance of resuscitation communicated was that of a child of a painter in Boston, who, in October of 1787, fell into a deep cistern, and was taken out apparently dead; but by the persevering use of the methods recommended by the Society, under the direction of an intelligent neighbor, was completely recovered. Such were the beginnings of a long series of cases, amounting to many hundreds in number, which, in their various degrees of human peril and suffering on the one hand, of heroic exertion and humanity on the other, have awakened the sympathies and obtained the premiums of the Society.*

Of other objects soon engaging their attention, was the erection of huts on exposed portions of the coast, for the shelter of shipwrecked seamen. To this,

* Note C. pages 33—59; also, Note D. page 60.
however, as forming an important part of its present arrangements, we shall have occasion to advert more particularly hereafter. In immediate connexion with this, was a proposal, in 1788, to erect houses, and even to settle families on the Isle of Sables, near Cape Breton, for the protection of the many, in each year, who were wrecked on that desolate spot. But the funds of the Society being wholly inadequate to an undertaking of such magnitude, a committee was appointed to present an address to His Excellency Governor Hancock, who was a proprietor of a large part of the island, and to request his recommendation of the object either to the legislature of the State, or to the Congress of the United States, as he might deem most expedient. The Governor complied with the request, by sending a message to the General Court; and a communication was at the same time held with some influential citizens of Halifax, (Nova Scotia,) near to which, also, Cape Sables is situated. But of the results of these measures, the records of the Society do not furnish information.*

At this period, and for many years subsequent, it was usual with the Trustees to make an annual

* The following article, as it shows the importance of the matter, is extracted from an Halifax newspaper of July, 1787:—

"The number of vessels continually wrecked on Cape Sable Island makes it highly necessary, that some steps should be taken by government to settle a family or two there. The expense could not be great; and there cannot be a doubt, that the New England States would cheerfully join with the government here, and the underwriters, in a measure, by which their interests, and the lives of so many valuable fellow-creatures might be preserved."
visit to the islands in the harbor, in order to inspect their huts. On these occasions the President was authorized to invite the Governor, with distinguished strangers, and such other guests as he should deem proper. On one of these anniversaries, Governor Hancock being by indisposition unable to attend, ordered a salute to be fired in honor of the Society, as their boat passed the Castle William; for which courtesy he received their vote of thanks.* The Trustees had the frequent mortification, as will hereafter be seen, to find their huts plundered, or the materials destroyed. But the painful duties of these visitations seem to have been abundantly relieved by a measure of festivity not unknown in those days to the fathers, and even to the highest dignitaries of the Commonwealth, under the burdens of their official duties. And probably it was in some observation of the tendencies of a generous hospitality to profusion, that the Trustees have from time to time adopted, for their own direction, some very judicious resolves, in the shape of sumptuary laws;† of which, if the effects, with the usual slowness attending this species of regulation, have not been manifest to themselves, they will hope that they may yet be tasted to their fullest extent by their successors.

* Note E. page 69.  † Note F. page 74.
As this Society was for many years one of only three or four charitable institutions within Massachusetts, proposals were occasionally made to engraft other objects upon its original purpose. Among these we find a communication from the Rev. Dr. Belknap, the distinguished biographer and historian, suggesting that some provision be made for the sick-poor, and particularly for exposed children. A large committee, of whom were Judge Lowell, Dr. Belknap, Judge Sullivan, and Thomas Russell, Esq., were appointed from the Society at large to consider and report upon the subject, who recommended a consultation with the Medical faculty, in order most effectually to provide "for the sick-poor, for the assistance of lying-in women, and for foundlings." They also reported in favor of procuring subscriptions for a public Dispensary; and thus probably originated that excellent institution, which for now more than fifty years has been the instrument of great good in our city.

The condition and sufferings of American citizens, then in captivity among the Algerines, was, in 1794, a subject of deep interest. At a meeting of the Trustees, May 5th, of that year, the President, with four other gentlemen, were selected as a committee to apply to the General Court for a brief to collect money in their favor. They received, also, a letter from the Vice-President of the United States,
with several letters from the captives themselves in Algiers, addressed to the American consul. But upon mature deliberation it was deemed expedient to defer any active measures for the present.

In the course of two or three successive seasons several deaths had occurred to persons bathing in Cambridge river, particularly among the students of the College. A committee, of whom were Dr. John Warren and Dr. Dexter, was therefore appointed "to confer with a committee of the College and the inhabitants of Cambridge upon the expediency and practicability of erecting a bath upon that dangerous river, for the purpose of preventing such accidents; and to this object the Society appropriated one hundred and fifty dollars.*

The yellow fever having prevailed in Boston, Philadelphia, and other of our cities during the summer and autumn of 1798, the Trustees offered a piece of plate of the value of fifty dollars "for the greatest number of important and well-substantiated facts instrumental in giving origin to the yellow fever in the United States." The premium was awarded to Samuel Brown, M. D., and his dissertation was published at the expense of the Society.

* For some measures, which the Trustees also adopted at a later period for the encouragement of a swimming-school in Boston, specially for the benefit of the boys of the public schools, by inviting the cooperation of the Mayor and Aldermen, and appropriating one hundred dollars for the purpose, see Note C. under the catalogue of Premiums awarded.
As might have been anticipated, or rather as experience made probable, many mistaken or deceptive applications were made to the Society for its rewards, in cases either not coming within its province, or when, in the actual relieving of a sufferer no danger had been incurred, or with collusion and intention to deceive, when the whole story was a fabrication, and no danger to any party existed. Of this latter species of baseness, as when claims were made for meritorious efforts in drawing a man out of the water, who, it appeared upon inquiry, "had never fallen into the water at all," some few instances are of faithful record in our Appendix.* With a view to discourage all such plotters, as well as to preclude fruitless applications, the Trustees did, in 1799, cause public notice to be made, both of the proper objects of their institution, and of the nature of the services which they considered as alone entitled to a reward. Signal exertions, not merely those which common humanity would demand, and which it would be disgraceful in any human being to refuse, coupled with personal exposure and danger, are represented in their Resolutions as indispensable. "Signal exertion," as is expressed, "includes the endangering of life, or incurring some damage by impairing the health, or injuring apparel, or other property."

* Note C. pages 45, 48, 49.
In November, 1801, the Rev. Dr. Parker informed the Trustees, "that a gentleman had made an offer of four hundred dollars to the Humane Society for the purpose of erecting a building for those persons who are so unfortunate as to become insane." The subject was referred by the Trustees to the Society at their semi-annual meeting, in December, who appointed a large committee to consider the subject and report at a future meeting.

This appears to have been the first suggestion of a subject of great moment, which afterwards engaged much of the attention of the Society. No measures, however, seem to have been adopted in relation to it until 1816, when, at the meeting of the Trustees in October of that year, a communication was received from the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, inviting attention to the subject, and submitting certain proposals to our consideration. The proposals themselves were not adopted; but, at the meeting of the Trustees on November 6th, the President, Dr. Dexter, communicated the following letter:—

*To the President and Trustees of the Humane Society:*

Gentlemen: We, the subscribers, members of the Humane Society, actuated solely by a desire to promote a cause most interesting to humanity, and of a nature consistent with the general design of our institution, respectfully request that the funds of the Society, so far as they are disposable by the Trustees, may be applied to the encouragement of the Hospital for Lunatics, proposed to be established in this town, or its vicinity.
This letter was signed by George Cabot and thirty-four other members of the Society; and it was unanimously

Voted, That the Trustees do authorize the Treasurer to subscribe five thousand dollars in behalf of the Society towards the establishment of an Hospital for insane persons.

It was also Voted, That the Rev. Charles Lowell, Samuel Parkman, Esq., and Dr. Spooner, be a committee to confer with the Trustees of the "Massachusetts General Hospital," and request the aid of that Corporation in the proposed establishment.

This committee conferred agreeably to their appointment. The offer of the Trustees was accepted by the General Hospital Corporation on certain terms and conditions mutually agreed; the Treasurer subscribed the five thousand dollars; and "thus," says the history of 1829, "the Humane Society laid the foundation of the Asylum for the Insane." *

At a stated meeting of the Trustees, in July, 1820, an additional donation, of seven hundred and fifty dollars, was made to the "Massachusetts General Hospital," on the same terms and conditions as the previous sum. And in August, 1824, upon the Report of a committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. Lowell, Dr. J. C. Warren, and Judge Thacher, appointed to consider the expediency of affording further aid, it was unanimously voted to appropriate "a sum sufficient to support six free or charity beds, within that institution, on condition that the occupation of these beds be at the disposal of the officers of this

* See Note I. page 83.
Society, namely, the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer, each one bed; and, provided, that the number of charity beds, previously existing in the Hospital, be not diminished in consequence of this donation, but that the beds supported by the Humane Society be considered as added to those existing." This grant was limited to three years, but, upon the expiration of that term, was renewed on like conditions, and so continued, as will appear, until 1834.

In September, 1830, Rev. Dr. Lowell, John Heard, Esq., and Dr. Hayward, were appointed to consider and report the expediency of appropriating an additional sum from the funds of this Society in aid of some other humane and charitable object. Accordingly, in the following December, they reported that "they knew of no object more deserving, or more needed in the present condition of the community, than an establishment for Lying-in women; and proposed that five thousand dollars be appropriated in aid of this object, on condition that twelve thousand dollars more be raised, by subscription, within "six months." The committee advert, in their Report, to the fact we have already stated, that the idea of a similar institution was suggested at an early period of this Society; that with the advancing population of the city, the want of such an asylum had become the more urgent; and that the object itself
was altogether in accordance with the general design of this Society,” — which is, as expressed in the Act of incorporation, “the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries.” This Report was accepted, and the same committee were authorized to carry it into full effect.

The Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, having proffered their aid towards the same object, a conference was held with a committee of that Board. Another and larger committee, composed of five of our Trustees, was appointed for the collecting of subscriptions, and inviting the cooperation of the “Massachusetts Charitable Society.” Both these objects having been accomplished, the result was the establishment, in 1832, of “The Boston Lying-in Hospital,” as it is now conducted. The Act of incorporation, afterwards obtained, reserves to this Society the right of visiting, or exercising a supervising power over its affairs. In virtue of this provision, two of its Board of Trustees are annually deputed from the Trustees of the Humane Society. In January, 1834, three hundred dollars were appropriated from our funds, to the support of three free beds in the Lying-in Asylum; and the same grant was continued annually, until 1838, when, on application from the Directors of the Lying-in Hospital, for additional aid, to meet some pressing exigencies, a donation was made of nine hundred dollars; it
being understood, that this special grant should be regarded as exempting the Society, for the future, from any annual contributions in support of that institution.

In consequence of the provision from our funds, for free beds in the “Lying-in Asylum,” it was deemed expedient that the number of beds, provided by us, in the General Hospital, should be diminished. Accordingly, since 1834, three hundred dollars only, instead of six hundred, have been annually appropriated for beds in this latter institution. These are under the charge of the President, and Vice-Presidents, who give orders, as occasion arises, for the admission to them of proper subjects. Applications are very frequently made. It is seldom that these, our free beds, are at any time unoccupied; and during the term of twenty years, that has now elapsed since this excellent provision was adopted, a very large number of sick-poor have partaken of its benefits.*

HUTS FOR SHELTER.

At an early period of the Society, as has been already seen, the erection of huts for the shelter

*It appears from the records of the Massachusetts General Hospital, which were carefully examined by the Superintendent, for the purpose, at the request of the committee, that, during the last twenty years, from 1825 to the present, “there have been admitted to the free beds of the Humane Society, on order of its officers, 171 patients, who remained in the Hospital 1054 weeks, making the average time for each patient, six weeks and one day.

Besides these, others appear to have been admitted, and to have occupied our charity beds, “by the order of subscribers,” so that the whole number, probably, exceeds 200.
and comfort of persons unfortunately shipwrecked was among the objects of its attention. Within a few months after its organization appropriations were made for this purpose. Several huts, on exposed parts of the Massachusetts coast, have been from time to time erected, repaired, or renewed, as circumstances required, furnished with fuel and other articles most needful for the exhausted mariner. At no period have the Trustees lost sight of this object; and, of the huts now existing and their respective locations, the following is the enumeration:

At Great Brewster, . . . . one.
   “Lovell’s Island,”
   “Nantasket Long Beach,”
   “Scituate,”
   “Long Beach, {from Duxbury to Plymouth Light,”
   “Race Point,”
   “Nauset Beach,”
   “The Beach outside Chatham,”
   “Tinkers Island, Marblehead,”

At Nantucket, also, there are several huts, under the charge of individuals of that Island.

*It was usual with the Trustees, in their arrangements for the Huts, to engage the assistance, or to avail themselves of the counsel, of judicious individuals, most conversant with the locations of the coast. Many valuable services of this nature were rendered and gratefully acknowledged. At a meeting in October, 1802, it appears that the late Rev. Dr. Freeman, having been requested, by a preceding vote, to “inquire for the most important places on Cape Cod, where small Huts may be erected to receive shipwrecked seamen, and to determine how many be necessary,” and having fulfilled this commission to the great satisfaction of the Trustees, it was voted, “That the thanks of the Society be given to the Rev. Mr. James Freeman for his very judicious and accurate report, respecting the Huts on Cape Cod; and, that two thousand copies be printed in a large type, and distributed in several parts of this Commonwealth, for the benefit of seafaring men.”
We regret for the sake of our common humanity to be compelled to say, that neither the sacredness of the charity, nor the urgent necessity to the shipwrecked sufferers of the materials supplied; nor yet the thought of the bitter disappointment and distress, which the want of them at such a crisis must occasion, have protected these humble but hallowed abodes from plunder. Scarcely had one been erected on Lovell's Island, in 1789, before it was found necessary to offer rewards for the discovery of the perpetrators of so base an outrage. And even to the present, in instances not a few, have the Trustees found themselves obliged to repair the wastes of this peculiarly cruel and wanton depredation, in comparison of which, as was indignantly said by an eloquent preacher on one of the annual celebrations, "common robbery is righteousness."*

**LIFE BOATS.**

It has also been a favorite and highly important object of the Society to provide Life Boats, as among the surest means of preserving human life in its most exposed and threatening positions; alike valuable to them who are in peril, and to them who are willing to attempt their rescue. Accordingly, as early as October, 1807, one was completed

under the direction of a skilful committee, and with
the advice of some experienced mariners was sta-
tioned at Cohasset, where it remained until 1813.

The honor of this inestimable invention belongs
to Henry Greathead, Esq., a native of South Shields,
in England. And though, like many others of the
most valuable discoveries, which science and art,
quickened by humanity, have made for the ben-
efit of our race, it failed at first of attracting notice;
yet such was the experience of its utility that it
at length obtained the attention of the British
Parliament, who voted to its inventor the sum of
twelve hundred pounds sterling, while two thou-
sand more were presented him by individuals to
courage the building of his Boats. In several
instances one hundred pounds were subscribed by
Humane Societies for the same purpose; and the
gift of a costly diamond ring was presented to Mr.
Greathead, by the Emperor of Russia.

At different periods of our own Society, since that
already referred to, measures have been adopted in
reference to this object. Particularly at the meet-
ing of the Board in January, 1840, a committee was
appointed to carry it into execution. But the funds
of the Society not admitting of a large expenditure
for this single, however desirable, purpose, it was
with high satisfaction that at the meeting of April,
in the same year, the Trustees received an official
communication of a Resolve, passed by the Legislature of the State, of which the following is a copy.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the Treasury of the Commonwealth, to the President and Trustees of the Massachusetts Humane Society, the sum of five thousand dollars, for the purpose of furnishing Life Boats, to be stationed at the most exposed parts of the seacoast within this Commonwealth, and that a warrant be drawn therefor. And that the said Society be requested to report to the Governor and Council their expenditure of the funds appropriated by this Resolve, together with the number and stations of the boats.

House of Representatives, March, 21, 1840, passed.

Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker.

In the Senate, March, 21, 1840.

Daniel P. King, President.

Approved,

Marcus Morton.

With this liberal and effective aid, altogether worthy of an enlightened commonwealth, the Society was at once enabled to accomplish its desired purpose. And under the superintendence of the President, B. Rich, Esq., and of the late lamented Henry Oxnard, eleven boats, together with one provided from the Society's own fund were completed, and an official Report, of which the following is a copy, was at the ensuing session of the Legislature, agreeably to the terms of the Resolve, presented to the Governor and Council.

Boston, Jan. 4, 1841.

To his Excellency John Davis, and to the Honorable Council:

The Trustees of the Humane Society of Massachusetts beg leave to present to your Excellency, and to the Honorable
HISTORY.

Council, the following Report, as submitted to their own body by a committee chosen from themselves to carry into effect the above-mentioned Resolve.

The committee, in addition to a Life Boat provided by the Humane Society, have built eleven, which are stationed in the following places: One boat at Nantucket, one at Martha's Vineyard, three at Cape Cod, which are arranged by John Atkins, Esq., with the approbation of the Selectmen; one at Cohasset, one at Nantasket Beach, one at Lynn, one at Gloucester, one at Sandy Bay, one at Plumb Island, under the care of the Humane Society at Newburyport; with one on Scituate Beach, which will be paid for by the Massachusetts Humane Society.

The whole number of boats thus provided is twelve; all of which are furnished with oars, buckets, and four bars of iron for ballast. These can be taken out when it is necessary to transport the boats to any distance. A house twenty feet long, eight feet and a half wide, shingled on the top, and battened on the sides has been built for each boat.

The following, may it please your Excellency and the Honorable Council, is a part of the letter addressed, in the name of the Trustees, to the Selectmen of one of the towns within which the boats are stationed, and signed by our President, Benjamin Rich, Esq. Similar notices were given to the authorities of the other towns.

Boston, August 10, 1840.

To Hon. George B. Upton, and the Selectmen of Nantucket:

Gentlemen: With the money granted by the State, the Massachusetts Humane Society have a Life Boat finished, which they wish placed in the best situation to relieve shipwrecked mariners on your Island. They wish you to select ten active men, one of whom to be appointed as chairman, (sending in their names, which are to be recorded in the books of the Society,) to take charge of said boat, any five or six of whom being present can manage her. But their services must be considered as granted voluntarily for humane and charitable purposes. And whenever any meritorious act is performed by the volunteers in the boat, in rescuing lives, they shall be suitably rewarded on a full representation of the same to the Society.

It is necessary that a suitable house should be built to protect the boat from the weather; the bill of which will be paid on presentment.
[Here follows a detailed statement of the cost of the boats, and of the articles supplied, all included with the above, in the Report to the Council, but unnecessary here to repeat.]

From the foregoing statement it will appear that, of the five thousand dollars received by the Trustees from the treasury of the Commonwealth, there have been expended for the purposes for which it was granted, four thousand nine hundred and sixty-two dollars, seventy-two cents, leaving a balance unexpended of said grant of thirty-seven dollars twenty-eight cents; which, together with the sum of two hundred dollars received from the Newburyport Marine Society, leaves a balance of two hundred thirty-seven dollars twenty-eight cents in the hands of our Treasurer for the above-named purposes.

All which is respectfully submitted,
By direction of the Trustees,
FRANCIS PARKMAN,
HENRY OXNARD.*

At a subsequent meeting of the Trustees, the following letter from the Council, in reply to the Report, was presented, and ordered to be placed on file.

TO REV. FRANCIS PARKMAN,
and HENRY OXNARD, ESQ.

Gentlemen: The Committee of the Council, to whom was referred the Report of the Humane Society, of their expenditure of five thousand dollars granted by Resolve, March 21, 1840, have received the same and found it satisfactory. They respectfully suggest, that advantages would arise from publication of the stations of each boat in the newspapers, as it would also give satisfaction to the members of the Legislature. The points or places, where the boats are stationed should be accurately defined, so that shipwrecked vessels might direct their course, if in their power, to such places. The Committee would be happy to confer with you upon this subject, if you should think any advantage would arise therefrom.

With great respect,
Jos. Grennell,
By order of the Committee.

Council Chamber, Jan. 12, 1841.

* Note G. page 75.
Agreeably to the above suggestion, publication was duly made of the numbers and stations of the Life Boats; and an accurate list, as they are at present located, will be found in the Appendix.

In the session of 1841, an additional grant, of thirteen hundred and fifty dollars, was made by the Legislature; and an acknowledgment of the same, with a statement of the expenditure, was presented, as before, to the Governor and Council, by the President of the Society.*

The Society has the utmost reason to acknowledge a paternal Providence, and to congratulate a benevolent community on the good already accomplished, and the far greater good to be anticipated from this wise provision. One of these boats alone, — that stationed at Hull, — has been the means of saving thirty-six lives.† And if the inhabitants of these and other exposed portions of our coast have found demands upon their heroism and humanity, frequent and urgent beyond what might seem their due proportion, they will find, we are persuaded, corresponding satisfaction in having been the instruments, under heaven, of delivering from death and giving back to domestic love, to friendship, usefulness, and shall we not hope, to "newness of life," their rescued and grateful fellow-citizens.

* Note II. page 76. † Note II. page 78, and Note K. page 87.
If we look only to the special purpose, for which the Society was established, "the preservation of human life," without including in the estimate the various kindred objects, which at different periods have engaged its attention and been aided by its funds, we find ample testimony of its beneficial influence. It would be difficult to exhibit with any exactness of numbers the individuals, whose names in the course of the fifty-eight years since its institution have been enrolled on its records, either as the instruments or objects of the humanity it encourages; who have saved, or have themselves been saved from "going down to death."* But when we add to these the far wider circle of kindred and friends, of fathers and mothers, of wives and sisters, whose distracting fears or speechless anguish have been changed to exulting joy, there

* At the anniversary of "The Royal Humane Society," in 1804, it was stated that since its institution in 1774, a period of only thirty years, two thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine persons of all ages and conditions had been recorded in its books as rescued from imminent peril and restored to life; and that four thousand five hundred and eighty-seven individuals had been rewarded by its funds for humane exertions. It was customary, also, at those anniversaries, to assemble as many as could be collected of the persons thus recovered, who went in procession and were seated together in a conspicuous part of the church. On one occasion, the numbers of this singular company exceeded seven hundred; and their anthem of thanksgiving was that of the healed King of Israel. "The grave cannot praise Thee: Death cannot celebrate Thee: they that go down to the pit cannot hope for thy truth. But the living, the living, he shall praise Thee, as I do this day."

A Hymn was composed by Mrs. Morton, for the anniversaries of our own Society, one stanza of which is supposed to be sung by the persons recovered. The Hymn itself was repeatedly sung by Mrs. Granpmier, and others, as appears in the notices of the occasion, at the time; but we believe, that in no instance, was there an assemblage of the persons restored.

The following is the well-known stanza:—

"Since twice to die is others alone,
And twice the breath of life to see,
Oh I may we, prostrate at thy throne,
Devote our second lives to Thee."
rises to our view a countless multitude, who have had reason to bless its instrumentality. To appre­ciate the value of any single case, we have but to make it our own. The parent has but to think of the child “once dead and alive again,” or the wife saved from widowhood, of receiving back her husband; and in every instance of such deliver­ance, and every effort of successful humanity, what fountains are opened of gratitude and joy! Not that we imagine, that but for any awards, which we can adjudge, such generous efforts would not have been made. We have too much con­fidence in the impulses of that nature, which God has given us, and in the teachings of that re­ligion, which the Son of God’s love has brought us to suppose, that without the bestowment of pecuniary bounty men will be wanting to their fellow-men in the hour of peril. God has touched the hearts of his children to finer issues, and has set that within us, to answer to the calls of human suffering, which depends on no societies, or on what societies can bestow. To encourage, there­fore, and reward; to quicken rather than awaken benevolence; and to provide efficient means, which an enlightened philanthropy may employ, is the chief purpose of our Society. For the extent to which this purpose has been accomplished, it be­comes us gratefully to acknowledge the sovereign Arbiter, “with whom are the issues of life and
death;" and to consecrate all our endeavors by
our faith in Him, who, in a sense far surpassing
that, in which even the most faithful of his disci­
ples may hope to imitate him, "came not to de­
stroy men's lives but to save them." And amidst
the calamities and crimes, disordering society, which
the lover of his race is so often called to contemplate
and deplore, it is grateful to turn our thoughts to
those heroic deeds, such as we here exhibit, which
may at once restore our confidence in the nature, of
which we are all partakers, and reveal to us the
power of that religious faith, which is the only un­
failing source of generous action.

Boston, Jan. 15, 1845.
OFFICERS OF THE HUMANE SOCIETY,
FOR
1844-5.

FRANCIS PARKMAN, D. D., President.
ROBERT G. SHAW, First Vice-President.
DANIEL P. PARKER, Second Vice-President.
JOHN L. GARDNER, Treasurer.
JOHN HOMANS, M. D., Corresponding Secretary.
SAMUEL HOOPER, Recording Secretary.

Trustees.
EDWARD H. ROBBINS, DAVID SEARS,
ABBOTT LAWRENCE, SAMUEL AUSTIN,
ROBERT B. FORBES, CHARLES AMORY.

STATE OF THE SOCIETY'S FUNDS,
As exhibited by the Treasurer, at the Annual Meeting, May 14, 1844.

70 shares Union Bank, at par, $7,000.00
42 shares Merchants' Bank, 4,200.00
7 shares Tremont Bank, 700.00
25 shares State Bank, 1,500.00
1 share Malden Bridge, } valued, 400.00
10 shares Chelsea Bridge, 
10 certificates of Massachusetts State Stock, £200 each,
Nos. 231 to 240, 9,600.00
Cash in the hands of the Treasurer, 1,176.16

$24,576.16
NOTE A.

A P P E N D I X.

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

AN ACT

TO INCORPORATE AND ESTABLISH A SOCIETY BY THE NAME OF

The Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

WHEREAS it is the duty of government at all times to counte­nance and support its citizens in their exertions for alleviating the

distresses of their fellow-men; and whereas divers persons have

petitioned this Court for an act of incorporation whereby they may

more effectually carry into execution their benevolent designs;—

Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives

in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the

Hon. Thomas Russell, Esq., Jonathan Mason, Esq., John Warren,

M. D., Rev. Simeon Howard, D. D., Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D.,


Thacher, Rev. John Clarke, Dr. Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter,

M. D., and Mr. Nathaniel Balch, together with all those who now

are, and such others who shall become members thereof, be, and

they are hereby erected into and made a body politic corporate

forever, by the name of The Humane Society of the Commonwealth

of Massachusetts.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said

Corporation are hereby declared, and made capable in law of having,

holding, purchasing, and taking in fee simple, or any less estate, by

gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, any lands, tenements, or other estate,

real and personal; provided that the annual income of the said

real and personal estate shall not exceed the sum of four thousand

pounds; and also to sell, alien, devise, or dispose of the same estate,

real and personal, not using the same in trade or commerce.
And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said Corporation shall have full power and authority to make, have, and use a common seal, and the same to break, alter, and renew at pleasure; that it shall be capable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended in all courts of record, or other courts or places whatsoever, in all actions, real, personal, and mixed, and to do and execute all and singular other matters and things, that to them shall and may appertain to do.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said Corporation may make, establish, and put in execution such laws and regulations as may be necessary to the government of said Corporation; provided the same shall in no case be repugnant to the laws and constitution of this State; and for the well governing of the said Corporation, and the ordering of their affairs, they shall have such officers as they shall hereafter from time to time elect and appoint; and such officers as shall be designated by the laws and regulations of the said Corporation for the purpose, shall be capable of exercising such power for the well governing and ordering the affairs of the said Corporation, and calling and holding such occasional meetings for that purpose, as shall be fixed and determined by the said laws and regulations.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the end and design of the institution of the said Society, is for the recovery of persons who meet with such accidents as produce in them the appearance of death, and for promoting the cause of humanity by pursuing such means from time to time, as shall have for their object the preservation of human life, and the alleviation of its miseries.

And be it further enacted, That the place where the first meeting of the said Society shall be held, shall be in the town of Boston; and that the Hon. Thomas Russell, Esq., be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered to fix the time for holding the said meeting, and to notify the same to the members of the said Society, by causing the same to be published in one of the Boston newspapers fourteen days before the time fixed on for holding the said meeting.

In the House of Representatives, Feb. 21, 1791.
This Bill having had three several readings passed to be enacted.

DAVID COBB, Speaker.

In Senate, Feb. 23, 1791.
This Bill having had two several readings, passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, President.

By the Governor approved.

JOHN HANCOCK.

True copy. Attest,

JOHN AVERY, Jun., Secretary.
NOTE B.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY
FROM ITS FORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PRESIDENTS.

JAMES BOWDOIN,
THOMAS RUSSELL,
JONATHAN MASON,
JOHN WARREN,
AARON DEXTER,
WILLIAM SPOONER,
JONATHAN AMORY,
BENJAMIN RICH,
FRANCIS PARKMAN.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THOMAS RUSSELL,
JONATHAN MASON,
JOHN WARREN,
SIMEON HOWARD,
JOHN LATHROP,
THOMAS DAWES,
WILLIAM SPOONER,
SAMUEL COBB,
BENJAMIN RICH,
JOHN C. WARREN,
CHARLES LOWELL,
FRANCIS PARKMAN,
ROBERT G. SHAW.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

JOHN WARREN,
SIMEON HOWARD,
JOHN LATHROP,
AARON DEXTER,
WILLIAM SPOONER,
SAMUEL PARKMAN,
SAMUEL COBB,
JONATHAN AMORY,
JOHN C. WARREN,
CHARLES LOWELL,
FRANCIS PARKMAN,
ROBERT G. SHAW,
DANIEL P. PARKER.

TREASURERS.

SIMEON HOWARD,
SAMUEL PARKER,
EDWARD GRAY,
JOHN ELIOT,
SAMUEL COBB,
EPHRAIM ELIOT,
HENDERSON INCHES,
JOHN L. GARDNER.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

THOMAS WELSH,
JOHN CLARKE,
SAMUEL PARKER,
AARON DEXTER,
WILLIAM SPOONER,
GEORGE G. LEE,
CHARLES LOWELL,
JOHN HEARD, Jr.,
JACOB BIGELOW,
JOHN HOMANS.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

JOHN CLARKE,
SAMUEL PARKER,
JOHN AVERY, Jr.,
EDWARD GRAY,
CHARLES DAVIS,
FRANCIS J. OLIVER,
FRANCIS PARKMAN,
SAMUEL A. ELIOT,
JOHN L. GARDNER,
SAMUEL HOOPER.
APPENDIX.

**TRUSTEES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAMUEL PARKER,</td>
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<td>JOHN LATHROP,</td>
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<td>AARON DEXTER,</td>
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<td>OLIVER WENDELL,</td>
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<td>SAMUEL STILLMAN,</td>
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<td>NATHANIEL BALCH,</td>
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<td>SAMUEL HENSHAW,</td>
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<td>PETER THACHER,</td>
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<td>HENRY OXNARD,</td>
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<td>ABBOTT LAWRENCE,</td>
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<td>CHARLES G. Loring,</td>
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<td>ROBERT B. FORBES,</td>
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<td>SAMUEL HOOPER,</td>
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<td>DAVID SEARS,</td>
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<td>SAMUEL AUSTIN,</td>
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<td>CHARLES AMORY,</td>
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**LIST OF GENTLEMEN**

Who have delivered Discourses before the Humane Society since its institution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>JOHN LATHROP, D. D.</td>
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<td>1788</td>
<td>SIMEON HOWARD, D. D.</td>
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<td>1789</td>
<td>PETER THACHER, D. D.</td>
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<td>1790</td>
<td>BENJ. WATERHOUSE, M. D.</td>
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<td>1791</td>
<td>SAMUEL PARKER, D. D.</td>
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<td>1792</td>
<td>JOHN BARTLETT, M. D.</td>
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<td>1793</td>
<td>JOHN CLARK, D. D.</td>
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<td>1794</td>
<td>THOMAS BARNARD, D. D.</td>
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<td>1795</td>
<td>Hon. JOHN BROOKS.</td>
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<td>1796</td>
<td>CHANDLER ROBBINS, D. D.</td>
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<td>1797</td>
<td>JOHN FLEET, M. D.</td>
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<td>1798</td>
<td>WILLIAM WALTER, D. D.</td>
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<td>1799</td>
<td>ISAAC HURD, M. D.</td>
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<td>1800</td>
<td>Rev. THOMAS THACHER.</td>
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<td>1801</td>
<td>JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D.</td>
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<td>1802</td>
<td>ELIPHALET PORTER, D. D.</td>
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<td>1803</td>
<td>JOHN S. J. GARDNER, D. D.</td>
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<td>1804</td>
<td>JOHN HOWARD, M. D.</td>
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<td>1805</td>
<td>THOMAS GRAY, M. D.</td>
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<td>1806</td>
<td>THAD. M. HARRIS, D. D.</td>
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<td>1807</td>
<td>Rev. WILLIAM EMERSON.</td>
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<td>1808</td>
<td>THOMAS DANFORTH, M.D.</td>
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<td>1809</td>
<td>JOSEPH M'KEAN, LL. D.</td>
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<td>1810</td>
<td>JOHN T. KIRKLAND, D. D.</td>
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<td>1811</td>
<td>LEMUEL SHAW, LL. D.</td>
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<td>1812</td>
<td>Rev. HENRY COLMAN.</td>
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<td>1813</td>
<td>JAS. KENDALL, D. D.</td>
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<td>1814</td>
<td>JOHN ALLYN, D. D.</td>
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<td>1815</td>
<td>Rev. HORACE HOLLEY.</td>
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<td>1816</td>
<td>JOHN GORHAM, M. D.</td>
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<td>1817</td>
<td>WILLIAM TUDOR, Esq.*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*At a special meeting of the Society, March, 1818, it was voted, partly in consideration of the increasing number of charitable occasions, to discontinue the public celebrations. Most of the preceding discourses were published.*
NOTE C.

PREMIUMS AWARDED BY THE TRUSTEES.

Of the large number of Premiums awarded for benevolent exertions, we select those chiefly which appear to be distinguished from the rest, by the merit and interest of the case, or the amount of the premium. The present list will be found, therefore, to include not more than a quarter part of the whole number, and, with few exceptions, are such as were thought worthy of some special consideration by the Trustees.*

The first List of Premiums which was published, was that appended to the discourse delivered before the Society, at its anniversary of June, 1792. It is thus introduced:

"The Trustees, with great pleasure, announce to the public the exertions of such of their fellow-citizens as have been instrumental in saving from death a number of persons, who must otherwise inevitably have perished. For such exertions, the following premiums have been adjudged since July, 1789."

1789. To Lieut. Scott, of his Most Christian Majesty's Ship, the Leopard, for risking his life, in jumping from the stern of said ship, then in the harbor of Boston, and saving the life of a young lad,—A Gold Medal, ...................... £2 12 0

1790. To Mr. Goffe, for receiving into his house, for the purpose of using the means of resuscitation, the body of Mr. Davis, who fell from the stern of a ship, at Governor's Wharf, when this act of kindness was refused at Mr. Davis's own lodgings,—the thanks of the Society, and a Premium of ......£3 0 0

1791. To Monsieur Julien Jean Durotoer, for saving the lives of Daniel Pierce and three other men, who were shipwrecked near Nantucket Shoals, in December last, ......£3 0 0

1792. To John and Thomas Burgess, keepers of the lighthouse at the Gurnet, for their exertions in saving the lives of two of the unfortunate crew of the ship Columbia, wrecked on Duxbury Beach, ...................................................... £3 0 0

* A large number of other cases will be found in the former publications of the Trustees, for which smaller sums were awarded, varying from one or two to ten dollars.
To Mr. Richard Hall, on representation of Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford, for saving the life of a young student, in Mr. Woodbridge's Academy, a silver medal, with suitable inscriptions, to be presented by the President of the Society.

1793. To S. Delano, Jr., for saving the crew of the ship Rodney, wrecked on Duxbury Beach, a Medal of Gold, valued at ................................................................. £4 12 4

To R. Hall, Jr., for saving a boy, a Medal of Silver, value, ................................................................. £1 13 0

To P. Geyer and others, for saving the lives of several persons, wrecked on Long Island, ................................................................. £2 8 0

To the Rev. Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Elisha Doane, five guineas, to be by them distributed among those benevolent persons, inhabitants of Cohasset, who exerted themselves in saving Capt. Hans, Peter Klein, and the crew of the ship Gertrude Maria, of Copenhagen, when in imminent peril of death.

1794. To J. Whitney, and L. Morse, for saving a man from drowning, ................................................................. $10

To S. Smith, 60s., and H. Bredlee 30s., for saving a man, $15

To W. White, for saving a woman, ................................................................. $5

To Dolphin Garler, for saving the life of a child of Mr. George Churchill, of Plymouth, ................................................................. $10

To John Howell, George Dunton, and John Brown, for saving the life of a son of Mr. Parker, who had fallen through the ice in the Mill Creek, ................................................................. $17

1795. To Robert Rogers, for saving the lives of four boys, overset in a boat where the water was seven feet deep, ................................................................. $5

To Nathaniel Trench and 'Son, for saving the lives of Henry Emmes, John Emmes, J. Snelling, and William Harris, who were overset in a small boat in the harbor of Boston, and would have perished but for the said Trench, ................................................................. $8

1796. To Timothy Pike and Joseph Barrett, for resuscitating a person of seventy years of age, who had fallen into the water, in passing over the causeway, ................................................................. $5

To Patrick Morgan, for bringing on shore the body of a child of Henry Rogers, of Springfield, ................................................................. $5

To Ebenezer Adams, and Loraine Fenno, for saving the life of Peter Munwell, between Spectacle and Thompson's Islands, ................................................................. $10

To Samuel Polly, for saving Benjamin Buckman, who was overset in a gale of wind upon Chelsea shore, ................................................................. $10
PREMIUMS AWARDED.

To Jacob Whipple, for saving Andrew Magee, William Penniman, and his daughter, who were overset in a sudden gust of wind, ................................................................. $10

1797. To William Hancock and Samuel Bunting, for attempting to save the life of Mr. Tileston, who was suffocated in a well upon the Boston Pier, $10 each, ...................... $20

To Jonathan Cooper, for bringing up said Tileston, Hancock, and Bunting, who were also suffocated in their attempt to save Tileston, $10, and a Silver Medal, value $4, ......... $14

To Adam Smith, for saving two children at Hancock's Wharf, ................................................................. $8

To Silas Libbey, for taking up a son of Major Hasty, of Scarborough, ................................................................. $10

To Major Libbey, for his uncommon despatch in procuring a Physician for the above case, a Silver Medal, ...................... $6

To Wilson Adlington, for saving the life of Francis Whiston, ........................................................................ $6

1798. To Joshua Hardy and George Rex, for saving a child of Edmund Steven, $4 each, .................. $8

To Samuel Cox, for saving John Thompson, ................. $10

To John Hebben and Ebenezer Ward, for their exertions in saving the life of Ralph Riddle, ................. $10

To Mr. John Low, on representation of Mrs. Catharine Anniesly, who was a spectator of the act, for descending into a well, and rescuing thence a child, ............................. $4

To Mr. Samuel Cox, on representation of Shubael Bell, Esq. for perilous efforts in saving John Thomas, upset in a boat, $10

And to the Man, who lives on Governor’s Island, for receiving and relieving the same, ......................... $4

1799. To Mr. Jonathan Loring, for signal exertions in saving the life of a child, as testified by several respectable persons, ................................................................. $8

To Mr. A. Clapp, for going into the water with his clothes on, and exertions in saving a child, .................. $8

To a young lad, by the name of Peter Moody, for saving two persons from drowning, ......................... $10

1800. To Isaac Wheeler, for saving the life of Allen Nickerson, when in much peril, ....................... $10

To Capt. George Crownsinshield, on representation of Rev. William Bentley, of Salem, for special exertions in sav-
ing a youth in imminent peril, a handsome Gold Medal, with a suitable inscription, ........................................... $20

1801. To Capt. James Perkins, Sen., and James Perkins, Jr., of Arundel, Me., Two Silver Cans, as an honorable testimony from the Trustees, for their signal exertions in saving the lives of six persons, when in the utmost danger,* .......................... $60

1802. To Ephraim Colver, of Chesterfield, for saving the life of a young man in Westfield River, ............... $10
To Adam Wallace Thaxter, for saving the life of a child, $5
To George Johnson, of Salem, for saving the life of Virgil Maxey,........................................................... $10
To Mr. Parsons, for receiving into his house the body of Quaco, a Negro, (who was drowned at the bottom of the Common,) for the purpose of using the resuscitative process, ................................. $5

1803. To Nehemiah Jaquith, aged 76, for saving the life of John Danley, of Tyngsborough, who had fallen through the ice in Merrimack River, ....................................................... $10
To Josiah Bates, David Cole, and Eben Cole, for saving the life of Levi Gifford, at sea, .............................. $9

*At a meeting of the Trustees, Oct. 6, 1801, on a communication from the Hon. Daniel Dewey, representing the extraordinary exertions of Mr. Joseph North, of Augusta, Maine, in saving the life of Mr. Amos Bond, from drowning, a gold medal was voted to Mr. North, and silver medals to each of two other individuals, who assisted him. The inscription on the former of which, as directed by a committee appointed for the purpose, was as follows:

PRESENTED
BY THE
Humane Society of Massachusetts,
TO
Mr. Joseph North, Jun.,
Who, with a Soul superior
To all Considerations of Personal
Safety, preserved the life of
Mr. Amos Bond,
When drowning in a rapid and merciless
Current near Kennebeck Bridge,
In Augusta, April 17, 1801.
Also the life of
William Pitt,
Near the same Place,
August, 1798.
To Asa Pettengill, of Methuen, for saving the lives of several persons, near Bodwell's Falls, $30
To Henry Bragdon, for saving the life of Mr. Hatch, who fell from a small float in York River, $8
To Nathaniel Davis, for saving the life of Hugh Ramsey in Mystic River, $10
To Griffin Barnes, for his signal exertions in saving the life of a child of Mr. Norcross, a Gold Medal, $8 94

1804. To John Barnes, for saving the life of Ephraim Davis, a Medal, $9 89
To Ephraim Hoskins, for saving the life of a son of Mrs. Farmer, Plymouth, $10
To Isaac B. Rich, and Joshua Smith, for saving the life of a man who fell into the Dock near Bray's Wharf, $12
To Moses Wadsworth, for attempting to save the life of J. Jackson, who fell through the ice in a pond at Medfield, $10
To Paul Davis, for saving the life of Jonas Twiss, who fell through the ice near Prison Point, $10
To Elisha Abbott, for saving two children, who fell from a wharf near Charlestown Bridge, $10
To Oliver Jordan, for his signal exertions in saving a young lad from drowning, $5
To Mr. Bray Cox, $10, and to the other persons with him, being thirteen in number, $5 each, for their humane exertions in saving three men and a woman, as stated in Rev. Mr. Alden's letter,* $75
To George Sampson, Jr., for signal exertions in saving the child, mentioned in Dr. Thacher's letter,* $10
To the Rev. Timothy Alden, of Portsmouth, for the use of Mr. Benning Hall, for his signal exertions in saving the life of a young lad, named John Hart, from drowning, $10

1805. To Anthony Gowen and Peter Bretton, for their exertions in saving the life of a son of Rev. Dr. Eckley from drowning, and for bringing up the dead body of the drowned seaman, who was with him, five dollars each, $10
To the Owner of the House, who received the dead body of said seaman, $5

* The letters of Dr. Thacher, of Plymouth, and of Rev. T. Alden, of Portsmouth, exhibiting highly interesting cases, appear in the appendix to Dr. Howard's and Dr. Gray's anniversary discourses, 1804-5.
To Mr. William Leonard, and the other persons of Plymouth, who preserved the captain and seamen of ship Hibernia, when shipwrecked, as mentioned in the letter of Dr. James Thacher, ............................................................... $50

To Joseph Preston and Joseph Chase, for their exertions in saving the life of one John Green, ............................................................... $10

To Jacob and Peter Long, for taking from the water a newborn mulatto child, ............................................................... $4

To William Power, commander of the schooner, Eleanor; to Archibald St. Dennis, commander of the schooner, Ploughboy; and to John Power, commander of the Minerva, for their signal exertions in rescuing and receiving on board their respective vessels the passengers of the ship Jupiter, foundered at sea, — a Silver Can, each, with suitable inscriptions, emblematical of the event, the value not to exceed the sum of thirty dollars each, together with the thanks of the Trustees to the crews of their respective vessels, ............................................................... $90

1806. To Benjamin Page, of Quincy, for signal exertions in saving a son of N. Curtis, ............................................................... $10

To Samuel Jones, for saving a child of Mr. George Singleton, who had fallen into a well of thirty feet in depth, when there were about twelve feet of water therein, ............................................................... $10

To Ebenezer Rowe and Shubael Selley, on recommendation of Rev. Alden Bradford, of Wiscasset, Twenty Dollars, each, for their humane and gallant exertions in saving Joseph Boynton and James Handley, together with the thanks of the Trustees, ............................................................... $40

Also, to the same, for their perilous, though unsuccessful efforts to rescue Master Coffin, five dollars, each, ............................................................... $10

To Barker Bryant, and his assistants, for taking from a fishing boat, Abigail Brown, when in imminent danger of drowning, ............................................................... $16

To Benjamin Tarbell, for signal exertions in saving a child that fell into a well at Castle William, measuring ninety feet deep, ............................................................... $10

1807. To Joel Phillebrook and James Fuller, for saving Capt. Thomas Chase, and twelve others, from the wreck of the schooner Welcome Return, when in imminent danger of perishing, on a desolate coast, thirty dollars, each, ............................................................... $60

To Ichabod Hall and Sylvanus Sturtevant, for humane exertions in saving, the one an adult, the other a young child,
the cases being stated by James Thacher, M. D., Plymouth, ......................................................... $10

1808. To Jesse B. Wilcox, for saving Richard Day, in a very perilous condition, as stated by Rev. Dr. Gardner, a spectator of the transaction, and assisting in the same, .... $10

To L. Stephenson, of Cohasset, for his great exertions in preserving Mrs. Snow from drowning; and his laudable, though unsuccessful, exertions in endeavoring to save the three children of Mr. Snow, a Gold Medal, of .............................................. $10

Also, to Newcomb Bates, and four others, for aiding in the same, a Gold Medal, of the value of $5 to each, ............... $25

To Holbrook and Jordan, for saving several, who were overset in a boat on Dorchester Flats,................................. $10

To Josiah Lambord, Joseph Rich, and four others, all of Truro, for saving a number of people left upon the wreck of the schooner Active, of Harpswell, which foundered October 28, near Cape Cod Lighthouse, six dollars each, .................. $36

1809. To Messrs. White, More, and Gurney, ten dollars each, for their exertions in saving two men belonging to Fort Independence, who in a violent snow-storm had fallen through the ice, in crossing from South Boston, ......................... $30

To Bill, a native of the Sandwich Islands, for jumping into the water, ("paying no regard thereto, being perfectly used to it in his own country," ) and rescuing a man, who had fallen in, and could not swim, ................................................. $5

1810. To Sheldon Hobbs, a youth of fifteen years, for rescuing two children of Berwick, Maine, who had fallen under the ice while skating, a Gold Medal,................................. $10

To Mr. Silas Hathaway and his son, Frederick, the thanks of the Trustees, and a premium of ten dollars, for their very laudable exertions in saving the life of young David B. Harvey, of Plymouth, ................................................. $10

1811. To Levi Stoddard, for taking up Capt. Stairs, from a wreck, when in a perilous condition, ......................... $10

To John Allen, Jr., on recommendation of Dr. James Thacher, of Plymouth, for his heroic exertions in saving the life of the son of Mr. John Patee, a Gold Medal, ................... $10

1812. To Caleb Hopkins Rand, a lad of fourteen, for plunging into a cistern and rescuing his brother, who when taken out was apparently dead, a Gold Medal, .................. $10
N. B. It appeared in this case to the Trustees, that a man who was near to the cistern at the time of the accident, thought the danger so great, that, although earnestly solicited, he refused any assistance.

To Samuel Bannister, for saving the life of a lad, who was drowning on the north side of Long Wharf, the Society's Gold Medal, ........................................ $$10$

To Charles Willard, a minor, for saving the life of George Baker, .............................................................. $$10$

**1813.** To Romanus Emerson, Charles Harrington, and six others, for great exertions and considerable expense in saving a soldier caught in the ice in a boat, when deserting from Governor's Island, .............................................................. $$50$

To John Farrington, for heroic exertions in saving the life of John Cotton, of Malden, who fell through the ice in attempting to cross Mystic River, ............................................................ $$10$

And to Mrs. Farrington, for her kindness when Mr. Cotton was brought to her house, ........................................ $$2$

To Mr. Ellis Bartlett, for great and signal exertions in saving Capt. Wendell Churchill, whose schooner was cast on shore, near Plymouth Harbor, the case being recommended by Dr. James Thacher, .............................................................. $$10$

To Capt. William Martin, Master of the brig Iris, for generous and persevering exertions in saving the life of Capt. John Howe, in the Harbor of St. Ubes, the Society's Gold Medal,* .............................................................. $$10$

To John Palmer, for saving the life of Green Sears, by signal and persevering exertions, the Society's Gold Medal, or .............................................................. $$10$

**1814.** To William Savage, of Boston, for heroic exertions in saving two children, when in great danger of drowning, the Society's Gold Medal, of value, .............................................................. $$10$

To John Dunn, for saving the life of John Baxter, ............... $$10$

To Thomas Carter, of Newburyport, for saving his classmate, Joseph Coolidge, while bathing in Charles River, at Cambridge, June 8th, the Society's Gold Medal, and that the Corresponding Secretary present to him the same, ..................... $$10$

*Dr. Lathrop, in presenting this case, mentioned in detail some circumstances attending the preservation of Capt. Howe, of which not the least remarkable was, that in dragging for him, one of the hooks of the drag inserted itself into his cheek, while another of the hooks caught in the riband with which his hair was tied, held fast, and was the means of saving him.
PREMIUMS AWARDED.

To N. Nash, for saving a son of Lewis Leland, .................. $10
To Jacob Robinson, for his exertions in saving the life of
Benjamin Foster, on the 17th June last, a Gold Medal, or, $10
To John R. Moore, for persevering exertions in saving the
life of a little girl, on Sunday, Sept. 18th, ....................... $10

1815. To William Brinnett, for his humane attentions
and exertions in receiving into his house, the captain, crew, and
passengers of the sloop Mason's Daughter, eight in number,
after she was wrecked on a rock, in Broad Sound, near one of
the Brewster Islands, .......................................................... $10
To Isaac Merrill, for exertions in saving the lives of two
men, at Ainoskeag Falls, the Society's Gold Medal; or, at his
option, .......................................................... $10
And to Josiah Gillis and Israel Hardy, for assisting in the
same, five dollars each, .................................................. $10
To Mr. Lawrence Nichols, for his very extraordinary exer-
tions and well-directed efforts, in saving the lives of Messrs.
Isaac Rouse and J. P. Richardson, when in imminent danger,
near Boston Light House, on the 16th of June last, a Gold
Medal, of the value of ........................................ $30
To John Peterson, of Edgecomb, Maine, and to Josiah
Frith, of Wiscasset, for saving the lives of John Cochran, and
Allen Malcomb, a Gold Medal, or ten dollars each, .......... $20
To John Sevey, for humane efforts in saving Joseph Roby,
of Wiscasset, the Society's Gold Medal, ........................ $10
To John Nicholson, of Plymouth, for saving the life of a son
of Mr. Ansel Robbins, a Silver Medal, of the value of $5
To Henry Doane, George Hall, Obadiah Lincoln, and
Levi Oakes, all of Cohasset, for their skill, perseverance,
and heroism, in saving the lives of two men, from the
wreck of the schooner, Armistice, of Portland, thrown on Cohas-
set Rocks, by the great storm of the 31st of August last, the
Society's Gold Medal, each, with suitable inscriptions there-
on, .......................................................... $40
To John Wood, for extraordinary exertions in saving a little
boy, of four years old, when in great danger of drowning, in the
Mill Creek, .......................................................... $10

1816. To Alexander Mitchell, and four others, for their
hazardous, persevering, and laudable exertions in attempting to
save the lives of two sons of Mr. A. Harlow, of Cambridge, and of Mr. Kimball, Gold Medals of ten dollars each, $50

To Benjamin Rice, and his young brother, William, for extraordinary and hazardous exertions in rescuing Mrs. Whitefield and her grandson, a boy of about seven years of age, both of whom, in attempting to cross Accossnet River, between New Bedford and Fair Haven, had fallen under the ice, and for a considerable time were in the utmost peril, from which they were delivered by these two boys, in the presence of a number of men, whose efforts were paralyzed by fear, a Silver Medal, of five dollars each, with fifteen dollars in money to the elder, and five dollars in money to the younger, and the thanks of the Trustees, for their noble exertions, $30

To Shepherd Blanchard for saving a child at Commercial Wharf, 20th July last, $10

And to John Kimball, for rescuing from imminent danger of drowning Francis Abbot, the same day, $10

To Braddock Loring, for his laudable, though fruitless endeavors to save the life of a child, $10

To Milton Moore, of Russell, on representation of Hon. Justin Ely, for bringing to the shore, at the peril of his own life, the body of Asa Adams, of Weston, who had sunk to the bottom of a Pond in West Springfield, and was senseless, but, by great exertions, restored to health, $15

To Samuel Williams, of Augusta, Maine, on representation of Samuel Howard, Esq., for saving the life of Frederick Lithgow, who had sunk to the bottom of Kennebeck River, and was taken up senseless, but afterwards resuscitated, a Gold Medal, with suitable inscriptions, to the value of $15

1817. To Lieutenant Salter, of the United States Navy, for his intrepid and persevering exertions in saving at the great hazard of his own life, the lives of two women and one man, in Boston Harbor, the Society's Gold Medal, with suitable inscriptions, $10

To Midshipman John F. Howell, to Midshipman George D. Dodds, and to Mr. John McClaud, Boatswain, of the ship Independence, a Silver Medal, each, with suitable inscriptions.

The particulars of this interesting case, with the correspond-
ence between the President of the Society and the commanding officer of the Independence, are detailed at length in the Records of the Trustees. A brief account is exhibited in the note below, taken from the Columbian Centinel, of that date.*

To William Tewksbury, of Deer Island, for the very extraordinary exertions by which four persons were saved on the 26th of May last, seventy dollars in money, and a Silver Medal, of the value of ten dollars, $80.

To his son, Abijah R., $35, and to his wife, Elizabeth, $20, for their efficient aid, $55.

Also, to Charles Sturgis, for assistance on the same occasion, $5.

* "On one of the remarkable cold days of last February, the following occurrence happened; the publication of which must be highly gratifying to the friends of humanity.

"On the morning of the 4th of February, two women embarked in a small boat, with only one boatman, to go on board the United States ship Independence, to which their husbands belong. There was much ice in the harbor, and the boat was driven by it from her course to the mouth of Medford river. Many persons standing on the wharves, saw the unhappy situation of these people with those distressing and painful emotions arising from a view of fellow-beings perishing, and the deprivation of the power of even attempting their rescue. They were considered lost by those on shore. Lieut. Wm. Finch, then commanding officer of the Independence, despatched a cutter with two midshipmen and a crew to their relief, furnishing such means as the ship afforded, to facilitate and effect it. After several unsuccessful attempts, and an interval of half an hour, the cutter returned with great difficulty, the men being nearly deprived, by the intense cold, of the power of exertion. Lieut. Finch, thinking it still possible to release and save the sufferers, appointed a fresh crew and ordered another attempt. Lieut. Wm. Dayton Salter asked permission to take charge of the cutter and direct the operations. The permission was given, and after great exertions and perseverance, he succeeded in getting within a short distance of the boat, and found the two women and man stretched at length and quite motionless. By the aid of planks, ropes, &c. Lieut. Salter, with his men, was enabled, with great hazard and difficulty, to take the poor sufferers from the boat on board the cutter, and covering them with blankets and jackets, kept them alive, and after two hours' labor in clearing themselves of the ice, arrived in safety on board the Independence. In the prosecution of this arduous and humane enterprise, Lieut. Salter was, more than once, in imminent danger of drowning, the plank giving way under his feet, and he and those with him suffered much from the frost. This conduct called forth the spontaneous admiration and applause of all on board the ship. Stout hearts were melted, and hard faces suffused with tears of joy. By kind and judicious attentions the rescued were eventually restored to health, and Mr. Salter recovered the use of his feet and hands."

"Information of the above circumstances, and other facts connected with them, was communicated to the Trustees of the Massachusetts Humane Society, who, at a late meeting, voted that the thanks of the Society be presented Lieut. William Finch, for the promptness and judgment evinced by him, while commanding officer of the United States ship Independence, in giving such orders, and devising such measures as were, under the favor of Providence, the means of saving the lives of John Manuel, Elizabeth Ireson, and Olive Brown, when in the most imminent danger in Boston Harbor, Feb. 4th, 1817."
PREMIUMS AWARDED.

1818. To Zaccheus Wyman, of Utica, State of New York, for exertions in rescuing John P. Bigelow, * son of Hon. Timothy Bigelow, of Medford, from imminent danger of drowning, in the Middlesex Canal, fifteen dollars in money, or a Gold Medal, of that value, at his option, $15

To Capt. William Allen, of Plymouth, for uncommon exertions, as stated by Dr. James Thacher, in saving the lives of two lads, in Plymouth Harbor, 22d April last, $20

To Jotham and Henry Fuller, for saving the life of Mr. Baldwin, of Fitchburg, in March last, ten dollars to the former, and five to the latter, $15

To Joseph Bolton, of Biddeford, for extraordinary exertions in saving Daniel Brainerd, of Saco, when in great peril, $20

To Thomas Dolliver, for rescuing John Barnes, Warren Alexander, and Henry Marston, when in peril of drowning, in the Light House Channel, $5

Also, to his son, Thomas, for assistance on the same occasion, a Silver Medal.

1819. To Mr. John Wilson, one of the Branch Pilots, of Boston, for generous exertions in saving the lives of Capt. Nathaniel W. Merrill, and his men, when exposed to imminent peril, on the wreck of the “Susan and Sarah,” Dec. 6, 1818, a Gold Medal, of the value of fifteen dollars, with suitable inscriptions, and to his men, three in number, ten dollars each, $45

To William Wiltshire, Esq., Consul of His Britannic Majesty, at Mogadore, Morocco, for generous and disinterested exertions in rescuing Capt. Riley from slavery among the Arabs, the Society’s Gold Medal, with suitable inscriptions, $20

To Capt. Eleazer Graves, for rescuing a number of persons from a British brig, which had been wrecked, and conveying them to Cowes; also, for bringing home three American children, who were on board the brig, the Society’s Gold Medal, $20

1820. To Edmund R. Smith, and others, for saving seven men from perishing in the ice, at South Boston, $45

To Moses Robinson, and his two Brothers, of Waldoborough, Maine, for saving two men in Boston Harbor, five dollars each, $15

To Mr. Holmes, in rescuing a number of United States

* Now Hon. John P. Bigelow, Boston.
PREMIUMS AWARDED.

soldiers from imminent danger of perishing in the ice, near South Boston............................................ $10

And to others, who assisted, together with the thanks of the Trustees, for their efforts............................................. $25

To MAJOR JOHN BARTLEMAN, of the British Royal Marines, for saving, at great personal peril, William O’Brien, a Gold Medal.................................................. $20

To HORATIO SPRAGUE, Esq., an American merchant, resident at Gibraltar, for his benevolence and patriotism, evinced in reimbursing William Wiltshire, Esq., British Consul, at Mogador, the money advanced by him in rescuing Capt. James Riley and his companions, from slavery, the Society’s Gold Medal, with suitable inscriptions, and an honorary membership of the Society............................................................. $20

To WILLIAM TEWKSBEY, of Deer Island, in consideration of his many signal and perilous exertions in the cause of humanity, the sum of forty dollars, towards the purchase of a boat, .................. $40

1821. To CYRUS RYE, of Maine, for rescuing four children, in danger of being drowned........................................ $10

To JOHN BULFINCH, of Union, Me., for rescuing Edward Foster, at great hazard, the Society’s Gold Medal, with inscriptions................................................................. $10

To JAMES P. KIDD, of the Independence, for saving, at the peril of his life, a young lad named Bassett, a Gold Medal, with suitable inscriptions.................................................. $15

To WILLIAM H. FOWLE, and HENRY R. DEARBORN, two young gentlemen at Mr. Knapp’s Academy, for rescuing, at the peril of their lives, Charles Rich,* son of Benjamin Rich, Esq. their fellow student, when in imminent peril of drowning, in a pond in Roxbury, the Society’s Gold Medal, with suitable inscriptions for each................................................................. $20

To JOHN LAKIN, a fisherman, for rescuing Capt. Eastman, and a soldier of Fort Independence, when in peril, .................. $10

To CORPORAL GEORGE MCAULY, WILLIAM MCGEE, and three others, stationed at the U. S. Fort, near Portsmouth, for rescuing the captain, crew, and passengers, of the schooner President, of Thomaston, when wrecked on the Whale’s Back, near Portsmouth, April 20th, the Society’s Silver Medal, of five dollars, and three dollars in money to each................................................................. $40

To Henry Willard, of Roxbury, for heroic exertions in rescuing, at imminent hazard, the son of Mr. Elijah Mears, a Gold Medal, ................................................ $10

To Jonathan Lawrence, keeper of the Light House, for rescuing three men, when in danger of drowning, on the 16th of April last,* ................................................ $10

1822. To Henry Atwood, commander of the brig Draco, for his perseverance and humanity, whereby Capt. William Fortune, and ten of his companions were saved from perishing on the wreck of a British brig, during a tempestuous night, Jan. 5th, 1822, the Society’s Gold Medal, .......................... $20

Also, five dollars to each of his Four Seamen, who, at the risk of their lives, assisted, ........................................ $20

To Capt. John Smith, of the ship Hannah, of St. Johns, N. B., for relieving and saving the survivors of the crew of the brig Amsterdam, shipwrecked Nov., 1820, a Gold Medal, ................ $15

To Capt. Simeon Nickerson, of the Phœbe, of Dennis, for judicious and humane exertions in rescuing from great peril Samuel Topliff and S. G. Lowe, when upset in a boat, the Society’s Gold Medal, twenty dollars, and to his son, assisting him, five dollars, ........................................ $25

To Rufus Hazard, a colored person, for extraordinary exertions and great hazard, in attempting to save Samuel Williams, who had sunk in Squamcook River, ........................................ $10

1823. To Benjamin Snow, for saving Francis Marandi, when drowning near Sargent’s Wharf, ........................................ $10

To Robert Porter, mate of the “Swift Messenger,” for saving Miss Ryland, a passenger who had fallen from the vessel and must otherwise have drowned, ........................................ $10

N. B. At the monthly meeting of the Trustees, in August 1823, premiums, varying in value from two to ten dollars, were

* That of the many applications made for rewards, some were found deceptive or groundless, will appear from the following extract from the records of this date, Sept. 3d, 1821. Other cases for like reasons were dismissed. “A certificate of the conduct of Daniel Geary, in rescuing John Carroll from danger of drowning in Reading Pond, in August last, with a certificate of a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex County annexed, was submitted for consideration; and the same having been investigated, it appeared that the leading facts of the case were as follows: Two young men and a boy were in a small boat, fishing in Reading Pond. The boy fell out of the boat in a fit, and probably would have been lost had those in the boat not assisted him. But having sunk once, and rising, he was taken into the boat again. From a view of the facts, the Trustees were unanimously of opinion, that no one was entitled to any reward whatever, it being an act only of common humanity, the refusing of which would have been disgraceful.
awarded in fourteen different cases, one of which was to Daniel Whitney, a boy of 13, for saving Ebenezer Morton, a boy of 11 years. The whole amount appropriated at this meeting was, $82

1824. To Levi Gurney, Horace Whittemore, James Gordon, and J. Porter, for their exertions in saving from drowning a son of Mr. Nathaniel R. Sturgis, while skating on the Mill-dam basin, ten dollars each, or the Society's Gold Medal, $40

To William S. Bridge, for extraordinary efforts in saving the lives of two seamen, upset in a boat, a Gold Medal, $10

And to L. Nickerson and William Wheaton, assisting, $15

To James S. Cutts, twenty dollars, to N. Sherman, ten dollars, and to Henry Gardner, five dollars, for perilous exertions in saving two boys of Salem, $35

To Thomas Ward, for great judgment and presence of mind, in saving eleven persons, upset in Boston Harbor, June, 14th, $20

N. B. At the monthly meeting in August, 1824, premiums varying from one dollar to twenty, upon sixteen distinct applications, were awarded, the whole amount bestowed being, $121

Of these sixteen premiums, one of ten dollars was awarded to Paul Baxter, for saving the life of a son of Bradford Summer, Esq., who had fallen from a wharf into the water; another of twenty dollars, to Gabriel Mahony, who jumped from the brig Webster, into the Atlantic, and saved L. P. Curtis; and a third, on the representation of Rev. Dr. Brazer, to Nathan Fisk, of Salem, and to two others, of Beverly, ten dollars each, for rescuing three men, in great danger of drowning; together with five dollars, each, to two boys, Thomas Neat and Thomas Clemens, assisting.

To William Parkman, aged 13 years, for saving William H. Barnes, bathing near Hancock's Wharf, $10

To William Dole, of Newburyport, for signal exertions in saving Charles Defond, $10

To Henry R. Dearborn a Silver Cup, and to Frederick Dabney a Silver Medal, for laudable efforts in rescuing Alexander F. A. Dunn, $20

1825. To Nathaniel French, Caleb Beal, and Elijah Beal, for extraordinary exertions and great hazard, in rescuing
Capt. Abraham Tower from a perilous situation, ten dollars each, or a Cup, ........................................ $30
To John Smith, and his wife, Mary Ann, for rescuing Mrs. Jerusha Simonds, fallen from a bridge into a canal, near Lexington, ........................................ $10
To Abijah R. and George Tewksbury, for hazardous exertions in saving the lives of John Gates and Benjamin Price, when in great peril, twenty dollars, or a Medal, each, .......... $40
To Mrs. Rebecca Wilson, for successful exertions in rescuing two boys, Edward Howe and Horace Clarke, who had fallen from a wharf at Charlestown, ........................................ $5
To Henry Parkhurst, a lad about ten years old, for saving John Towers, ........................................ $10
To Rufus G. Amory, Jr., for saving a lad, ...................... $8
1826. To G. W. Simpson, for rescuing Capt. Hill and his crew, ........................................ $10
To Solomon Hopkins, of Truro, for saving Josiah Cook, upset in a boat, in Barnstable Bay, ...................... $10
To Benjamin Hodgkins, for perilous efforts in rescuing Geo. R. Sargent and Win. Freeman, ...................... $20
To John S. Pulsifer, aged ten, for rescuing a son of Jonathan Mead, who had fallen from a wharf, ...................... $10
To Timothy Allen, for saving five persons, upset in a boat, in Charlestown River, ...................... $20
And to his two men, assisting, five dollars each, ............. $10
To Charles Harlow, for saving a young child, .................. $10
To William P. Mead, for rescuing two men, when in imminent danger in Quincy River, a Medal* ...................... $10
1827. To John C. Knowles and Son, of Eastham, and to Col. Joseph Holbrook, with two others, of Wellfleet, for spirited exertions in rescuing Capt. Josiah Trott and crew, when in imminent danger of drowning, off Cape Cod, ten dollars each, ...................... $50
To Reuben Coombs, mate of the Pilot-boat Leader, for rescuing Capt. Seth Adams, his crew and passengers, when in

* At the meeting in December, Mr. Heard reported, that, upon diligent inquiry into several cases committed to him at the last meeting, he had reason to believe that the several persons represented to have been saved from drowning, had intentionally thrown themselves into the Mill Creek, for the purpose of obtaining the Society's premiums. That he had, therefore, refused to award any compensation for the services thus pretended to be rendered.
PREMIUMS AWARDED.

Iniminent peril, near the Devil's Bank, a Silver Pitcher, of the value of, .................................................. $50

Also, the thanks of the Trustees, to John R. Parker, Esq., for communicating the danger to Mr. Coombs, by his Telegraph.

To Asaph Greene, on representation of Col. Joseph May, for rescuing from suffocation, in a privy, a son of Charles C. Nichols, ............................................ $10

1828. To a daughter of Joseph Tufts, of Malden, for rescuing a son of Eben. Nichols, who had fallen into a well, the Society's certificate of thanks, together with ........................................... $5

To James Stratton, who, in rescuing a boy in danger of drowning in the river, near Rev. Dr. Sharp's Church, had damaged his clothes and incurred a fit of sickness, .......................... $20

To William G. Badger and J. B. Porter, on recommendation of N. G. Snelling, five dollars each, for laudable efforts in saving William P. Fuller and George Holt, who had fallen under the ice while fishing, .......................... $10

* At the meeting in August, of this year, a resolution was adopted, that, "considering the numerous cases, annually presented to the notice of the Society, of men and boys losing their lives from ignorance of the art of swimming, and believing it to be fully within the objects of this Society to aid the means of preventing death, as well as to resuscitate those in whom animation is suspended, the Trustees view with peculiar pleasure the establishment of a Swimming School in this city, under the charge of Dr. Leiber," and with a recommendation to the inhabitants of Boston, to avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded to acquire the practical knowledge of so important an art, they appropriated from the funds of the Society one hundred dollars, for the instruction of such a number of pupils as Dr. Leiber might be willing to receive. A committee from the Trustees was accordingly appointed to confer with the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, to invite their concurrence, and also with Dr. Leiber, who expressed his deep sense of the approbation bestowed upon his undertaking, by the "Humane Society." And being desirous to receive as many scholars under their grant as he could, without injury to his private pupils, he fixed the number at 36, thus allowing four pupils from each of the public schools in Boston. This proposal was made public, through the newspapers, but failed of receiving the attention, to which it appears entitled, as only eight scholars availed themselves of the offer.

At the meeting of October, in the same year, the Recording Secretary, agreeably to a former vote, presented an engraved form of "Vote of Thanks," with suitable devices, to be signed by the President and Secretary, and to be presented in the name of the Society, in cases which neither sought nor justified pecuniary compensation, or else as accompaniments to such compensation. Accordingly, in the list of premiums that follow, many instances will be found of such acknowledgments.

† Mr. Inches, to whom the case was committed, having at the same meeting reported a state of facts in reference to the application of one Parker for saving out of the water one Joseph Foster, and it appearing doubtful whether the said Foster had ever fallen in, it was voted, "nemine contradicente," that no premium be awarded.

Also, a declaration under oath, having been made before a Justice of the
N. B. Of the premiums that follow no publication has as yet been made by the Trustees; the last official statement closing with April, 1829. And these, as well as the preceding, include only those, which, by the circumstances of the respective cases, particularly of the peril incurred, claimed some special consideration from the Society.

1829. On representation of N. G. Snelling, Esq., there was granted to Richard Hosea, the Society's gold medal, or a silver cup, for plunging into the water with his clothes on, and rescuing a son of Mr. Joseph Bassett, who had fallen from Tilley's Wharf—$10

To William Allen, for generous exertions in saving a person who had fallen into the water from Russia Wharf, (though declining to make application for a premium,) a silver medal, or the Society's certificate of thanks.

To Silas Seaver, and two others, who, as stated by Capt. William Porter, had at the peril of their own lives, saved John Green, accidentally fallen from the steamboat Connecticut, near Nahant, five dollars each—$15

To Stephen Twist, for rescuing three men, who were upset in a boat near Fort Pickering, Salem, on the 9th of July last; and who also had incurred some hazard in endeavoring to save a little boy at another time—$15

To James Hyde, Jun., for heroic exertions, as attested by Mr. George Fuller, in saving his son, a lad of ten years old, at imminent hazard, a gold medal, of the value of—$10

To Peter Brown, for saving, with much meritorious effort, the life of Eliza Hedgeman—$5

To Alpheus Spear, of Quincy, for his exertions in rescuing E. Bell, John Delano, Jun., and a little boy, 9 years of age, when in danger of drowning, by the upsetting of a boat near Quincy, a gold medal, or, at his option—$10

To Andrew Eaton, for perilous exertions in saving the life of a son of Capt. Nathan Blood, who had fallen from Crowninshield's Wharf, in Salem, Nov. 10th, a medal or—$10

To Benjamin Oliver, Elisha B. Witherall, and Elisha Peace, at Lechmere Point, purporting that Joseph Gilson, with three others, had taken James Heddy from Miller's River, but it appearing that no peril was incurred, and no exertions made but such as common humanity would demand, no compensation was allowed.
H. Baker, a silver medal each, and the Society's certificate, for saving the lives of Joseph Smith, and three others, seamen, the only survivors of eight, who were upset at sea, in Lat. 42° 50', Lon. 63°, on the 4th of September last.

These survivors were landed at Wellfleet, from the schooner Maria, Capt. Henry Baker, to whom the Trustees voted the Society's certificate of thanks, for his kindness and attention to the sufferers.

N. B. At the same meeting of the Trustees, Dec. 1829, six other premiums of less amount were awarded, on the report of the respective committees.

1830. To John Bruce, for saving, at great hazard, the officers and crew of the Peruvian, when driven on the rocks on the night of the 17th of March, a piece of plate, with suitable inscriptions, to the value of $20

Also to Sumner Lawrence, who assisted Mr. Bruce, a piece of plate, $15

To Samuel Craig, for exertions in rescuing three female children, in danger of drowning, $10

1831. To William Morton, a seaman, who, at the most imminent peril, in a heavy gale, boarded the wreck of the schooner Hallet, Dec. 11th, and rescued Heman McLeod, a seaman, the only person left on board, $20

To Mrs. Hopkins, a passenger on board the packet from Ellsworth, for meritorious exertions, when the vessel was wrecked off Cohasset a few days previous, $10

To John Barker, Henry J. Turner, Esq., John J. Lothrop, Nathaniel Hooper, Jun., and four others, recommended by Rev. Jacob Flint, for humane and effectual efforts in rescuing the perishing crew of the schooner Boston, wrecked upon Cohasset Rocks, a gold medal of the value of $10 each, $80

To Mr. Weatherbee, for rescuing from imminent peril a young boy, $10

1832. To William Johnson, for saving two men by the name of Phillips, at the imminent hazard of his own life, $20

To Mr. James Beers, of Chatham, in acknowledgment of his singular skill, courage, and benevolence, by which, with the blessing of Divine Providence, fifteen persons were rescued from imminent danger, in a night of extreme severity, and when
their condition seemed hopeless—the certificate of the thanks of the Trustees, and a donation of $50.

To Capt. Collins and his two men, for humane exertions in saving Mr. Seth Thaxter and two others, $20.

To James Leonard, for having at much hazard rescued Mr. William Welsh, $10.

Other applications were made at the same time, which, having been duly considered, were dismissed, as not entitled to the notice of the Trustees.

To Isaac Sprague, for much personal labor and humane exertion in rescuing a man, who had fallen from his boat, $10.

1833. It appearing, on representation of William Goddard, Esq., that James Smalley, William Bush, Josiah Cook, with nine others, inhabitants of Provincetown, did, on the first day of December last, by humane and intrepid exertions, take from the wreck of the ship Warren, when cast ashore on Cape Cod, the two mates, six seamen, and a boy, the only survivors of the crew, together with the lifeless body of the captain, and of one of his men, who had perished in the rigging; And it also appearing, that these benevolent individuals received the persons saved into their families, and having treated them with great kindness for several days, furnished them gratuitously with a passage to Boston, when sufficiently recovered to depart;—Therefore it was voted, unanimously, to present twelve dollars, either in money or in a gold medal, to each of the individuals who saved the crew; and three dollars, in addition, to each of those who with exemplary kindness received them into their houses, $102.

To Joseph Tolman, for saving the life of a boy, fallen into the water, $10.

1834. A communication was this day, Jan. 3d, presented, stating the humane and generous efforts of John Grozier and T. Small, assisted by Mr. Paine, in rescuing a crew of a vessel in imminent danger. And it appearing that Mr. Paine, by the upsetting of the boat, in which he had embarked, lost his life, leaving behind a widow and children destitute—therefore it was voted that fifty dollars be presented to the widow, and that ten dollars, or the Society’s Gold Medal, be given to each of the individuals instrumental in saving the crew, $70.
To George P. Tewksbury, Captain of the Quarantine Boat, for saving the life of a child in imminent danger, ............................................ $10

To George W. Adams, for saving three men, the value of a Gold Medal, with three dollars for the loss of a part of his clothes, ................................................................. $13

1835. To John L. Britton, John Peaseley, and two others for humane and perilous exertions in saving Hervey M. Briggs from drowning in the harbor, the sum of forty dollars, divided according to their respective merits; the largest share of which to be given to Britton, ......................................................... $40

To Susan Fisher, of Medford, for rescuing her brother and sister from peril, ................................................................. $10

To Adolphe Benjamin Hermieux, a French lad, (on representation of John W. Langdon, Esq.,) who jumped from his vessel into the water, with his clothes on, and saved an American boy, a Gold Medal, and the Society's certificate of approbation for his generous conduct.*

1836. On the representation of Capt. Phelps, of the brig Regulator, that he and his crew were saved from death by the kind and intrepid exertions of the officers and crew of the brig Cervantes, when shipwrecked, on the 5th of February last — it was voted, unanimously, that a Gold Medal, with ten dollars in money, be presented to the captain and each of the crew, nine in number, of the Cervantes; and that the letter of Capt. Phelps be published, with the view of procuring aid for the survivors of the shipwreck. The whole sum voted was ............................................. $180

To two boys, of the name of Cartwright and White, for saving a third, when under the ice, a Gold Medal each, ................................................................. $20

On recommendation of Capt. Rider, a Gold Medal was given to the mate of his vessel, and $7 each to two of his men, for their exertions in saving seven men from the schooner Aurora, wrecked off Cape Hatteras, Feb. 2, ..................................................... $24

To Shubael Cottle, for his generous efforts to save the life of Capt. Uriel Mayhew, of the schooner George, a Gold Medal, of the value of ................................................................. $20

To James and Joshua Y. Beers, on representation of Andrew

* We have heard, through a gentleman acquainted with the friends of young Hermieux, of the very high estimation in which this medal, and the accompanying document, are held by his family in France. See Note D.
L. Simpson, for saving the lives of all on board of the ship Mercury, when wrecked off Nantucket, a medal each, ....... $20

1837. Two Greeks belonging to the brig Alexandros, having saved the life of a child, on the 7th of September, and the President, upon learning that they were about departing from the country, having presented, to each of them, a Gold Medal, in the name of the Society, it was voted, unanimously, to confirm the grant, ................................................................. $20

To Joseph Stevens, a lad 16 years of age, in the employ of Jones, Lows, & Ball, for saving a boy from drowning, a Silver Medal, ................................................................. $5

To John L. Britton, for rescuing, at the hazard of his own life, a little girl, who had fallen into the water from the Mill Dam, a Gold Medal, ................................................................. $10

To James Dolliver, for saving from drowning a young boy, named Stearns, ................................................................. $7

To James P. Harvey, for rescuing a child, at much personal hazard, a Gold Medal, ................................................................. $10

To Emanuel Jackson, for saving a lad of seven years old, fallen from Sargent’s Wharf, ................................................................. $7

To Mrs. Elizabeth Bryan, for rescuing, at some personal peril, a little child from a clay-pit, ................................................................. $4

To Joseph Lucas, of Plymouth, for saving a boy in danger of drowning, ................................................................. $10

To Henry Dearborn, for saving the life of a lad, in danger of perishing in the Frog Pond, a Gold Medal of the value of ................................................................. $10

Also, to the very destitute mother of said lad, ................................................................. $3

1838. To Rufus Beckford, on representation of Mr. G. Stanley, for saving a boy, who had fallen from the Eastern packet, ................................................................. $10

To William Mills, for saving, at some risk, a boy from drowning in a pond at South Boston, ................................................................. $5

To Warren Reed, and Samuel Brown, two lads, of Salem, for rescuing, with much heroic exertion, a young son of Mr. John Marks, the Society’s Gold Medal, each, ................................................................. $20

To James Saurin, for rescuing young Martin Bates from drowning, July 27th, ................................................................. $5

To Abraham Rich, for saving, by great exertions, a man and
three women, who were clinging to a boat, upset near Deer Island, a Gold Medal of the value of $20

1839. To John Kent, for saving one of the crew of the Revenue Cutter, $7

To Michael Wilson, for a similar effort of humanity, $8

To Langford W. Loring, for saving two boys, who had fallen through the ice, $5

To Edward Armstrong, Wm. S. Hutchins, John Grozer, and Daniel Smith, for rescuing, at the peril of their own lives, the officers and crew of the brig Lucy Ann, of Portland, wrecked near Truro, a Gold Medal of ten dollars, to each, together with the Society's certificate, in approbation of their generous efforts, $40

To Robert Corran, on recommendation of M. Brimmer, Esq., for intrepid exertions in saving a boy, who had fallen from Commercial Wharf, $15

To J. L. Prouty, of the Revenue Cutter, and to J. Curtis, assisting him, for their successful efforts, as represented by Capt. J. Sturgis, in rescuing Laurence Hickey, when fallen under the ice—a Gold Medal each, $20

To George F. Coverly, for saving, at much hazard, a lad from drowning, $15

To Samuel K. Bailey, on representation of William Hayden, Jun., for rescuing, at imminent peril, Mr. Murphy, fallen overboard, the Society's Gold Medal, $15

[Mr. Murphy soon afterwards died in consequence of the exposure.]

To a lad named W. F. Miller, for saving a child, who had fallen from Doak's Wharf, $10

To Patrick and Levi Gilman, for saving two men from drowning, and recovering the dead body of another, five dollars each, $10

To Jonathan Collins, of Truro, for having risked his life, to save five persons, belonging to Provincetown, and who, having been upset in a boat, must have perished, but for his assistance, $10

To Cushing Horton, and three others, crew of the fishing schooner Xyphian, for saving five persons clinging to a wreck, five dollars each, $20
To William P. Bowen, ship carpenter, for jumping from a wharf, and rescuing a child, $10

To Capt. Benjamin Andrews, keeper of the Light House, near Sandy Bay, for having, at imminent peril, saved two men who were clinging to the masts of a boat, which had upset, and was sinking under them, the Society's Gold Medal; and to his Wife and Daughter, assisting him, three dollars each, $16

1840. To Joseph Howard, Samuel Parker, and seven others, for boarding the wreck of the brig Independence, during the heavy gale of 15th Dec. last, and taking thence the crew from the rigging, at much hazard, five dollars each, $45

To Isaac Small, who, during the same severe gale, went on board the brig Austin, wrecked at Provincetown, and at the peril of his own life, and signal exertions, rescued a disabled seaman, the President was authorized to present a Quadrant, with a suitable inscription, in token of approbation of his heroic conduct.*

To Gorham Riggs, Do and Ryder, and nine other persons, who, during the same dreadful tempest of Dec. 15th, went on board a vessel in Gloucester Harbor, and were the means, under Divine Providence, of saving several persons, five dollars each, $55

To S. Norbury, captain of a Swedish vessel, and also to his Mate, for their humane exertions in saving the crew of a disabled vessel, at sea, a Gold Medal each, $20

To Samuel Pierce, and his Son, for assistance rendered to the crew of the schooner Scio, when driven on shore at Wellfleet, in the gale of 15th Dec., five dollars, $10

To Benjamin Heath, on representation of Rev. S. Streeter, for heroic and successful exertions in saving a woman, who had thrown herself into the water near Warren Bridge, $20

To Charles E. Pitman, for saving from drowning a child of Mr. Brown, who had fallen into deep water, near the Lowell Railroad, and must have perished, but for the heroic exertions of Mr. Pitman, a Gold Medal, $20

To Peter Murphy, of Charlestown, on representation of C. Tyler, Steward of the McLean Asylum, for rescuing Mary Ann Crarie, who had fallen from the Charlestown Branch Railroad, and must otherwise have perished, $10

* See Note D. Correspondence.
To Sewall Reed, for saving from drowning, a boy sixteen years of age, near Battery Wharf, $10

To James W. Newcomb, for exertions in a similar case, as represented by Mr. Samuel Prince, $8

To Aaron L. Sargent and Kilby P. Sargent, who, on representation of the Selectmen of Gloucester, had ventured through the Breakers, in a boat, and at some hazard had saved Capt. George Murdock from his schooner, stranded on the Bar, five dollars each, $10

To George Brown, for saving from drowning, Mary Ormond, of Charlestown, $5

1841. To George S. Fogg, on representation of Amos Tufts, for rescuing from drowning a deranged person, who, on leaving the Lowell Cars, had jumped into Charles River, $10

To Charles R. Cheney, of Lowell, on statement of Rev. U. C. Burnap, for rescuing two boys from drowning, $10

To Adin Allen, of Springfield, on representation of Rev. B. C. Cutler, for his heroic exertions in saving a person from drowning, in Connecticut River, the Society's Gold Medal, and their certificate of thanks, $10

To James Paxter, for rescuing a child, at much personal risk, who had fallen overboard near Lewis' Wharf, a Gold Medal, $10

To John Brown, a fisherman, who, according to certificate of Hon. Judge Prescott, and others, had during a severe squall ventured out in a small boat, a mile and an half from Nahant, and rescued three persons in great peril, from the upsetting of their boat, the Society's Gold Medal, $10

To Midshipman Charles Weston, for his gallant conduct in jumping overboard to the rescue of a man, who had thrown himself from the ship Columbus, in a fit of delirium tremens, a Gold Medal, $10

To Charles F. Smith, for saving the life of Charles F. Bradford, $5

To John Pool, for rescuing a little girl from drowning, near the Marine Railway, $4

To J. Wheeler, for saving, at the imminent peril of his own life, George Hatch, a boy who had fallen overboard, a Gold Medal, of the value of $10
To Archibald Smith, who saved a little child, of three years old, ........................................ $5
And to Patrick Cavanagh, for saving another, ........... $5

1842. To Milton Hall, Jr., for having, with great exertions and much hazard, saved a man who had fallen into Charles River, the Society's Gold Medal, and ten dollars in money, $20
[Mr Hall had previously been the instrument of saving the lives of two lads, when in great peril.]
To Mr. John Porter, for saving a child from drowning, in the Dock, near Commercial Wharf, .................. $10
To Bayan Corland, for humane efforts in saving Gerry Stafflin, as attested by John P. Langdon, .................... $10
Also, to his son, for aiding him, ....................................... $5
To George Fogg, who jumped overboard and rescued from drowning a lad, named Burrill, the same individual having twice before been the means of saving life, (see 1841.) .................. $10
To Alexander Redman, who had jumped overboard and saved from drowning, a son of Mr. Jones, Atkinson street, $10
To Edward Powers, for a similar act of humanity, and with greater personal hazard, a Gold Medal, ...................... $10
To C. F. Stebbins, for rescuing a boy from drowning in the Dock, at Sargent's Wharf, ................................. $7
To William W. Perkins, who, with heroic courage, jumped from the end of Comey's Wharf, an height of 15 feet, and rescued from drowning a lad, who had already been long in the water, and was senseless, a Gold Medal, ....................... $10
To Mr. T. S. Greenwood, keeper of the Light House at Ipswich, and to Joseph Marshall, for noble exertions in saving the survivors from the wreck of the schooner Deposit, driven on Lakeman's Ledge, in a severe gale, Dec. 23, 1839, a Gold Medal each, .................................................. $20
[The survivors thus rescued, were Mrs. Cotterill, the wife of the captain, George Emery, and Chandler Mahoney. Capt. Cotterill, with three others, perished.]
To Martin Winch, a lad of 16 years, who saved the life of a child three years of age, who had fallen from a wharf at South Boston, a Gold Medal, of the value of, ......................... $10

1843. To W. R. Tuck, Benja. F. Merrill, and Thomas Little, for saving, at much hazard, three seamen of the British steamer Caledonia, when upset in a boat at midnight during a violent storm, five dollars each, ......................... $15
To Capt. Ezekiel Darling, of Marblehead, a Gold Medal, and to John Gardner, and four others, seamen, five dollars each, for their exertions in rescuing the crew and passengers of the brig John Hancock, of Quincy, wrecked on Tinker’s Island, near Marblehead, March 17th, $35

To Ezra Brown, and Nathan Boynton, who, at the hazard of their lives, saved from drowning a woman, who attempted suicide, by jumping from a wharf near Charlestown Bridge, ten dollars to the former, and to the latter, seven, $17

To Benjamin Buckley, who saved the life of a boy, who fell into the water, July 16th, near South Boston Bridge, $8

To Isaiah Harding, the captain, six dollars, and to each of the six men composing the crew of the Life-Boat, at Chatham, for their services in attempting to rescue, at much hazard, the crew of the brig President, in May last, four dollars each, $30

1844. To John C. Nichols, for his successful exertions in saving, at the risk of his own life, a little girl, who had fallen from the Eastern Steamboat Wharf, a Gold Medal, $10

To John Carlin, for generous efforts in saving the life of a little boy, James Denny, who had broken through the ice, near Liverpool Wharf, a Gold Medal, $10

To Thomas S. Harman, for saving from drowning, a child, named Charles Nichols, fallen from a wharf, a Gold Medal, $10

To Patrick Welch, for saving, at some risk, the life of William Redmond, $7

To Samuel Hill, for rescuing from drowning a lad, fallen overboard near the Eastern Railroad Depot, a Medal, of the value of, $10

To Capt. Cobb, for jumping from the deck of his vessel, and saving a lad from drowning, the Society’s Medal, $10

To Moses B. Tower, John W. Tower, William James, and five others, for their humane and heroic exertions in saving, by the Life-Boat of the Society, stationed at Hull, the officers and crew of the brig Tremont, of New York, wrecked on Point Alderton Bar, in a violent gale, on Monday, Oct. 7, ten dollars in money to each, together with the Society’s Gold Medal, to Capt. Tower, in token of the approbation of the Trustees of his and their meritorious conduct, $90

* Note H. page 78.
NOTE D.

CORRESPONDENCE AND DOCUMENTS.

The following letters and documents are selected from a large number, addressed to the officers of the Society, either relating to its general objects, or communicating facts and soliciting rewards. In the majority, however, of the applications to which premiums have been granted, the facts are ascertained by personal investigation, made by individuals, or Committees of the Trustees, without written statements. It will be found that some of the most important cases have been thus decided. The earlier records contain much valuable correspondence with distinguished gentlemen, both in Europe and in different parts of our own country, which was usually appended to the annual discourses of the time, the republication of which might extend this part of the Appendix to a disproportionate length. We select, therefore, only a few, and commence with a letter from the National Assembly of France.

I.

It may be seen, by reference to the List of Premiums, that, in the course of April, 1791, a gold medal was voted to Mons. Julien Jean Durotoer, a lieutenant in the Navy of France, for his signal exertions in saving the lives of Daniel Pierce, and of three others, natives of Massachusetts, who were shipwrecked near Nantucket Shoals, on the 24th of the preceding December. In consequence of this act of the Trustees, (as we find stated in the Society's publication for 1829,) the following letter was transmitted through Mons. De Letombe, Consul of France, an honorary member of the Society, by the National Assembly of France: —
PARIS, Nov. 24, 1791.

Sir: The National Assembly, to whom I have imparted the letter which you directed to me, has given deserved applause to the behaviour of M. Durotore, and has desired me to testify to him its satisfaction thereupon; and to forward to him the honorable medal which has been decreed to him by the Humane Society of Massachusetts.

The National Assembly at the same time directed me to write to you, and to express how sensible it was to the earnest care taken by that Society to reward, in so flattering a manner, a French citizen. The happy revolution which has been effected in this empire will draw more closely those ties, which had already united the American and French nations. Thus linked together, in spite of the distance which separates them, they will have but one and the same spirit, and will be in no competition but in those virtues which the love of liberty and patriotism inspire. The whole world will be solicitous to pay a just homage to the benevolent citizens, who, impelled by the generous ardor of rendering themselves useful to their fellow-men, have formed an association under the sublime title of the Humane Society of Massachusetts, instituted to relieve the unfortunate, and to reward those who imitate its noble intention.

The representatives of the French nation do solemnly undertake, in the name of their constituents, the same engagement; and the whole nation, free hereafter from the yoke which restrained its native benevolence, will form but one philanthropic society, which will keep up with that of Massachusetts a happy intercourse of virtues and paternal regard which no other interests will ever be able to interrupt. This is the vote of the National Assembly, and you, sir, are requested by them to communicate these sentiments to the Humane Society of Massachusetts.

The President of the National Assembly.

(Signed) Grenot Vaublanc.

N. B. In our list of premiums of 1835, is one, awarded to Adolphe Benjamin Hermieux, a young citizen of France, for rescuing from drowning an American child. Since that list was in the press, we have learned, from satisfactory authority, that on the return of young Hermieux, his good conduct and the reward it obtained in Boston became known to the government. The father, who was a butcher of one of the distant municipalities, took his son to Paris, with his gold medal and certificate; and Louis Philippe, pleased that a subject of France, had saved an American, however young, granted him a pension of fifty francs for life; thus exceeding the liberality of the Roman law, which held him to be worthy of reward who should save a Roman citizen: “Corona illi, qui salvum fecerat civem.”
From William Hawes, M. D., Secretary of the Royal Humane Society in London, and an honorary member of that of Massachusetts, who took a deep interest in the objects common to both, and was distinguished by his long and efficient efforts in the cause of humanity, the Trustees received many valuable communications, and till his death, in 1808, kept up a friendly interchange of their annual publications.

Among these letters may be selected the following, addressed to the Corresponding Secretary:

*LONDON, June 23, 1795.*

Sir: It is with pleasure I embrace the present opportunity to present to the Humane Society of Massachusetts a richer harvest than usual, namely,

1. The 1st Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Humane Society.
2. Dr. Fothergill's Essay on the Suspension of Vital Action.
3. Rev. Dr. Rennell's Anniversary Sermon.

To the philanthropists of that life-saving Institution there is every reason to hope that some of the above will afford infinite satisfaction; and there is almost a certainty that the interesting subject of suspended animation will in process of time be advanced, very much advanced by the gentlemen of the faculty of the Massachusetts Humane Society. It is hardly necessary for me to add what pleasure your copies of annual discourses afford me, and the active friends of our Society, and that we hope to be constantly favored with the same. Our views are in every respect the same, the preservation of life and the advancement of medical knowledge. Such views will ever unite our Societies in the most permanent bonds of friendship.

I am, sir, your's most respectfully,

William Hawes.

Rev. Dr. Parker, Corresponding Secretary of the Humane Society of Massachusetts.

To one of the annual discourses delivered before the Royal Humane Society, (April, 1788,) sent by Dr. Hawes, we find appended the following interesting facts in relation to that parent institution:

The Humane Society was established in this kingdom in the year 1744, and within fourteen years the Treasurer has paid
the rewards in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine cases:

Persons restored to life, who had been drowned, or otherwise suffocated, 749
Lives preserved, 537
Unsuccessful cases, 453

Total number of cases, 1739

And it is added: —

The Rewards of the Society are paid as follows: — four guineas whenever life has been restored; two guineas in every unsuccessful attempt, provided the mode of treatment prescribed has been used two hours; and one guinea to publicans, &c., who receive the bodies of the drowned readily into their houses.

III.

From a letter of Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, than whom, few of his profession, or of his race, have contributed more zealously, or with a higher disinterestedness, to the cause of humanity, we extract a few sentences: —

Philadelphia, March 9, 1793.

Sir: I am directed by the Humane Society to return you their thanks for your acceptable publications, delivered to them by Col. Pickering. We rejoice to find, that the endeavors of the Humane Society of Massachusetts, over which you preside, have been so successful in disseminating knowledge upon the important subject of the means of preserving life. * * * * It is extremely agreeable to find the directions of our own Society, upon that subject, so generally and so carefully complied with, by the most illiterate of our citizens. It proves that there is no knowledge essential to the life or happiness of our fellow-creatures that may not be made to produce its intended effects, provided that industry and means suited to those great ends be employed. These means are of so simple a nature, that I conceive that they might easily be made as familiar objects of knowledge in all our schools, as they now are in the closets of philosophers.

I am, sir,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

Benjamin Rush.

Thomas Russell, Esq., President of the Humane Society of Massachusetts.
From Dr. James Thacher, of Plymouth, an early and efficient member of the Corporation, were received many communications, all of which, whether recommending particular cases to the attention of the Trustees, or relating to more general topics, evinced his earnest and enlightened zeal for the objects of the Society. Of several letters, written during a series of years, we extract only the following, addressed to Dr. John Warren:

Plymouth, June 1, 1796.

Dear Sir: — Permit me, through you, to communicate the following statement and observations to the Humane Society: —

Capt. Joshua Briggs, of Wareham, in a moment of perfect health, and while on an arbitration, was arrested by the stroke of death, or became a subject of suspended animation. A physician was sent for, but being informed on the road that the person had expired, he returned without visiting the body. So peculiarly equivocal were the appearances after death, as to delay the interment of the body for several days longer than the time appointed for the purpose. But notwithstanding strong doubts were entertained whether death in reality had closed the scene, or the uncertain appearances of it only were present, yet, unfortunately, no measures were pursued upon this interesting occasion, from which the friends could derive satisfaction or hope of success; removing the body from the coffin into a warm bed, was all that their judgment suggested, until the more solemn office of consigning it to the grave.

* * * * * * *

If the feelings of humanity have been shocked by the reflection, that some unfortunate persons have been wrapped in shrouds before the vital flame was totally extinguished, yet we may indulge the consoling idea that hundreds have been rescued, by the hand of beneficence, from so horrid a fate. The benevolent mind is now animated by well-authenticated facts tending to establish the important principle, that, in all instances of sudden or apparent death, every possible exertion should be scrupulously applied, with a view to reestablish the vital functions, nor should success be despaired of till it be fully ascertained that death is complete.

The cause of humanity has received a noble acquisition in the establishment of the Humane Society of Massachusetts. The importance and utility of it are engraven upon the heart of the shipwrecked mariner, and others, who have been nearly interested in the affecting scenes contemplated by the institution. As it will accord with the principles and views of the institution, that the advantages of it should be dispensed to all classes
of people, permit me to query, whether it is not expedient that printed directions, describing the most eligible process to be pursued in all cases of sudden death, should be posted up in those remote towns, where they are yet destitute of the necessary intelligence, and not wholly divested of prejudice and superstition.

Wishing every degree of success and prosperity may attend the Humane Society, and the exertions of each member of it,

I am, with due respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Dr. John Warren.

V.

The following letter (from Mr. William Tewksbury, of Deer Island, to whom and to members of his family had been awarded, at different times, tokens of the Society's approbation, for their unwearied exertions,) may serve to illustrate the urgent demands which are not seldom made upon those of our fellow-citizens, residing like Mr. Tewksbury in exposed situations, on their humanity and courage.*

Boston, Dec. 20, 1820.

With reluctance, and only in conformity with the repeated solicitations of a friend, I make the following statement relative to the number of men myself and family have been instrumental in saving from drowning. My reluctance proceeds from a knowledge that it is intended for the Humane Society, by whom I have already been so highly rewarded, that I fear being thought importunate.

In Dec. 1799, I saved a sailor, who fell from an English ship at anchor in the harbor, in a strong N. W. gale, from drowning.

In 1800, I saved John Calef, of York, from the mast-head of his schooner, which was sunk on Fawn Far. Black Sam, who assisted me, has since been drowned in the Gut.

In March, 1809, I saved Thomas Gould, a colored man, from a pickey boat's mast-head, on Winthrop's Bar. He had hung at the mast-head from 8 o'clock at night to 8 in the morning; he was nearly exhausted, and I kept him at my house two weeks, before he was sufficiently recovered to leave the Island. His

* The name of Tewksbury often appears in the records of the Trustees; and a writer in the Columbian Centinel, of Nov., 1825, having related a new instance of their successful humanity, says: — "This makes the number of persons rescued by this family of Tewksbury thirty-one, and well entitles them to the regard of a philanthropic community."
two companions were drowned; his brother, one of them, died in his arms.

In May, 1817, I saved the seven men, for which the Humane Society so richly rewarded me.

In the summer of the same year, or the year after, I saved three sons of Capt. Thomas Curtis from drowning, near Deer Island. They imprudently attempted to come to town, against my advice, it blowing hard, and upset their boat.

In July, 1820, I saved two men from drowning, on my way home from town; several boats ahead of me, steering same way; one boat with two young men in her, within hail, blowing fresh, thought they carried sail imprudently, hailed and advised them to shorten sail; they did not, but, in jibbing, upset. I soon picked them up, and landed them in safety on Noddle's Island. I towed their boat ashore, and proceeded home. One of the young men's name is Newell; he is an apprentice to John D. Howard; the other's name I do not recollect.

In August, 1820, I saved William Morrison from drowning on Fawn Bar. He was alone, in an open boat. While at breakfast, received an alarm by Mr. Wyman, from Point Shirley, that a boat had gone to pieces on the bar. I looked with my glass, and saw one man standing with the water to his breast, and flood tide, his situation very perilous. I made all haste, with my cousin, John W. Tewksbury, to his relief. It blew hard from the north, and a heavy sea; shipped several into my little canoe, and on reaching Mr. Morrison, found his boat gone to pieces. He had fortunately thrown the ballast out of her, and as the tide rose he straddled one of the gunwales, and had floated off the bar into deep water. He was much exhausted; made home at my house for three weeks. I feared he would not recover.

The last five men who were saved from drowning on Winthrop's Bar, by a boat from Deer Island, I was not active in saving, any farther than that I crossed the Gut, and brought the naked man, who gave the alarm, to my house, where the other five were afterwards brought, and made comfortable until the next day, when I brought them to town. My son, Abijah R. Tewksbury, was the active man in saving these men. He had gone to their relief before I knew of their danger.

WILLIAM TEWKSbury.

VI.

Roxbury, May 2, 1821.

Benjamin Rich, Esq.,

Dear Sir:—You request me to give you a circumstantial account of the accident which happened to your son Charles, on April 6th.
Charles and two of his school-fellows, William H. Fowle, between 12 and 13 years old, and Henry R. Dearborn, between 11 and 12 years old, were playing by a small pond near the school-house. Charles fell from a projecting rock into the deepest part of the pond, where the water was then about seven feet deep, it being increased by the melted snow. Charles sunk and rose so that the top and back part of his head were above the surface of the water. The two lads who were near tried to reach him with their hands, and to throw the ends of their handkerchiefs to him, but they could not reach him. They then threw a small dry tree into the water very near him, but he took no notice of it, neither could they make him hear. The elder boy then ran for something else; he brought the branch of a tree, which the younger lad catching hold of, jumped with it in his hands into the water where it was not so deep as his height, reached it to Charles, who was wholly under water except his hands, which were raised above his head. He put the end of the branch into Charles's hand, but he appeared not to be sensible of it till it was rubbed forward and backward against his hand; he then seized it very fast, and the lad drew Charles towards him and carried him out of the pond. Charles's strength was much exhausted, his countenance changed, and for a short time he was not conscious of his situation. The lads brought him home in their arms. The means that were afterwards used, I believe, have been mentioned to you. I greatly regret the accident, but feel thankful to heaven that he is spared to you. And that he may long be spared, and afford you all that satisfaction and comfort, that a good and promising child is calculated to give his parents, is the ardent hope of

Yours, with much esteem,

Jacob N. Knapp.

Salem, Feb. 17, 1824.
their own case. I can only say, that if it should be compatible
with the views of the Society to notice their humane and gener­ous exertions to save these youth, it will afford me great satis­faction to communicate any expressions of the Society's appro­bation which they may think proper to bestow.

With much respect, sir, for yourself and the excellent Society
you represent, I am yours,

Elias Cornelius.

VIII.

Boston, June 30, 1825.

To the President and Directors of the Humane Society.

Gentlemen: — The object of this is to state a few facts re­specting a young gentleman, named Freeborn Sisson, from
Warren, Rhode Island, who is now at Mr. Putnam's school, in
Andover, Massachusetts. I have a son at the same school, who
is ten years old. He, with other lads, were skating last winter
on the large pond in Andover, North Parish, and a large place
being open, which my son did not discover till too late to avoid
it, unfortunately he went in. There were several boys about
my son's age near him, when he went in; they were alarmed
and fled from him. Sisson was at some distance, but, seeing
his alarming situation, hastened to him with the greatest rapidi­ty, and reached a stick to him which happened to be on the ice,
but did not succeed with that. He then laid down, and crawled
to the very edge of the ice, and, by means of a handkerchief
which he had the good fortune to reach him, he succeeded in
rescuing him from a watery grave; this he did, at the most
imminent hazard of his own life, as it was early in the season,
and the ice was thin, particularly so, near the hole. I view him
(under God) as the sole preserver of my son's life at that time,
as no other lad was on the pond, who was large enough to have
done what he did; and in a very few moments more he must
have perished, as he was almost exhausted when he got him out.
I also understand this same young gentleman saved a small
lad in Providence, who fell from a wharf and was near drown­
ing, when Sisson plunged in and brought him on shore. This
fact I am not personally knowing to, but have it from such
authority, that I have no question of its truth.

Most respectfully, I am, gentlemen, your very humble serv't,

Phineas Foster.

The following letter was addressed to the President by Mr.
Isaac Small, to whom, as appears in the Catalogue of Premiums,
of 1840, the Trustees had voted that a quadrant be presented, in
token of their approbation of his generous efforts in saving, at
the peril of his own, the life of a disabled seaman.

Provincetown, Feb. 22, 1840.

Dear Sir: Your very acceptable donation is received; and I
value it the more highly on account of its having come from the
Humane Society. I accept this as a gift, which, whenever I
take it in hand, will recall the deed, and also your notice of it,
to my recollection.

I therefore return my sincere thanks to you, and through you,
as President of that benevolent body render grateful thanks also
to its members, for the notice they have taken of my humble,
yet well-meant and successful effort, in saving the life of a
fellow-creature from a watery grave. But while I accept this
as a gift, still I cannot receive it as a reward for having saved an
unfortunate shipwrecked brother from death. No. I should
scorn to be actuated by such base motives. In that moment of
peril I remembered nothing but the dying man; and obeyed no
impulse but the sympathetic breathings of our common nature.
This impulse I obeyed, and freely periled my life to save his;
and the reflection that I was successful in the deed is all the
reward I ask or seek. Hence this expression of the approbation
of the Humane Society is extra, and so much more than I de­
serve.

Respectfully, and with all benevolence to men, I have the
honor and happiness to be yours ever,

Isaac SMALL.

NOTE E.

EARLY MEMBERS.

A salute from the Castle, with "the Governor's barge to ac­
company them," may seem in these times a somewhat superflu­
ous demonstration of respect to a charitable society, not yet
incorporated, on its customary tour of duty. But those were
days of ceremony and salutes. French officers were among us,
the ancient manners were not forgotten, and Governor Hancock
perfectly understood the characters of the men for whom he
ordered that token of respect. In truth, among the founders
and early promoters of this Society were to be found those, who were not only by courtesy and designation of office, "Honorable" and "Reverend," but were actually honored and revered as the "stay and the staff" of the community.

The first on its records, and its first President, was James Bowdoin, at the time of its formation the Governor of the State; a Christian gentleman, a ripe scholar, and an incorruptible statesman, who, before his country's independence, incurred the royal displeasure by his assertion of his country's rights; and afterwards for his distinguished attainments in science was counted worthy of a fellowship with the Royal Society of London;* who, to the refinements of letters united a political sagacity and firmness, of which the Commonwealth had full benefit in a crisis of peculiar danger. His administration, alike for its integrity and courage, is a stern rebuke to those politicians, of which the race began in his day and has not ceased, who in a time of popular tumult stoop to purchase popular favor at the costly sacrifice of the public welfare and the still costlier, of the permanent respect of mankind.†

Next is Thomas Russell, the first Vice-President, who among the merchants of Boston confessedly "sat chief;" whose wealth, not of inheritance but of honorable industry, no man could envy who knew of his charities; and whose princely hospitality at once did honor to the city where he dwelt, and was the delight at the time, and the cherished recollection for years after, of the multitude of strangers, who shared it. Then follows Dr. John Warren, the trusted physician, remembered of many yet alive, who, with great skill and incessant activity in his profession,

* This honor has been very rarely conferred upon Americans. Before the election of Governor Bowdoin, three of our countrymen only had been thus distinguished.
† The following is taken from the records of a meeting of the Trustees, Nov. 8, 1790: — "The Vice-President, Thomas Russell, Esq., communicated an invitation from James Bowdoin, Esq., to attend the funeral of his father, the late Hon. James Bowdoin, on Wednesday next, 3 o'clock, P. M. Thereupon, Voted, that the members of the Humane Society be requested to meet at the Massachusetts Bank, on Wednesday next, at half past two, for the purpose of attending the funeral of their late worthy President.”
combined an ardent zeal for the best interests of humanity. His patriotism, a family virtue, inherited from his fathers, was kindled afresh and kept glowing till his death by the fondness of his fraternal love, by the recollection that a brother's blood was the price of his country's freedom. — Dr. Simeon Howard was the first Treasurer, "an Israelite indeed," whose faithfulness in the little intrusted to his keeping* might well be taken for example by others, holding like dignities, and to whom men have committed much. A patriarchal simplicity engrained on his intellectual and moral worth never failed of conciliating regard. — We might speak of Dr. Clarke, the first Corresponding Secretary, a polite scholar, a persuasive preacher, and a favorite, alike with the aged, who loved him as a son, and with the young, to whom he was even as a brother. And when we have added to these the names of Lloyd and of Bulfinch, of Dexter and Freeman, of Parker and Lathrop, and of others, the founders or first members of the Society, it will not be difficult to admit, that few companies, civil or military, of laymen or of clergymen, ever passed Castle William, before or since, more worthy of the Governor's salute, than was the company of that day, which was August 5, 1790.

Of the gentlemen thus constituting the first Board of Trustees, many continued in their places for a long series of years. Dr. Aaron Dexter, who, as has been seen, was one of its founders, resigned its presidency in 1827, having been connected with the Society in official relations for nearly forty-two years, — a period far exceeding the usual term of any man's connexion with any such institution. Dr. Warren and Dr. Lathrop, also among its founders and first governors, resigned their respective places, — the former as President, the latter as Vice-President, in 1813, after faithful services from 1786, of more than twenty-

* The funds of the Society were at first very inconsiderable. The condition of membership was the annual payment of a crown, or of one dollar ten cents. But on representation of the treasurer, Dr. Howard, "of the exceeding trouble of making change" in the payment of such a sum, crowns having become scarce, the price was altered to one dollar.
seven years. We quote here a part of Dr. Lathrop's letter of resignation, both as it is an affectionate expression of the satisfaction he had enjoyed in so agreeable a relation, and as it awakens our pleasant associations with the name of a most amiable and exemplary divine:

To the Trustees,

Gentlemen: — After expressing the high estimation, in which I shall always hold "The Humane Society of Massachusetts," and my ardent wishes for its future prosperity, I must pray, that in the arrangement for the election of officers and Trustees for the ensuing year, my name may be omitted." ................ "The present officers and Trustees may be assured that as long as I may live, I shall recollect with lively interest the honor which I have received from them, and the happiness which for many years past, I have felt in meeting with them. But, as I find the President wishes to retire, my age and other reasons teach me it is proper for me to retire also. I might, on this occasion, use the language which one of the magistrates of the old colony used when wishing to be excused from further service: — "If the place be honorable, I have had my full share, and wish that some one quite as deserving may possess it; and if it be burdensome, younger men can better bear it." With sentiments of the highest esteem for yourselves and the whole Humane Society, I am, &c., &c.,

John Lathrop.

Others also, the immediate successors of the founders, continued in trust through many successive years. The doctrine of rotation in office, with other popular theories, with which it is allied, had not then so obtained as to require that good men, proved to be such, and laden with experience, should go out, only that others, not proved, might come in. Bishop Parker, Dr. John Eliot, Samuel Parkman, Joseph Coolidge, Esqs., with others, continued to be rechosen from year to year until their deaths, as were also the Rev. Messrs. Emerson and Buckminster; who died, however, at a much earlier period of life. But the Society have lost the valuable services of many more by their own withdrawing.* Of this latter, an instance recently

occurred in the resignation of Benjamin Rich, Esq., who having been elected a Trustee, in 1811, succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Jonathan Amory, Esq., in 1828. He was, therefore, a member of the Board for thirty-three years, and its President for more than fifteen. The Trustees accepted with extreme reluctance the resignation of a gentleman so long at their head, whose practical experience and knowledge of the objects of the Society, together with his active and effective devotion to its interests, conveyed to his services the most substantial value. A letter expressive of their sentiments was addressed to him, through a committee, and entered on the Records. We are happy in transferring a part of it to these pages:—

Boston, May 8, 1844.

Dear Sir: — At the last meeting of the Trustees of the Humane Society your letter, declining to be any longer a Trustee, was received. In saying that it caused the sincerest regret, we but utter the simplest truth. We refer with gratitude to your past connexion with our institution. For the space of one third of a century you have participated in the benevolent labors of the Society. Your kindness and activity have made you essentially the executive of its purposes and designs. You have carried out its objects. You have chiefly carried on its correspondence with the authorities on the coast, where our Humane Houses are located. You have been instrumental in providing for the wants and the relief of the shipwrecked mariner. You have superintended the building and the localities of our Life Boats. To yourself and to the lamented Oxnard belong, emphatically, the praise of this grand scheme of relief to the brave mariner in the hour of dreadful peril. How often have you decided on the bestowment of a medal or a premium for self-forgetting efforts to save human life. Often have you been the advocate of the shipwrecked mariner, and the seaman’s widow, with open heart and open hand.

Nearly half the period that you have been a member of the Humane Society, you have been its honored presiding officer. You directed and encouraged the Trustees through all their labors, and the public owe you a debt of lasting gratitude.

Accept our best wishes for your future happiness and usefulness; and when your sun sets may it be in the serenity of a "green old age."

Most sincerely yours,

Edward H. Robbins,

Committee of the

David Sears,

Humane Society.
MEETINGS OF TRUSTEES AND SUMPTUARY LAWS.

The meetings of the Trustees were, at first, on the last Monday of every month. They were soon changed to the first Monday evening of each month, and so continued for almost thirty years. But in January, 1814, when probably the advancing age of some of the members of the Board made their assembling in the day more agreeable to them than the evening, the hour of meeting was changed to two o'clock; and after the transaction of such business as might occur, the Trustees, together with such guests as their host may have seen fit to unite with them, dined together. The day was subsequently changed to the first Friday of each month; and, ever since 1823, this has remained the stated day. Though the meetings be thus frequent, very few occur without some applications for premiums, or subjects arising, of more or less moment, to call attention. And not seldom, as must be seen in the Catalogue of Premiums, * cases of a highly interesting nature and suited to command an earnest sympathy with suffering on the one side, or a warm admiration for heroic efforts on the other, are presented.

We have adverted, on page 8, to Sumptuary Laws; and in recurring to the Records, which, for higher purposes, we have not failed carefully to consult, we find that, at a meeting of the Trustees, at the house of Dr. Spooner, 2d of June, 1826, the following resolution was placed upon the records:—

"Voted, unanimously, that if, at any future meeting of the Trustees, there be more than four dishes of meat, fish and soup included, on the table, and two dishes of pastry, it shall be the duty of the presiding officer to order each extra dish to be removed. It being understood, that the master of the house be at liberty to determine which those dishes shall be; and that the Secretary furnish each member with a copy of this vote."

The terms in which this salutary regulation is expressed, amounting even to arithmetical precision, would seem to leave

* See particularly those awarded Nov. 1844, Note C. and those recently awarded, Jan. 1845, Note K.
little scope to diversity either of opinion or action. But as the interpretation of the article belonged to each individual Trustee, and as no presiding officer, in any remembered instance, found it his duty to interpose authoritatively for the literal enforcement of the act, no effect has hitherto followed, differing at all from what any careful observer of the courses of human society will have learned to expect from all such judicious and well-meant regulations.

NOTE G.

HENRY OXNARD, ESQ.

In the letter addressed to Mr. Rich, reference is made to "the lamented Oxnard," and his name appears, page 22, as one of the Committee of the Trustees, in 1841, to present a Report to the Governor and Council in relation to the Life Boats. In a few months after, the health of Mr. Oxnard failed; a voyage to Europe was undertaken, but proved ineffectual; and the Trustees were called to the melancholy office of attending his funeral, Dec. 18th, 1843.

At the following meeting of the Trustees Dr. Parkman, Mr. Rich, and Dr. Homans were appointed a committee "to express the deep sense, which the Trustees entertain of their loss in the death of their associate, and to communicate the same, with their respectful condolence, to his bereaved family."

The following letter was accordingly addressed to the family of our friend; and an answer was received from Mrs. Oxnard, expressing in affecting terms the sense entertained of the thoughtfulness of our sympathy.

The Trustees of the Massachusetts Humane Society having, since their last meeting, been called to attend the funeral of their lamented associate, the late Henry Oxnard, Esq., desire to place upon their Records some testimony of the high respect which they cherish for his character. With this whole community they have been accustomed to honor the enterprise, integrity, and diffusive benevolence, which distinguished him among
his fellow-citizens, and made his personal prosperity a public blessing. While for themselves they remember with affectionate regrets those private virtues, which especially endeared him to the wide circle of his friends, and have left them to mourn for him as a brother.

The Trustees, also, beg leave to express their most respectful sympathies with the bereaved family of their deceased friend, under the severe affliction, with which it has pleased divine Providence to visit them.

Signed

Francis Parkman,
For the Committee.

NOTE II.

LIFE BOATS.

It has been seen in the brief "History" preceding, that a grant of five thousand dollars was made by the Legislature of the State to the Society, in March, 1840, for the purpose of building Life Boats. During the session of the following year, another Resolve was passed, granting thirteen hundred and fifty dollars more, for furnishing three additional Life Boats, to be stationed agreeably to the directions of the Legislature. This sum accordingly was received into our Treasury, and the following Report of the expenditure was presented by the President to the Governor and Council.

To His Excellency John Davis, and to the Hon. Council.

Agreeably to the resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts, passed March 17, 1841, allowing thirteen hundred and fifty dollars from the Treasury of the State, for furnishing three life boats, to be stationed as follows: one near Race Point, one at Nantucket, and one at Chatham; I beg leave to report to your Excellency, and to the Honorable Council, that it has been attended to. Houses have been built, and the boats placed therein, and suitable crews appointed by the Selectmen of each town for the purpose of managing them. Finding another boat was absolutely necessary, and being strongly solicited from the town of Plymouth, I prevailed on the mechanics to give in a part of their labor, and build the boats fifty dollars less each, which enabled me to provide a fourth boat for that station, by the Humane Society paying the balance, $175.86, as per account annexed.
That boat has been delivered to the Selectmen of Plymouth, who have had a house erected, and men appointed to take charge of her. Thus sixteen life boats are now stationed between Martha's Vineyard and Newburyport, fifteen of them under the direction of the Massachusetts Humane Society, and the one on Plum Island under charge of the Marine Society of Newburyport. And I have the satisfaction to state, that they have already been the sole means, under Providence, of saving the lives of twenty-eight shipwrecked mariners, who otherwise must have met a watery grave, as no other boats could have withstood the heavy sea.

In the gale of the 17th of December last, the ship Mohawk was cast on shore at Nantasket Beach, when the life boat stationed there was launched into the surf, and, in endeavoring to save the crew, she was driven on the rocks and badly stove. Since which she has been brought to the city and is now repairing, will be finished soon and re-placed in its proper station, the cost of which will be from sixty to eighty dollars. These boats will be constantly wanting repairs, painting, &c. &c., and it will be necessary that a small appropriation should be made for that purpose, subject to the Treasurer of "The Massachusetts Humane Society," the amount to be limited to seven or eight hundred dollars. No more will be drawn for than is actually wanted, and a correct account will be rendered of the expenditure.

I have the honor to be,

Respectfully, Your Ob't Serv't,

Signed,  
Benj. Rich, President,  
Massachusetts Humane Society.

Boston, Jan. 11, 1842.

The following is a list of Life Boats and their respective stations:—

Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard,......................... 1
Nantucket,.................................................. 2
Chatham,..................................................... 1
Nauset Beach, Eastham,.................................. 1
Wellfleet, Cohoon Hollow,.............................. 1
Truro, near the Light House,........................ 1
Race Point,................................................. 1
Plymouth,................................................... 1
Scituate,................................................... 1
Cohasset,................................................... 1
Nantasket Beach,...................................... 1
Lynn,....................................................... 1
Rescue of the Crew of the Tremont.

As one of many evidences which might be adduced of the value and efficiency of the Life Boat, and with it another example of brave and successful humanity, we copy from the Daily Advertiser and Patriot, of October 14, 1844, the following statement:

The brig Tremont, of New York, Capt. Leeds, went on shore at Point Alderton, * Hull, on Monday morning, Oct. 7, having been driven in by exceedingly tempestuous weather, and almost dashed to pieces. She grounded on the Bar, at low water; and the captain and the crew, seven in number, expected nothing less than immediate destruction.

Mr. Moses B. Tower, of Hull, discovering their perilous situation, hastened to obtain assistance, and with the help of two men and of his own horses, succeeded in conveying the Life Boat from the house in which it is kept, to a suitable place for launching, being at the distance of a mile and a half. On his way he procured five other men, who, together with Mr. Tower and the first two, launched the boat; and, rowing to the distance of somewhat more than a mile, at length reached the wreck. They found the captain and the crew clinging to the quarter deck, where they had been for more than seven hours in extreme peril, and though greatly exhausted, they were all brought safely to shore.

Captain Leeds gratefully declares, that he owes his own life, and the lives of his crew, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to the exertions they generously made in their behalf. He has made a communication of the case to the Trustees of the Humane Society; and we are confident, that it will receive the consideration, which it so obviously merits.

* This Point was named after Isaac Allerton, one of the first settlers of the country, and employed repeatedly as their agent in England. His name was sometimes spelt Alderton, and thus, by an ancient error, has this latter name obtained a place in the charts. See "Historical Collections," 1st Series, vol. 8.
This is the third instance in which this boat, stationed at Hull, has been the means of preserving life. The first was that of the crew of the Emeline, from which five men were saved; the second that of the Mohawk, when twelve were saved, and, thirdly, this of the Tremont, as just related. Had the Legislature of Massachusetts made provision only for this single boat, such results would alone have sufficiently attested the wisdom and humanity of the appropriation.

NOTE I.

MISCELLANEOUS.

We here assemble, under one note, a few separate articles, extracted from the records of different dates, which may show, in connexion with the "History," the different objects, which have been the subjects of attention with the Society.

It appears that the erection of Light Houses, where greatly needed, sometimes engaged their consideration.

At a meeting of the Society, Feb. 6, 1792, it was Voted, That the President, the Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Corresponding Secretary be a committee to wait upon His Excellency the Governor, and request him to represent to such officers of the government as he may think proper, the necessity of having a Light House erected on some part of Cape Cod, in order to preserve the lives and property of those who navigate the Bay of Massachusetts; and to desire that such Light House may be erected at the charge of the Continent.

Also, Voted, That the President, Dr. Welsh, Dr. Dexter, and Hon. General Lincoln, be a committee to confer with the gentlemen of the Marine Society, upon the subject, to inform them of the measures already taken by this Society, and to request their concurrence in the same.

In the succeeding month, we find the following:—

"The committee appointed to take into consideration the letter from Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, on the method used by the savages for the recovery of persons apparently dead from drowning, reported, that the facts contained therein, are a valuable addition to the history of resuscitation, and that it is one of the duties of
this Society, to collect every thing of this nature; which, whether founded on reason or experience, should be carefully preserved, and may, perhaps, lead to other discoveries of still greater consequence to the views of this institution. They however take the liberty to remark, that the position in which the savages appear to have placed the body, though doubtless convenient for the discharge of water, must be highly unfavorable to the renewal of respiration.”

Here follow some valuable medical suggestions, not necessary, however, here to be repeated.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

At a special meeting of the Trustees, at the President’s, Feb. 23, 1796,

The President informed the Trustees, that the Marine Society and the Chamber of Commerce have come to the determination to make an immediate application to Congress, that a Light House may be erected on the highlands of Cape Cod, for the purpose, not only of promoting the mercantile interest, but also for the preservation of the lives of seamen, and have expressed their wishes for a cooperation of the Trustees of the Humane Society to obtain so desirable an end. And the Trustees having taken the subject in consideration, Voted, unanimously, That a Memorial be presented to Congress, and that Rev. Dr. Clarke and Dr. Dexter, be a committee to prepare and report a Memorial on the subject.

Such a document, accordingly, was presented at the following meeting of the Trustees, and having been read and accepted, the President was authorized to sign the same, and to transmit it, through the Corresponding Secretary, to the Hon. Fisher Ames, then one of the Representatives of Massachusetts to Congress. The Memorial itself bears clear evidence of the benevolent spirit, as well as of the classic style of the Chairman of the committee who prepared it, Dr. John Clarke.

MR. BALCH’S COMMUNICATION.

At a meeting of the Trustees, July 3d, 1797, at the house of the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, Mr. Nathaniel Balch informed the Board,
that he had furnished Mr. Daniel Rhea with a New Hat, agreeably to their vote. Whereupon it was

_Voted_, That there be allowed and paid to Mr. Nathaniel Balch eight dollars in full of his account.

Should it happen to be a matter of anxiety with any, who may read the above resolve, to know for what particular service or benevolent effort a premium of so marked and peculiar a character was awarded to Mr. Rhea,—differing from all other premiums adjudged either in the former or latter times,—it may be grateful to such to be informed, that the vote was passed after a public anniversary of the Society, and the delivery of a discourse by Dr. John Fleet, on the 13th of June, 1797; and that, agreeably to the precise terms of the vote, Mr. Balch was "desired to deliver an Hat to Mr. Rhea," (who, it will be remembered by many, was among the vocalists of his day, often heard on public occasions,) "for his attention to the Society in procuring a select company of musicians upon their anniversary-day."

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**PRESIDENT WILLARD'S LETTER.**

At a meeting of the Trustees, March 2, 1801, a letter was communicated by the President, Dr. John Warren, from the Rev. Dr. Willard, President of Harvard University, enclosing a vote of thanks, passed by the Corporation of Harvard College, for the benevolent and generous assistance afforded by the Humane Society towards finishing the Bath in Charles River, which was undertaken principally with a view to secure the lives of the students, when bathing; and expressing his individual thanks, as head of the College, for the very liberal and kind aid.

_Voted_, That this letter from President Willard, with the vote of the Corporation, be put on file.
The following are extracts from a letter, written by another honored head of Harvard University, just after his election to its Presidency. Dr. Kirkland had preached the anniversary discourse, in June, 1810, and assented to the earnest wishes of the Trustees, and of the public, for its publication. But the printer had been waiting for full three months the delivery of the manuscript. A committee of the Trustees, therefore, did in the most respectful, but, it would seem, in somewhat earnest terms, plead for the fulfilment of his promise; and we quote the reply, both as serving for an explanation of the anomaly of an appendix appearing without the discourse to which it professes to be appended, and as altogether characteristic of the writer, whose felicity in the utterance of wisdom could only be equalled by his slowness to print it.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1810.

Samuel Parkman, Esq.

and Dr. Spooner:—

I am still more than ever unfortunate to occasion the Trustees so much trouble. The discourse was never fit for publication without a careful revision, for it was written under a pressure of engagements, and with the idea of its being withheld from the press. The flattering and rather importunate, but certainly kind and well-intended urgency of several gentlemen after the delivery of the sermon, induced me to consent, reluctantly, to print. But I did not know that it would be inconvenient to postpone, a month or two, the irksome task of preparing it for the light. Soon after my return from a journey, when I should set about the preparation, I found myself in a more consequential situation than I ever thought of, and pressed by new reasons for guarding what literary reputation I might have, and gaining more. When I gave the promise, or rather the prediction, of being in readiness within ten days, I thought my mind settled upon certain interesting subjects,* and that I should probably remain at my present post. I have, however, been ever since too much engrossed by these awful problems to be able to write. I am now obliged to finish one or two indispensable works, begun before my present engagements; to appear in my pulpit every Sunday but one for five to

* These were the dissolution of his pastoral connexions in Boston, and his acceptance of the Presidency.
come; * to be ready with farewell words, fitly chosen; for an Inaugural address, "profound and elegant," to pay the compliment of a call to every house of my flock; and to furnish an house and raise up what is called an establishment at Cambridge. I must, therefore, submit to the pain of giving to the Trustees an opportunity to grieve or triumph over my continued delinquency. I must dispose of essential things first. It is not lawful for me to keep my last promise to the letter, though I will in the spirit. What I propose is, that the appendix should go out by itself; and when I have got through the straight and narrow way I am now struggling over, I shall be glad to furnish the discourse; for, as things now are, I really should like to publish it.

With great regard and respect,

John T. Kirkland.

The appendix was accordingly printed without the sermon. The Trustees expressed in a note their hope that, notwithstanding the regretted delay, "the public expectation would soon be gratified by a perusal of it." But none that knew the gifted author, whose joy in escaping from any such necessity was as "the joy of harvest," will be surprised to learn, that this hope was never destined to be realized.

JUDGE DAWES'S LETTER.

When the Society, in 1816, had in contemplation a large subscription to the Lunatic Asylum, it was thought, that some doubt might arise as to its legal right to appropriate its funds to other than its own original and specific purposes. The President, Dr. Dexter, therefore, sought legal counsel for the direction of the Trustees upon the subject; and the following is the answer received from Judge Dawes:

Boston, 5th Nov., 1816.

Dear Sir: — I think that the last clause of the Act, namely, "And for promoting the cause of humanity by pursuing such means from time to time as shall have for their object the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries," will fully authorize us to proceed with the noble design we have at

* It was just five weeks after the date of this letter, that President Kirkland preached his farewell sermon to his flock; and soon after removed from the city to Cambridge.
heart; and I can say most sincerely, that I thank God it is so. The words *may* be construed in a more limited sense, as referring only to those miseries that attend the families of drowned or resuscitated persons. But we are not called to make such a construction.

Yours faithfully,

T. Dawes.

DONATION FOR A TELESCOPE.

It was in a liberal interpretation of the above decision, and a readiness to cooperate in an object of great public utility, that in May, 1843, a donation was made of five hundred dollars, from the funds of the Society, in aid of the purchase of a costly Telescope for the Observatory established at Cambridge, by the government of the University. "The obvious connexion between the discoveries in astronomical science and the diminution of the risks of navigation," seemed to some a sufficient ground for such an appropriation. And, unquestionably, as was urged in its favor, "every advance in the precision and accuracy of all observations of the heavenly bodies, which have relation to time and longitude, is an addition, easily appreciable, to the security of human life, when exposed to the perils of navigation." With equal propriety it might be urged, that the lights of philosophy and the aids of humanity may alike conspire to one great object, "the alleviation of human misery," and that between all good purposes and enlightened efforts there is reciprocal influence. But if, notwithstanding such general reasonings, this particular appropriation should still appear to any a somewhat large interpretation of a discretionary power, the Trustees would not be earnest to contend.* And it may be proper, in this connexion, to mention that, in reply to various applications since made, for

* The connexion between the philosophical instrument, above named, and the designs of a benevolent society, may, however, be closer than by some seems to have been considered. To any ingenious mind, it will scarce fail to appear, how naturally a telescope may awaken compassion; since he, who, looking through it, shall discover with one eye a wreck, too remote for his succor, may weep with the other for sufferings, which, though seeing, he cannot relieve.
other benevolent objects, the following Report of a committee to consider the subject, was unanimously adopted.

The committee to whom was referred the application of "The Boston Female Orphan Asylum," the "Female Penitent Refuge Society," and the "Children's Friend Society," have considered these applications, and entertain grave doubts of their authority to apply any of their funds to the use of either of said charities. But they are prevented, at this time, from going farther into their authority thus to dispose of funds, by the fact that all the income of the funds of "The Massachusetts Humane Society," has been fully expended for the past year; and that they have in prospect such necessary outlays upon their Huts and Life Boats as to prevent the bestowing of any money for other purposes until the requisite outlays for these objects shall have been completed.

Per order of the committee,

E. H. Robbins, Chairman.

Boston, May 23, 1844.

NOTE J.

BENEFACTORS OF THE SOCIETY.

Besides those, who, by the devotion of much time and care, particularly in the early periods of the Society, have advanced its general interests, it has not been wanting in liberal contributors to its funds. The following list of donations and bequests has been gathered from the records of successive meetings of the Trustees, or of the Society, through the whole term of its existence, and it is possible, therefore, that the name of some benefactor may be omitted. But it is hoped, that the catalogue will be found essentially correct.

1788. Hon. Thomas Russell, Vice-President, a share in Malden Bridge, ................................. £36 0 0
With payment of assessments on do., .............. £ 2 2 0
1789. John Calef, Esq., of St. Kitts, two donations, ........................... £ 3 18 0
1790, July 4. Hon. Thomas Russell, then President, three State notes, together with the gift "of a common seal for the Society, engraved on silver," .............................................................. £311 6 6
1791. John Lane, Esq., of London, two Engravings, representing an affecting instance of the restoration of a young man, who had been taken from the water, apparently dead, and restored in the presence of his parents. These prints have been carefully preserved for now fifty years, in the keeping of the successive Presidents.

1792. Thomas Dickason, Jr., of London, but residing in Boston, on admission as a member, £6 6 0
   Hon. William Seaver, Kingston, £2 2 0

1793. John Osborn, M. D., Middletown, Conn. £1 0 0
   Samuel Carey, Esq., of Chelsea, £2 13 4

1794. Jonathan Mason, Esq., first Vice-President, $100 00
   Elisha Doane, Esq., of Cohasset, the furnishing the Society's Huts on Nantasket and Scituate Beach, with all necessary supplies.

1795. Madam Thayer, of Boston, a legacy, £50 0 0
   John Bulkley, Esq., of Lisbon, on being elected an honorary member, $100 00
   Thomas Buckley, Esq., Lisbon, $50 00


1797. Mr. Thomas Hancock, $20 00

1799. Professor Eliphalet Pearson, Cambridge, $6 15

1800. Madam Esther Sprague, Dedham, on admission as a member of the Society, $8 90

1801. Rev. William Walter, D. D., a legacy, $30 00

1803. John Bulkley, Esq., of Lisbon, a legacy, £100 0 0

1807. Nicholas Gilman, Esq., Exeter, N. H., $5 00

1811. Madam Esther Sprague, Dedham, a legacy, £100 0 0

1812. Hon. Samuel Dexter, a legacy, $50 00

1822. William Lambert, Esq., a legacy, $150 00

1823. Abraham Touro, a legacy, $5000 00

1831. Isaiah Thomas, Esq., of Worcester, $300 00
NOTE K.

PREMIUMS RECENTLY AWARDED.

While the foregoing pages were yet passing the press, a stated monthly meeting of the Trustees came in usual course. And as the transactions of that meeting were of more than ordinary interest; bringing to view affecting instances of suffering, relieved and generous efforts exerted; and as, moreover, larger appropriations were made from the funds in reward of such efforts, than at any one meeting of the Trustees since the existence of the Society, we cannot more suitably close these notices than by presenting here an abstract of the record of that meeting: —

Boston, Jan. 3d, 1845.

The Trustees met at the house of the Recording Secretary. Application was made in favor of the crews of the Life Boat at Hull, for assistance rendered to the crew of the ship Massasoit, wrecked on the night of the 11th December last, at Point Alderton, by which twelve individuals were saved from the wreck. In the first attempt, they were unable to reach the wreck in consequence of an heavy sea, but some hours later, the sea having subsided in some degree, a second attempt was made, in which they succeeded in rescuing all who were on board, excepting Mr. Holbrook, a gentleman of Boston and a passenger in the ship, who had fallen into the hold of the vessel, which was then full of water, and was supposed at the time to have been drowned. After the Life Boat had left the wreck and proceeded some distance towards the shore, Mr. Holbrook was seen crawling along the deck, and a Pilot Boat attempted to rescue him. But the after part of the vessel breaking in pieces before they could reach the wreck, he was, unfortunately, drowned.

In consideration of the whole case, it was

Voted, To award ten dollars to each of the first boat's crew, consisting of nine persons, who unsuccessfully, though with much hazard, attempted the rescue; and fifteen dollars to each of the second boat's crew, who were seven in number, who succeeded in saving the lives of Capt. Berry, and eleven others of his officers and crew.
The amount thus appropriated, was one hundred and ninety-five dollars.

A representation was made by Mr. Sears of the generous and heroic conduct of Greely Stevenson Curtis, son of the late James Freeman Curtis, of fourteen years of age, in saving from drowning a young lad, who had broken through the ice on that part of the Bay, between the Providence Rail Road and Beacon street. Curtis, with admirable presence of mind, worthy of maturer years, having pushed himself as near to the boy as he could, by laying flat on the ice, fastened the spear of an eel-pole firmly into the dress of the drowning boy, and by now swimming and then crawling over the icy fragments, dragged him safely on to the firm ice.

Whereupon, it was

_Voted_, unanimously, That the Society's Gold Medal, and their certificate of thanks, be presented to young Curtis for his skilful, generous, and disinterested exertions.

An application from the Selectmen of Hull, and others, for a second Life Boat on Nantasket Beach, was read, with a communication from Capt. Josiah Sturgis, recommending the same. The subject was referred to Messrs. Amory, Austin, and Forbes, with authority to have a Life Boat built and located on Nantasket Beach, near Point Alderton, and to draw on the Treasury for the cost of the same.

Mr. Parker, chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, reported that a contract had been made for one dozen Life-Preservers, for the crew of the boat at Hull.

On motion of Dr. Parkman, the Hon. John Davis, late Judge of the United States District Court, was unanimously chosen a member of the Society.
CATALOGUE
OF THE
MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY,
WITH THEIR PLACES OF ABODE,
IN 1810.

We subjoin the following list of the Members of the Society, as existing in 1810; partly, because the present is from various causes reduced to a very small number, and, partly, as the large number here presented may show the interest formerly taken in the objects of the Society by gentlemen not of Boston only, but of various parts of the Commonwealth.

A.
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His Excellency John Adams, Esq., Quincy.
Capt. Isaac Adams, Orleans.
Mr. Phineas Adams.
Mr. Judah Alden, Duxborough.
Capt. William Alexander,
Mr. Jonathan Amory,
Mr. Thomas Amory,
Mr. Thomas C. Amory,
Mr. James Andrews,
John Andrews, Esq., Roxbury.
Mr. Charles B. Appleton,
Mr. Nathan Appleton,
John T. Apthorp, Esq.
Capt. Henry Atkins,
Capt. Silas Atkins,
Mr. Charles Atkinson,
Jonathan L. Austin, Esq.
Mr. Richard Austin.

B.
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Mr. Francis Babcock,

Rev. Thomas Baldwin, D. D.
Mr. John Ballard.
Mr. Christopher Barker.
Josiah Barker, Esq., Nantucket.
Capt. Tristram Barnard.
Mr. John Barrett, Quincy.
Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D., Charlestown.
Mr. George Bartlett.
Dr. Thomas Bartlett.
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Mr. Samuel Billings.
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Mr. Edward Blake.
Major George Blanchard.
Mr. John W. Blanchard.
Mr. Elam Bliss.
Mr. William Boardman, Jr.
Mr. Jeremiah S. Boies, Milton.
Mr. Kirk Boot.
Mr. Ezra A. Bourne.
90

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Capt. Gamaliel Bradford,
Samuel Bradford, Esq.
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Major John Brazer,
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Mr. William Walter,
Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.
Joseph Ward, Esq.
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Mr. Moses Wheeler,
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Mr. Jonathan Whitney,
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Mr. Thomas Wigglesworth,
Mr. Abraham Wild,

Mr. Eliphalet Williams,
Mr. Henry H. Williams, Roxbury,
John S. Williams, Esq., do.
Capt. John Foster Williams,
Mr. John Davis Williams,
Mr. Thomas Williams,
Capt. William Williams,
Thomas Williams, Jr. Esq., Roxbury,
Dr. Charles W. Winship, do.
John Winslow, Esq.
Mr. John Winslow, Jr.
Mr. Benjamin Winslow,
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Dr. David Hull, Fairfield, Conn.

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Dr. Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia,
William Russell, Esq., Middletown, Conn.
Hon. James Shreve, Esq., Portsmouth,
Right Hon. Earl of Stamford, London,
Hon. Samuel Tenney, Esq., Exeter.
AN
ADDRESS
AT
THE OPENING
OF THE
TOWN HALL,
IN BROOKLINE,
ON TUESDAY, 14 OCTOBER, 1845.

BY JOHN PIERCE, D. D.
Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Brookline.

"Nothing is constant, but change."

BOSTON:
WHITE & POTTER, PRINTERS.
1846.
After the delivery of the following address, the meeting was organized by the choice of Daniel Sanderson, Esq. as Chairman, and Mr. John A. Bird, as Secretary. On motion of George Griggs, Esq., it was unanimously

Voted, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Rev. John Pierce, D. D., for the able, learned, and highly interesting address delivered this evening, before the citizens of Brookline, at the opening of their new Town Hall, and that a copy of this address be requested of him for publication, and that a committee of three be appointed to communicate this vote to Dr. Pierce, and, provided he consents to the publication, to superintend the printing thereof.

On motion of Dea. Joshua C. Clark, it was voted, that the Selectmen of the Town constitute the committee to carry into effect the foregoing vote.

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Brookline, 14 October, 1845.

Rev. Dr. Pierce,

Dear Sir, Immediately after your Address, at the opening of our Town Hall, the subscribers were appointed a committee to apply to you for its publication. We accordingly ask of you a copy for this purpose.

Daniel Sanderson,

Brookline, 8 January, 1846.

Gentlemen,

Agreeably to your request, a copy of my Address, on 14 October last, at the opening of our Town Hall, is submitted to your disposal.

The copiousness of its appendix, requiring so great care, it is hoped will be found generally correct, and also constitute an apology for the tardiness of its appearance.

I am yours, with great respect,

John Pierce.

Capt. Daniel Sanderson,
Mr. Marshal Stearns,
Mr. James Bartlett,

Selectmen
of
Brookline.
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ADDRESS.

FRIENDS AND TOWNSMEN, I stand before you, at the request of our Selectmen, to utter such thoughts, as may be obviously suggested, at the first public meeting of all ages and denominations among us, in this new, commodious, and beautiful Town Hall.*

You will not expect from me an oration; for then a person would have been selected with more appropriate qualifications.

You ask not for a sermon; for I have already delivered and published three Historical Discourses relating to this little Town.†

Besides, should my life be spared, and my ministry prolonged, for one more short year and a half, it is my favorite purpose and hope to prepare a Jubilee Discourse, more immediately relating to my own people and parochial affairs; and then to gather up the historical fragments, which remain, in relation to this Town, that nothing be lost.‡

Wholly foreign is it to my purpose to deal in figures of speech, which have peculiar charms, especially for youthful minds. As, however, it is universally expected of me, on the present occasion, to give a historical sketch of our Town, there is one figure, with which I cannot dispense, and which, I fear, will be employed to satiety. You have anticipated me to mean egotism.

This Town has been incorporated § within a few weeks of one hundred and forty years; and I preached my first sermon here, on the second day of this present month. So that, for

* Appendix I.
† Appendix II.
‡ The author was ordained the fifth minister of the First Parish, in Brookline, 15 March, 1797.
§ Incorporated, 13 November, O. S., 1705.
more than one third of this period, and for more than two thirds of my life, I have lived, and moved, and had my being here. My time has passed so pleasantly, would to God, I could add so profitably, that it requires all my knowledge of dates to convince myself, that the period has been so long. I have had my trials; yet so greatly have these been out-numbered and out-weighed by mercies, that, if during a ministry unusually pro-longed, any bitter things may have been said, or written against me, they have been traced on the sand, which the tide of time has wholly obliterated; so that, with scarcely an abatement, I can adopt the language of the Apostle, and say, "I joy, and rejoice in you all. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended, and I burn not?"

Forty-three years ago, this last commencement, I heard a graduate of the day, commence his oration, at Cambridge, with this short and pithy sentence, "Nothing is constant, but change." To inexperienced minds this may appear an unimportant truism. But, in process of time, it will assume a significant meaning. To me it has suggested many solemn thoughts. It grows in interest with the flight of years. Scarcely a day passes without furnishing fresh illustration of its truth.

As the burden of my address will relate principally to our fathers, I will premise my remarks with recommending a few standard works, illustrating their efforts, their sufferings, and their characters, with the hope, that our youth may learn duly to estimate them.

One of the best authorities is Neal's History of the Puritans. But as this work is in five thick octavo volumes, it may be considered too voluminous for common use.*

A good prefatory work is Young's Chronicle of the Pilgrims, in one volume, octavo, entitled, "An Authentic History of the Pilgrim Fathers, from their origin in the Rev. John Robinson's congregation, in 1602, to his death, in 1625, written by themselves."

The most complete account of the Plymouth settlers, originating with the passengers in the May-flower, commonly known as the Pilgrims, who stept on Plymouth rock, on 22 December, 1620, is by Nathaniel Morton, long a Secretary of Plymouth Colony, son of an early settler. It is entitled

* It has, however, been abridged by the Rev. John O. Choules.
"Morton's Memorial." The last edition, enriched with copious notes and illustrations, is by that distinguished son of the Pilgrims, Judge John Davis, who still lives to a venerable old age, to record the heroic deeds, as well as to illustrate the conspicuous virtues of the fathers.

By far the richest work, recording the deeds, trials, sufferings, virtues, and triumphs of the first settlers of Massachusetts proper, is by John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. The work commences, 29 March, 1630, with the voyage of himself and company to these distant shores, and extends to the period of his death, in 1649. This work, not only very full and authentic in itself, has the felicity of a revision and republication by the Hon. James Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; who, in two volumes, octavo, has enriched it with notes, perhaps more copious, than the text, explaining whatever was obscure, reconciling apparent contradictions, correcting errors, and adding much valuable information, from a storehouse, replete with historical facts, and with a capacity singularly fitted for such a work.

Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, in two volumes, with Minot's Continuation in one volume, are valuable historical authorities.

The late Alden Bradford, Esq., for some years Secretary of State, himself a descendant of a passenger in the Mayflower, the second Governor of Plymouth Colony, has contributed largely to perpetuate the history of his native State by his History of Massachusetts, in three volumes, octavo, which he afterward reduced to one volume.

It is well to make ourselves familiar with the histories of our fathers, not only that we may discern their sterling worth; but also that we may verify the declaration of the wise man, "The glory of children are their fathers;" may perceive how singularly God has blessed them and their descendants; and thus refute the slanders, which ignorance or malice has heaped on their memories.

I have promised, on this occasion, not to give you a sermon. I will therefore dismiss the consideration of the religious state of the Town with one passing notice, which may strike some with surprise.

Forty-nine years ago, this month, there were seventy-two
houses in this Town, and precisely the same number of families. Of this whole number but a single family* professed a different faith from the rest; and this worshipped with the Baptist church, in Newton. There were but four Baptist professors of religion then living in this Town, known to the speaker, all females, one of singular piety and benevolence, who, though belonging to the church of her own denomination, in Newton, held uninterrupted communion with my church, three years and a half, to her dying day.

This Town, so beautiful for situation, and so abounding in pleasant scenery, was nevertheless, for seventy-five years from the settlement of Boston, of which, for that portion of time, it formed a part, denominated Muddy-river; a part, Boston Commons; and sometimes Muddy-river Hamlet, from the turbid stream of that name, which forms its Eastern boundary.†

It is seldom mentioned by cotemporary writers. Governor Winthrop, in his invaluable Journal, so minute in notices of passing events, cursorily alludes to it but twice, once in 1632, and again in 1638.

On Sewall’s farm has stood, till within a few weeks, from time immemorial, an Indian fort, which has long been the resort of antiquaries, but which, for its origin, object, and uses, has perplexed the most sagacious.

In a historical sketch of Brookline, published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, II vol., N. S., p. 160, is the following account.

"On Sewall’s farm, in this town, are plainly discernible the remains of an Indian fort, containing about the eighth of an acre. It is of a square form, surrounded by a ditch, nearly three feet deep, and a parapet, about three feet high. It has an opening, or gateway at each side, one of these is directly toward a large swamp, called cedar swamp. Tradition, which has long preserved the memorial of this fort, gives no account by what tribe of Indians, on what occasion, nor why it was erected."

I have a theory on the subject, which may, or may not, be the true one. Governor Winthrop, in the first volume of his Journal, p. 88, the earliest printed account known of Muddy-river, under date of 30 August, 1632, mentions, "Notice being

* The family of Hyde.
† It belonged to Suffolk county till 1793, since which it has formed a part of Norfolk county.
given of ten Sagamores, and many Indians, assembled at Muddy-river, the Governor sent Capt. Underhill with twenty musketeers, to make discoveries; but, at Roxbury, they heard, that they were broke up."

Now, these very Indians may have erected this fort, which they may, on an alarm, thus suddenly have abandoned.

But whatever may have been the origin of this curious relic, to the grief of antiquaries, it is now annihilated. Not a vestige remains. It is to be the site of a spacious and elegant mansion for a family* connected with one of our most wealthy landed proprietors. One of the workmen, who assisted in the demolition of the fort, informed me, a few weeks since, that he discovered no object of curiosity; and that the cedar posts, which had been driven into the earth, even the heart of them, had entirely wasted away.

The other notice taken of Muddy-river, in Winthrop's Journal,† is the following.

"In this year, [1638], one James Everell, a sober, discreet man, and two others, saw a great light, in the night, at Muddy-river. When it stood still, it flamed up, and was about three yards square. When it ran, it was contracted into the figure of a swine. It ran as swift as an arrow towards Charlton,‡ and so up and down, about two or three hours. They were come down in their lighter, about a mile; and, when it was over, they found themselves carried quite back against the tide to the place they came from. Divers other credible persons saw the same light, after, about the same place."

Upon this singular phenomenon the editor adds, in a note, these judicious remarks.

"This account of an ignis fatuus may easily be believed, on testimony less respectable than that, which was adduced. Some operation of the devil, or other power beyond the customary agents of nature, was probably imagined by the relators and hearers of that age; and the wonder of their being carried a mile against the tide became important corroboration of the imagination. Perhaps they were wafted, during the two or three hours' astonishment, for so moderate a distance, by the wind. But, if this suggestion be rejected, we might suppose,

* For William Amory, Esq., son-in-law of Hon. David Sears.
† Vol. I, p 290.
‡ Charlestown.
that the eddy, flowing always, in our rivers, contrary to the
tide in the channel, rather than the meteor, carried their lighter
back.'"

"The inhabitants of Boston, for their enlargement, have taken
to themselves Farm-houses, in a place called Muddy-river, two
miles* from their Town, where is good ground, large timber,
and store of marsh land and meadow. In this place they keep
their swine, and other cattle, in the summer, whilst the corn is
on the ground, at Boston; and bring them to Town, in the
winter.†

The records of the Secretary's office of this Commonwealth
abound in provisions for the habitancy and management of this
section of country, as well as of other surrounding Towns, per­
taining to Boston.

So early as 6 August, 1633, by the authority of the Com­
monwealth, "it is ordered, that there shall be a sufficient cart-
bridge made in some convenient place over Muddy-river; and
another over Stony-river, to be made at the charge of Boston
and Roxbury." This is probably the origin of the road in our
Punch-bowl village, and of that, near Wait's Mill, in Roxbury.

Special privileges were here early granted to the poor. In
1633, "it is ordered, that the poorer sort of inhabitants, such as
are members, and likely so to be, and have no cattle, have their
proportion of allotments of planting ground, laid out at Muddy-
river, by the afore-named five persons; those, that fall between
the foot of the hill and the water, to have four acres upon a
head; and those farther off to have five." This privilege was
to continue three years.

From the City Clerk's records of Boston, it appears, that fre­
quen grants of land were made here, not merely to the poor,
but to others also, to induce a settlement.

In 1639, "it was agreed, that five hundred acres be laid out,
at Muddy-river, for perpetual commonage to the inhabitants
there, and the Town of Boston, before any other allotments are
made." But this, like other human ordinances, intended to be
perpetual, was destined to be of but temporary continuance.
For, from the same source we learn, that it was gradually ap­
propriated to successive grantees.

* Meaning across Charles-river Bay.
† Appendix iii.
The latter part of this year, it appears from records in the Secretary’s office, that the boundary line between Boston and Roxbury was amicably adjusted by a committee from each Town; and that, in 1640, in the same friendly manner, the limits between this place and Cambridge, and what is now Brighton and Newton, were also settled.

We can more easily conceive, how our fathers could conduct their municipal concerns, in connexion with the peninsula of Boston, than how they could provide together for public worship. The difficulty was, in a degree, obviated by the fact, that, for eighty-four years from the incorporation of Boston, till they had a meeting house in this place, in 1714, the settlers here united in worship with the first church, in Roxbury. The inhabitants of Muddy-river formed so considerable a portion of that Parish, that, in 1698, by mutual agreement, they were entitled to the use of the fifth part of the meeting-house, paying that portion toward the charges of the parish.

It is strongly suspected, that many of the present generation, with all their conveniences for transportation, would esteem it a hardship not to be endured, especially from the upper part of this Town, to go regularly to worship, as far as Roxbury hill. Yet a female ancestor of some of our most respectable inhabitants has been known to testify, that it was her habit to rise, early, in the morning of every Lord’s day, adjust her head-dress over a pail of water, for want of a glass, and walk five miles to Roxbury meeting.

We find no provision for schooling* here, though it is not probable, that the children were uneducated, till 8 December, 1686, when, in answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river to the parent Town, “it was ordered, that henceforth the said Hamlet be free from Town rates to Boston, they raising a school-house, and maintaining an able reading and writing master.”

This provision was readily accepted; for at a full meeting of the inhabitants of Muddy-river, the 19 January following, they voted acceptance of the late grant; and voted, that for the annual maintenance of the schoolmaster, £12 per annum be raised, and that the remainder necessary to support the charges

* See Roxbury and Brookline records.
† Appendix iv.
of the master, be laid equally upon the scholars' heads, save any persons, that are poor, to be abated in part, or in whole.*

Signed by Thomas Boylston, Town Clerk. He was a physician, and father of the celebrated Dr. Zabdiel Boylston. This is the first entry in the Town Clerk's records of this Town.

He was directed to buy a book, and enter all the proceedings of the settlement from time to time. But he dying, before the above vote was carried into effect, the record was made by his successor in office, Josiah Winchester, Clerk, great grandfather of the famous preacher, Elhanan Winchester. He lived in a house, in Warren street, near where Mr. John Warren's house now stands.

It appears then, that there are no records of this settlement, for the first fifty-six years; though three men,† it seems, were regularly chosen, to manage the concerns of the Hamlet.

According to tradition, the principal school of the Town has always been on the hill, where stands the meeting-house of the First Church.

To determine, where the centre of the Town would fall, a committee‡ was raised, as well to decide, where the first meeting-house, as where the school-house should be erected. The result was, they were placed near together. The site of the central school-house has, till of late years, been in the centre of population, as well as of territory. It is a remarkable fact, that by the census of 1820, our numbers were precisely 900. Of these 456 lived above the first parish meeting-house, and 444 below. The males and females were both 450. Of the 450 males, 225 lived above the meeting-house, and 225 below.

The females were not so equally divided; for of the 450, 231 lived above the meeting-house, and 219 below.

The school-house immediately preceding the one now employed for our high school, was of brick, a little to the Northwest of the First Parish meeting-house, on land given for the purpose by Mr. William Hyslop, built in 1793.§

The present high school house, of stone, first called the Town Hall, was opened with appropriate solemnities, on 1 January, 1825.¶

* Appendix v.
† Ensign Andrew Gardner, John White Jr., Thomas Stedman.
‡ Samuel Aspinwall, John Druce, Peter Boylston.
§ Appendix vi.
¶ Appendix vii.
The Brookline classical school-house, of stone, built by a company, who had an act of incorporation from the General Court, was first devoted to its intended use, in the summer of 1823. After it had been occupied for a few years, it was sold by the proprietors, and has since been converted into a dwelling-house. The present owner and occupant is Dr. Samuel A. Shurtleff.

If we consider the provision, which has been made for our schools, both male and female, for a few years past, we shall find, that few, if any settlements in our land, in proportion to numbers and property, rival the inhabitants of this little village in providing for the education of our rising race.*

A handsome Building† was completed, in September, 1841, on the site of the old Punch-bowl Tavern, peace to its ashes! under the denomination of Lyceum Hall. It is owned in shares, and fitted for a variety of purposes. Its principal room is furnished in a style of unusual elegance, at an expense of more than one thousand dollars.

Our fathers enjoyed the sweets of liberty, but a little time, by exemption from taxes to Boston, and by permission to manage their local concerns in their own way, before they aspired to complete independence, as a Town.

Accordingly, on 11 March, 1700 — 1, they sent a humble petition to the parent Town, to be a district, or hamlet, separate from the Town, assigning, among other reasons, the remoteness of their situation.*

But Boston, so far from listening favorably to their request, rebuked them sharply for their presumption, reproached them for their ingratitude for past favors; and "voted, that though they had not, for some years, been rated in the Town rate; yet, for the time to come, the Selectmen should rate them in the Town tax, as the other inhabitants, and as they used to be."‡

Such language, backed by such measures, were ill adapted to reconcile the petitioners to this treatment of their request.

They accordingly resolved to apply to higher powers; and, on the 17 June, 1704, petitioned the General Court, that they might be allowed to be a separate village."‡

Boston continued strenuously to oppose the measure, till, in

* Appendix viii. ‡ Sixty-seven feet by forty.
† See records in the Secretary's office, Boston.
the autumn of 1705, a petition* was sent from this place; signed by thirty-two inhabitants, Samuel Sewall, Jr. Esq. being the writer and first signer, which met more favor; for the prayer of the petition was granted; and the signature of the Governor, Joseph Dudley, constituting it a Town, by the name of Brook-
line, was given, on 13 November, O. S., 1705.†

It might be reasonably supposed, that this Act, so attested, would forever have settled the orthography of the town; especially as the tradition has uniformly been, that it was called Brookline, not Brooklyn, from any other Town; but because its North-eastern boundary is Smelt-brook, which falls into Charles-river, and its South-eastern boundary was then a small brook or creek, falling into Muddy-river.

Still it has, till within a few years past, been variously spelt by those, who might have known better. Judge Samuel Sewall, a former inhabitant, and large landholder here, called it Brooklin, in his private journal, several years, before its incorporation.

The Rev. James Allen, first minister of this Town, though distinguished in his day, has spelt the name of the Town, three different ways, in his seven printed discourses extant, namely, Brooklin, Brooklyn, Brookline, and a fourth way in the Church records, Brooklynn.

Nor can this seem strange, as in his printed discourses, he has spelt his own name, two different ways, Allin, Allen.

My revered predecessor, Jackson, highly celebrated, as he was for accuracy, published a short account of this Town, in the Boston Magazine, for June, 1788, in which he calls the Town Brooklyn.‡

It is believed, that, for several years past, this Town has not been disgraced by a false orthography by any among us, who have enjoyed the advantage of a common school education.

Our boundary lines have, for the most part, remained the same, as they were originally and harmoniously settled by committees from this settlement and contiguous Towns, in 1639, and 1640, except our Eastern boundaries, which separate us from Boston and Roxbury, which have been repeatedly varied.

* Appendix ix. † Appendix x. ‡ Appendix xi.
The Eastern boundary between Brookline and Boston, on what is now called the Western Avenue,* was, till lately, Muddy-river to where it fell into Charles river bay, which passed near by Charles street in Boston.

But on the rapid settlement of lands near the Mills, the inhabitants of Brookline were not without apprehension, that the centre of population might, in process of time, fall near the Mills, and require the inhabitants to transact their town business there.

Accordingly on ascertaining, that Boston was as ready to accept a part of their territory, as they were to surrender it, for the above, and other reasons, on 1 November, 1824, they unanimously voted to give a committee instructions to establish the bounds of Boston and Brookline at the centre of the principal western channel, which empties into Muddy-river from Charles river.†

It is a well ascertained fact, that the line separating us from Roxbury was never, till lately, the principal stream of Muddy-river, where we cross it, on Washington street; but a small brook, or creek, falling into the river, near the Punch-bowl village.

Now as the principal stream of Muddy-river seemed to be the most natural boundary, as it has been decided by a late act of our Legislature, it was, for many years, a vexed question, on what principles the old boundary was settled.

In my earliest acquaintance with this Town, it was a common tradition, among even the best informed, that, as Brookline was incorporated, while Governor Dudley, a native of Roxbury, was in the chair, he exerted an undue influence in settling the boundary, so as to favor the place of his nativity.

But on a careful examination of old Deeds‡ of farms, which formerly belonged to Roxbury, but now to Brookline, it was ascertained, that these farms were a part of Roxbury by a boundary line, established, even before Governor Dudley was born.

After many trials by the inhabitants of what has been universally denominated the Punch-bowl village, the Eastern boundary, in that direction, is now the principal stream of Muddy-river by an act of our Legislature, signed by Governor Briggs, on 21 February, 1844.∥

* Appendix xii. † Appendix xiii. ‡ In the Ward and Wyman families. ∥ Appendix xiv.
As the boundary between Brookline and Roxbury is now constituted, it is somewhat amusing, that, on entering the Brookline Avenue, toward the Main Dam, within a few rods, we pass alternately into Roxbury and Brookline, eight times.

The Indian name of this Town is not with certainty known. It might have constituted a part of Shawmut, now Boston. But as the aboriginals were never precise about boundary lines, it might have fallen under the general denomination of Nonantum, by which name they called the lands, higher up the river, both in Watertown and Newton.

The probability of this supposition is strengthened by the fact, that there is no distinct Indian name for Cambridge, at first called by the English settlers Newtown.

When our Northern boundary is said to be Newtown, you must always understand, what has long since been called Cambridge; for when the Rev. John Harvard, of Charlestown, made his donation to Newtown, for a College, in 1638, it was called Cambridge,* in memory of the place, where many of our fathers received their education.

The first Representative to the General Court from this Town was Capt. John Winchester, 1709, who lived in the house lately pulled down by Deacon Thomas Griggs. Several of his lineal descendants are still among us.

After obtaining the incorporation of the Town, our fathers made it their first object to erect a house of worship. After several ineffectual attempts, their first house was raised, on 10 November, 1714.

It illustrates the spirit of the times, that though the inhabitants harmoniously agreed, where their house of worship should stand; yet a committee of the General Court came here to sanction their choice. Such a step would seem strange in our day.

At the raising of this house, an event occurred, which attracted the notice of successive generations. Two of the young men, after completing their work, to show their agility, are said to have played leap-frog on the ridge-pole; who lived, one to be 81,† and the other 83‡ years of age. Several elderly people

† Deacon Samuel Clark died, 7 May, 1766, aged 81.
‡ Mr. Isaac Gardner died, 11 March, 1767, aged 83.
have told me, that each of these men, toward the close of life, used to come to public worship, supported by two staves.

One of these men was the first, who was published in the new Meeting-House; and his dwelling, in the rear of where Mr. Caleb Clark's house now stands, was, for a season, a garrison house against the incursions of the savages.

The next concern of our fathers, after providing a place of public worship for the living, was to appropriate a Cemetery for the dead. In the early settlement of this village, their interments were probably near where they worshipped, in the burial place of the first church, in Roxbury.

On 25 March, 1706, "it was voted,* that there should be a burying-place, on the South side of the hill, on Mr. Cotton's farm, between the two roads, if it can be obtained."

By "Mr. Cotton's farm" is here meant the estate, which, not long since, belonged to Capt. Samuel Croft, now to Mr. John Kenrick. This estate, as well as that formerly belonging to Deacon Ebenezer Davis, now owned by Mr. Moses Andem, was inherited by Rowland and Thomas, heirs of the Rev. John Cotton, second minister of the first church, in Boston, to whom the whole of what afterward constituted these two farms was assigned, at the early settlement of Muddy-river. These farms joined in what is now called Cypress street, but, for more than 120 years, the New Lane.

The expression, "between the two roads," means between Sherburne road, now Walnut street, and the road to Brighton, now Washington street.

By the "South side of the hill," in Mr. Cotton's farm is doubtless meant the rise of land, west of Cypress street, nearest to Washington street.

The date of these transactions is thirteen years, before the New lane, now Cypress street, was laid out.

This was granted, on 11 May, 1719, and "it was ordered†, that it shall run from Watertown road, between the farms of Mr. Rowland Cotton and Mr. Thomas Cotton, all the way in said Thomas Cotton's land, and so into the land belonging to the heirs of Caleb Gardner, into Sherburne road, now Walnut street, for the convenience of the people, in the North part of the Town in going to meeting."

* See Town Records.  † Town Records.
Mr. Caleb Gardner's house stood between the Parsonage of the First Parish and Mr. Jesse Bird's house; and it was from him, West of his own house, that the land was obtained to erect the first meeting-house, in what is now the garden of the Parsonage.

Failing to obtain a lot for a burial place from the heirs of the Rev. John Cotton,* an agreement was made, on 30 April, 1717, with Mr. Samuel Clark, Jr., for the purchase of half an acre.

This is the origin of our present Cemetery, where the remains of so many of our dear friends rest in hope.

It is within the memory of most present, that an addition was made, in the Spring of 1840, by purchase from a descendant of the first owner; and the whole ground is now in a state of improvement worthy our highest ambition.

As early, as 1 March, 1714, money was raised for keeping school, in three parts of this Town.†

On 5 March, 1759, Samuel White, Esq. many of whose descendants are living among us, gave by deed, about a year before his death, twenty acres of woodland, situated in Needham, for the benefit of the ministry in this Town.‡

On 24 May, 1762, the Town received three hundred and eight half Johannes, valued at £739, 4s, lawful money, the gift of Edward Devotion, for the use of schools.∥

On the approach of hostilities with our mother country, our fathers took a very feeling and active part. Frequent were their meetings, spirited their resolves, generous their contributions, in aid of the common cause.§

On 19 April, 1775, the militia of this Town hastened toward Lexington to repel the assaults of British invaders; and Isaac Gardner, Esq. a leading man in the Town, fell a sacrifice to his zeal in his country's cause.¶

On the subsequent 17 June, his kinsman Col. Thomas Gardner, a man of equal eminence, in what is now Brighton, received his death wound, in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

* As appears by a letter in the writer's possession from Mr. John Cotton, of Hampton, N. H.
† Town Records.
∥ Appendix xvi.
¶ He was a graduate of Harvard University, in 1747, son of Isaac Gardner, grandson of Deacon Thomas Gardner, first Deacon of the first Church, in Brookline.
What remains of the fortifications at Sewall's point is a memorial of our fathers' patriotism, in defence of their country. It cannot but rejoice the heart of every Christian patriot, that these tokens of war are yielding to the milder arts of peace.*

The propriety of perpetuating the memory of the battle on Bunker's Hill by an expensive monument, erected for that sole object, has, not without reason, been called in question by some scrupulous friends of peace; yet the inhabitants of Brookline contributed $350.75 towards its completion, $194 by persons living above the first parish Meeting House, and $156.75 by those below.

Not only were great sufferings endured, and heavy expenses incurred by our fathers, in the controversy with our mother country; but, in our earlier history, the inhabitants here shared in the dangers occasioned by the aboriginals of our land.

In King Philip's war, which originated, in 1675, a bloody action was fought with the Indians, so near as Sudbury, in which Lieutenant Robert Sharp, of this Town, fell a victim. His death, and the battle, which occasioned it, are commemorated on a Monument erected in the burial ground of said Town.†

In process of time, his son Robert also died, in an expedition against the Indians, in Canada.

Allusion to these ancient names and events naturally suggests other notices relating to the early history of this Town.

One of the earliest and largest land-holders here was John Hull, who well deserves a passing notice‡.

When a poor boy, he attracted the notice of his pastor, the Rev. John Wilson, first minister of the first church of Boston, by his extraordinary filial attention to an old and helpless mother. The Rev. Mr. Wilson, at that early period, predicted his future prosperity; which prediction was observably accomplished.

For, on arriving at manhood, he arose, by degrees, to great distinction. He married a daughter of Edmund Quincy, Esq. the first of this distinguished family, in this country, by the name of Judith, in memory of whom, point Judith, on the passage

* Appendix xvi.
† Appendix xix.
‡ According to the testimony of the late John Goddard, Esq. he lived East of the farm, lately owned by Col. Thomas Aspinwall, deceased.
from Providence to New-York, is said to have been named. The device of an Indian with his bow and arrow, on the Massachusetts coat of arms, is ascribed to him. He is also said to have been instrumental in coining the silver shillings, with the representation of a pine tree, on one side. It is a common tradition, that, on the marriage of his only daughter to Samuel, afterwards Chief Justice Sewall, he gave, for a portion, her weight in these silver shillings.*

Judge Samuel Sewall, son-in-law of John Hull, Esq. inherited a large landed estate here, and acted a very important part in the early history of this settlement.

He also attained to a bad eminence in the State, as one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, that condemned the witches to be executed.

It is however due to his memory, and it redounds greatly to his honor, to relate, that, on gaining new light on the subject, he bitterly repented of his agency in the witchcraft delusion, and voluntarily made a very humble confession of his error, in the old South Church, Boston.†

A large portion of the lower part of the Town has been long known, as the Sewall farm.

A house was raised for Samuel Sewall, Jr. son of the Judge, 18 June, 1703, since demolished, near, if not on the very site of the house now occupied by Captains Charles and Marshal Stearns. This may have been the time, when those noble elms, near the house, were planted, one of which, a few years since, was greatly injured by a stroke of lightning.

An ancient Elm with the house, to which it is attached, belonging to the Aspinwall estate, is among the greatest curiosities, which this town can furnish.

At five feet from the ground it measures - - - 16.8.
At three do. - - - - - - 20.0.
Close by the surface, - - - - - - 26.0.

The age of the venerable house, which it overshadows, may be estimated from the fact, that the late Dr. William Aspinwall, if living, would have been one hundred and two years of age.
in May last; and that his grandfather, Samuel Aspinwall* was born in that house!

An account of this Town would be manifestly incomplete without some notice of others of its most renowned inhabitants.

Next to the Sewall family so often mentioned with honor, in the annals of our country, may be ranked Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, F. R. S., son of Dr. Thomas Boylston, first physician of this Town. He was famous in his day, not only for eminence in his profession in general, but especially for the practice of inoculation for the small pox, which, though so strenuously resisted by many of his cotemporaries, proved of such essential benefit to society.

A Memoir of this distinguished man, who was born in this Town, in 1679.† was written by Dr. Peter Thacher, minister of Brattle-Street Church, Boston, and published in the Massachusetts Magazine for December, 1789. In consequence of high attainments in his profession, Dr. Boylston was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, in London, a distinction very rarely conferred on natives of this country.

He was brother of Mr. Peter Boylston, and purchased his place, belonging to the heirs of the late Mr. David Hyslop, and built the present mansion, about the year 1736. A plain Monument to his memory may still be seen in our Cemetery.‡

Peter Boylston, whose descendants of another name still remain among us, was father of the late President John Adams's mother. President Adams often mentioned with a lively interest this place of his mother's nativity. While President of the United States, he called on the Hon. Jonathan Mason, where General Theodore Lyman's house now stands, and remarked, as a striking illustration of changes in the manners and customs of the country, that the last time he had travelled over the road before, he carried his mother, horse-back, on a pillion behind him.

The first of the family of Buckminster belonged to this Town, from whom descended three successive generations of clergymen, honored in their day, the last of the brightest promise cut off in

* Appendix xxiii.
† Baptized in the first Church, Roxbury, 1 March, 1679, under the ministry of the so called Apostle Eliot.
‡ Appendix xxiv.
early life. Their first ancestor in this country intermarried in
the Sharp family; and, before his removal to Framingham, lived
on the estate now owned and beautified by Capt. Isaac Cook.
Accordingly there are blood relations of the Buckminster family
now living in this Town.

Jeremiah Gridley, Esq. of H. U. 1725, a native of Roxbury,
lived and died, in this town, in a house owned by Thomas W.
Sumner, Esq. The Records of this Town testify, that he often
sustained offices of trust and and importance in the Town's
affairs, and that he frequently represented them in the General
Court. He was, according to the testimony of the late President
Adams, among the most distinguished in his profession.*

The same house was also rendered famous, as the residence of
Henry Hulton,† Esq. one of the king's Commissioners, at a
time, when the office was peculiarly obnoxious to the people.
An inhabitant has acknowledged, that, in youth, he joined with
other thoughtless boys in breaking his windows, as a tory.

Among the past inhabitants of this Town, who should be men­tioned with distinction and respect, is the late Dr. William As­

pinwall, M. D. of H. U. 1764, who spent a long life, as a dis­tin­guished physician of this Town and vicinity, who was suc­cessively Representative, Senator, and Counsellor, under the
Government of this Commonwealth; who watched over the inter­
ests of his native village with vigilance and fidelity; and
who, in the times, that tried men's souls, amid the political con­
tests, which raged in our land, was greatly instrumental in pre­
serving this people from those disgraceful abuses, which prevailed
in too many other places. In treating the small pox, that dan­
gerous and destructive malady, few, if any cotemporaries, had
more extensive practice, or were more successful.

Among our departed townsmen, whose names will be holden
in grateful remembrance, is Mr. John Goddard, who lived to the
advanced age of eighty-six, serving God, his country, and his
generation, by the will of God. Most offices of trust, in the
gift of the people, he sustained with skill and fidelity. Though
engaged in no martial exploits; yet he directed those works of
defence, constructed on what was then denominated Dor­
chester heights, now South Boston, which perhaps contributed

* Appendix xxxv.
† Appendix xxvi.
more than any other cause, to induce the enemy to raise the siege of our neighboring Capital, and take a sudden departure from our coast.

Did time permit, others of our past inhabitants might be enumerated, who rendered essential service to our Town and country.

Not only have natives of our Town done worthily in their day and generation; but distinguished men from other places have been attracted by our beautiful village to seek a residence here. Among these, high in office in the government of the country, were the Hon. Stephen Higginson,* member of the Legislature, under the old confederation; the Hon. George Cabot,† a Senator of the United States, under the administration of Washington; and the Hon. Jonathan Mason,‡ also Senator to Congress, whose place of residence has been succeeded by a mansion, erected by General Theodore Lyman, which, for taste and elegance, may vie with the palaces of Europe.

Till nearly the close of the last century, there was scarcely a mechanic in the Town. Its male inhabitants, with hardly an exception, were cultivators of the soil, verifying the poet's sentiment,

"But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

This produced a remarkable equality in the condition and circumstances of this people.

But of late years, the inequalities, so common in other Towns and cities, are rapidly taking place among us.||

Till 1793, this Town belonged to Suffolk County; since which time, it has constituted a part of Norfolk County.§

By the survey of Mr. Jonathan Kingsbury, of Needham, Brookline contained 4416 acres. By an alteration of its limits, as well perhaps as from other considerations, its measurement, according to the survey of Elijah F. Woodward, Esq., of Newton, in 1844, was 4695 acres, 279 more, than by the former survey.

* Hon. Stephen Higginson, died, 22 November, 1828, aged 85.
† Hon. George Cabot, died, 18 April, 1823, aged 71.
‡ Hon. Jonathan Mason, died, 2 November, 1831, aged 75.
|| Appendix xxvii.
§ Appendix xxviii.
By the first known Census, Brookline contained in 1790, 518 inhabitants,
In

1800, 605 Inhabitants.
1810, 784 "
1820, 900 "
1830, 1040 "
1840, 1265* "

By a Census, taken by order of the Selectmen of Brookline, in October 1844, the population was 1682.†

Eight dwelling-houses are known to have been consumed by fire, within the limits of this Town.‡

We have account of but little damage, occasioned by lightning here. The only building, thus destroyed, known to the present generation, was a barn belonging to the late Hon. Jonathan Mason, burnt in 1793.

There have been 39 graduates || at different Universities from this Town, namely, 32 at Harvard University; 6 at Brown University, Providence, R. I. and one at Princeton, N. J. Of the whole 11 have been ordained ministers of the gospel.

There have been, besides, two ordained ministers of the Baptist denomination, and one Congregationalist, who have not received a Collegiate education.§

In 1740, there were 61 dwelling-houses, in the Town, of which sixteen still remain; but in not one of these is there living a lineal descendant of an owner at that time.¶

But so gradual was the increase of houses, from that period, that there were but 72, in 1796, 56 years from the first mentioned date; of which 38 were above the first house of worship, and 34 below.

By the last enumeration, concluded, 7 October, 1844, there were 88 dwelling-houses and 100 families above the first house of worship; and 124 dwelling-houses and 156 families below; in the whole, 212 dwelling-houses, and 256 families. Of these 38 families only consist of natives of the Town; 25 above the First Parish Meeting-house, and 13 below.

* This is the number, as certified to the writer by John Pierce Jones, Esq. of Medway, who took the census, that year, of this, and other Towns, in the County.
† Appendix xxix.
‡ Appendix xxx.
|| Appendix xxxi.
§ Appendix xxxii.
¶ Appendix xxxiii.
On my first coming into this Town, 49 years ago,* in the 72 dwelling houses† there were precisely 72 families, and 65 voters. Of the 72 dwelling-houses 19 have been demolished, leaving 53 standing. In the whole there are living in them but 14 of the family connexions of those then inhabiting them. Of the heads of families, at that time, 3 men only, and 5 women are now living in the Town; but one man only and three women only, in the same house, in which they then lived. Of the 65 voters, but 5 survive, of whom 4 remain in this Town. There are but 3 owners of real estate, who were free-holders then; only one lives in the same house, as then; and alas! but a single couple survives in this place, whom I then found in the married state.‡

It is a remarkable fact, that, within the last 53 years, but 6 couples have been married, in this Town, of whom both parties were natives of the Town.

The smallest number of votes, I have known given in one year, was 28, in 1798; the largest, 244, in 1844.

The deaths in this Town, for the last 49 years, have been 546, averaging 11 1-7 a year. The smallest number, in one year, was 2, in 1797. There have been 23|| deaths here, since the commencement of this year, making already 3 more, than in any year on record. With this exception the largest number was 20, in 1775, when the dysentery and small pox prevailed in this region.

Of the 546 deaths, 188, nearly a third, were under 10 years of age; 34 from 10 to 20; 72 from 20 to 30; 48 from 30 to 40; 56 from 40 to 50; 33 from 50 to 60; 44 from 60 to 70; 44 from 70 to 80; 23 from 80 to 90; 4 between 90 and 100. Nearly one eighth part over 70.

The oldest person, who has died, in this Town, was Sarah White, widow of Benjamin White. She was daughter of Samuel Aspinwall, born, in the old Aspinwall house, in 1707, and died in the house, in which she passed her married life, numbered xxxi in the Appendix, on 11 September, 1801, aged 94.

There is, however, one now living among us of a more advanced age; the widow Reuel Mace, a few years since, from

* I preached my first sermon here, on 2 October, 1796.
† Appendix xxxiv.
‡ Since this Address, Mrs. Lucy, wife of Deacon John Robinson, departed this life, on 7 November, aged 74, leaving not a single couple, whom I found in the married state.
|| The whole number to the end of the year, 27.
Newburyport, born, 13 November, O. S. 1750, just forty-five years to a day from the date of the incorporation of this Town.

This Town partook of the grief, which was universal, throughout our land, on the sudden demise of our great and good Washington. By previous arrangement, on the anniversary of his birth soon succeeding, all business was suspended, there was a general convocation of the inhabitants of all ages. A procession was formed, at the brick School, and marched, in order to the Meeting-house, preceded by the youth, where solemn airs of sacred music were sung; prayers were offered by the Pastor; an Address delivered, which, by vote of the Town, was published with the farewell advice of Washington to his countrymen annexed.*

On my first coming to this place, I found but five families of new comers, not one of whom lived in a house of his own erection. All occupied houses, which had been previously built, and with but little alteration.

At about the commencement † of the present century, the erection of new houses began in earnest, till they have increased in elegance, and with a rapidity, which renders it hardly doubtful, that, before many years, the laboriously cultivated farms of the first settles will generally fall into the possession of the newly fortunate; and the remnants of the farmers will be induced to retire to more distant settlements, either to seek their fortunes in other pursuits, or where they may find less costly farms, and a wider field for their industry.

One of the first purchases here by gentlemen of fortune from other places was by the Hon. Stephen Higginson, native of Salem, then a resident in Boston. Near the close of the last century, he purchased of Ebenezer Richards a sheep pasture, containing about thirteen acres, for one hundred and twenty dollars, an acre.‡

This sounds small compared with purchases lately made at one thousand dollars an acre.|| The houses are likewise increasing in costliness, taste, and elegance, at least in as great proportion, as the building spots are rising in value.

It is but the other day, that a cherry orchard, in this immedi-

* Appendix, xxxv. † Appendix xxxvi. ‡ Appendix xxxvii. || A few acres have lately been sold at five cents a foot.
ate neighborhood, with no building, but a small old barn, was laid out with great taste, by the late Mayor of Boston, a native of the spot; and twelve dwelling-houses of elegant and varied architecture have already, as by magic, risen upon it; while another is in progress of erection.

On Harvard street. Harvard place, and Harvard avenue; on Vernon place, and Vernon avenue; on Avon street, and I know not, on what other streets of high sounding names, the changes are nearly as great, and as rapid.

What think ye, good old Esq. Sharp* would say, could he revisit his old farm, which, under his fostering care, used to produce some of the choicest fruits of the season; and behold, on one side, an elegant church, and see, wherever he turned his view, beautiful mansions, rising in quick succession? It is absolutely beyond the powers of the imagination to conceive, what would be his emotions.

For local scenery, for rich cultivation of fields and gardens, and green-house productions,† for continually increasing costliness and taste, in its private and public buildings, the praises of this little Town resound far and wide. The learned and faithful editor of Winthrop's Journal, pronounces "Brookline to be the most beautiful village in New-England." This is but an echo of the sentiments generally expressed by persons of taste and observation.

A modern poet‡ has thus sung the praises of our beautiful Town.

"I have revisited thy sylvan scenes,
Brookline! in this the summer of my day.
Again have revelled in thy lovely vales,
And feasted vision on thy glorious hills;
As once I revelled, feasted, in the spring
Of careless, happy boyhood. And I've bowed
Again within thy temple, and have heard,
As though time's footfall had, these years, been hushed,
Thy patriarch pastor's lips, like dew, distil
Gentle instruction. And the same is he,
As to young love and reverence he was,
My cheerful friend, benevolent, and good.

* See Appendix xxxiii, Article vi.
† In all these respects, the improvements introduced by Hon. Thomas H. Perkins are in a style of princely magnificence; and are the admiration of all beholders.
‡ Mr. William B. Tappan, in the Poet's Tribute, published in 1840, p. 259.
The same thy hills and dells, those skies the same
Of rich October; such as only bend
Over New-England; and the same grey walls,*
Reared in New-England's infancy, are those,
Which charmed imagination. Thou art fair,
And beautiful as ever. Fancy deems
Thy sweet retreat excused the common doom
Caused by the fall; as if the Architect
Were willing, by such specimen, to show
What Eden, in its primal beauty, was."

A singular sentiment was expressed by a seaman's preacher, a short time since, when, on a hot summer's day, after regaling himself in a beautiful grove, behind the first church, in the course of his services, in the house of worship, he suddenly exclaimed, "I know not, my friends, how you can help being Christians; for you already live in paradise."

You will permit me, my friends, to express the honest, the joyful conviction, that the most prevalent, the most available cause of your present, and your growing prosperity, is, under God, the almost entire, and it is hoped, that there will soon be, the total disuse, of ardent spirits among you.

The first impulse given to this reformation was by the formation of the "Massachusetts Society for the suppression of intemperance," in Boston, the first State Society on the globe, organized, 5 February, 1813, nearly 33 years ago. This was but the twilight of a brighter day. Its first efforts were only against "the too free use of ardent spirits." Its promoters, ridiculed as visionary fanatics, hardly dared to hope, that considerable numbers could be induced to abandon their use.

From these timid and feeble beginnings, brought forward by a few isolated individuals, what rapid and extensive changes have since taken place? Most towns, in the Commonwealth, have one or more organized Societies for the promotion of temperance.

The Brookline Temperance Society was formed, on 18 March, 1831, after an Address in the First Parish Meeting-house by the late Rev. Hosea Hildreth, of Gloucester, a pioneer in this glorious reformation.

But the most wonderful, the most unaccountable, yet the most

* The Aspinwall house, as seen in the Vignette, built in 1660, now owned by Col. Thomas Aspinwall, consul at London, in which his great grandfather was born.
effectual change in the habits of the times was, under God, ef-
ected by the Washington Society, in Baltimore, formed, on
5 April, 1840, by six notorious inebriates, some of whom were
more than half intoxicated, at the time of signing the pledge.

Three days, after the formation of the Baltimore Washington
Society, namely, the 8 April 1840, the Brookline Total Ab-
stinence Society was formed, and, on 4 April, 1842, the
Brookline Washington Total Abstinence Society took its rise.*

To show, how much we are indebted to the Temperance re-
formation, and to its most efficient agents, it is only necessary to
glance at the almost universal customs, in the use of intoxicat-
ing liquors, within the memory of many of my hearers.

Nurses began with infants, at their birth, and administered
alcoholic mixtures to quiet their crying, and relieve them from
temporary pain. This practice, in the opinion of the celebrated
Dr. Rush, overcame the natural distaste for alcohol, which the
kind Author of the human frame appointed, as a safeguard from
its use, and thus prepared the way for its relish in subsequent
years.

It was almost as common to take a mixture of strong drink,
at XI A. M. and at IV P. M., as to eat at the regular hours of
meals.

When neighbors met, for visits, or on business, wine and
stronger drinks were almost universally offered; and it would
have been thought strange to refuse the civility.

On meeting at grocery shops, and with too many, this was a
daily practice, one neighbor was accustomed to treat another
with some alcoholic mixture; and this civility must be reciproc-
cated, on the spot, though both parties had already drank more,
then was for their good.

Farmers went to such places for morning drams.

At every birth day, it was usual to treat; and especially on
freedom day, there would be a great collection and much dram-
drinking.

When a man was published to be married, his friends and
neighbors would, the next day, throng his house for the custom-
ary indulgence. A mechanic once lamented to me, that by rea-
on of the numbers, who on that occasion, spent the day at his
house, the expense of treating them was a serious inconvenience.

* Appendix xxxviii.
At the raisings of buildings, there was always much unnecessary drinking.

On 4 July, and other holidays, clubs would meet for convivial treats; and, on proceeding to the Capital, booths would be scattered all over the common, with spirituous liquors under every possible alluring form.

Trainings were gala-days of dissipation. So numerous and obvious were the abuses, on these occasions, by a too free use of strong drinks, and consequent quarrels, that our Legislatures have wisely dispensed, in a great measure, with such gatherings, to prevent the attendant and consequent evils, which never failed to result from them.

Weddings were awfully desecrated by abominable indulgences. It was formerly the custom to fill the house with guests, on such occasions, and to furnish abundance of intoxicating liquors. The boldest of the number, when heated with drink, would betray even some of the more staid guests into excesses, which cost them many a bitter pang. Well might be applied to such parties, as they were sometimes conducted, what Paul says of the Bacchanalian rites of the Heathen, "It is a shame to speak of the things, which are done of them in secret."

For several years, after the Revolutionary war, it was common for merchants, on the exchange, in Boston, to go to some public house* at eleven o'clock, and drink punch and kindred liquors. No wonder, that so many of them, who were in that constant practice, fell a sacrifice to gout, jaundice, and similar diseases, without arriving at old age.

What strange customs prevailed at funerals, in those drinking days? Large waiters, with full wine glasses, were carried round, with much inconvenience. Various kinds of spirits were also furnished for bearers, pall-holders, and others, who chose to share them.

I remember officiating at the funeral of a Town pauper, in this comparatively temperate village, at which the selectmen felt bound to furnish wine, and two kinds of spirit. Nor was it thought strange by most persons present. Indeed the fathers of the town would then have been blamed for permitting a poor person to be buried without the tokens of respect customary among her wealthier neighbors!

* Commonly the Bunch of Grapes Tavern.
When, a little more than thirty years ago, a farmer, in this Town, commenced the cultivation of his lands without the use of ardent spirits, it was thought as strange, as one of the seven wonders of the world. He was watched with eagle eyes, as if it would be impossible for his laborers to do their appointed work. He was charged with avarice, though he compounded with his workmen fully to compensate them for their self-denial. But what have we lived to see! It would now seem full as strange to find a farmer, in his daily labors, using ardent spirits, twice a day, as formerly to cultivate his lands without them.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the present, in comparison with former habits of living, in point of temperance, exemption from disease, endurance of labor, judicious culture, peaceful intercourse between men and their employers, mutual satisfaction, and domestic quiet.

Prevalent as were the evils formerly among us from the abuse of ardent spirits, it is my firm conviction, that, as a people, we could be compared favorably with most of our neighbors. Indeed, the Hon. George Cabot, a senator of the United States, during Washington's administration, for about ten years a resident in this Town, who, in early life, as a sea-captain, had visited many foreign lands, and who was, in all respects, a most competent witness of what he testified, once assured me, that in no part of our land, or of the globe, had he ever witnessed a people more exempt from contention, more peaceable, more industrious, more temperate, more thrifty, than the people of this Town.

Still many were the calamities, which individuals and their families experienced from the intoxicating cup.

That you have so generally renounced this fatal poison, and are doing so much to prevent its abuse by others, will, I am fully persuaded, account for the difference between your former and present condition and prospects.

To further, as far as possible, these desirable objects, let us, in the fear of God, and in the spirit of Christ, dedicate this commodious and tasteful Hall to the important uses, for which it is designed, and to which it is so admirably adapted. Let it ever be a bond of union to all the inhabitants of this favored village! Let the municipal transactions, which are henceforth here to
take place, be ever conducted in a spirit of mutual conciliation. While we strenuously maintain our individual rights, let us generously vindicate the rights of others. "Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory; but, in lowliness of mind, let each esteem others better, than himself,"

Where we differ, as differ often we must, in political, or religious, or any other matters, let no one cherish such self-love, as not to respect the self-love of others.

We dedicate this edifice to mental cultivation, to useful intelligence, to sound morals, to kind neighborhood, to temperance, and every christian grace.

That portion of this commodious building, which is designed for the instruction of youth, the hope of their parents, and of our common country, we dedicate to the cause of good learning, of sound principles, of wholesome discipline, of ever increasing progress.

If, my respected hearers, my imperfect remarks have taught nothing else, they surely go to illustrate the solemn truth, that "the fashion of this world passeth away; that man continueth not in one stay; that we are strangers and sojourners here, as all our fathers were."

The progressive improvements of modern times render it not improbable that, when this beauteous fabric shall grow old, and decay, it may give place to an edifice, which shall as far exceed this, as the present is superior to the rude structures of former times.

What holier wish can I indulge, what kinder or better hopes can I express, than that, when the changes shall pass over ourselves, which we have contemplated, as occurring to past generations, to all the works of men's hands, and even on the face of nature itself, we all may be prepared, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, for improvements, infinitely superior to what this earth can furnish, in a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!"
APPENDIX.

The Hall is 53 feet long, 36⅓ feet wide, and 17 feet high, besides a Front Gallery.
The Building contains two School-rooms, each 36⅓ feet long by 23½ feet wide.

I. p. 5.

The Exercises at the dedication were,
I. Chorus. "Glory be to God on high;"
II. Sentence. "O Lord, incline our hearts;"
III. Prayer by Rev. William H. Shailer;
IV. Dedication Anthem. "Lord of Hosts;"
V. Address by John Pierce, D. D.
VI. Temperance Anthem;
VII. Ode by Mr. B. F. Baker;
VIII. Chorus. "Glory to God."

II. p. 5.

I. A discourse delivered at Brookline, 24 November, 1805, the day, which completed a century from the incorporation of the Town.
II. A discourse delivered, 9 November, 1817, the Lord's day after the completion of a century from the gathering of the Church, in Brookline.
III. Reminiscences of forty years, delivered, 19 March, 1837, the Lord's day after the completion of forty years from his settlement in the ministry.

III. p. 10.

A similar account is given by John Josselyn, Gent. in an account of two voyages to New-England, p. 162, published, in 1675.
"Two miles from the Town, at a place called Muddy-river, the inhabitants have farms, to which belong rich arable grounds and meadows, where they keep their cattle, in summer, and bring them to Boston, in the winter."
In an old English account of the war with King Philip is the following.
"On 2d August, 1675, happened here, at eleven o'clock at night, a most violent storm of wind and rain. The like was never known before. It blew up many ships together, that they bulged one another; some towards Cambridge; some to Muddy-river, doing much hurt to very many. Also, it broke down many wharves, and blew down some houses. Thereupon the Indians afterward reported, that they had caused it by their Pawaw, that is, worshipping the devil."

IV. p. 11.

"The earliest trace of our system of free schools is to be found on the Boston Records, under date of 13 April, 1635."—Snow's History of Boston, p. 348.
The first provision for public Schools by the State was made, in 1647. Winthrop's Journal, Vol. II, p. 215, note 1.

V. p. 12.

On 25 May, 1607, Voted, that John Scarle teach school, in Muddy-river from the first Monday, in May, 1607 to the last day of February, 1607, 10 months.
Brookline Town Records.
To understand the above vote, it is to be observed, that, at that period, the year closed with the twenty-fifth of March.
VI. p. 12.
A flourishing Elm tree was set out by Mr. Ebenezer Heath, in the Spring of 1825, on the very site of the brick School-house.

VII. p. 12.
The Brookline Public High School went into operation, in May, 1843, under the instruction of Mr. Benjamin H. Rhoades, A. M., a graduate of Brown University, in 1833. His Assistants have been Mr. James Pierce, and, next, Miss A. Elisabeth Appleton.
The room, which had been at first occupied, as a Town Hall, was elegantly and conveniently fitted up for the High School; a respectable Library was procured; and since, through the agency of the Principal, five hundred dollars have been raised by subscription, and an elegant Philosophical Apparatus has been provided.

VIII. p. 13.
Besides two or three private Schools, there are three District Schools, in the Town, in addition to the High School; namely, the South-Western, taught, through the year, by Miss Augusta Draper; the Southern, by Miss Emily Reed; and the Northern, by Miss Catharine Stearns, a teacher of large experience and rare qualifications, assisted by Miss Amelia Gerry. The number of pupils, in this District, are so constantly increasing, not merely by the recent addition of a part of Roxbury to this Town, but also by the augmenting population, that farther provision for instruction must soon be made, in this part of the Town.

To His Excellency the Governor, Council and Assembly, in General Court convened, The humble petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river showeth, That, at a session of this honorable court, held at Boston, on 13 August, 1704, the said inhabitants exhibited their humble petition, praying, that the said Muddy-river might be allowed a separate village, or peculiar, and be invested with such powers and rights, as they may be enabled by themselves to manage the general affairs of the said place. Which petition has been transmitted to the Selectmen of the Town of Boston, that they may consider the same; since which your humble petitioners not having been informed of any objection made by the Town of Boston aforesaid, we presume, that there is no obstruction to our humble request made in our petition.
Wherefore we humbly beseech your Excellency, that this honorable court will be pleased to proceed to pass an Act for the establishing of the said place a separate village or peculiar, with such powers, as aforesaid, and your petitioners shall ever pray,

Samuel Sewall, Jr.
Thomas Gardner,
Benjamin White,
Thomas Stedman,
John Winchester,
Samuel Aspinwall,
Eleazer Aspinwall,
William Sharp,
Edward Devotion,
Josiah Winchester, Jr.
John Ellis,
Johnh Winchester, Jr.
Thomas Woodward,
Holland,*
Gardner,*
Joseph White,
Josiah Winchester,
John Devotion,
Joseph Gardner,
Thomas Stedman, Jr.
John Ackers,
Josiah Stedman,
Thomas Gardner, Jr.
Ralph Shepard,
Abraham Chamberlain,
Peter Boylston,
John Ackers, Jr.
William Ackers,
Benjamin White, Jr,
Caleb Gardner,
John Seaver,
Henry Winchester.

* Christian names worn off.
A copy of Brookline Grant. Anno regni Anae Regine Quarte

At a great and general court for her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, begun and held, at Boston, upon Wednesday, 13 May, 1705, and continued by several prorogations unto Wednesday, 24 October, following, and then met, 13 November, 1705.

In Council. The order passed by the Representatives, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river, a Hamlet of Boston, read on Saturday last,

Ordered, That the prayer of the petition be granted; and the powers and privileges of a Township be given to the inhabitants of the land, commonly known by the name of Muddy-river, the Town to be called Brookline; who are hereby enjoined to build a Meeting-house, and obtain an able orthodox minister, according to the direction of the Law, to be settled amongst them, within the space of three years next coming;

Provided, That all common lands, belonging to the Town of Boston, lying within the said bounds of Muddy-river, not disposed of, or allotted out, shall remain to the proprietors of said lands.

Which order, being again read, was concurred and consented to.

Taken from Mr. Addington's Copy sent to the Town.

A true copy examined by me,

ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secretary.

Recorded by me,

SAMUEL SEWALL, JR., Town Clerk.

A short account of Brooklyn, in the Boston Magazine, for June, 1788, of about one page and a half, though anonymous; yet, on the best authority, is ascribed to the Rev. Joseph Jackson, the fourth minister of Brookline.

By a letter from the Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, great-great grandson of Judge Samuel Sewall, who possesses a large portion of the private papers with the Journals of his venerable ancestor, he conjectures with a good degree of probability, "that Brookline borrowed its name from one of the farms within its bounds, namely, the Gates farm, hired of Judge Sewall, which was probably called Brookline from the circumstance, that Smelt-brook, running through it, was the line of division between that and one of the neighboring farms;" and, he might have added, that it was the boundary between that farm and Cambridge.

"This accounts for the name being often mentioned by the Judge, in his Journal, before Brookline was incorporated; and, as he was a large land-holder in the place, and a member of the Council, at the time of its incorporation, it seems likely, that it might have been submitted to him to furnish the name for the new Town; and that he gave it this of Brookline, which had been for years familiar to him, as the name of a farm within its precincts, and likewise a very good name for the purpose designed."—Ms. Letter of the Rev. Samuel Sewall.

On Monday, 2 July, 1821, the Causey from Charles street, Boston, over what is denominated the Western Avenue to the adjoining Towns was completed so far, that carriages past over it, for the first time, this day. A cavalcade was formed, early in the morning, of about one hundred, on horseback, headed by Gen. William H. Sumner, who past over the Brighton branch, and returned by way of the Brookline branch. On arriving at the Cofer Dam, General Sumner addressed the company in a short speech.

The Act of Incorporation for building this Dam was obtained, in 1817. It was begun, in 1818, and cost about $600,000.

From Charles street to the cross dam, to the West end of the main dam, to Brighton road to Cambridgeport, to the Punch-bowl road, Brookline, over the cross dam to Roxbury road,
Distances according to Francis Jackson, land commissioner, Boston, as published in the Boston Centinel, 26 December, 1832.

From Parsonage of 1 Chh. Brookline to the old State-house, Boston: M Q R

Over the Neck, 5. 0. 37
Over the Western Avenue, 4.1.77
Over Tremont street, 4.2.56

The road from Boston to Roxbury, over Tremont street was opened, 10 September, 1832. The whole extent of the new part of the road from the Misses Byles, in Boston, to the old road by Wait's Mill, in Roxbury, is 2 miles and 6 rods.

XIII. p. 15.

An Act relating to the boundary lines of the City of Boston and the Town of Brookline.

Section I. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,

That the agreement made by and between the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Boston, for and in behalf of the said City, and the Selectmen of the Town of Brookline, in behalf of said Town, relative to the boundary lines between the said City and Town, shall be, as follows, namely, beginning at a point marked (a) at an angle 115° from the Mill Dam, until it strikes the centre of the channel of Charles River, and also running from the said point (a) Southerly, at an angle of 143° 40', until it strikes the centre of the channel of Muddy-river, at a point, where the respective boundaries of Boston, Brookline, and Roxbury, meet each other.

Section II. Be it farther enacted, That the boundary lines between the Counties respectively of Suffolk and Norfolk, so far as they are affected by this Act, shall hereafter conform to the said boundary lines between the said City and Town; and the same are declared and established to be the boundary lines between the said Counties respectively, any thing in any former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided however, That the several Laws regulating the erection of buildings, within the City of Boston, shall not extend to the land hereby transferred from the said Town of Brookline to the said City.—22 February, 1825.

XIV. p. 15.

ACT OF 1844, CHAPTER XXXVIII.

An Act to annex a part of the Town of Roxbury to the Town of Brookline.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows,

Section I. Jeremiah Lyon with all the other persons, their polls and estates, and all the lands lying within a line, beginning in the centre of Muddy-brook at the junction thereof with another brook, running between Roxbury and Brookline, across the Mill Dam road, and at a post there set, and running Southerly and Westerly by the centre of said Muddy-brook, through the estate of Henry S. Ward, thence following the centre of said brook through the land of Samuel Wyman, until it meets a stone-wall dividing said Wyman’s land from the land of Joseph Curtis; thence following said wall, nearly in a North Westerly direction, until it meets the present line of division between Roxbury and Brookline, as laid down on a plan by E. F. Woodward, Esq. dated, 8 February, 1841, are hereby set off from the Town of Roxbury, and annexed to the Town of Brookline, in the County of Norfolk.

Section II. The land hereby set off from Roxbury to Brookline, and the persons residing thereon, shall be liable, and holden to pay their just proportion of all taxes, which have been assessed on the inhabitants of the said Town of Roxbury, previous to the passing of this Act, and also their portion of all County and State taxes, that may be assessed on said Town of Roxbury previous to the taking of the next State valuation; said proportion to be ascertained and determined by the Town valuation of said Roxbury; and the Town of Brookline shall be liable for the support of all persons, who now do, or hereafter may stand in need of relief, as paupers, whose settlement was gained, or derived, within the limits described in the first Section of this Act. Approved by the Governor, 24 February, 1844.
XV. p. 18.

This woodland is given by deed of Samuel White, Esq., to the Selectmen of the Town of Brookline, for the time being, "to supply the minister or ministers, that may be settled in said Town from time to time."

The Deed was probably written by Jeremiah Gridley, an eminent lawyer, who then lived, in this Town, as he is the first witness mentioned; and as the Instrument was acknowledged before him.

XVI. p. 18.

By subsequent accumulation this amounted to $4531.01, loaned to the Town of Brookline for the erection of the Town Hall, in 1845, which contains two convenient School-rooms.

This Edward Devotion, who formerly lived on the farm, now owned by Mr. George Babcock, died, 7 November, 1744, in a house, in the Punch-bowl village, formerly owned by Stephen, then Wm. Brewer, Esq. and from which Mr. Lemuel Foster lately removed.

XVII. p. 18.

The Town Records of this period abound in notices of such meetings, and of the patriotic resolutions unitedly and zealously adopted.

XVIII. p. 19.

The Railroad to Worcester passes directly through these fortifications at Sewall's point.

XIX. p. 19.

The following is the inscription:

"Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, his Lieut. Sharp, of Brookline, and twenty-six other soldiers, fighting for the defence of their country, were slain by the Indian enemy, and lie buried in this place."

XX. p. 20.

Robert, the father of John Hull, and grandfather of Judge Samuel Sewall, died, 28 July, 1666, aged 73, and was buried, in the new burying place, next the Common.

Dr. Cotton Mather, in his life of the Rev. John Wilson, p. 28, remarks;

"Beholding a young man, extraordinarily dutiful, in all possible ways of being serviceable, unto his aged mother, then weak in body, and poor in estate, he [viz. Rev. John Wilson] declared unto some of his family, what he had beheld; adding therewithal, I charge you, take notice of what I say. God will certainly bless that young man; John Hull (for that was his name) shall grow rich, and live to do God good service in his generation. It came to pass accordingly, that this exemplary person became a very rich, as well as emphatically a good man, and afterwards died a Magistrate of the Colony."

John Hull died, 30 September, 1683. Rev. Daniel Gookin, son of the Major General, wrote some poetry upon his death, entitled "A few shadie meditations occasioned by the death of the deservedly honored John Hull, Esq. who was removed from his earthly tabernacle to be an inhabitant of that House, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, 30 September, 1683."

The following notice of his wife's death is supposed to be by Dr. Cotton Mather.

"Mrs. Judith Hull, of Boston, N. E. late wife of John Hull, Esq. deceased, a diligent, constant, fruitful reader and hearer of the word of God, rested from her labors, 22 June, 1683, being the seventh day of the week, a little before sunset, just about the time she used to begin the Sabbath, aged 69."

XXI. p. 20.

Judge Sewall's confession, as recorded in his Journal, not dated, but probably, on Fast-day, 14 Jan. 1696-7.
"A copy of the Bill I put up on the Fast-day, giving it to Mr. Willard, as he passed by, and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing, when finished, in the afternoon.

"Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family; and being sensible, that as to the guilt contracted, upon the opening of the late commission of Oyer and Terminer, at Salem (to which the order of the day refers) he is, upon many accounts more concerned, than any, that he knows of, desires to take the blame and shame of it, asking pardon of men, and especially desiring prayers, that God, who has an unlimited authority, would pardon that sin, and all other his sins personal and relative; and according to his infinite benignity and sovereignty, not visit the sin of him, or of any other, upon himself, or any of his, nor upon the land; but that he would powerfully defend him against all temptations to sin, for the future, and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving conduct of his word and spirit."

No evidence appears, that this was an act of church discipline; but simply a voluntary confession.

Judge Sewall's father Henry died, 16 May, 1700, aged 86.

The Judge prepared the following epitaph to his memory, in the burying-yard of the first parish, in Newbury.

"Henry Sewall sent by his father, Henry Sewall, in the Ship Elisabeth and Dorcas, arrived at Boston, 1634, wintered at Ipswich, helped begin this plantation, 1635, furnishing English servants, neat cattle and provisions. Married Mrs. Jane Dummer, 25 March, 1646, and died, 16 May, 1700, aged 86. His fruitful vine, being thus disjoined, fell to the ground, the January following."

Judge Samuel Sewall, of H. U. 1671, was Fellow of Harvard University, a number of years, and one of its benefactors. He went to England, in 1688, the year of the glorious Revolution. He was one of the first Counsellors, after the charter of William and Mary. In 1692, he was made Judge of the Superior Court; and, in 1718, Chief Justice. He resigned his seat upon the Bench, 1728, as well as his office, as Judge of Probate, and died, January, 1729, aged 77.

XXII. p. 20.

In an able article in the North American Review, for July, 1844, it is stated, that the Aspinwall Elm, in Brookline, is known to have been 181 years old, in 1837. According to this computation, it must have been set out, in 1656. But the tradition of the oldest and best informed inhabitants has uniformly been, that it was planted by Deacon Samuel Clark, great grandfather of the present Deacon Joshua C. Clark, who served his boyhood in the Aspinwall family. He died, 7 May, 1766, aged 81. He was accordingly born in 1665, 22 years after the period assigned to the planting of this tree. But as he lived in the Aspinwall family, only in his youth, he probably set out the tree, about 1700, when he was fifteen years of age.

XXIII. p. 21.

Capt. Samuel Aspinwall died, 6 September, 1727, aged 65. At his family devotions, that morning, he read the XXVIIth chapter of Proverbs, beginning with "Boast not thyself of to-morrow; for thou knowest not, what a day may bring forth." Having business on Muddy-river, which bounded his farm, he was providentially drowned, that very day!

XXIV. p. 21.

The following account of Dr. Boylston, with some variations, was published in the Appendix of the author's Century Discourse, forty years ago.

After receiving a good private education, the subject of this notice studied physic with Dr. Cutler, an eminent physician and surgeon, in Boston; and, in process of time, arrived at great distinction in his profession.

In 1721, the small pox prevailed, in Boston. Having received information, in a letter from Dr. Cotton Mather, of the manner, in which inoculation was practised, in Turkey, he boldly resolved, notwithstanding the inveterate prejudices of his countrymen against it, to commence the practice himself.

He first inoculated his own children and servants. Encouraged by the result
of this experiment, in 1721, 1722, he inoculated 247 persons, in Boston and the neighboring Towns. Thirty-nine were inoculated by others, in the whole 286, of whom only six died.

Notwithstanding this wonderful success, the populace, headed and inflamed by some of his own profession,* were so exasperated, as to render it unsafe for him to travel in the evening. They argued, that he ought to be viewed and treated, as the murderer of those, who should die in consequence of inoculation. To such madness did their passions transport them, that a lighted granado was, one evening, thrown into the chamber of a young man, who had been inoculated. He must inevitably have lost his life, had not the fuse been removed by passing through the window.

Had Dr. Boylston gone, at this time, to England, he might have accumulated an immense fortune by skill in treating the small pox. He did not however visit that country, till 1725, when inoculation had become common. He was then received with the most flattering attention. Chosen a member of the Royal Society, he became acquainted with some of the most distinguished characters in the nation. His communications to that Society, after his return to America, were ingenious and celebrated.

After a long period of eminence in his profession, he retired to his patrimonial estate, in Brookline, to pass the remainder of his days. He there expired, on 1 March, 1766, and was interred in his own tomb, which bears the following plain, though appropriate and just inscription.

“Sacred to the memory of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Esq. Physician, and F. R. S. who first introduced the practice of inoculation into America. Through a life of extensive beneficence, he was always faithful to his word, just in his dealings, affable in his manners, and, after a long sickness, in which he was exemplary for his patience and resignation to his Maker, he quitted this mortal life, in a just expectation of a happy immortality, 1 March, 1766, aetat. 87.”

The wish has often been expressed, that a more suitable Monument might be raised to the memory of a man, so highly distinguished in his profession.

XXV. p. 22.

Tudor, in his life of Otis, claims Mr. Gridley, as a Boston inhabitant, and asserts, that he died there.

The Rev. Dr. Eliot, in his New-England Biography also states, that he died at Boston. But it is a well known fact, that he lived a bachelor, for several years, in Brookline; and, in the record of deaths, in Brookline, it is noted, that he died there, on 10 September, 1767, aged 64. Dr. Eliot justly says of him, that his legal knowledge was unquestionable; and adds, “he died poor, because he despised wealth.”

XXVI. p. 22.

Henry Hulton, Esq. one of the five commissioners, appointed by Parliament to receive and distribute the revenue, accruing from a duty to be paid by the Colonists on paper, glass, painters' colors, and teas imported into the Colonies, arrived at Boston, in November, 1767. He resided in the house specified, as his country seat.

XXVII. p. 23.

Statistical account of the industry and products of the Town of Brookline, during the year, ending 1 April, 1845.

2600 pairs of Ladies' yarn hose, valued at
Sadles and harnesses manufactured,
Wagons, sleighs, and other vehicles,
Cabinet ware manufactured,
3400 hides tanned, Value of leather,
Capital employed in Tanneries,
Amount carried over,

$1200
525
4000
300
17300
23325

*The most virulent of these opponents was Dr. Thomas Douglass from Scotland, who betrayed the most ferocious passions, both in conversation and from the press, in a malignant opposition to his more successful competitor.
Amount brought over, €

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>612 pairs of boots and 210 pairs of shoes, valued at</td>
<td>3520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163 cords of fire wood, prepared for market,</td>
<td>1059.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270 pairs of oxen, at $85 per pair,</td>
<td>5335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256 pairs of shoes, valued at $25 each,</td>
<td>6400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362 swine,</td>
<td>5430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1225 bushels of Indian corn,</td>
<td>857.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2036 rye,</td>
<td>1425.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136 barley,</td>
<td>88.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3069 potatoes,</td>
<td>12347.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789 tons of hay,</td>
<td>25046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1508 pounds of butter,</td>
<td>271.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1070 honey,</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1233 barrels of string beans, 1.50,</td>
<td>1834.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500 green peas, 2.00</td>
<td>5120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2288 cucumbers, 1.00</td>
<td>2288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2074 beets, 1.25</td>
<td>2502.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1674 onions, 1.25</td>
<td>2002.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1222 parsnips, 1.25</td>
<td>1527.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5220 green corn, 1.00</td>
<td>5220</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905 bushels of tomatoes 50</td>
<td>997.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>1418 turnips, 1s</td>
<td>2646.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>206 tons of squashes, a $15,</td>
<td>4440</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 1-8 peppers, $60</td>
<td>847.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>204 carrots, $8</td>
<td>1632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255650 cabbages, a 3 cts.</td>
<td>7669.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celery and horse-radish, valued at</td>
<td>2917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early salads and greens, valued at</td>
<td>4255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melons of different varieties,</td>
<td>2437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asparagus,</td>
<td>2244</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shell beans and other small articles,</td>
<td>575</td>
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FRUITS.

<table>
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<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>15913 barrels of apples, valued at $1.25,</td>
<td>19891.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>691 pears,</td>
<td>2784</td>
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<tr>
<td>134 bushels of peaches, a $2,</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222 plums, a $3,</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539 cherries, $2.50,</td>
<td>2847.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>475 currants, $2,</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 quinces, $2,</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12309 boxes of strawberries, a 20 cts.</td>
<td>2461.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4956 raspberries, a 25 cts.</td>
<td>1239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12470 pounds of grapes, a 50 cts,</td>
<td>6235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 tons of rye straw, a $10,</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1044 barrels of cider (for vinegar of course), 1s</td>
<td>1044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93440 gallons of milk, a 1s.</td>
<td>15573.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$212635.69

XXVIII. p. 23.

For several years, after the revolutionary war, there were frequent misunderstandings among the militia companies, in this vicinity, respecting rank; till it was finally adjusted, that the companies of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline should constitute the first regiment of the first Brigade of the first Division of militia, in this Commonwealth, taking precedence of the companies, in Boston, on the ground, it is believed, that Dorchester received its Act of incorporation, as a Town, before Boston.

XXIX. p. 24.

According to the laws of the Commonwealth, formerly in force, all new comers into the Town of whatever profession or circumstances received a formal warning to depart out of the Town from the Constable, certified by the Town Clerk.
For example, when the Rev. Jonathan Hyde came to Brookline to preach to a Society of Separatists, he received the following summary notice.

"Jonathan Hyde was warned to depart out of this Town unto the Colony and Town he last resided in, to wit: Canterbury, Connecticut."

XXX. p. 24.

In the Journal of Judge Sewall, it is stated, under date of 1688, 27 March, "Three Indian children, being alone, in a Wigwam, at Muddy-river, the Wigwam fell on fire, and burnt them so, that they all died.

I. Sabbath, 11 January, 1691, at night the house of Joshua Gardner, at Muddy-river burnt, and two of his children.

"On 21 December, 1691, went with Mr. Addington and wife to the new house of Joshua Gardner, where were Mr. Walter and wife, Mr. Denison and wife, Sir Ruggles and Mrs. Weld. At dinner, Mr. Walter asked the blessing, and Mr. Denison returned thanks, on account of completing their new house."

II. In the News-Letter, 17 April, 1740, published, in Boston, is the following Memorandum.

"Last Monday, A. M. 14 April, 1740, the house of Nathaniel Gardner, of Brookline, next to the Meeting-house, in that Town, took fire, and was burned down; but most of the household goods saved. It was occasioned by a chimney's being on fire, the sparks falling on the roof caught in the shingles, which, being very dry, burnt so violently, as 'twas impossible to put a stop thereto."

III. In the Massachusetts Gazette, 8 September, 1768, is the following notice.

"Last Friday afternoon, the large dwelling house of Isaac Gardner, Esq., of Brookline, was consumed by fire, together with great part of the household goods, belonging to the family, consisting of eighteen persons, and every thing in the garret and cellars. The loss is computed at 4 or £5000, O. T.

The inhabitants of the Town met, on Monday; and though the town consists of about fifty families, they generously raised a subscription of about £100 lawful money, to assist Mr. Gardner in rebuilding his house."

This house is now owned by Capt. Daniel Sanderson. In short of seven years from this date, Mr. Gardner was slain in Lexington battle.

IV. A house owned by Capt. Samuel Croft, and occupied by the Rev. Joseph Jackson, was, in his absence, burnt down, on 8 June, 1774. Dr. Aspinwall, being at home, was instrumental, by his own judicious aid, and by directing the efforts of others, in saving great part of the furniture, and a principal portion of Mr. Jackson's library.

V. On 20 February, 1810, a little past midnight, a house nearly completed for Dea. Joshua C. Clark was, without a known cause, consumed by fire. The loss fell on the builder. But by generous aid, and spirited exertions, a new house, in its place, was so far completed, as to be inhabited, on 31 May, of the same year.

VI. On 7 January, 1816, a house, built by Mr. Peter Parker, in which his son, John Parker, Esq., a late eminent merchant was born, took fire in the night, and was consumed.

The fire was occasioned by means of ashes placed in a wooden vessel.

It stood near the site of the Baptist meeting house. For relief of the sufferers there was raised by contribution, $119,70—by subscription, $446,70—in the whole, $566,40. This John Parker, the son of a poor shoemaker, attained to such wealth, that his taxes, in the city of Boston, for years before his death, amounted to more than $7,000 a year; while his annual taxes, in Roxbury, his summer residence, exceeded $1000.

VII. On Wednesday, 16 September, 1825, a house, built by William Wood, Esq., of Charlestown, last owned by Col. Thomas H. Perkins, took fire, through defect in the chimney, and was entirely consumed.

It stood near the site of the spacious and elegant mansion, erected by Thomas H. Perkins, Jr.

VIII. On Lord's day, 2 September, 1838, a dwelling-house of Capt. Benjamin

Where now stands the house of Thomas W. Sumner, Esq.
Bradley took fire, between meetings, and was wholly consumed. By great exertions several neighboring buildings were preserved from the devouring flames.

XXXI. p. 24.

Graduates at Harvard University.

1. 1698. *John White, A. M. Ordained minister at Gloucester, 21 April, 1703, died, 16 January, 1760, aged 83.

2. 1707. *Ebenezer Devotion, A. M. Ordained at Suffield, Conn., 28 June, 1710, died, 11 April, 1741, aged 77.

3. 1712 *Edward White, A. M. Farmer in Brookline, Justice of the Peace, Major in the militia, and Representative to the General Court. He was born, 10 July 1693, and died, 29 May, 1769, aged 76.


5. 1714. *Samuel Aspinwall, A. M. He was born, 13 February, 1696, and died, 13 August, 1732, aged 37.

The Rev. Mr. Allen published a funeral sermon on his death, in which he gave him an excellent character.

The following account, by the same hand, was published in the New-England Weekly Journal, No. 283.

Brookline, 21 August. On the 13 inst. died here, Mr. Samuel Aspinwall, of this Town, in the 37 year of his age, after between six and seven years' illness He commenced Master of Arts, in Cambridge, 1717, and was designed for the ministry; but discouraged by an inward weakness; which, after he had been, for some little time, settled here, so advanced, as to take him off from business, and, at length, proved fatal. He was a gentleman of bright parts, natural and acquired, a strong memory, quick wit, and solid judgment, pleasant in his conversation, a steady friend, and a good Christian.


7. 1737. *Jonathan Winchester, A. M. Born, 21 April, 1717; ordained at Dorchester—Canada, since Asburnham, 23 April, 1760, and died, 27 November, 1767, aged 51.

8. 1738. *Henry Sewall, A. M. Born, 8 March, 1720; farmer, in Brookline, and Justice of the Peace. He died, 29 May, 1771, aged 52.


10. 1738. *Charles Gleason, A. M. Born, 29 December, 1718; ordained at Dudley, 31 October, 1744, and died, 7 May, 1790, aged 72.


12. 1744. *Benjamin White, A. M., son of Major Edward White; born, 5 October, 1724, farmer, in Brookline, Justice of Peace, for many years a Representative to the General Court, then a Counsellor. Died, 8 May, 1790, aged 66.

13. 1747. *Isaac Gardner, A. M. Born, 9 May, 1726; farmer, in Brookline, Justice of the Peace. On the memorable 19 April, 1775, he went as a volunteer to Lexington battle, and was slain, at Cambridge, about a mile above the colleges, by the British troops, on their return to Boston.

In his domestic, social, civil, and religious capacity, he was equally beloved and respected. The melancholy circumstance of his death excited great public sensibility, as well as private lamentation and regret. He died, at the age of 49.


15. 1761. *Samuel Sewall, A. M., brother of the foregoing, great-grandson of Chief Justice Sewall, was born, 31 December, 1745, lived unmarried, a counsellor at law, in Boston. Became a refugee from his country, proscribed in the banishment act of 1778, passed the remainder of his life, in Bristol, England, where he died, 6 May, 1811, aged 66. His estate in Brookline, inherited in right of his mother, was forfeited by law, and afterwards purchased by the late Mr. John Heath.
16. 1764. *William Aspinwall, A. M., M. D., highly valued physician of Brookline and neighborhood, was born, 23 May, 1743, and died, 16 April, 1823, aged 80. See p. 22.
17. 1764. *Isaac Winchester, born, 5 August, 1743, and died in the Continental army.
19. 1777. *John Goddard, A. M. Born, 12 November, 1756; Merchant of Portsmouth, N. H., in which he was Representative and Senator in their General Court. He might have been advanced to still higher distinctions, had he consented to stand candidate. He died at Portsmouth, 18 December, 1829, aged 73.
21. 1787. Caleb Child. Born, in Brookline, 13 March, 1760. He has no relative in this region, who can tell, whether he be alive, or if living, where.
22. 1804. *William Aspinwall, M. D., son of Dr. William Aspinwall. Born, 1784; died a practitioner of medicine, in his native town, 7 April, 1818, aged 34.
23. 1804. Thomas Aspinwall, A. M. Born 1786; lawyer in Boston, Colonel in the army in the last war with England, Consul at London.
24. 1805. *Samuel Clark, A. M., son of Deacon Samuel Clark. Born, 1752; Orained at Burlington, Vt. 19 April, 1810; resigned, on account of ill health; died there, 2 May, 1827, aged 45.
26. 1831. John Tappan Pierce, A. M., son of the fifth minister of Brookline. Born, 14 December, 1811. On the 15 September, 1836, he was ordained an evangelist. He now officiates in a congregational church in Arcadia, Madison county, Missouri.
30. 1789. Physician in Roxbury.
31. 1800. pastor of the Baptist Church in East-Cambridge.
32. 1802. A. M.; Professor in the same College.
33. 1803. George Griggs, A. M., L. L. B. Harv., son of Mr. Joshua Griggs, lawyer in Boston, and resident in his native village.
34. 1805. "Elisha Gardner. Born, December, 1766. He died at the Southward, engaged in mercantile pursuits.
36. 1831. John Tappan Pierce, A. M., son of the fifth minister of Brookline. Born, 14 December, 1811. On the 15 September, 1836, he was ordained an evangelist. He now officiates in a congregational church in Arcadia, Madison county, Missouri.
38. 1837. George Griggs, A. M., L. L. B. Harv., son of Mr. Joshua Griggs, lawyer in Boston, and resident in his native village.
42. 1831. John Tappan Pierce, A. M., son of the fifth minister of Brookline. Born, 14 December, 1811. On the 15 September, 1836, he was ordained an evangelist. He now officiates in a congregational church in Arcadia, Madison county, Missouri.
43. 1832. Warren Leverett, A. M.; Professor in the same College. Twins of Upper Alton, Illinois.
44. 1837. George Griggs, A. M., L. L. B. Harv., son of Mr. Joshua Griggs, lawyer in Boston, and resident in his native village.
48. 1831. John Tappan Pierce, A. M., son of the fifth minister of Brookline. Born, 14 December, 1811. On the 15 September, 1836, he was ordained an evangelist. He now officiates in a congregational church in Arcadia, Madison county, Missouri.
49. 1832. Warren Leverett, A. M.; Professor in the same College. Twins of Upper Alton, Illinois.
50. 1837. George Griggs, A. M., L. L. B. Harv., son of Mr. Joshua Griggs, lawyer in Boston, and resident in his native village.
54. 1831. John Tappan Pierce, A. M., son of the fifth minister of Brookline. Born, 14 December, 1811. On the 15 September, 1836, he was ordained an evangelist. He now officiates in a congregational church in Arcadia, Madison county, Missouri.
56. 1837. George Griggs, A. M., L. L. B. Harv., son of Mr. Joshua Griggs, lawyer in Boston, and resident in his native village.
60. 1831. John Tappan Pierce, A. M., son of the fifth minister of Brookline. Born, 14 December, 1811. On the 15 September, 1836, he was ordained an evangelist. He now officiates in a congregational church in Arcadia, Madison county, Missouri.
Winchester, born, 19 September, 1751, in the house, best known, as Richards's Hotel, and was baptized in his infancy by the Rev. Jonathan Hyde, Separatist and Pedo-baptist.

His course of life was singularly erratic.

On 4 September, 1771, he was ordained as Baptist minister at Rehoboth.

Backus, in his History of the Baptists, has traced his course through most of its windings.

Mr. Winchester showed his first deviation from the practice of the church, to which he ministered, by insisting on open communion.

He next became converted to close communion.

After experiencing this versatility, his church voted to dispense with his services.

He called a Council, confessed his imprudence, and was received into the Baptist Church at Bellingham.

He then travelled as far as South Carolina, itinerating over that part of the country.

In the beginning of 1781, he was dismissed from the Baptist Church, in Philadelphia, as a Universalist.

He then spent a year, in New England. He sailed for England, in July, 1787.

In London he published his Dialogues, which placed him at the head of a new sect, denominated Restorationist.

He returned to Boston, July, 1794, and soon removed to Hartford, Conn., where he died, 18 April, 1797, aged 46, having published his new doctrines in a number of volumes, and was buried by the Universalists.

2. The other Baptist minister, mentioned in the Address, is the Rev. Benjamin Niles Harris, son of Mr. John Harris, born, 19 July, 1792, who has ministered to a number of churches of his denomination, and is now at Rockport.

The Congregational minister, to which the Address alludes, is the Rev. Increase Sumner Davis, son of Mr. Ebenezer Davis, born, in the spring of 1797, and was ordained Congregational minister of the church, in Dorchester, N. H., 9 October, 1828. He is now pastor of the Congregational church, in Wentworth, N. H.

The Hon. Thomas Aspinwall Davis, late Mayor of the city of Boston, was his brother. He was born, 11 December, 1798, and died, on 22 November, 1845, lacking 19 days of 47 years. He died in Brookline, but had a public funeral in Central Church, Boston, to which he belonged, where an address was delivered by the pastor of his youth, and was printed by vote of the City Council, Boston.

XXXIII. p. 24.

For the following facts, and other statistics in this Address, the author is indebted to Mr. John Goddard, born in Brookline, 23 May, O. S. 1730, and who died, 13 April, 1816, aged 86, a man of uncommonly extensive observation, and with a memory proverbially accurate. He had peculiar facilities for a knowledge of the facts relating to this little Town. For he was not only a native, but spent a large portion of a long life in the place of his nativity. He was, moreover, for many years, Selectman, Assessor, and Representative of this Town to the General Court.

He was son of John Goddard, grandson of Joseph Goddard, one of the founders of the first Congregational church, in Brookline; also father of Joseph Goddard, born, 15 April, 1761, now the oldest man in the Town, and grandfather of Abijah Warren Goddard. These five generations of men have all cultivated the same farm, and have been members in full communion of the First Congregational church.

Owners of Dwelling houses, in Brookline, in 1740. The names in italics designate the then owners of houses, which still remain.

1. Solomon Hill.
7. Thomas Aspinwall.
A house formerly stood near Smelt-brook, owned by Amos Gates, who afterwards removed to Worcester.

The house owned by David Coolidge was built by Nathan Winchester, son of Capt. John Winchester, grandson of John Winchester, (III.) The other owners have been Thomas Griggs, his son Joshua Griggs, father in law of David Coolidge.

Mr. Ellis, father of John Ellis, who built the old Punch-bowl tavern, lived in a small house, a little beyond George Babcock's.

1. Solomon Hill. His house formerly occupied by Edward and Mary Devotion, who gave the school fund before mentioned; William Marshall; Charles Warren, T; Rufus Babcock, T; George Babcock.

2. John Winchester, first Representative to the General Court; then Capt. John Winchester, his son; next his son Isaac Winchester; Samuel Griggs; Dea. Thomas Griggs.

3. Samuel Sewall, Esq., son of Judge Samuel Sewall. He raised his house, 18 June, 1703, and moved into it with his father.

The present house built by Henry Sewall, son of Samuel Sewall, Jr.; inherited by Mrs. Edward K. Wolcott. Sold to Charles Stearns.


5. Capt. Robert Sharp. House built on the site of a house owned by John Sharp, brother of Robert Sharp, the first of the name, who came here from Dorchester with Peter Aspinwall, the first of that name in this town. Martha, the daughter of John Sharp, was the wife of Joseph Buckingham, who afterwards moved to Framingham, the father of Joseph Buckingham, grandfather of the Rev. Joseph Buckingham, of Rutland, great-grandfather of the Rev. Joseph Buckingham, of Portsmouth, N. H., great-great-grandfather of the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckingham, Brattle-square church, Boston.

A little south of No. 5, stood the house of William Sharp, son of John Sharp, who moved to Pomfret, Conn.

6. Samuel Clark. This estate was afterward purchased by the Sharp family. Stephen Sharp, Esq. built the house now occupied by John F. Edwards, in 1785. For many years he kept one of the principal schools in the Town. He was Selectman, Assessor, Town Clerk, for twenty-nine years, and repeatedly represented the Town in the General Court. He died, 22 July, 1820, aged 72. He led a single life.
The late Oliver Whyte, Esq. was his successor, as Town Clerk, for about the same period. He transcribed a large portion of the Town records, and died, highly respected, 6 August, 1844, aged 73.

7. **Thomas Aspinwall.** House built by Peter Aspinwall, 1660; next owned by his son Samuel; then by Samuel’s son Thomas; then by Thomas’s son, Dr. William Aspinwall; now owned by Col. Thomas Aspinwall, Consul to London.

The first Aspinwall house stood several rods east of the present, at the foot of a small hill, and near a spring of running water.

8. **Dea. Thomas Cotton,** heir of the Rev. John Cotton, built the present house. He sold it to Dea. Ebenezer Davis, and moved to Pomfret, Conn. It was next owned by his son Ebenezer; then by his son Ebenezer; then by his son Robert Sharp Davis; and sold by the heirs to Moses Andem.

9. **Major Edward White,** occupying the spot, where his first ancestors in this Town lived; inherited by the late Thomas White; last occupied by Thomas Somes.

10. Major Edward White owned a house, which stood near the barn of the old Punch-bowl tavern.

11. Major Edward White owned a house which stood a little East of the late deaf and dumb Thomas Aspinwall’s.

12. Major Edward White owned another house, a little East of the house last mentioned, near the site of the widow Thomas White’s.

13. John Ellis, who died, 26 December, 1770, aged 80. The house was built by James Goddard for a private house. It was used, as a tavern, before 1740. William Whitney, of Weston, owned it; then Eleazer Baker; Eliphalet Spurr occupied it, for a while; William Laughton, in 1801; Franklin Gerry, in 1820; Louis Boutell, in 1826; William Jemerson, in 1827. Isaac Thayer bargained for it, took down the old patch-work Tavern, 20 May, 1833, and caused to be erected nine cottages, in the immediate neighborhood. On or near the site of the old tavern is the elegant Lyceum Hall, owned by a number of proprietors, built in the autumn of 1841.

14. **Nathaniel Shepard.** He was one of the New Lights, so denominated, and moved to Needham. The house was then occupied by Daniel Dana. It is now owned by the Hon. Peter C. Brooks, and occupied by Anna Dana, daughter of Daniel Dana.

15. Capt. Samuel Croft. The present house raised, 23 April, 1765. At his death, 14 November, 1771, aged 71, it was owned by his son, Capt. Samuel Croft, who died, 9 April, 1814, aged 63. It descended by will to the Croft family, and is now owned by John Kenrick.

16. **Major Edward White,** who died, 29 May, 1769, aged 76. It has since been owned by Capt. Timothy Corey, and his son Dea. Elijah Corey. It is now the property of James Bartlett.

17. Isaac Winchester, who died, 15 February, 1771, aged 57. It was then owned by Capt. Timothy Corey, who died, 19 September, 1811, aged 69. A stone house, near the site of this, was recently built by Dea. Timothy Corey, who died, 10 August, 1844, aged 62.

18. Rev. James Allen, first minister of Brookline, who died, 18 February, 1747, aged 56. The house, which he inhabited, has been down, for more than half a century. But descendants of the rose bushes, which he set out, about 1718, are now living and flourishing.

19. Rev James Allen owned an old house, which stood on land now occupied by Jesse Bird, as a garden. It was occupied by Peter Hammond. A part of the frame was used in building the house, now owned and occupied by Jesse Bird, which was raised for the second minister of Brookline, about 1750, the Rev. Cotton Brown, who died, 13 April, 1751, aged 25. He was brother of the Hon. Peter C. Brooks’s mother, and of the last wife of Daniel Dana.

The House of Joshua Gardner, before mentioned, stood a little East of the parsonage house of the first parish. The house, built in its place, was owned by Caleb Gardner, Jr., from whom the land was obtained, on which the first meeting house was erected.

* The name has been spelt three different ways, Croft, Craft, and Crafts, by blood relations.
Dea. Samuel Clark died, 7 May, 1766, aged 81. His son Samuel died, previously, on 18 July, 1760, aged 39. His son Dea. Samuel Clark died, 29 March, 1814, aged 61. The house now standing is owned by Caleb Clark, great-grandson of the first owner of the place.

Back of the present house stood one, used as a garrison-house against the Indians.

21. Nathaniel Gardner’s house was burned, 14 April, 1740, who rebuilt the present house, the same year. Few places, in Brookline, have had so many owners as this. After the death of Nathaniel Gardner, it was owned by Dea. Benjamin White; then by Jeremiah Gridley, Esq.; then by Henry Hulton, Esq. Mandamus Counsellor, who forfeited it to the Government, as a Refugee; it was then owned by a Captain Cooke; then by John Lucas; then by Capt. Knight; then Wm. Hyslop; then by his son, David Hyslop; then by John Carnes, who sold the land for the present Meeting-house of the First Church, dedicated, 11 June, 1806; then by widow Elisabeth Partridge; now by Thomas W. Sumner, Esq.

22. Solomon Gardner. The house was built by his father, Dea. Thos Gardner, about 1718; then owned by his son Solomon Gardner; next by Caleb Gardner, also son of Thomas Gardner; next by another son, Benjamin Gardner. Benjamin Gardner was the father of Dea. Elisha Gardner, the next owner, who died, 29 January, 1707, aged 70. He sold the place to John Goddard, from whom it was purchased by his son Benjamin Goddard, Esq., the present owner.

23. Dr. Zabdiel Boylston bought it of his brother Peter, 26 March, 1737, for £3,100, old tenor, and built the present house, about 1736. Peter Boylston was the father of the first President John Adams’s mother, Susanna, born, on that spot, 5 March, 1709, and married to John Adams, of Braintree, now Quincy, 23 November, 1734. William Hyslop bought the place of Dr. Boylston’s heirs. It is now owned by the heirs of his son, David Hyslop, who died, 16 August, 1822, aged 67. His father died, 11 August, 1796, aged 85.

24. Nathaniel Seaver. His father John married a Gardner, by whom he probably inherited the place. Nathaniel built the present house, about 1742. It was then owned by his son Nathaniel; next by John Deane; next by John Lucas, who died, 11 September, 1812, aged 74; then by Samuel Hammond, by whose heirs it is now owned. He died, 4 November, 1838, aged 71.

25. William Ackers, who died, 9 October, 1794, aged 76. John Ackers, his father, built the first house there. His son William built the present house, which was raised, 1 August, 1744. His son William was the next owner, to whose heirs it now belongs, who died, 14 July, 1841, aged 76.

26. Isaac Gardner, who died, 11 March, 1767, aged 83. The next owner was his son, Isaac Gardner, whose house was burnt, 2 September, 1768, and who was slain in Lexington battle, 19 April, 1775, aged 49. His son, Gen. Isaac Sparhawk Gardner was the next owner, who died, 6 December, 1818, aged 60. It was then owned by Elisha Penniman, who died, 5 November, 1831, aged 54. It is now the property of Capt. Daniel Sanderson.

A house formerly stood, a little south of this house, on the same side of the way, owned by Addington Gardner, son of Caleb Gardner, Jr. He married a sister of the Rev. James Allen, and removed to Sherburne.

27. John Seaver, who died, 21 October, 1677, aged 66, occupied a house, long since demolished, not far from the present Joseph White’s house.

28. Samuel White, Esq. died, 9 April, 1740, aged 76. Samuel Sewall, Esq., his grandson, inherited it; but being a Refugee, his estate was forfeited to the Government, and sold to John Heath, who died, 27 April, 1804, aged 72. It was next owned by his son Ebenezer Heath, who died, 26 February, 1858, aged 80. His son Charles demolished the old house, 11 September, 1858, and raised his present house, on 1 October of the same year.

A house formerly stood a little East of the present mansion, on the same side of the way, owned by Joseph White, father of Samuel White, Esq., and son of John White, who came, the first of the name, to this Town, from Watertown, and lived at the lower part of the Town, near the residence of widow Thomas White. Joseph White was one of the founders of the First Church, in Brookline.
29. Joseph White. Joseph Gardner formerly owned it. Deacon Joseph White, the next occupant, died of natural small pox, 19 August, 1777, aged 75. His son Samuel next owned it; next his cousin, Moses White, who moved to Windsor, Vermont; Jonathan Jackson was the next owner, who died, 30 September, 1822, aged 73. General Simon Eliot built the present house, and first inhabited it, 10 September, 1824. He died, 2 January, 1832, aged 70. It was next owned by Simon Eliot Greene, in whose family it still remains.

30. Deacon Benjamin White; then his son Moses; then his son Moses, at one time an owner of the last mentioned house; Hon. Jonathan Mason purchased it, about 1792, who died, 2 November, 1831, aged 75. Benjamin Guild, Esq. purchased and moved into it, 5 June, 1822. It was next sold to Hon. Theodore Lyman, former Mayor of Boston, who took possession, June, 1841, soon took down the old house, and erected a very splendid edifice in its place.

31. Benjamin White, who died, 19 October, 1777, aged 70. It was formerly owned by Peter Gardner, who married a sister of Joshua Boylston's mother. Benjamin White, son of Benjamin, was the next owner, who demolished the old house, and erected the present mansion, some rods west of the former, about 1790. He died, 20 March, 1814, aged 71.

The estate, as yet undivided, was next occupied by Benjamin White, son of the last mentioned, who died, 7 July, 1839, aged 55.

32. Joseph Adams. Benjamin White bought it, and pulled it down, about half a mile South-west of his residence.

33. Nathaniel Stedman. Benjamin White bought this, and pulled it down, a little farther West, on the opposite side of the road.

34. Ebenezer Sergeant. He bought it of Nathaniel, brother of Thomas Stedman. Dea. Elhanan Winchester, father of the preacher, next bought it, and sold it to Benjamin White, the owner of three estates aforementioned.

35. Capt. Benjamin Gardner, son of Dea. Thomas Gardner, built this house, and died, 13 September, 1702, aged 64.

His son Samuel was the next owner, who died, 22 November, 1771, aged 43.

His son, Caleb Gardner, next owner, died, 17 November, 1807, aged 52.

Ebenezer Richards purchased the place of the heirs, and soon sold it to John Hunt, who sold it to John Clark, the present proprietor.

36. Joshua Stedman. The house, best known as Richards's hotel, was built by Dea. Elhanan Winchester, assisted by the New-lights so called, on condition, that they might have the use of a room in it for their worship.

Capt. Benjamin Gardner bought this place of a Mr. Calef, of Boston, before it was occupied by Dea. Winchester Ebenezer White next owned it; then Joseph White; Ebenezer Richards bought it of Joseph White; it was then sold to Henry Pettes, of Boston, who, after greatly improving it, moved into it, 21 May, 1838; it was then sold to Mark W. Sheafe, of Portsmouth, N. H., who moved into it, in 1840.

37. Ebenezer Kenrick, a New-light, who left Brookline church, in Mr. Allen's day.

Jonathan Hammond built the present house.

It has, for several years been owned by Mrs. Jane Coafford, a French Lady.

38. Nathaniel Hill, an African.

Deacon Ebenezer Craft, of Roxbury, bought it.

The Rev. Jonathan Hyde, of Canterbury, Conn., purchased the place, and built a house, in 1751. He died, 4 June, 1787, aged 78.

His son Thaddeus Hyde next owned it, who died, 25 July, 1808, aged 69.

Arba Hyde, the son of Thaddeus, next owned it. He died, 4 November, 1841, aged 86.

It was pulled down by order of the Selectmen, 11 October, 1841.

39. John Druce built this house, probably the latter part of the 17th century, or beginning of the 18th.

It was next owned by his son, Obadiah Druce, who died, 3 December, 1765.

Dea. Ebenezer Craft, of Roxbury, bought it, who died, 1 September, 1791, aged 86.

It was then owned by his son, Caleb Craft, who died, 3 January, 1826, aged 84; next by his son Samuel Craft, who sold it to Thomas Woodward, the present owner.
40. Abraham Chamberlain. His heirs sold it in shares to John Harris and Daniel Dana. Caleb Craft bought it, except ten acres, including the house, which was purchased by Thaddeus Jackson.

Joshua Woodward, uncle of Thaddeus Jackson's wife, built the present house, who died, 21 November, 1776, aged 46.

Thaddeus Jackson, the next occupant, died, 12 October, 1832, aged 80.

Phinehas Goodnough is the present owner.

42. Hugh Scott hired it of Samuel White, Esq. It was next owned by Caleb Craft, and by him pulled down. It stood a few rods this side of Caleb Craft, Jr.'s house.

43. James Griggs. His son George next occupied it. Dea. Ebenezer Craft bought the place. Thomas Kenrick built a house on it, and died, 8 February, 1774, aged 33. Jacob Hervey married his widow, and died, 22 June, 1812, aged 63. The house, which stood a few rods south of Caleb Craft Jr.'s was then pulled down; and the land belongs to the Craft family.

44. William Davis died, 20 February, 1777, aged 66. His son William then occupied it; and it was soon divided and sold. It was owned successively by Joseph Smith, William Rogers, Elisha Whitney, and Asa Whitney, who died, 5 March, 1826, aged 44. The house, however, which stood a few rods West of the South-west school-house, on the opposite side of the way, was demolished, in 1809.

45. John Harris. The house was given to him by Robert Harris, a distant relation. John Harris built the present house and died, 5 November, 1788, aged 72. His son John, the next owner, died, 8 December, 1831, aged 81.

Now owned by Willard A. Humphrey.

46. Isaac Child died, 10 September, 1765, aged 77. His son Isaac was the next owner; it was then owned by a Mr. Borland; then by Elisha Whitney; next by his son, Maj. Asa Whitney. It is now owned by Samuel Hills.

47. Joshua Child, brother of Isaac, inherited it of his father. He was great-grandfather of Dea. Joshua Child Clark, after whom he was named. The next owner was Daniel Dana, then Benjamin White, then Thomas White, Amasa Ellis, Benjamin Weld, John Peirce, Samuel H. Walley, Thomas Tilden. The last owner Eunice James.

48. Timothy Harris bought it of Joseph Scott. It was inherited by the wife of the late Elijah Child, and pulled down in 1805. Timothy Harris's widow built the house, now inhabited by Timothy Harris Child.

49. Timothy Harris. His son John was the next owner. See 45. The last John Harris built the present house, in 1801. It is now the property of Alvan Loker.

50. Daniel Harris built the house. His son Daniel next owned it, and sold it to John Harris, Sen. See 45. The house was long since demolished.

51. Samuel Newell. His son John next owned it; then Gulliver Winchester; then Robert Holt, who began the house, several rods East of the old mansion. This house was completed by Dr. Wm. Spooner, of Boston, who inhabited it, during several summer seasons, and died in Boston, 15 February, 1836, aged 76. It was then purchased by Curtis Travis, a butcher, in 1825, who moved away, and died. It is now said to be owned by John Welch, of Boston.

52. Andrew Allard. William Woodward, brother of Thomas and John, and son of Thomas, built the house. It was last inhabited by an old countryman, by the name of Vaughan, who died, at a very advanced age, 27 February, 1775, and the house has been, many years, demolished. Samuel Cabot, Esq. is building a house for his tenant, a little East of this place.

53. John Woodward built it. He died, 15 February, 1770, aged 74. His son Thomas next owned it; then Dea. Joseph White; John Corey, who died, 6 October, 1803, aged 44; Erastus Champney; John Dunn; George Goldsmith, the present owner.
54. Christopher Dyer built the house on land given him by Samuel White, Esq. His son, William Dyer then owned it; afterwards Joseph Woodward, John Deane, John Lucas. Col. Thomas H. Perkins built a house near the site of this, in 1800, for his tenant.

55. Thomas Woodward built the house, which stood near the mansion of William Appleton, Esq. His son Thomas then owned it; next, Dea. Joseph White. It was at length owned by Ebenezer Richards, who sold it to Hon. Stephen Higginson, who erected the mansion, now owned by Dr. John C. Warren, in 1800. He died, in Boston, 22 November, 1828, aged 85.

56. Nehemiah Davis built the present house, about 1732, and died, 5 January, 1785, aged 78.

It was next owned by Captain Joseph Williams; H. Child; Hon. George Cabot, who died, in Boston, 18 April, 1823, aged 71; next by Stephen Higginson, Jr., who died, in Cambridge, 20 February, 1834, aged 63; next by Capt. Adam Babcock, who died, in this house, 24 September, 1817, aged 77. Samuel Goddard is the present proprietor.

Josiah Winchester, grandfather of the famous Elhanan Winchester, Restorationist, formerly inhabited an old house, which stood near the present John Warren's.

57. John Goddard. The place was first owned by Dorman Marean; then by William Marean.

Joseph Goddard, the first of the family, who owned the place, died, 25 July, 1728, aged 73.

His son, John Goddard, settled on the patrimonial state, where he lived, till 1745, when he moved to Worcester, leaving his son John on the place, and died there, 26 June 1755, aged 86.

John Goddard, of the third generation, built the present house, and moved to No. 22, where he died, 13 April, 1816, aged 86.

His son, Samuel Goddard, next occupied the family mansion, where he died, 25 August, 1786, aged 29.

Capt. Joseph Goddard, the brother of Samuel, next inhabited it, till he built a new house, in the immediate neighborhood, into which he removed.

His son, Abijah Warren Goddard, is of the fifth generation, who have lived on the estate of his fathers.


His son, Nathaniel Winchester, died, 27 December, 1808, aged 60. Old house taken down, 12 December, 1826.

Capt. Isaac Cook's cottage stands near the site of the old house. First inhabited, 9 June, 1897.

This place was formerly owned by Col. Joseph Buckminster. See No. 5.

His house stood on the opposite side of the road, to where Capt. Cook's cottage stands.

59. Elhanan Winchester, grandfather of the preacher of the same name built the house.

His son, Elhanan, commonly known as Dea. Winchester, next owned it. He died at Harvard, 10 September, 1810, aged 91.

Of him it was purchased by John Seaver Jr., who died, 21 October, 1761, aged 66.

The property went through the changes mentioned under No. 21, till David Hyslop sold a portion of it to Nathaniel Murdock, who built a house, near the site of the Winchester house, into which he removed, 8 April, 1800, and died, 1 May, 1837, aged 69.

60. Josiah Winchester, Jr. built a house South of the present Dea. Joshua C. Clark's. His son Caleb next inhabited it; then John Seaver. Nehemiah Davis purchased it, and pulled it down.

61. Dudley Boylston purchased the house, formerly built by a Mr. Shepard.

His son Joshua Boylston, next owned it. He died, 1 November, 1804, aged 79.

Dea. Joshua C. Clark, who married the only daughter, took down the old house, in 1809, and moved into the present house, 31 May, 1810.
XXXIV. p. 25.

1. Joshua Griggs.  
3. Samuel Griggs.*†  
9. Dr. Wm. Aspinwall.  
10. Dr. Wm. Aspinwall.  
11. Dr. Wm. Aspinwall.*  
12. Ebenezer Davis.  
13. Benjamin Davis.  
15. Josiah Jordan.  
17. Thomas White.  
19. Eleazer Baker.*†  
20. Jonathan Dana.*†  
22. Capt. Cobb.*†  
23. Daniel Dana.  
24. Zephian Thayer.  
27. Capt. Samuel Croft.  
29. Enos Withington.  
31. Capt. Timothy Corey.*†  
33. Samuel Clark.  
34. Parsonage of First Parish.  
35. David Hyslop.  
37. David Hyslop.  
40. William Acker.  
41. Isaac S. Gardner, Esq.  
42. Ebenezer Heath.  
43. John Heath.*†  
44. Jonathan Jackson.*†  
45. Hon. Jonathan Mason.*†  
46. Hon. Jonathan Mason.*†  
47. Benjamin White.*  
49. Benjamin White.  
50. Caleb Gardner.  
51. Ebenezer Richards.  
52. Jonathan Hammond.  
53. Thaddeus Hyde.*  
54. Ebenezer Webb.  
55. Caleb Craft.*  
56. Thaddeus Jackson.  
57. Abraham Jackson.*†  
58. Caleb Craft *†  
59. Jacob Hervey.*  
60. Elisha Whitney.*  
61. John Harris.  
63. Heirs of Thomas White.  
64. Elijah Child.*  
65. Widow Elizabeth Harris.  
66. Dr. William Spooner.  
67. John Corey.  
68. Joseph Goddard.  
69. Nathaniel Winchester.*†  
70. Hon. George Cabot.  
71. Hon. George Cabot.  
72. Joshua Boylston.*†  

The names in italics represent the houses now standing. The houses with an asterisk (*) are demolished. Those with an obelisk annexed (*†) have others erected on or near the site of former houses.


"Voted, that this Town agree to assemble at the meeting-house, at 11 o’clock, A. M. on Saturday, 22 February, 1800, to testify their respect for the memory of the late General George Washington; and that the Selectmen be a committee to wait on the Rev. John Pierce, and desire him to lead in the ceremonies by prayer, and some appropriate Discourse; and that the committee be requested to provide suitable badges of mourning for the occasion.

Also, that the Rev. John Pierce, Col. Isaac S. Gardner, and Mr. Isaac Allen be a committee to select suitable anthems, psalms, or hymns, to be sung on the occasion.—[Town Records.]


In his Journal, Judge Samuel Sewall writes, under date of 24 April, 1704, "I gave the Vice President, at Cambridge," meaning the Rev Samuel Willard, of the Old South Church, Boston, who officiated, as President at Cambridge, "the first News-Letter, that ever was carried over the river." This was, it is believed, the first newspaper published in North America.

* Meaning Charles-river.
Mr. Higginson erected a commodious dwelling, surrounded by forest trees, the natural growth of the soil. It commands a very beautiful prospect of the city, of the harbor, and some of its various islands. It is now owned by Dr. John C. Warren, of Boston, who has done much to enlarge and beautify the place. A part of the estate, owned by Mr. Higginson, has been sold to Wm. Appleton, Esq., who has built, for a summer residence, an elegant house.

But it would be an endless task to enumerate the great improvements, which have been made by gentlemen, who have moved into this town, in quick succession, since the commencement of the present century.

It is to be wished, that some person, fitted for the task, would prepare a statistical account of this charming little Town, its rapidly increasing population, its elegant, and, in some instances, princely mansions, its agricultural and horticultural improvements, unparalleled, it is believed, for the size of the place, in the United States.

Samuel A. Walker, Esq., who has taken a leading part in this last Temperance movement, gives me the following account.

"The Brookline Washington Total Abstinence Society was formed, 4 April, 1842. S. A. Walker was chosen President.

The first public lecture before the society was delivered by the President. The Hall was thronged. At the conclusion of the address, 171 signed the pledge; and from the formation of the society to the present time, the cause has prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations of its friends. At the formation of the new society, the old society numbered 432 members; and, at its annual meeting, 10 January, 1843, it was voted to unite with the Washington Total Abstinence Society, the better to carry forward the glorious cause.

At the annual meeting, 25 February, 1843, the report was of the most pleasing character. Within 3 years, 594 had signed the pledge, and with the 432 members of the old society, it presented the grand total of 1026, pledged to Total Abstinence, in the Town of Brookline.

The loss from breaking the pledge has been less, than ¼ per cent., while the most favorable estimate from any Town in the State, gives a loss of at least 2½ per cent."
THE FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT CAMBRIDGE,

DECEMBER 22, 1844.

BY JOHN A. ALBRO,
PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN CONNECTION WITH THE SHEPARD SOCIETY.

BOSTON:
CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.
MDCCCXLV.
Cambridge, December, 1844.

Rev. John A. Albro,

Dear Sir,—Having listened with much pleasure to your Discourse on the 22d instant, and esteeming it an honorable tribute to the memory and character of our Pilgrim Fathers, and believing the dissemination of its principles important, we respectfully request that you will allow it to be published.

Your obedient servants,

Charles C. Little,
Zelotes Hosmer,
Jacob H. Bates,
Charles W. Homer,
William Saunders.
Asa Gray.

Gentlemen,

The Discourse, which you do me the honor to think may be useful to the public, is at your service; and I commit it to the press with the prayer that He who conducted the Pilgrims to these shores, and sustained them in their labors, may make it instrumental in advancing the work which they made so many sacrifices to commence in New England.

Yours, very respectfully,

John A. Albro.

Messrs. C. C. Little, Zelotes Hosmer, J. H. Bates,?
Charles W. Homer, Wm. Saunders, Asa Gray.
Thurston, Torry, & Company, Printers,
31 Devonshire Street, Boston.
DISCOURSE.

PSALM XLIV. 1—3.

WE HAVE HEARD WITH OUR EARS, O GOD, OUR FATHERS HAVE TOLD US, WHAT WORK THOU DIDST IN THEIR DAYS, IN THE TIMES OF OLD. HOW THOU DIDST DRIVE OUT THE HEATHEN WITH THY HAND, AND PLANTEDEST THEM; HOW THOU DIDST AFFLICTION THE PEOPLE, AND CAST THEM OUT. FOR THEY GOT NOT THE LAND IN POSSESSION BY THEIR OWN SWORD, NEITHER DID THEIR OWN ARM SAVE THEM; BUT THY RIGHT HAND, AND THINE ARM, AND THE LIGHT OF THY COUNTENANCE, BECAUSE THOU HADST A FAVOR UNTO THEM.

Just two hundred and twenty-four years ago this day, a ship's company, consisting of about one hundred persons, landed upon these shores, then inhabited only by wandering savages, and commenced the first permanent, civilized settlement in this part of the world. They were soon followed by other and larger companies of similar character, driven from their native country by the same causes, and having in view the same great object. These colonists, among whom the names of Bradford, Winslow, Brewster, Carver, Winthrop, Endicot, Cotton and Shepard, appear conspicuous, were the political and religious fathers of New England.

It is natural that we, who have entered into their labors, and enjoy the fruits of their toil and self-denial, should wish to know something respecting their character, and to understand the great object
of their sacrifices. Nay, it is the solemn duty of all who call themselves by the name of Puritan, to study the history of their fathers with an enlightened zeal. It has been too much the fashion in New England, to represent the Pilgrims in a contemptible or ridiculous light, and to speak of our institutions, both religious and political, as accidental results of ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism. But this is as ungrateful as it is absurd. We ought to know better; and the time is not far distant when public opinion and feeling will be greatly changed in relation to those men. As new dangers threaten our beloved New England, and principles and practices subversive of our privileges are openly advocated and embraced, we shall instinctively turn to the wisdom of the past, and examine with increasing interest the grounds upon which our liberties and hopes rest; and all sober, intelligent and thoughtful men, whatever may be their religious opinions or ecclesiastical relations, will see in the Pilgrims, not greedy adventurers nor bewildered fanatics, but men chosen of God, and wonderfully fitted both intellectually and morally for the arduous work of laying the foundation of a great, free, and powerful commonwealth,—men who deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance, and honored at each returning anniversary by the praises of a grateful posterity.

It will not be unsuitable or unprofitable for us to dwell for a few moments this morning upon the character, and principles of those from whom we have received this fair inheritance; not merely for the sake of celebrating the praises of men, however good or great, but of commemorating the work which
God wrought in their days, and by their agency, and of awakening our gratitude to Him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift.

Our Pilgrim Fathers were Englishmen, and members, originally, of the church of England. They separated from the church in which they were born and educated, abandoned their pleasant homes, and came to this wilderness, not merely to escape from the oppression to which they were subject on account of non-conformity to the requirements of a religious system which they believed to be inconsistent with the purity, freedom, and simplicity of the Gospel; but to erect the tabernacle of God among the heathen, according to the pattern shown them in the mount; to build around the altar and church of God a religious commonwealth which should be governed, not by the blind and capricious will of man, but by the law of Christ; and to propagate the Gospel among the aborigines of this continent, which had never before been visited by the day-spring from on high. Let them be the expositors of their own principles and designs. "We are thankfully to acknowledge," says Gov. Bradford, "the great work of God in the reformation made in our dear native land; in which the tyranny and power of the pope was cast off, and the purity of doctrine in the chief foundations of religion restored: and though she fell short, in some things, of other reformed churches, especially in government, yet not in the truth and power of godliness, but rather to exceed these in such as the Lord raised up and enlightened among them. But herein was the great defect, that this lordly hierarchy was con-
tinued after the pope was cut off, in the same callings
and offices, and ruled (in a manner) by the same laws,
and had the same power and jurisdiction over the
whole nation, without any distinction; all being com-
pelled, as members of this national church, to submit
to the form of worship established, and this govern-
ment set over them far differing from the liberty of the
Gospel and the practice of other reformed churches,
who admitted only such into the church, and to par-
take of the holy things, as manifested repentance,
and made public confession of their faith, according
to the Scriptures; and had such a ministry set over
them as themselves liked and approved of.*

This, not only our fathers, but many in the church,
as Ridley, a bishop and a martyr, complained of.
And "finding the pious ministers urged with subscrip-
tion, or silenced, and the people greatly vexed with
the commissary courts, apparitors and pursuivants,
which they bare sundry years with much patience,
till they were led by the continuance and increase
of these troubles and other means, to search and
see further into these things through the light of
God's word;—how that not only the ceremonies
were unlawful, but also the lordly and tyrannical
power of the prelates, who contrary to the freedom
of the Gospel would load the consciences of men, and
by their compulsive power make a profane mixture
of divine worship;—that their offices, courts and
canons, were unlawful, being such as have no war-
rant in the word of God, but were the same which
were used in popery and still retained. Upon which

these people shake off this yoke of antichristian bond-age, and, as the Lord's free people, join themselves by covenant into a church state, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavors, whatever it might cost them."*

But their design, as has been said, was not merely to find a spot where they and their posterity might enjoy freedom from what they considered ecclesiastical tyranny; they desired to extend the boundaries of Zion; to make Christ known to the heathen; and to impart to the natives of this country the blessings of a pure Christianity in exchange for the asylum which they sought for themselves. To use their own language, "They hoped the honor of God, of their king and country would be advanced by this settlement without injury to the native inhabitants: they intended to take nothing but what the Indians were willing to dispose of; not to interfere with them except for the maintenance of peace among them, and the propagation of Christianity."

This noble design they attempted to realize by planting congregationalism, which was at once church and state,—a Christian commonwealth,—a church exercising so much temporal power as was necessary to its preservation and perpetuity,—and a state modeled upon the idea, and deriving all its vitality and all its sanctions from the spiritual life of the church. If they erred in thus uniting, or rather identifying the church and state, their descendants and successors have corrected their mistake by separating

these two things widely enough. But the church which they here planted, and the political organization which they framed in accordance with their religious ideas, both survive the lapse of time and the changes of the world, and make us acquainted with their view of a free commonwealth, and a truly spiritual church.

Of their political work I do not intend to speak. Respecting the ecclesiastical system which they adopted, a few words will suffice. Congregationalism, — the Congregationalism of our fathers, I mean, — rests professedly, not partly upon the Bible and partly upon the devices of men, like the angel of the apocalypse, who stood with one foot upon the land and the other upon the sea, but directly and solely upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. It recognizes the Redeemer, who gave himself that he might sanctify and cleanse the church by his own blood, and that he might present it unto himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, as the only head, and source of all authority. It calls the ministers of Christ brethren, and forbids them in the name of him who is the master of us all, to claim any authority or official preeminence over each other. It secures to the churches the right to elect those who are to rule over them in the Lord; to maintain their own discipline and order; and to seek their own edification and religious welfare in the way pointed out by the word of God. It elevates the Bible above the wisdom of man, and makes all the members, from the least to the greatest, amenable to one tribunal, and responsible to one Lawgiver. It aims to give free
scope to individual piety, without encouraging pride of gifts, and calls into exercise the talents of all for the promotion of the common cause. It guarantees the right of private judgment in matters pertaining to the soul's salvation, — encouraging men to think freely, to act conscientiously, to search the Scriptures carefully, — and sets no limit to the development of Christian character. It presents a plain, scriptural Creed, which all who truly believe the Bible, and look to Christ alone for redemption, can assent to, and a form of government and of worship at once simple, conformable to the spirit of the Gospel, and obviously conducive to personal freedom, edification, and spiritual enjoyment.* It exalts the spiritual above the formal, without denying the use of decent forms; inward worship above external rites; obedience to the law of Christ above conformity to man's devices; and God's truth above all the learning and philosophy of the world. It preaches to all men repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as an atoning Saviour, as the great conditions of eternal life; and when it has secured these, it exhorts its converts to worship and serve God according to the dictates of a conscience purged from dead works, and enlightened by the Holy Ghost. It has ever been a powerful ally of civil freedom, intelligence, general education, and true progress. It has infused something of its free spirit into denominations that reject its doctrines, and condemn its order; and those who would limit its influence are often warmed and animated by its fire. It is the

* See Cambridge Platform, 1648, and Confession of faith, 1680.
nursing queen of missions; and in the name of her divine Lord, calls upon all her children to aid in preaching the Gospel to every creature.

Such, briefly, is the ecclesiastical system which the Pilgrims came to this wilderness to establish. And by the grace of God they accomplished their purpose. The congregational churches, founded by the Fathers, have been the glory of the land, the best expositors of religious rights and duties, and the gate of heaven to innumerable heavy laden sinners. And if the time shall ever come when Congregationalism shall be deprived of its strength, and driven from its place among the institutions of our country, a great light will be extinguished, and even those most hostile to it will have reason to mourn.

What, then, was the moral, and religious character of those who conceived and executed a design so vast and so beneficial? None who read the early history of New England can fail to see that the Pilgrim Fathers were extraordinary men; that, viewed as the founders of a church and state, every thing about them bore the stamp of greatness; that they had an energy, boldness, decision, steadfastness of purpose, and clearness of vision, which place them among the world's greatest men and best benefactors.

But the most prominent and shining characteristic of those men was a deep, pure, and vigorous piety. They were eminently holy men. They walked by faith, and not by sight; and under the severest labor, the most disheartening trials, the most cruel sufferings, endured as seeing him who is invisible. They reposed unwavering confidence in God and in the cause which they had espoused. Amidst all the
hardships to which they were continually exposed, — the terrors of famine, the rigor of a New England winter without comfortable dwellings, the wasting sickness which once threatened the very existence of the infant colony, the unprecedented labors and discouragements which they encountered at every step, — they never desponded, and never murmured. They never expressed regret that they had undertaken to rear the tabernacle of God among the savages of the wilderness, nor breathed a wish, like the Israelites of old, to go back to the country from whence they came out. "We are well weaned," said they, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. We are knit together in a strict sacred bond, to take care of the good of each other and of the whole. It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." They never doubted that the cause they had undertaken, would prosper in the end, or that God would glorify himself by the permanent establishment of Christianity in this new world. When they were brought apparently to the brink of destruction, and nothing appeared to the eye of sense but a speedy annihilation of all their hopes; when He in whom they had trusted, and for whose glory they had made these immense sacrifices, seemed to frown upon their enterprise, and to disown both them and their work; they never rebelled against his providence, nor questioned his love. Oppressed, afflicted, cast out from the world's favor and protection, forsaken of man, and apparently of God also for a season, shut in by the merciless sea, and the savage
wilderness, they prayed and sang as aforetime; and in their deepest distress exclaimed with the clear vision and earnest faith of the Prophet, "Although the figtree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy in the God of our salvation." Truly we may say of them as the apostle speaks of the elders and persecuted saints of old, of whom the world was not worthy, that theirs was a faith which subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, and quenched the violence of fire.

The great end of all their labor and sacrifices, was not, as we have seen, personal aggrandisement, but the glory of God. The settlement of New England was designed to secure a place where they and their children might live according to the divine commandments, and where they might be instrumental in extending the knowledge of salvation. This is evident from all that they did. Their government, laws, literary institutions, even the soil from which they gained their daily bread, were consecrated to Christ and the Church. Pure and undefiled religion was all in all with them. For this they went out, like Abraham, from their father's house, not knowing whither they went; for this they cheerfully endured all the privations and hardships of the wilderness; for this they sacrificed every thing dear to them in this life; for this they labored, and were at any moment ready to die.

They reverenced the Bible. Probably there never
was a community of professing Christians who bowed with such profound, cheerful, and enlightened submission to the revealed will of God. Their faith in its doctrines was mingled with no doubt or misgiving. Their obedience to its requirements was checked by no fear of consequences. They loved to meditate upon its doctrines and promises. It was infinitely more dear to them than any earthly good. In their wanderings it was their cloud by day and pillar of fire by night. In their afflictions it was their comforter. Its light shone like the shekinah in their temples. Their laws were framed upon its legislation. Its spirit hallowed their affections and their motives. Its wisdom prompted and sanctioned all their works. They left it as the most precious legacy to their children. And to their constant, prayerful, and systematic study of the divine oracles we must ascribe that clear sightedness, that profound wisdom, that lofty patriotism, and that perseverance in well doing, which so preeminently distinguished them.

They regarded the Sabbath as a divine Institution. One reason assigned by the Plymouth colony for their leaving Holland, where they had been kindly received, and where they might have remained, was, we are told, that their children might not be led to adopt the lax notions which prevailed there, even among Christians, in regard to the keeping of the Sabbath. They commenced their great work in this country with the deep conviction that the religion, the morals, and the temporal prosperity of the commonwealth were intimately connected with the right observance of this day. They declared in their laws that the violation of the fourth commandment by a community tends to
the dishonor of God, and to the reproach of religion, renders divine ordinances unprofitable, destroys the power of godliness, is the source of all profaneness and irreligion, and brings down the judgments of God upon the land. And their practice was consistent with their principles. They remembered the Sabbath day to keep it holy. They did every thing in their power to secure a strict observance of it by their children and the population in general. They required by law that the Sabbath should be kept, outwardly at least, by abstinence from all servile labor, unnecessary travelling, and vain recreation; and that all persons should attend public worship on the Lord's day, unless prevented by some reasonable cause. *

For this they have been blamed by some in modern times. A generation has come upon the stage who are disposed to undo all that the Fathers did upon this subject. For many years there has been a growing disregard of the Sabbath. Business and pleasure are allowed to disturb its quiet, to the scandal of religion, and the grief of all Christians. And to fill up the measure of our folly, conventions are held, and newspapers established, and lecturers employed to convince the community that the fourth commandment was never binding upon us, and that to follow the example of the Pilgrims is absurd and oppressive. I wonder what they would have thought of such a meeting as was held not a great while ago in the city of Boston, with reference to the claims of this sacred day. In their gloomiest moments, I am sure, they never dreamed that men claiming this as their native

* General Laws, pp. 132, 133.
land, and calling themselves Christian reformers, would endeavor to destroy an institution which they deemed so essential to our temporal as well as spiritual prosperity. What say you, my hearers, were the Fathers right or wrong upon this subject? Shall we follow their example, or join with those who would blot out the Sabbath, and destroy all the privileges and blessings connected with it.

They highly valued the ordinances of the gospel. They landed upon these shores as a church of Christ; and their main object was to enjoy without molestation the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments, according to their understanding of the Divine will. And as they prosecuted their design of founding here a religious commonwealth, they adopted it as a principle, never to commence a settlement without a pastor to preach the Gospel, and to break unto them the bread of life. One of their first works, after fixing upon the site of a town, was to build a house for the worship of God. Poor and feeble as they were, they seem never to have been too poor or too feeble to find out a place for the Lord,—a habitation for the mighty God of Jacob. The towns in New England, generally, for more than a hundred years after the landing of the Pilgrims, did not average over forty families when they built their first house of worship, and began to enjoy the stated ministrations of the Gospel: and there are accounts of "raisings," as they are termed, where all the inhabitants of the town could sit together upon the sills of the house. How deeply must they have loved the sanctuary to be inclined to make such efforts and sac-
rifices, as in their weakness and poverty they must have done, in order to enjoy its privileges.

They were men of much prayer, and communion with God. The greatness of their work and of their trials taught them the value of a throne of grace; and they gathered about it, not to perform a ceremony, or to fulfil a duty, but to ask for the strength they needed in their perils and their sufferings. Perhaps there never was a people who sought so constantly, so fervently, so perseveringly, the Divine blessing upon their work. They undertook nothing either of a public or private nature without solemn prayer. They baptized their whole life with the spirit of supplication. It was this that imparted fortitude and courage to their hearts. It was this that bore them triumphantly through their hardships. It was this that gave to their religious character that firmness and transparency which rendered it so remarkable. It was this that crowned their work with success. We may safely say that no company of prayerless men, ever exhibited the character, or performed the works, or enjoyed the Divine peace, that distinguished our Fathers.

They were men of profound wisdom, prudence, and foresight. Many are accustomed to speak of the Pilgrims as people, whose views were bounded by a thorny and unintelligible creed, and whose affections were confined within the limits of a small and peculiar sect. Piety was, doubtless, their most prominent and beautiful characteristic; and they labored with singular devotion for the prosperity of the church, and the diffusion of their religious views. But they were not merely pious and narrow-minded theologians.
Many of them were great men, even in the sense in which that phrase is used by the world. They possessed all the elements of a sublime and illustrious character. They were men of highly cultivated minds. They had much knowledge of the world. Their plans were conceived and executed with great wisdom and prudence. They were far in advance of their age in sound political knowledge. They were public spirited men; who lived not to themselves, but for a remote posterity. England at that time had not many better men, and it would be a grievous wrong to their memory to compare them with the founders of Greece or Rome. That we do not estimate their intellectual character extravagantly, is evident from their works, — from what they accomplished. They have left their image and superscription upon all that we see around us. Here is a desert turned into a fruitful field. Here are institutions, religious, political, and literary, which are adapted to secure and perpetuate the most precious rights of man; — institutions, which, with the light and experience of two centuries we have not changed materially, except for the worse. When did feeble and narrow-minded men ever conceive and execute a work like this? “Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Wherefore by their fruits we may know them.”

That the Pilgrim Fathers understood the importance of general education in relation to the virtue, freedom, and happiness of society, is evident from their early and unwearied efforts to diffuse among the people a sound and healthful literature. The schoolmaster held, in their estimation, a place next the gospel minister; and the school-house, in their settlements, rose
fast by the house of God. To them we owe that system of common school education which extends the benefits of knowledge to all classes, and to every man's door. And as soon as they had provided themselves with dwellings for their families, and erected convenient places for God's worship, while yet poor, and suffering the want of even the common necessaries of life, they founded a High School, which soon became a flourishing College, for the advancement of learning, and the thorough education of their posterity; believing that it greatly concerned the welfare of the country that its youth should be acquainted with good literature, and dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when their first pastors were in the dust.*

There was one element in the educational system of the Puritans which distinguished it, and which we must not pass over without remark, and that was religion. Believing that it is "one chief object of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures," and that it was necessary to the safety of the people that youth should be educated in sound doctrine, as well as in good learning, they took care that all the children of the commonwealth should be taught to read and understand the Bible. They had but little confidence in knowledge without piety; and they sought to perpetuate the privileges and blessings they had suffered so much to secure, by imbuing the minds of their children with the doctrines of the Gospel.

It was with these views and feelings that they caused the Bible and the Catechism to be taught diligently in the college; and required that all instructors of youth

* New England's First Fruits, 1643.
should be sound in the faith, as well as unexceptionable in their morals.* Their deep interest and confidence in catechetical instruction was remarkable, even in an age when that mode of communicating religious truth was far more common than it is now. Every minister was expected to catechize all the children in his congregation frequently, and all parents were required to see that their children were prepared for that exercise. The selectmen of the several towns, also, were required to see that all heads of families catechized their children and domestics in the grounds and principles of religion at least once a week; and if any were unable to do this, they were to cause such children and domestics to learn some short orthodox catechism by heart, that they might be prepared to answer the questions that should be put to them out of the book by their parents, or by the selectmen themselves.†

It is to be greatly lamented that catechetical instruction, which our Fathers felt to be so important in the religious education of the youth of New England, should be so generally laid aside as it is at the present day. To this is unquestionably to be attributed much of the ignorance, error, and instability which has for a long season been so deplorably manifest among us. Nor will these evils be removed or diminished until this practice is revived, and attended to with as much faithfulness, diligence, and prayer, both in families and in the church, as in the days of the Puritans. It may be replied that we have the Sabbath school, which our Fathers had not. But Sabbath schools, beneficial as they are, should never be permitted to interfere with

parental or ministerial responsibility to the young; nor be regarded as a substitute for thorough doctrinal and catechetical instruction at home. There is need of both, and they should go hand in hand in the great work of training up the rising generation in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Such was the character of those men who turned the wastes of New England into fruitful fields, and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose.

But it is said they had their errors. It is even so. To err is human. No one will maintain that they never believed anything that was not true, nor did anything that had better not have been done. But in what period of the world, in what nation, shall we find a company of men to whom was committed so great a work, or who have executed the task assigned them, whatever it was, so nobly and so successfully? What were their errors? They were intolerant bigots, says one. They were bloody persecutors, says another.

The charge of bigotry is often brought against the Fathers of New England, by those, who of all men have the least right to say anything upon that subject. The words of the Saviour to those who clamored for judgment upon the woman taken in adultery, “Let him that is without this sin among you cast the first stone at her,” contain an admonition which these swift witnesses against the Puritans would do well to lay to heart. Moreover we may insist upon the evidence that the Fathers of New England were bigoted at all. What is bigotry? Bigotry has been defined to be a blind partiality for a particular sect, combined with hatred of all who differ from us. If this
definition be correct, the Pilgrims were no bigots. They were Calvinists indeed; and that they loved their own church with an affection stronger than death, is evident from the hardships they endured, and the personal sacrifices they made to plant it, and to sustain it in this country. But their attachment was not blind or foolish. They knew by experience the value of what they loved, and felt that the most intense affection is cold in comparison with that love wherewith they were loved by Him who died for them.

Nor did they hate any man or sect for differing from them in opinion or practice. When the Massachusetts company were about to sail from Yarmouth, they addressed a letter to the Christians of England which exhibits a most kind, liberal, benevolent, and Christian spirit. "We esteem it an honor," said they, "to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears. You are not ignorant that the Spirit of God stirred up the heart of the apostle Paul to make continual mention of Philippi, which was a colony of Rome. Let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind to pray for us without ceasing, who are weak colony from yourselves, making request for us to God in your prayers. And so far as God shall enable us, we will give Him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befal
us." What language to use towards a church from which they had received such hard measure! If they could have hated any denomination of Christians, it would have been the Church of England. But fleeing as they were from fines and imprisonment to a waste howling wilderness, they pour out their prayers and tears for that Mother, who seemed to have closed her heart against some of the worthiest of her children, and made their lives bitter with hard bondage. Even Cotton Mather, who has been thought the straitest and most exclusive of his sect, says that the New England churches, though they were "shy of using any thing in the worship of God, for which they could not see a warrant in the Bible, yet swallowed up the names of Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Anti-pædo Baptist, in that of Christian; persons of all those persuasions being taken into fellowship, when visible godliness recommended them." * When did bigotry ever use language like this? What denomination of Christians will now reciprocate this charitable judgment which went forth from the heart of Congregationalism, and which every true son of the Pilgrims is now ready to subscribe with his own hand?

The other charge referred to is more serious. They fled from persecution, it is said, and as soon as they obtained power, they became the merciless persecutors of all who could not agree with them in opinion and practice.

This has been repeated so often, so confidently, and with such a plausible reference to time, place, and

* Enchantments Encountered, p. 10.
persons, that to many it seems like an incontrovertible
fact; and any attempt to vindicate those much injured
men, may be regarded as indicating great ignorance of
their characters, or disregard of historical truth. To us,
however, this is not clear. After a somewhat careful
examination of the history of those troublous times
which tried the faith, and patience, and principles of
our Fathers, we are unable to find satisfactory evidence
that they were ever guilty of persecuting any man, or
body of men, on account of their religious opinions.
That it was their first great object to establish a church
and commonwealth upon principles, which were re-
garded by many as exclusive; that they adopted a
discipline which was felt by dissenters from their doc­
trines to be severe; that they guarded the infant
church, which was of all things in this world dearest to
their hearts, and which they perilled all their hopes on
earth to plant firmly upon this soil, with a jealousy
very inconvenient to those who hated it; and that they
were at times severe in the punishment of those who
intentionally violated the religious or civil order of the
country, no one will deny. But that they were perse­
cutors of good men, in the proper sense of that word,
cannot be shown from the undisputed record of their
public acts; and even the jealousy of dissent, and
severity of discipline which are complained of, find an
ample apology in the circumstances under which they
were obliged to act.

What is persecution? There is much vagueness
and confusion of thought in the public mind in rela-
tion to this question; and every man who suffers in
mind, body, or estate, from the doings of church or
commonwealth, is called a martyr by the multitude, who do not discriminate between the sentence of a wise and necessary law, and an act of wanton cruelty. We may learn what persecution is from the consolation which the Saviour administers to those who are objects of it. "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake." This passage requires us, in all cases, to examine the character and acts of those who suffer, as well as of those against whom the charge of persecution is brought.

The persecutor is a man who hates truth, and good men; who uses his power to harass and distress those who seek only to enjoy inalienable rights, and to do the work which God has assigned them; who endeavors by fines, imprisonment, and death, to suppress the doctrines of the Gospel, and to destroy the liberty with which Christ has made men free. Every act of undue severity, or even injustice, is not persecution. To imprison or hang a man for violating the laws of the state; to excommunicate a heretic from the church; to expel a disturber of the peace from the society which he would subvert,—is not to persecute him. It is an old and sound remark, that it is not the kind or degree of suffering which a man may endure, but the cause which makes a martyr. Men complain that they are objects of relentless persecution, because they are not permitted to promulgate by the tongue and pen any doctrines which they have adopted, or are involved in difficulties
by the violation of the fundamental principles of
the government under which they live: as if every
opinion of theirs is an eternal truth which all
men are bound to reverence, and every action
the result of a pure conscience, which it would
be a sin against God and humanity to discount-
enance. But the Saviour promises a blessing only
upon those who suffer for righteousness' sake. It
is not a man's own opinion, but Christ's truth,
that is the proper object of persecution. Men can-
not be martyrs, except as witnesses for God and
his cause.

They must also be good men. "Blessed are ye,"
says the Saviour, "when men shall revile you, and
persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you
falsely." A man must not give occasion for any one
to speak evil of him. "If a man suffer as a Christian,"
says the apostle, "let him not be ashamed. But let
none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as a
busy-body in other men's matters: for what glory is it, if
when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it pa-
tiently?"* "Having your conversation honest
among the Gentiles, and having a good conscience, that whereas
they speak evil of you, as evil doers, they may be
ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in
Christ."† If, then, a man professing to be a Christian,
acts inconsistently with his profession; if he does not
submit to the law of Christ; if he exhibits the spirit of
Cain or of Korah, and receives a just recompense
for the wrong that he has done, we are not to
consider him a martyr, nor feel much compassion

* 1 Peter, iv. 15, 16.  † 1 Peter, ii. 12.
for his sufferings. The act by which he suffers is not persecution, but punishment. It falls not upon righteousness and truth, but upon crime, which the law ought to punish wherever it appears. We should not regard the clamor of such sufferers. Shall men of perverse minds be permitted to plead their religion as an excuse for their evil deeds, and when they suffer as wrong-doers, to complain that they are persecuted? Shall the wolf in sheep's clothing be looked upon as a martyr, because he is driven by force from the fold, or has an iron collar placed about his neck?

It is well also to examine the temper manifested by those who complain that they are persecuted. Our Saviour points out the graces by which his martyrs are adorned; a heavenly wisdom which is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy; a divine patience that complains to none but God; a holy courage that fears nothing but sin; a pure zeal that burns like the fire kindled from heaven upon the altar of sacrifice; above all, a charity that thinketh no evil, that rejoiceth not in iniquity but in the truth, that will pity, and forgive, and bless, and pray for the guilty persecutor, and will not fail even at the stake or upon the cross. With such a temper the blood of the martyr becomes the seed of the church.

Now let us judge our Fathers and their acts of alleged persecution, by these plain Gospel principles. When it is said that they fled from persecution, and as soon as they obtained power, began to persecute all who differed from them in opinion, we should ask
ourselves again, who our Fathers were,—what was their position,—what were the circumstances in which they were called to act,—and who were the objects of their severity.

The Pilgrim Fathers were not, as we have seen, or may easily learn, haters of truth, or of good men. They were not revilers of those who endeavored to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. They were not enemies of that kingdom of righteousness and peace which Christ came to establish in this world. On the contrary, they were men who feared God,—who submitted with child-like docility to the Law of Christ,—who loved the cause of religion more than father, or mother, or country,—who rejoiced in all the successes of the church,—who blessed God for the partial reformation of the body from which they were at last compelled to separate,—who longed and prayed for the coming of Christ's kingdom in power,—and who could say respecting Zion and her sons, as David said of Jerusalem, "If I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth: if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." How could such men harbor the spirit of persecution, or use their power to crush and destroy any faithful servant of Jesus Christ?

They came to this country, as I have said, in order to organize a religious community, according to what they believed the Law of Christ sanctioned and required; to worship God in the forms which they judged most conducive to religious enjoyment and spiritual edification; to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to spread
a pure gospel among the benighted tribes that roamed through these forests. In order to realize their object, they abandoned the soil which gave them birth. They left Christendom to build the church of God in its own way. They chose a spot for their purpose, far from the civilized world,—a spot to which no nation could lay a higher claim than their own, founded as it was upon prior occupancy, and actual purchase of the wild tribes that sometimes used it for hunting. They invaded nobody's rights; "they got not the land in possession by their sword," but in a manner that all the world must pronounce just. And they asked of their fellow-men nothing but to be allowed the privilege of carrying out their own principles upon their own soil, and of regulating the affairs of their church and state, according to their views of truth and duty.

And with what spirit and temper did they proceed to execute their great design? First of all, their charter declared expressly, that there should always be liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Then they declared that all the people of God who were orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in life, should have full liberty to gather themselves into a church estate, provided they did it in a Christian way, observing the rules of Christ revealed in his word, and with the approbation of the magistrates, and of the elders of the neighboring churches; and that every church should freely enjoy all the ordinances of God, according to the rules of the Gospel. And, finally, they announced to the world, that all strangers professing the Christian religion, who should flee to this colony from the tyranny of their oppressors, should be succored accord-
ing to their utmost ability.* These provisions, all must allow, were as liberal as the condition and objects of the colony could possibly permit.

It is true that while they professed to maintain the inviolability of conscience in matters of religion, they regarded those who obstinately promulgated doctrines subversive of the Christian faith, destructive to the souls of men, and dangerous to society, as enemies of the commonwealth; and therefore they passed laws designed to restrain or punish such persons.† They were willing that all persons within their jurisdiction, whether inhabitants or strangers, should enjoy the same law and justice that was general for their colony, in all cases proper to their cognizance, without partiality or delay; ‡ but at the same time they ordered that all who endeavored to destroy or disturb the peace of the churches here established, by openly renouncing or reviling their church estate, or their ministry, or any ordinance dispensed in them, should be punished with fine, imprisonment, or banishment, according to the exigences of the case.||

Under such laws, which they not only had a perfect right to enact, but which were obviously required by the condition of the colony, a few persons who came into the country with no respect for the government, or good-will toward the churches, might have suffered some inconvenience. When they felt themselves bound to oppose publicly the religious order here established, and to disobey the laws of the state, they were compelled to endure the privation of accustomed privileges, or to withdraw from

the jurisdiction; which they always had perfect liberty to do. Those members of the church of England who had found their way to the colony, were not allowed to observe publicly the forms of that church; and Thomas Lechford, who thanked God that he "understood by experience, that there is no such government for Englishmen, or any nation, as a monarchy; nor for Christians, as by a lawful ministry under godly diocesan bishops, deducing their station and calling from Christ and his apostles, in descent or succession," complained that he suffered much by reason of not being able to agree to the discipline here established; being "kept from the sacrament, and all place of preferment in the commonwealth, and forced to get a living by writing petty things, which scarce found him bread."*

The Baptists, also, were doubtless subject to inconveniences which must have been somewhat galling. When a Baptist church was gathered in opposition to a law of the colony above referred to, the members were summoned before the magistrates, and forbidden to proceed; but refusing to obey the law, and persevering in their purpose to organize themselves into a church, some of them were imprisoned for contempt, and some were ordered to depart from the colony.† But this act, it will be observed, however harsh it may seem, had no relation to their opinions upon the subject of baptism, but to their actual violation of the laws. The condition of Baptists, as well as of Episcopalians, was, no doubt, unpleasant, under a government so thoroughly

congregational; but we hear of nothing like the persecution of them merely on account of their religious opinions. That the government had a legal right by their charter to establish a church polity which they deemed conformable to the word of God; to forbid forms of worship which they judged to be unscriptural; and to insist that if churches were gathered here, they should be organized in accordance with the ecclesiastical system which they had adopted amidst so many trials and hardships, no one can doubt. It might have been injudicious; it might have been contrary to sound policy; but it was not persecution. The error of our Fathers, if they were in error upon this point, consisted, says Bradford, in assuming that they had at last discovered the true meaning of revelation, and that it was their duty to allow no deviations from it.* But the historian himself, while he condemns their strict discipline and government in some cases, and their severity towards those who would not conform to their usages, admits that the toleration pleaded for would have been fatal to the design which they had in view. They came to America, he says, under great privations, after long persecutions, to enjoy their own forms of worship, which they believed to be in accordance with the word of God. And had they not been select in receiving new comers, and in rejecting the turbulent and schismatic, their object would have been entirely defeated, and the colony probably broken up.† So that the great question is, whether the end they had in view in coming to this country, was of importance enough to the church and to the world,

* Bradford's History of Massachusetts. p. 50. † Ibid. p. 33.
to be secured by laws which subjected a few dissenters to such privations as have been complained of. Who will say that the unlimited toleration demanded, subversive as it must have been of the great object of our Fathers, would have been better than the New England which they left us as an inheritance?

But there are cases of greater alleged oppression and persecution, which are often referred to as evidence that the Puritans cherished a bitter and relentless hostility against all who differed from them in opinion. I allude to the banishment of Roger Williams; the imprisonment, banishment, and capital punishment of the Quakers; the dispersion of the company at Mount Wollaston; and the punishment of some others, respecting which I wish to say a few words. I do not refer to the "trial of the witches," because that melancholy excitement does not properly belong to this place.

Of Roger Williams I desire to speak with all suitable respect. He came to Massachusetts a congregational minister of no mean standing, and by his talents and learning soon acquired considerable influence among the people. That he was a lover of freedom, and capable of great usefulness in church and state, will not be denied. It was doubtless very grievous to him that he was obliged to leave the colony at all, especially in the dead of winter, though he was furnished with money, it is said, from Governor Winthrop's purse to defray the expenses of his journey. But it is proper to remark that he was regarded, even by his best friends, as "an eccentric man," greatly "wanting in prudence and stability of character," "very precipitate and passionate," and easily carried
away by "extravagant theories." He professed, in later life, to be a Baptist; but he was not banished for being a Baptist. His opinions in relation to the mode or subjects of baptism, had no influence whatever in drawing down upon him the indignation of the government. He was required to leave the colony because he was a disturber of the public peace, and dangerous to the well-being of the church.

In what way he became obnoxious to the charge of being an enemy of the commonwealth, whom it was necessary to get rid of, will appear by a brief reference to some of the dangerous doctrines which he promulgated in spite of all the kind and friendly efforts which were made to persuade him to desist. He violently opposed the whole civil and ecclesiastical order which he found established here. He denied the validity of the government's title to the soil founded on the royal charter; and, although every foot of land, occupied by the people, had been actually purchased and paid for, maintained that the Indians were the only true proprietors of the country. He denied the right of the civil authority to make laws for the punishment of any breach of the fourth commandment which did not disturb the public peace. He maintained that it was unlawful to administer an oath to an unregenerate man; and that it was wrong even to pray with unconverted people, though they were wife and children. He wrote letters to the churches complaining bitterly of the injustice and oppression of the magistrates, the direct tendency of which was to excite disaffection among the people against the government. He advised his own church at Salem to renounce communion with all the church-
es in the colony, as full of antichrist and corruption. He condemned all who would not join with him in anathematizing the church of England. And in the expression and maintenance of his opinions, he was violent, denunciatory, and abusive. With all his good qualities, he was, by his position, learning, and talents, a dangerous subject of the new government, and a destroyer of the peace of the infant churches: and as it was impossible to convince, satisfy, or reclaim him, he was required to depart out of the jurisdiction as the only means of restoring quiet; a sentence, which, considering the provocation he gave, was remarkably lenient and mild.*

The treatment of the Quakers has often been represented as unreasonable, and unmercifully severe. But who were the Quakers, that their sufferings should awaken a sympathy which cannot be aroused by the afflictions of the Puritans? It cannot be pretended that they suffered for righteousness' sake; for no one who reads their history can discover any religion at all either in their creed or their temper. Unlike the Friends of the present day, they were fanatics of the wildest and most dangerous character, who came to this country for the express purpose of overthrowing, if possible, the existing government. They outrageously reviled both ministers and magistrates; and denounced the judgments of God upon the people if they did not oppose and resist their rulers. They grossly violated the laws of decency and decorum as well as of the state, sometimes rushing into churches on the Sabbath, in a state of

* See Winthrop's Journal, pp. 84, 88.
shameful nudity, and making outcries which were as blasphemous as they were exciting.

Knowing the mischief they had done in England, the Court passed a law that no Quaker should be landed from any ship, or harbored by any person in the colony. But this not being sufficient to prevent them from swarming like "rogues and vagabonds," into the country, other laws were enacted subjecting them to whipping, branding, imprisonment, and banishment. Even these severe modes of punishment were found insufficient to abate the nuisance; and at length a law was made, subjecting any Quaker, who should return to the colony after having been four times convicted and sent away, to the punishment of death.* Under this law, four, I believe, were sentenced to be hung. One was reprieved upon condition of departing out of the colony. Another refused to save his life in this way, though earnestly exhorted to do so, choosing rather to die, than to submit to the authority of the government, which he had done so much to disturb. Several others were punished less severely; but all who are now held up as martyrs, suffered as evil doers of the most incorrigible character, whom it would have been madness to permit to go at large among the people. If we should think their punishment too severe, we cannot call it persecution without an unpardonable abuse of language.

Indeed, when we consider the ungovernable malignity, the blasphemous doctrines, and the rebellious conduct of those fanatics, in connexion with the weakness of the colony at that early period, we can hardly say that their punishment was too severe. The Government

* General Laws, p, 60, 71, 62, 63.
was evidently disposed, as they themselves declare, to use as much lenity as was consistent with their safety; and resorted to extreme measures only when they found that mild ones were unavailing.* Even now, when we boast that every man is free to utter any opinions he pleases, there is a limit to the development of fanatacism and infidelity. Blasphemy is punished by our own courts with imprisonment; and all opinions, and practices which violate the peace of society, and become dangerous to the public morals, are suppressed by the strong arm of the law, without subjecting our government to the charge of persecution, except among rogues and vagabonds.

In regard to Gorton, and the "nest of revellers" at Mount Wollaston, as Mr. Adams calls them, a word must suffice. They were the declared enemies of the colony. They had neither religion nor honesty. They neither feared God, nor regarded man. Their conduct was lawless, desperate, and utterly inconsistent with the public safety. They furnished the savages with weapons and "strong water," and endeavored to involve them in war with the whites. "Toleration in those cases, would have been self-murder." In the case of these men, and of many others who suffered under the government of the early Puritans, there was neither persecution, cruelty, nor injustice. They were not, like our Fathers, harassed for not doing what the state, according to the Law of Christ, had no right to require, but properly punished for doing what both law and gospel alike forbade. They suffered, not for their religious opinions, nor for their

* General Laws, p. 62.
obedience to Christ, but for wilful resistance to a govern­
ment founded upon the Bible; not for religion, but for rebellion; not for truth, but for treason. They resisted the ordinance of God, and received to them­
selves the damnation which they obstinately incurred.*

But I will vindicate the Puritans no farther. They had their faults, you say. Be it so. The sun has its spots, but nevertheless it fills the world with light. Our Fathers were men; but what men! In what country or age of the world can you find their superiors? In the language of an old writer, "God sifted three kingdoms to obtain wheat for the planting of New England." A divine blessing rested upon their habitations. They finished the work that was given them to do: and we may say with Nicodemus, that none could have done the things which they did, except God were with them. "May the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our Fathers." And that He may not leave us nor forsake us, let us cultivate the ardent and humble piety which characterized the Puritans. Let us enthrone the word of God in our hearts. Let us maintain the ordinances of the Gospel in their purity and simplicity. Let us cherish a spirit of prayer. Let us attend to the thorough religious education of our children. Let us remember that the work of preserving, if not as difficult, is as necessary as that of building up. Let us not forget that we are to transmit this inheritance to our posterity. Our Fathers, through faith and patience are now inheriting the promises. Soon we shall join the congregation of the

* Rom. xiii. 2.
dead, leaving to our children a land consecrated to Christ and the church. May we leave it with the assurance, that it has not been diminished in value in our hands. And may we rise at the last day with our Fathers, whose memory we honor, and whose faith we follow, to join with them, and with all who have come out of great tribulation, in ascribing blessing, and honour, and glory, and power unto Him who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever.
Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-five, 
By John Murphy, 
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Maryland.
Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Looking to the objects contemplated by this Society and its ability to attain them, and to the earnestness with which it has undertaken its office, I would venture to foretell that Maryland will find frequent occasion to applaud its labors, and to acknowledge much good service done in a good cause.

Its establishment is a timely and most appropriate tribute rendered by the City of Baltimore to the State. The munificence of our City will never find a more honorable object for its outlay, its intelligence a more dignified subject for its application, the patriotism of our City a more dutiful employment than that which is presented to its regard in the purpose and proceeding of this association. Baltimore indeed owed it to that community of which she is the social centre, to the intellectual accomplishment which dwells within her own halls, and owed, too, I think, to the name she bears—a name which has not yet been illustrated as fully as its historic value deserves—to set herself diligently to the task of exploring and preserving, as far as means exist, the past and present materials which belong to the long neglected history of Maryland.

We have now addressed ourselves to this task: taken the lead in it, as it was proper Baltimore should. For two years past this Society has very intelligently,
and not without some good fruits, pursued the intent of its organization. We mean to persevere; and we now invoke our townsmen to stand by us, to give us countenance and aid, substantial contribution, to help us to rear a monument which shall tell to our own people, to our sister cities in the Union, and to all the world, that in the cause of letters and the elegant arts—the truest witnesses of high civilization and refinement,—we fully understand and perform the obligation which our position has cast upon us. I think I do the citizens of Baltimore no more than justice when I express my conviction that, for the promoting of a purpose so commended to their approbation, appealing so directly to their proper pride in the adornment of this their own homestead, and, above all, so grateful to that sense of duty which finds its gratification in exalting the glory of our country, by making known the virtues of its ancestry—I think I do them no more than justice in believing that their co-operation, support and encouragement will be administered to the objects of this Society with that lavish hand and honorable good will which become the men of an enlightened City, whose estimate of liberal art and science keeps pace with its well-deserved prosperity.

Our State has most worthy and urgent motive to call upon her children that they do not suffer her story to perish. A good story it is, and an honest. Much of it is, to this day, untold: unfortunately, may never be told; the material is beyond our reach. Much is still within our reach, though fast dissolving into dust. This society has come into existence just in time to rescue some of the fragments of our youthful annals from irrecoverable oblivion; too late to save
the whole. Would that some earlier generation had conceived the happy thought of addressing itself to the same task, when full stores of the treasures of our young Antiquity might have been garnered into a magazine safe enough to deliver them unmutilated into our hands! Once secure upon the threshold of this age, so noted for its zeal of inquiry, its love of illustration, and for its multitudinous press, we might have promised these annals of the past a safe transmission to all posterity. Whatsoever relics may now come to us, we may hope to speed them towards that farthest futurity to which the ambition of history aspires: no jot diminished in what they bring to our hands,—enlarged rather, and made more veritable by careful collation and exposition.

This charge, then, these older, maturer days prefer against that unskilled, neglectful Former Time, which had not the wit to see, nor the heart to value the riches of our Maryland birth-day, and of its simple-minded days of infancy: this charge we make against that Former Time, that it suffered precious chronicles to moulder in damp and forgotten crypts, and not less precious legends to die with the brains that nursed them.

Let this arraignment of our thoughtless and scant Antiquity go to the heart of this present time, by way of exhortation to incite it to the labor still of redeeming what is not yet utterly gone.
The history of our American settlement has an interest of a different character from that of all other history. It is not the interest of narrative nor of personal fortune, in any great degree, nor of important or striking combinations of events. It is chiefly, almost exclusively, that which belongs to the study of the development of moral power, the contemplation of great results springing from obscure and apparently feeble causes. It shows us men deliberately planning the foundations of free government; men self-dependent, endowed with the energy of homely good sense, and educated to their task, if not by a wise experience in the arts of good government, at least by a painful knowledge of the evils which flow from the neglect of them; men springing from the lap of a high civilization, and called to their labor at a period when the mind of the nation to which they belonged was stirred by an extraordinary impulse to forward this achievement, and which was able to communicate the loftiest spirit to those who undertook it.

The annals of this settlement are generally clear and authentic. They are, in greater part, preserved in official State papers, or in memoirs scarcely less to be respected. The deeds of the actors are often written in full detail. There is little room for legendary exaggeration. The men who engaged to lead these enterprises were as brave, as wise, as capable as any builders of empire in any past time. More capable, more wise, we may say, than the founders of older dynasties,—being enlightened men of an enlightened age, taught in all that Christianity could teach,—and not less brave and hardy than the hardiest and bravest of antiquity.
Still their history supplies no great attraction by its incidents. It falls too much into the character of meagre individual memoir, has too little of that pomp of scenery, decoration, prestige, and grouping which charm in the history of the old nations of the world. The fortunes of a handful of adventurers tempting, for the first time, the vast desert of waters, and flying upon the wings of stormy winds to the unknown haven of an inhospitable coast, and finally planting a home in the wilderness, where no foot-print was seen that was not hostile, may furnish pictures for the painter's study, and warm the poet's fancy,—but they will be found to want the breadth, variety, and significance necessary to render them the most engaging theme for the historian. I confess I weary somewhat over these details of Indian strategy and cunning; these sad shifts to supply the wants of a ship's company seeking for food; these mutinies and miserable dis-sensions bred by meaner spirits incapable of enduring the griefs of their solitude; these stealthy ambuscades; these murders and treasons which make up so much of the staple of early colonial story. He must be gifted with a happy skill who, with such materials only, can weave a tale which shall make men fond of coming back to its perusal.

Nevertheless, there is a peculiar philosophical interest in the observation of this course of empire; an interest abiding more in the theme than in the particulars of its illustration. Amongst many speculations, we read in it the solution of a problem of high import:—What are the tendencies, longings, instincts of the human family, when committed to the destiny of a new world, and challenged to the task of constructing government:—especially what are these
instincts in some certain races of that family? Marvelously has that problem been solved over this wide Western Continent;—is now continually solving. Marvelously do we still go on demonstrating that problem, and are yet very far from the end of it. Survey that wide field, bounded north and south by Labrador and Terra del Fuego; and of all the millions that there inhabit, how surely shall you recognise them by their several social polities, not less express and notable than their individual temperament, complexion, and outward form! We hear much of late of the Anglo-Saxon—Norman-Saxon, or Dano-Saxon, rather should we call him—marching to fulfil a destiny. He was the last man who entered this broad field: he is now, in less than three centuries, master of all. By his sufferance, only, does the descendant of the Goth, the Frank, or native man of America cultivate a nook of land. Imperious lord of the continent, he waits but upon his own pleasure to circumvent or conquer all.

Time had rolled through fifty recorded centuries numbered in human annals, and along that track History had duly set up monuments to mark the progression of the sons of men from the Genesis to the Flood,—from the Flood to the Dispersion,—from the Dispersion to the Birth of the Saviour,—and thence right onward, through many a lesser epoch, to the Discovery of the New World.

This last era, far from being the least note-worthy in the series, was, in fact, the opening of one of the most momentous chapters in the book of Human Destiny. It was the revealing of a second creation, full of young lustihood, to an overwrought and strife-tormented old one. It contained surface and sup-
ply for tribes more numerous than all that dwelt upon the Eastern Hemisphere. It gave to man a fresh nursing mother, into whose lap he might fling his exhausted children with full security that there they should find the aliment to rear them to a mighty manhood. It offered him another starting point in the career of civilization; laid open to him new and genial labors; awakened new impulses in his heart; filled his mind with new conceptions of duty, policy, self-advancement.

We are somewhat struck in the history of this great event, that it did not at once agitate the public mind with such emotions. Looking to the inherent grandeur of the Discovery, and its obvious relation to the condition of mankind, we have reason to be surprised at the tardiness of men to avail themselves of it. One would suppose that amongst the multitudes cibbed within the confines of Europe, chafed with the harness of ever-flagrant war, and sadly experienced in its desolation and its hopeless poverty, thousands would have been found at once to supply a steady stream of population to these trans-atlantic solitudes,—most happy to accept the invitation of Providence to exchange hunger and strife for peace and plenty.

Nearly a century, however, passed away before colonization and settlement began to make an effective movement. The most significant influences over the fate of mankind are not the most visible to agitate the surface of human affairs. As great strength is often marked by repose, so great events often work out their effects unnoted in a silent lapse of time. It has been said, "Though our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour, no hammer in the Horologe of Time peals through the universe to pro-
claim that there is a change from Era to Era." In comparative silence did this great era unfold itself—slowly through a hundred years. A hundred years, after the voyages of Columbus and Cabot, were given to enterprises, with but few exceptions, of mere exploration:—blind struggles to get deeper insight into this world of wonders. The Frenchman, the Spaniard, the Florentine, and the Portuguese, were the navigators. Until the voyage of Frobisher, in 1576, England—even then a predominant power on the ocean—had but little share in this great work. North of the Gulf of Mexico, no colony had been planted during all this century, except the small settlement of Jacques Cartier in Canada. Ribault had made an unsuccessful effort in Florida; and Sir Walter Raleigh a still more unfortunate one to plant Virginia. This was all that the sixteenth century contributed in the way of settlement to make the Discovery useful to mankind. It is quite remarkable that England should have done so little.

But the seventeenth century came with a fresh and sudden ardor of adventure, and was distinguished by a steady, systematic pursuit of the policy of colonisation. During that and the succeeding age, America became incorporated into the political relations of Europe, became a well recognised power in the adjustment of the interests of States, supplied the commerce, even partook of the wars of the Old World, and finally matured those plans of social polity, which have since had such visible and authoritative influence in giving to mankind new perceptions of their own rights, and new views of the purposes and obligations of government.

The general scheme and progress of our coloniza-
tion exhibits to us a great historical Epic. It had its age of adventure,—its age of commerce,—and its age of religious impulse: and there predominated throughout its entire action—linking the whole together, and imparting to it what we may call its mystical and predestined completeness—a very visible conspiracy of means to afford mankind the experience and enjoyment of a peculiar trans-atlantic system of empire, differing in its essential features from all established polities. We may discern in it the dawning of a new consciousness of higher temporal destiny for man; the first movement towards the establishment of social organization on a plan to diffuse power and the faculty of self-advancement amongst the great masses of the people, to a degree never before thought of, that plan not altogether defined in the conceptions of those first engaged in the exploit, but gradually transpiring with the course of events, and finally taking its appointed shape under the resistless control of circumstances which Providence seems to have made the guide to this grand and beneficent end.

In the first of these periods,—that age of adventure,—men seem to have been impelled by the spirit of an excited knight errantry. Before them lay a world of novelties. The path that led to it was beset by dangers to allure the pride of the daring. The field of their labor was full of marvels to captivate the heart of the credulous. Renown awaited the explorer who could bring new contributions to the stock of foreign miracles which so charmed that wonder-loving time. Many courageous spirits enlisted in this quest of fame. They brought home tidings of nations gorgeous in gold and silver, and precious
stones. Riches fineless, in their report, lay open to the brave hand that should be first stretched forth to win them. The ear of Christendom was enthralled by tales, which we should think now too light even for the credulity of childhood, of an imaginary city, sparkling with more than Arabian magnificence; of mysterious fountains, capable of renewing youth in the pulse of decrepit age;* of relics of ancient generations, whose abodes rivalled the glories of Heliopolis or Thebes. Inflamed by such visions, the cavaliers of the sixteenth century launched their barks upon the rough Atlantic and sped to its farther shore, with resolve to carve their crests upon this magnificent continent:—Knights errant of the sea,—a romantic, wave-tempting chivalry, bred to the courtesies which the fanciful gallantry of the Court of Elizabeth held up to admiration in Raleigh and Essex, Evingham and Howard, yet brave as the old Norse Sea Kings, and credulous as children.

Such is the argument and these the personages of the first book of this wonderful Epic. Illusions like

* "It was not," says Irving, in a note to his Narrative of the Adventures of Juan Ponce de Leon, in quest of the Miraculous Fountain, "the credulous minds of voyagers and adventurers alone that were heated by these Indian traditions and romantic fables. Men of learning and eminence were likewise beguiled by them: witness the following extract from the second decade of Peter Martyr, addressed to Leo X, then bishop of Rome:

"Among the islands on the north side of Hispaniola, there is one about 325 leagues' distance, as they say which have searched the same, in which is a continual spring of running water, of such marvellous virtue, that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, maketh old men young again. And here I must make protestation to your holiness not to think this to be said lightly or rashly, for they have so spread this rumor for a truth throughout all the court, that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath divided from the common sort, think it to be true: but, if you will ask my opinion herein, I will answer that I will not attribute so great power to nature, but that God hath no less reserved this prerogative to himself than to search the hearts of men." Voyages of the Companions of Columbus, p. 314.
these could not long endure. The age of commercial action came, with its practical sense and sober judgment of realities, to measure and gauge the new continent by the most unromantic of all standards. The astute London merchant followed in the wake of the soldier enthusiast, and set himself to the task of computing what America was capable of yielding to the enlargement of trade. This computation of the practicable, ever, in the end, the most effective friend of civilization, soon began, though not without many drawbacks, to produce its good fruits in the enterprise which it fostered and controlled. The search of El Dorado was abandoned: the fountain of Bimini was forgotten: the emigrant was provided with axe and plough, and after some severe trial and disappointment, was taught the lesson that competence, and, in the end, affluence were to be won by diligent cultivation of the soil;—were, in no wise, to be hoped for in rambling on the search of mines of gold and precious stones, in sacking cities or laying waste the territory of weak barbarians.

Religion, as I have said, also had its share in the progress of colonization. Fanaticism had reared a bloody ensign over the fields of Europe. The Thirty Years' War, the civil broils of England, the murderous dissensions of Ireland, the universal intolerance of jarring sectaries, wrought such distraction, that thousands, in despair of peace at home, gathering their wives and children, their friends and servants together, sought this new sky and these rough shades, with scarce other hope or purpose but to enjoy that unmolested worship which was denied them in the temples of their native land.

This is a bare outline of the history of American
settlement. I have sketched it off in this rapid form of review, by way of introduction to a topic which it was my design to present to your attention this evening. My purpose is to offer some views of the original settlement of Maryland, connected with the character of the founder of the State. The theme is not unfamiliar either to this society or to this auditory. It has recently, more than once, invoked the labor of accomplished minds amongst us. I trust, however, that in recurring to it, I shall not be found to weary your patience, as I venture to hope in what I have to say, I shall not be led to repeat after those who have better said, what it fell in their way to discuss, than I could hope to do were my reflections conducted into the same channel.

Maryland was originally planted and grew up into importance as a colony under the genial impulses proper to the best days of that commercial era of which I have spoken. The original settlement partook, in no degree, of the illusions of romantic adventure. Nor did it owe its conception, either to religious persecution, or to that desire which is supposed to have influenced other colonies to form a society dedicated to the promotion of a particular worship. This, I am aware, is contrary to a very generally received opinion. It is my purpose, in what I am about to offer, to produce some proofs of the assertions I have just made.

This province, I think I shall show, was founded, chiefly, in accordance with a liberal plan to erect a community on this continent, which, while it should afford a happy home to those who might make it their abode, securing to them all the privileges of the most favored subjects of the British Crown, aimed, at the
same time, to promote the objects of a wise and beneficent commercial speculation. The merit of this plantation is due to Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. There is no man distinguished by so large and active a participation in the colonial history of this Country of whom so few memorials remain in published records. It is, in part, the reproach of our State, that so little is known of him. For there is good reason to believe that manuscripts and other relics of his history exist, which have not been brought to our notice on this side of the Atlantic.* We may

* Wood, in the Athenae Oxonienses, refers to the following writings of Calvert:—


He also, says Wood, wrote something concerning Maryland.

The Sir Henry Unton above referred to, is better known as Sir Henry Upton, who, being sent by Elizabeth as Ambassador to France, was somewhat celebrated for his chivalrous bearing, according to the fashion of that time, 1592, in resenting a supposed insult offered by the Duke of Guise to the Queen. He sent the Duke the following challenge:

"For as much as lately, in the lodging of my Lord Du Mayne, and in public elsewhere, impudently, indiscreetly, and over boldly, you spoke badly of my sovereign, whose sacred person here, in this country, I represent: to maintain both by word and weapon her honor, (which never was called in question amongst people of honesty and virtue;) I say you have wickedly lied, in speaking so basely of my sovereign; and you shall do nothing else but lie whenever you shall dare to tax her honor. Moreover, that her sacred person, (being one of the most complete and virtuous princesses that live in the world,) ought not to be evil spoken of by the tongue of such a perfidious traitor to her law and country as you are. And, hereupon, I do defy you, and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of arms as you shall like or choose, be it either on horseback or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house (every way) as yourself. So, assigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words and the lie which I gave you, and which you should not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you consent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cause you generally to be held, for the arrantest coward and most slanderous slave that lives in France. I expect your answer."

Sir Henry died in the French camp in 1596, and his body being brought to London, was removed to Farringdon, and buried there on the 8th day of July of
hope that to the research of this Society, our State
may hereafter become indebted for their production
and publication.

According to Anthony Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, Calvert was born in 1582, at Kipling, in the
Chapelry of Bolton, in Yorkshire, and was the son of
Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John
Crossland. Fuller with more probability, I think,
dates his birth in the year 1580. The author of the
Worthies of England was his contemporary, though
thirty years his junior, and, it is of some moment to
my argument to remark, was obviously not person­
ally acquainted with him. Both from Wood and
Fuller we learn that in 1597, Calvert took a bache­
or's degree at Oxford, and then visited the continent
of Europe to com plete his studies, and procure the
advantages of travel, as was customary to young men
of birth and fortune at that period.

It is said that he attracted the regard of Sir Robert
Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, afterwards Earl of Salis­
bury:—a fact that we may suppose he designed to
acknowledge in the name given to his eldest son.
This son, Cecil, was born in 1606, as I find from an
original portrait engraving of him in my possession—
for which I am indebted to a friend, a valuable mem­
er of this Society. This engraving enables us to fix
that year. The elegy or Carmen Funebre above referred to, was written by
Calvert, at a very early age, and was most probably a college exercise. See
Fuller's Worthies, 1 vol. p. 131.

It is said by Belknap, that Calvert "left something respecting America in
writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed." I find also a refer­
ence by Bozman, 1 vol. 240, to the Bibliotheca Americana, published in Lon­
don, 1789, which mentions a MS., entitled "Account of the Settlement of
Newfoundland, by Sir George Calvert."

Some insight may perhaps be obtained to a portion of these writings, by an
examination of the Maryland Papers, in the office of the Plantations in London,
referred to frequently by Chalmers.—See also the Strafford Papers.
CHARACTER OF GEORGE CALVERT. 17

the marriage of Calvert about the year 1604–5,—his twenty-third or twenty-fifth year, as we compute it according to the different dates of Wood and Fuller. He married Anne, the daughter of George Mynne of Hertfordshire, and grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Wroth of Durance in Enfield, Middlesex,—a gentleman of some distinction in his time.

About the year 1606, he experienced a substantial proof of the prime minister's friendship, in the gift of an appointment to the office of under or private secretary to the minister himself, which he held for several years.

Three years afterwards—1609—his name appears as one of the patentees in the new charter, which was then given to the company for planting Virginia; and I find it again enumerated in Captain Smith's list of the members of that company in 1620, showing that during all this interval he was interested in the settlement of that colony.

The Earl of Salisbury died in 1612, after which event Calvert seems to have enjoyed a liberal share of the favor and regard of King James, who, in 1617, promoted him to the post of clerk of the Privy Council, and invested him with the honor of knighthood. Two years later, 1619, the king appointed him principal Secretary of State as the successor to Sir Thomas Lake; which place he held until 1624, when he resigned it, according to Fuller, for the following reason:—"He freely confessed himself to the king that he was then become a Roman Catholic, so that he must be wanting to his trust or violate his conscience in discharging his office. This, his ingenuity"—adds Fuller—"so highly affected king James that he continued him privy counsellor all his reign,
as appeareth in the council books, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore in Ireland."

As a further testimony of the bounty of his sovereign, it is recorded of him that James gave him a grant of lands in Ireland,* and also a pension of one thousand pounds. "During his being Secretary,"—says Fuller,—"he had a patent to him and his heirs, to be Absolutus Dominus et Proprietarius, with the royalties of a Count Palatine, of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland. Here he built a fair house in Ferryland, and spent five and twenty thousand pounds in advancing the plantation thereof. Indeed, his public spirit"—the biographer continues—"consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity and the king's dominions."†

The settlement in Newfoundland, alluded to in this extract, was made in 1621; in which year, according to the account of Oldmixon, in his British Empire in America,‡ Sir George Calvert sent Captain Wynn thither with a small colony. In 1622, Captain Wynn was reinforced with an additional number of colonists. The charter or grant, however, for this plantation, it

* "The King being given to understand that divers towns and lands within the late plantation of Longford, amounting to about two thousand three hundred and four acres, remained in his hands undisposed of, he conferred the same on Sir George Calvert, his principal Secretary, as a person worthy of his royal bounty, and one that would plant and build the same according to his late instructions for the better furtherance and strengthening of the said plantation." The grant was accordingly made 18th February, 1621. This patent Calvert "surrendered to the King 12th February, 1624 (1625 according to the present calendar), and had a re-grant thereof in fee-simple, dated at Westminster, 11th March following, to hold as the Castle of Dublin in free and common soccage, by fealty only for all other rents, with the erection of the premises in the Barony of Longford into the manor of Baltimore, and those in the Barony of Rathlyne into the manor of Ulford, with the usual privileges of Courts, Parks, free warren, &c."

† London Magazine, June, 1768.
§ Bozman's Maryland, vol 1, p 240, note.
is said, upon some doubtful and rather obscure testimony, bears date of the twenty-first year of the King, which would assign it to the year 1623. After the death of James, which was in 1625, Lord Baltimore went twice to Avalon. "Here,"—says Fuller again—"when Monsieur de L'Arade, with three men of war, sent from the King of France, had reduced our English fishermen to great extremity, this lord, with two ships, manned at his own charge, chased away the Frenchman, relieved the English, and took sixty of the French prisoners." It is related by Oldmixon and others, that Lord Baltimore removed his family to Ferryland, and resided there some few years. This establishment being found to be ungenial, both in climate and soil, being subject to great annoyance from the French, and withal exceedingly expensive, Lord Baltimore finally abandoned it, and turned his thoughts upon settlement in a milder latitude, and on a more kindly soil.

He was a member, as we have seen, of the Virginia Company,—had been a member for eleven years, and, perhaps, longer: besides this, as Secretary of State,—Chalmers tells us—he was officially one of the Committee of Council for the affairs of the plantations. We may presume, therefore, that he was fully acquainted with the proceedings of the Virginia company, and well versed in all that belonged to the subject of colonization. Thus qualified for his enterprise, he turned his attention towards Virginia, with an undivulged purpose, as we may suppose from what afterwards occurred, to examine the regions within the charter of that plantation, which had not yet been settled. Accordingly, in 1628, he visited Virginia in person. It has been said that he was
received very ungraciously by the assembly of that colony, who directed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to him and his followers. This incident would seem to show that the assembly did not look upon Lord Baltimore in the light of a mere casual visitor; that they suspected his intentions in regard to settlement, and were jealous of them: that, actuated by this sentiment, they subjected him to what amounted almost to an indignity, in requiring him to take the oaths;—requiring him, who had been a Secretary of State, who was one of their own patentees in the London Company, and who was a public spirited nobleman, somewhat distinguished for his enterprise in the cause of colonization; who, in addition to all this, was on the best terms with the reigning sovereign at home. With a proper sense of self-respect, Lord Baltimore refused to take the oaths, or to allow his servants to take them, and very soon afterwards departed from the James River, to pursue a much more agreeable voyage up the Chesapeake, in quest of the unoccupied territory, to which his thoughts had most probably been directed from the first. Under these circumstances, he entered the Potomac, examined the country upon its left bank, and projected his settlement of the province of Maryland.

I need not relate by what steps he contrived to secure the grant for this province. It was clearly within the limits of the Virginia charter; parts of it were actually settled—Kent Island especially;—yet he had influence and address to obtain the grant from Charles the First. I need not relate either what great dissatisfaction this grant gave to the colonists of Virginia—to those very persons who had so un-
civilly exacted the oaths of allegiance. We of Maryland, at least, have no reason to regret that this pristine and most incompatible breach of hospitality in Virginia, should have been followed by such a retribution—one in which we perceive almost a poetical justice. It concerns my purpose merely to advert to the fact that, in 1632, King Charles gave his permission to Lord Baltimore to prepare the Charter of Maryland. That instrument was, in pursuance of this permission, drawn up, it is said, by Calvert’s own hand, or under his personal dictation. Before it passed the seals, he died—25th of April, 1632—leaving Cecil heir, not only to his title and fortune, but also to his enterprise and his hopes. The charter was executed on the 20th of June following, with no other change than the substitution of Cecil for his father; and was signed by the King, who, himself, gave the province the name of Maryland, in honor of his Queen Henrietta Maria, instead of “Crescentia,” as Lord Baltimore had originally designed.

This Charter is said to be a transcript, with no other alteration than the localities required, from that which had before been granted by James, for the province of Avalon.* Fuller’s brief description of the Newfoundland patent, which I have already quoted, would seem to confirm this fact.

In addition to what I have brought into this summary of Calvert’s history, it is proper to notice that in 1620 he was first elected to Parliament to represent Yorkshire, through the influence of the celebrated Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Straford: he was subsequently elected by the University

* Chalmers, in his History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, says it was “literally copied from the prior patent of Avalon.” Book the Second, ch. 3.
of Oxford. His parliamentary career, which lasted four or five years, seems to have been, as far as the scant records of it disclose its character, at least worthy of the praise of a diligent and upright performance of the duties which it required of him. We may suppose that these duties, as a minister of state in the House of Commons, were by no means light, and that they demanded the frequent exhibition of a high order of knowledge, tact and judgment. There can be no doubt that his services in this theatre were entirely acceptable to the king.

In politics, he was of the Court Party of that reign, opposed to the Country Party—designations which subsequently slid into those of Tory and Whig. As one of this party, he was the advocate of the high kingly Prerogative, as contradistinguished from the Privilege of the Legislative body; a champion of Executive power, against the power of parliament. Not only his interest, but we must presume, his inclinations lay in that way. Grahame says of him, what would seem almost sarcastically said, that “he was a strenuous asserter of the supremacy of that authority from the exercise of which he expected to derive his own enrichment.” I will not do him the wrong, in the absence of better proof than we have, to believe that he was not entirely honest in maintaining the prerogative against the popular privilege. In parliament, we find him asserting the doctrine, “that the American territory, having been acquired by conquest, was subject exclusively to the control of the royal prerogative:” in other words, that the King, and not parliament, had the entire regulation and government of the colonies. This, with many other ultra-monarchical doctrines of that day, we can have
no doubt James would expect his ministers to defend; and, though highly flattering to a monarch of his character, they were not, however, without a strong party opposed to them, even in the parliament of which Sir George Calvert was a member.

The facts I have now brought to view demonstrate that Lord Baltimore was of a family of rank and influence in England;* that he was wealthy, as the expenditure of £25,000 on the settlement of Avalon, a very large sum in those days, would show: that having married early in life, he was brought into the way of preferment and favor through the friendship of the prime minister; that his personal deportment, political opinions, habits of business and usefulness secured him the regard of king James, a pedantic and hypercritical asserter of the broadest pretensions of kingly government,—a prince whose service exacted an earnest defence of the highest claims of prerogative: that, being for a long time a member of a company concerned in the colonization of Virginia, and, moreover, one of the Committee of Council for the plantations, he had ample opportunities to become acquainted with the character of these enterprises, and to embark in them with advantages which very few possessed. There is indeed abundant evidence that these schemes of colonization were a favorite speculation of his. He was engaged in them from the date of his early manhood until the close of his life. It was his prevailing passion, if we may so speak, and was indulged with great assiduity, personal devotion, and at heavy pecuniary charge.

*The family of Calvert is said to be descended from an ancient and noble house of that name in the Earldom of Flanders, whence they were transplanted into the northern parts of England.
There is no evidence that his ardor in these undertakings was stimulated by any motive having reference to particular religious opinions. We are, on the contrary, bound to presume that his purpose was in part the advancement of his own reputation, the increase of the wealth of his family, and, as the Maryland charter expresses it, "a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion, and also the territories of our (the British) empire." We may commend him for all these motives as in their nature honorable, just and useful.

He obtained from James the charter for the province of Avalon; from Charles that for Maryland,—the one about ten years before the other. As these charters are claimed to be the production of Lord Baltimore's own hand, an examination of that to which we have access, our own, may serve to give us further insight into the history of the author.

Turning to this instrument, then, we may remark that it embodies a scheme of the strongest government known throughout all the American colonies.

The Proprietary was made the absolute lord of the province, saving only the allegiance due by him to the crown. He was invested with prerogatives and royal rights, not inferior to those of the king himself. He was empowered to make laws, with the advice of the freemen, and to withhold his assent from such as he did not approve. The Proprietary even claimed and practised in the course of the government of the province, the right to dispense with the laws, in accordance with a principle asserted by king James, as a branch of the royal prerogative, and which we may conclude was consonant with Lord Baltimore's own opinions. He
was authorized to create manors with manorial rights and lordships; to reward well born and deserving subjects with titles and dignities; to summon, by writ, as we find by early practice under the Charter, whatsoever freemen he chose, to take a seat in the Legislative Assembly, without election by the people,* thus enabling him to control the majority of that body. He was empowered to make ordinances, in certain emergencies, of equal force with laws, and without the aid or confirmation of the Assembly. He had the absolute control of the military and naval force of the colony, and might declare and exercise martial law, at his own pleasure, whenever he should conceive rebellion or sudden tumult to demand it. He possessed the patronage and advowsons of all churches, and had the sole authority to license the building or founding of churches and chapels, and to cause them to be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England.

In regard to these last two subjects, I beg to observe that they apply strictly and exclusively to the Church of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church. The advowson, or right of presentation of a minister to a parish or ecclesiastical benefice, being only a right, in the sense of this Charter, connected with the organization of that church; whilst the right to license the consecration of churches and chapels is, in terms, confined to such as were to be consecrated "according to the ecclesiastical laws of England."

* The language of the Charter, regarding the summoning of delegates, is:—
"Whom we will shall be called together for the framing of Laws, when and as often as need shall require, by the aforesaid Baron of Baltimore and his heirs, and in the form which shall seem the best to him or them."
These were the powers, rights and prerogatives conferred upon the Proprietary. On the other hand, the concessions or grants to the colonists are equally worthy of notice. The colonists were guarantied all the privileges, liberties and franchises of Englishmen born within the Realm. They were protected against all laws repugnant to the laws, statutes and customs of England; and, what is particularly deserving of observation, they were for ever exempted, by express covenant in the Charter, from all royal taxation by the crown—from all "impositions, customs or other taxations, quotas or contributions whatever," to be levied by the King or his successors. There is also a clause which provides that no interpretation shall be made of the Charter, "whereby God's holy and true Christian religion, or the allegiance due to us (the King), our heirs and successors, may, in any wise, suffer by change, prejudice or diminution."

No provision was made for submitting the laws, ordinances or proceedings of the province, either to the King or Parliament, by which omission the security against infractions of the Charter was very materially diminished,—perhaps in a great many cases rendered altogether unavailing. It has been intimated that this omission was not accidental, but, rather, intentionally made to strengthen the hand of the Proprietary against a supervision which he chose to have as little exercised as possible. This defect in the Charter was complained of and represented by the Commissioners of Plantations, in 1633, to the House of Commons. It seems, however, to have been passed by without a remedy. "Nothing," says Chalmers, "can afford more decisive proof than these material omissions, that Sir George Calvert was the
CHARACTER OF GEORGE CALVERT.

Chief penman of the grant. For the rights of the Proprietary were carefully attended to, but the prerogatives of the crown, the rights of the nation, were in a great measure overlooked or forgotten." This is a sketch of the Charter.

Certainly we may affirm of it, that, however beneficent it might be under the ministration of a liberal and wise Proprietary, it contains many features which but little coincide with our notions of free or safe government. Considering it as the work of Lord Baltimore himself, it is a very striking exponent of his political opinions. The colonial history of that period, 1632, furnished abundant examples in the New England settlements, of government on a much more popular basis, and we can not suppose that these were not well understood by Calvert. We must infer, therefore, that he was no great admirer of those forms which diffused power amongst the people, and restricted the exercise of it in the magistrate—that he was, in fact, here, as well as in England, the friend of Prerogative against Privilege.

The review of this Charter impresses me strongly with the conviction that its author was an adroit manager of public affairs, skilful in business, sufficiently awake to his own interest, and intent on obtaining as much from the crown as his position enabled him to procure; that he was remarkably calm and unobtrusive—even compromising and politic—in his religious opinions; and that he enjoyed, to a very extraordinary degree, the favor, esteem and confidence of his sovereign.

That proviso which prohibits any interpretation of the Charter which might "change, prejudice, or diminish" the true Christian religion, or the allegiance
due to the crown, was undoubtedly intended to guard the rights of those persons attached to the English Church who might emigrate to the province,* and also to preserve unimpaired the allegiance of all British subjects, as that allegiance was then understood. It was a very natural condition for a Protestant monarch, of that period, to require in a grant to any subject, when the grant gave such powers as those contained in the Maryland Charter; much more when that subject was of a different religious faith from the monarch himself. The mind of Great Britain was, at that date, intensely agitated with the fears, jealousies and hatreds of a fierce religious quarrel. The question of the supremacy, which was involved in that of allegiance, constituted a large ingredient in this quarrel.

The oath of allegiance, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, and then in force, declared the King governor of all his dominions and countries, "as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal."

It was held by the highest authorities of the Romish Church, that this oath could not be taken by those who professed that faith, without incurring the censure of the church:—though it is known that many Catholics in England did not so interpret it. Upon the detection of the Gun Powder plot, a new oath was exacted by Parliament, which was particularly aimed at the Catholic party. All persons who were suspected to belong to that party were required to take it upon the demand of the Bishop of the Diocese, or of the Justices of the Peace. It contained a denial of the power of the Pope to depose the King,

* See 1 vol. Hazard's State Papers, pp. 621 and 624.
or to dispose of his dominions, or to absolve his subjects from their allegiance; and it abjured, as impious, the doctrine that excommunication of a prince authorized his being put to death or deposed by his subjects.

This oath, like the former, furnished matter of discontent to the Roman Pontiff. Paul the Fifth addressed a brief to the English Catholics, commanding them to abstain from taking it, holding that it could not be taken "without hurting of the Catholic faith."

Upon this arose that celebrated dispute, which makes no small figure in the history of the time, between King James on one side, and Paul the Fifth, with Cardinal Bellarmine, on the other. Whatever may have been the intrinsic merits of this dispute, it is very certain that it greatly irritated the public mind, and produced a large store of ill-will between the friends and followers of the two parties. King James himself had written and spoken, argued and scolded in this quarrel, in the sharpest temper of that vain pedantry for which he was renowned. There is something amusing, as well as characteristic, in the quaint and solemn anger of the following outbreak, which I find in a speech delivered by him in the Star Chamber in 1616:

"I confess," he says, "I am loth to hang a priest only for religion's sake and saying mass; but if he refuse the oath of allegiance, which, (let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will,) yet, as you find by my book and divers others, is merely civil,—those that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law; it is no persecution, but good justice."

It is not to be supposed that a despotic monarch, in such a polypragmatic temper as this, would be likely
to make a grant of power to govern a state, without a vigilant eye to this question of allegiance, and some such reservation as this of our Charter,—first inserted in that of Avalon, and exacted, no doubt, by Charles in the copy of that which was granted for Maryland.

I stop here to remark that Sir George Calvert, at the date of the Avalon Charter, is generally reputed to have been of the Protestant faith. In 1624, when he resigned the post of Secretary of State, "he freely confessed to the King," says Fuller, "that he was then become a Roman Catholic."

Upon this question of the supposed conversion of Calvert, there seems to be room for great doubt. I do not believe in it at all. I think there is proof extant to show that he had always been attached to the Church of Rome, or, at least, from an early period of his life.

The chief authority for his conversion is Fuller, in the passage to which I have referred. That account assigns it to the year 1624, when it occasioned, according to the author, his resignation. Now Calvert settled his colony in Newfoundland in 1621; and Oldmixon and others, amongst whom I find our own historian Bozman,* have ascribed this settlement to his wish to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics. Although I cannot discover any warrant for this statement, either in the history of the times or in what is known of Calvert, yet the assertion of it by Oldmixon and those who have preceded or followed him, demonstrates that they did not credit the story of the conversion as given by Fuller: for the author of the Worthies of England dates the conversion three years later than the settlement of Avalon, and

affirms it to be the motive to Calvert's resignation of a high trust, which, he informs us, the Secretary supposed he could not conscientiously hold as a Catholic.

If the conversion had taken place so early in the life of George Calvert as to have opened to him the scheme of planning a settlement for his persecuted fellow Catholics in Newfoundland, it must have happened before 1621. Indeed, as such a scheme was not of a character to be matured without long consideration, and preparing for the enterprise, it is not too much to presume that he had been of the faith which he was so anxious to protect, even in 1619, when he accepted the office of Secretary of State. We might then ask, why did he accept that office, with the scruples imputed to him by Fuller? At all events, why did he not resign it in 1621, if he had such scruples?

Even in 1624, the King, if Fuller's story be true, did not recognise the necessity of Calvert's resignation, for he was so affected "by this his ingenuity," says Fuller, "that he continued him privy councillor all his reign, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore in Ireland."

Why should he resign? The only motive that could impel him to it, as a question of conscience, was the necessity of taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. These he had already taken when he accepted office: and this being done, his continuance in office threw no new obligations upon him. Calvert was not averse from taking these oaths, we may fairly infer—first, because he had, in fact, taken them on assuming office; and second, because his Avalon Charter, already granted, and his Maryland
Charter, which was conferred but a few years afterwards, both placed him under obligations, on this point of supremacy and allegiance, which, as an honorable man, he could not have incurred if he entertained the scruples imputed to him. It is only to read the Charter, and to observe the import of the clause relating to the consecration of churches, the security of the religion of the Church of England, and the allegiance due to the crown, which I have already noticed, to see the force of this conclusion.

I cannot, therefore, perceive with Fuller that there was any special reason connected with Calvert's official relation to James, which rendered it a point of conscience that he should give up his office. Nor can I believe, if he had surrendered his post for that reason, he could have retained the favor of the King; much less that he could have attracted such renewed manifestations of it as he experienced. I discredit the story altogether. There were several Catholic noblemen who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of James, and received high dignities from him: there were, for example, the two Howards, Lords Thomas and Henry, one the son and the other the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, who were both brought into the ministry, the first being created Earl of Norfolk, and made Lord Treasurer, the second Earl of Northampton. There was no great asperity in the feelings of James against such Catholics as had been bred and nurtured in that faith. Towards such he was in the habit of expressing the most tolerant opinions. But he was noted for the avowal of particular hostility against such as had been converts from the Protestant Church. In a speech delivered at Whitehall, in 1609, on the occasion of the opening of Parliament,
he said, "I divide all my subjects that are papists into two ranks; either old papists that were so brought up in times of popery, and those that be younger in years, yet have never drunk in other milk, —or else such as do become apostates, having once been of our profession, and have forsaken the truth, either upon discontent or practice, or else upon a light, vain humor of novelty.— For the former sort I pity them, but if they be good and quiet subjects, I hate not their persons; and if I were a private man, I could well keep a civil friendship and conversation with some of them. But as for these apostates, who I know must be the greatest haters of their own sect, I confess I can never show any favorable countenance toward them; and they may all be sure, without exception, that they shall never find any more favor of me than I must needs, in justice, afford them, and these would I have the law to strike severeliest upon, and you carefullest to discover." Eight years after this, we find him expressing the same feeling, in language equally strong. He says, in 1616, in his Star Chamber speech, "I can love the person of a papist, being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, never having known any other religion; but the person of an apostate papist I hate."

It is not to be believed that James, thus openly avowing and reiterating such sentiments, would consent openly to reward, with distinguished marks of favor, a subject who stood precisely in the category he so strongly denounced. It is against all rational deduction of human conduct to believe, in the face of James' known aversion against converts to the Catholic from the Protestant faith, and his continued manifestation of kindness to Calvert, that
the story told by Fuller, of Calvert's conversion, can be true.

I refer to these facts, and especially to these extracts from the writings and speeches of King James, in no sectarian spirit. I am incapable of being enlisted as a partisan in such a cause. My respect for all who honestly profess the faith of either of the churches to which this controversy refers, and, above all, my reverence for the rights of conscience, forbid me to allude to these incidents with any other purpose than to use the facts which they supply to the illustration of a very interesting point in the history of this State. They furnish an almost conclusive argument to prove that Sir George Calvert was, if not actually nursed in the faith of Rome, no convert to that faith in his period of manhood: that if he ever was a Protestant, there is no record of it within our knowledge.

There were many in those days who did not choose to incur the vexations and perpetual annoyances of the proscription which the law denounced against Catholics; and to avoid these, they chose to conceal their opinions. The better part of the community,—I mean the more considerate and liberal—connived at these concealments, and gave the parties all the aid in their power. We find constant references to this fact in the history of the time. James himself secretly sustained many of these, especially when the persons concerned were friendly and serviceable to himself. In addition to the names I have already given, I find proof of this in a fact recorded by Burnet. I quote from his History of his Own Times:—"He (the King) fearing an opposition to his succeeding to the crown of England from the papist party, which, though it
had little strength in the House of Commons, yet was very great in the House of Lords, and was very considerable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed several persons who were known to be papists, though they complied outwardly. The chief of these were Elphinston, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord Balmerinoch, and Seaton, afterwards Chancellor and Earl of Dunfermline."

I much rather incline to the belief, without, in any degree, derogating from Lord Baltimore's integrity, that he was one of those who did not choose to make any very public exhibition of his faith; preferring the peace and security of private worship to the hazard and contention which a too open manifestation of it might bring. That being a man of moderate opinions, tolerant, and unassuming,—a sensible and discreet man, enjoying the confidence, and diligently employed in the service of the King,—he thought it the part of prudence and wisdom to keep his religion as much as possible confined to the privacy of his own chamber. We may believe that James was not too curious to inquire into the private opinions of a useful and faithful servant; and that when, in the last year of that monarch's life, Calvert made some open avowal to him of his attachment to the proscribed faith,—which most probably the King had known or surmised long before,—the disclosure produced no more unfriendly answer than an assurance of unabated confidence, and the promise of further preferment. This, to my mind, is the most rational explanation of the varying facts that are brought to us, and may have been at the foundation of the story told by Fuller. It is much the most probable surmise that the
Secretaryship was resigned, not on a scruple of conscience, but from a desire on the part of Calvert to visit his colony in Newfoundland, which he did very soon after that event.*

There are other circumstances to raise a doubt of the story of the conversion. All the children of Lord Baltimore, of whom we know any thing, were Roman Catholics. We can hardly suppose their conversion to have followed that of their father. In 1624, Cecil, the eldest, was in his eighteenth year. Leonard, who took charge of the first colony in 1633, must have been but one or two years younger. Philip, who, in 1656, was made Secretary of the Province, and subsequently Chancellor, and then Governor, was probably very young at the period of his father's death.† These three sons we know were Catholics.

* Vide note, page 38, showing that Lord Baltimore visited Newfoundland very soon after his resignation.

† In the Memoirs of the Baltimore Family, published in the London Magazine, June, 1768, it is said that George Lord Baltimore had eleven children:—Cecil, Leonard, George, Francis, Henry, John, Anne, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Grace, and Helen. John and Francis died before their father. Anne married William Peaseley, Esq.; Grace married Sir George Talbot, of Cartoun, in the county of Kildare, Bart.

No mention is made in this list of Philip, who resided for many years in the Province of Maryland, and filled some of the highest offices in it. In the Appendix to the second volume of Bozman's Maryland, p. 699, may be seen the commission of Cecil, to "our very loving brother Philip Calvert, Esq.," creating him one of the Council. A tablet erected to the memory of Lady Baltimore, in Hertingfordbury Church, has the following inscription,—as well as I am able to decipher it in the wretched Latin which I copy from an obscure MS., of the origin of which I am ignorant:

Obit 8 die August, Anno Salutis, 1622.

D. O. M. S.

ET

JUCUNDISS. MEMORIÆ

ANNÆ GEOR. F. JOAN. N. MINNÆ

Ad omnia quæcunque egregia natæ, ad meliora regressæ,
Pietate, pudicitia, prudentia incomparabilis feminæ,

When did they become so? It is assuming too much to suppose that the mere influence of the parent's example would be sufficient with the two elder, Cecil and Leonard, at their time of life, to induce them to abandon the church in which they were bred, for another, against which all the prejudices of their youth and all the influences of their education must have been arrayed. It is much more probable that these sons were privately nurtured in the faith to which their parents had been attached before the children were born.

Amongst the proofs to be brought against the conversion, there is a strong passage in Rapin, which seems almost to settle the question.

Referring to the intrigues of the Spanish minister, Gondomar, in 1620, to manage king James, through his eagerness for the Spanish match—the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Infanta—and, by the pretext of promoting that marriage, to prevent the king from taking up the cause of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, Rapin remarks:—“He (the king) was so possessed with the project of ending the war by means of this match, that nothing was capable of altering this belief. Count Gondomar had bribed with presents and pensions all those who had the
king's ear, and who took care to cherish him in this vain project. Particularly—the author adds, in a note upon the authority of Arthur Wilson,—"the Earls of Worcester and Arundel, the Lord Digby, Sir George Calvert, Sir Richard Weston and others popishly affected."*

I produce this passage not to give credit or currency to the bribery—which, in deference to Calvert's high character, integrity and honor, I utterly disbelieve,—but to show that, in 1620, he was regarded as a gentleman well affected to the Church of Rome, and was associated, in the public estimation, with that party who were favorable to the Spanish match,—a project which was particularly repugnant to the great body of the Protestants of that day, and no less particularly sought and desired by the Catholics.†

* This story of the bribery was very current at that time, as one may see in the first volume of Rushworth, who gives a copy of the instructions of the King of Spain to his minister in reference to it, exhibiting a very curious feature of diplomacy. It may amuse us to learn how broadly Gondomar practised on these instructions, as we may see from another of Rapin's notes, which immediately follows that I have just quoted. It is in these words:—"Wilson says he bribed the very ladies, especially those who talked much, and to whom much company resorted, that they might alloy such as were too sour in their expressions, and stop them if they run on too fast. But it seems he had neglected the Lady Jacobs, who, upon his passing by her window in his chair, instead of answering his salutation as usual, only gaped with her mouth, which, repeating again next day, he sent to know the reason. She replied, 'she had a mouth to be stopped as well as other ladies.'"

† It is worthy of notice, as an item of testimony in this argument, that Anthony Wood, in his account of Calvert, says nothing about his conversion, but remarks, at the time of his being made Lord Baltimore he was supposed to be well affected to Popery. Wood makes no reference to Fuller, who, as far as I can learn, is the sole authority for the story of the conversion.

My view of Calvert's private adhesion to the Church of Rome at a date so much earlier than is ascribed to him by Fuller, is greatly strengthened by the following extract from a letter written by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir T. Roe, just before Lord Baltimore's visit to Newfoundland, and which is quoted from Roe's Letters, p. 372, by Horace Walpole, in his list of Noble Authors, under the title of "George Calvert, Lord Baltimore." It is as follows:

"Mr. Secretary Calvert"—saith the prelate—"hath never looked merrily since the prince his coming out of Spain: it was thought he was much interested
I have now set forth the principal facts which have been accessible to my search, to disprove the current opinion concerning Lord Baltimore's religion.

This point is of great importance as an index to the character of Calvert, and of his conduct in the settlement of Maryland. If it be true, as I have endeavored to show, that Calvert, during the period of his official service in the government and at the date of his settlements in Newfoundland and in Maryland, was a Roman Catholic—this fact presents him to us in a new light, from which we may gather some very striking views of our early colonial history, and much also to increase our good opinion of the founder of the State.

Regarding him in this character of a Catholic gentleman, and scanning his history in that relation, we

in the Spanish affairs: a course was taken to rid him of all employments and negotiations. This made him discontented; and, as the saying is, 'Desperatio facit monachum,' so he apparently did turn papist, which he now professeth, this being the third time that he hath been to blame that way. His majesty, to dismiss him, suffered him to resign his secretary's place to Sir Albertus Morton, who paid him £3000 for the same: and the King hath made him Baron of Baltimore in Ireland: so he is withdrawn from us; and having bought a ship of 400 tons, he is going to New England or Newfoundland, where he hath a colony.'

This is testimony from an enemy, who might be inclined to put the worst construction on Calvert's acts, and to say as much to his prejudice as he could. Whilst, therefore, we may disregard the motives he imputes to Calvert, we may still find useful illustration in the facts to which he refers. This account certainly proves that Calvert was believed by his contemporaries to be secretly attached to the Church of Rome, and we may infer from it a very cogent support of the view I have endeavored to present of his character.

I am led also to believe that the family of Lady Calvert—she was the daughter of George Minne, Esq.—were Catholics; as I find in Rushworth, vol. 1, p. 395, in the year 1626, that Sir Henry Minne is presented by the House of Commons to the King, as a suspected papish recusant. This, though a fact of doubtful import, would seem to contribute some aid to the argument I have offered Calvert's marriage into a Catholic family might either indicate his original attachment to the faith of Rome, or explain his early adhesion to it, and the fact also, of his children being educated in its tenets.

The evidence thus accumulated upon this point leaves us no room to doubt the inaccuracy of Fuller's statement.
shall find strong motive to admire him for some excellent and rare qualities of character.

The times through which he lived were peculiarly trying to men of rank and consideration attached to the Church of Rome. The religious wars of the Reformation had kept Europe, during almost a century, in a state of ferocious exasperation. The Protestants had gained the ascendancy in England during the reign of Elizabeth, but were not so confident in the security of their position as to relax either the rigor or the vigilance of their jealousy of the adverse party. Unfortunately, the heady zeal of fanatics, on the other side, aided by the ancient hatreds which centuries had nursed, had perpetrated many excesses that gave too much cause to this jealousy. I will not allude to them more particularly, because I take no pleasure in reviving passages of history which had much better, on occasions like this, be forgotten. It is sufficient to say that the Parliament of England, stimulated both by real and imaginary fears of the Roman Catholic party, and, doubtless, something moved by the characteristic temper of the theological warfare that still raged, passed several severe disabling statutes, which suspended over the Catholic subjects of the realm the vexations, if not the terrors, of a very keen proscription. The Puritans, somewhat famed at that day for their intolerance of all sects, but especially of the Roman Catholics, were gaining the ascendancy in Parliament, and were infusing into that body a large admixture of their own dislikes.

In such a time, the prudence of Calvert conducted him not only safely through the perils of his career, but enabled him, in addition, to secure the protection
and favor of the King. In such a time, Calvert became a member of the Virginia Company, and lent his aid, of course, to the scheme of colonization, which it fostered. In such a time, he obtained the charters of Avalon and Maryland, and devoted himself with a generous zeal to the project of settlement which these charters contemplated.

What shall we say of that clause in these charters which secured to all emigrants, who chose to demand it, the free exercise of the religion of the Church of England? What of that grant which gave to the Proprietary the patronage and advowsons of the English Church, as well as the right to found all the churches and chapels of that faith? What shall we say of such grants as these to a Catholic nobleman by a Protestant Prince? Certainly we may say that the Prince who made such a grant had great faith in the religious tolerance, the wisdom and integrity of the subject to whom the grant was made. Certainly we may say that the man who attracted such confidence, was neither a fanatic nor a bigot, but one whose character gave the highest assurance that his trust would not be abused.

I find no reason, whatever, to suppose, as I have already intimated, that in the planting of either Avalon or Maryland, Lord Baltimore was moved by a special desire to provide an asylum for persecuted Catholics, as many have alleged. The Charter of Maryland does not indicate such a purpose, nor do the proceedings under it. Quite the reverse. I gather from that Charter, and from all I read concerning what was done under it, that it was planned by Lord Baltimore, and carried into execution by him and his sons, in a spirit of the broadest and most
liberal toleration towards, at least, all Christian sects. The wisdom of that age had not risen to the acknowledgment of that universal freedom of conscience—the glory of the present time—which limits not to Christendom only the privilege that belongs to mankind.

The glory of Maryland toleration, which has been so fruitful a theme of panegyric to American historians, is truly in the Charter, not in the celebrated act of 1649. There is more freedom of conscience, more real toleration, an hundred-fold, in this Charter of a Protestant prince to a Catholic nobleman, than in that act so often recalled to our remembrance, in reference to which I propose to take some other opportunity to review its history and its supposed claims to our admiration. The glory of Maryland toleration is in the Charter—not in the act of 1649. In settling the colony under this charter, it is true that Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, gathered the colonists chiefly from the Roman Catholics. It was quite natural that, in making up his first adventure, the Proprietary should have gone amongst his friends and kinsmen, and solicited their aid to his enterprise. It is to their credit that they joined him in it. And much more to their credit that they faithfully administered the Charter, by opening the door of emigration to all Christians, with an assurance of equal rights and privilege. Where have we such a spectacle in that age? All the world was intolerant of religious opinion but this little band of adventurers, who, under the guidance of young Leonard Calvert, committed their fortunes and their hopes to the Ark and the Dove, and entered Maryland between St. Michael and St. Joseph,—as they denominated the two head-
lands of the Potomac,—the portals to that little wilderness which was to become the home of their posterity. All the world outside of these portals was intolerant, proscriptive, vengeful against the children of a dissenting faith.—Here, only, in Maryland, throughout all this wide world of Christendom, was there an altar erected, and truly dedicated to the freedom of Christian worship. Let those who first reared it enjoy the renown to which it has entitled them!

This happy enterprise could not have succeeded under any other circumstances than those which existed. If Charles had been a Catholic Prince, a Catholic Proprietary would have procured a Charter for the establishment of a Catholic province. If Calvert had been a Protestant nobleman, a Protestant Prince would have granted him a Charter for a Protestant province. In either case it would have been proscriptive. Both of these predicaments were abundantly exemplified in the history of that period. Exclusiveness, intolerance, persecution of opposing sects, were the invariable characteristics of early American colonization. It was to the rare and happy coincidence of a wise, moderate and energetic Catholic statesman, asking and receiving a Charter from a Protestant monarch, jealous of the faith, but full of honorable confidence in the integrity of his servant, that we owe this luminous and beautiful exception of Maryland to the spirit of the colonization of the seventeenth century.

Before this enterprise was consummated, Lord Baltimore died. His son Cecil was now twenty-eight years of age. To him was committed the fulfilment of his father's design. He was faithful to the trust;
and in the same beneficent, liberal and sagacious spirit in which the colony was first projected, he devoted himself to the ministration of its affairs. He was wealthy, and in the first two years expended forty thousand pounds upon the plantation.

It is not my purpose now to comment upon the history or the character of Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. I reserve that for another time. I wish, however, before I close this discourse, to note some facts connected with Cecil's administration of the province, to show how admirably and how justly the father had conceived the plan of a beneficent government, and how faithfully the son had carried it into execution. The incident to which I am about to call your attention, is an index to the purpose of Lord Baltimore, more comprehensive and pertinent than a volume of dissertation. Maryland may be called The Land of the Sanctuary. All Christians were invited freely within its borders. They found there a written covenant of security against all encroachment on their rights of conscience by the Lord Proprietary or his government. The following story, copied by Bozeman from the records at Annapolis, will illustrate not only how tenderly these rights of conscience were respected, but—what would be quite remarkable in any government—what delicate concern was manifested in the early administration of the province, for the sensibilities of those who might feel aggrieved by any attempt to insult their religious opinions.

A proclamation had been issued by Leonard Calvert, the Governor, in 1638, to prohibit "all unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and to the opening of faction in religion."—Captain
Cornwaleys, a Catholic gentleman, one of the most distinguished and authoritative persons in the province, had two Protestant servants by the name of Gray and Sedgrave. These two chanced to be reading aloud together Smith's Sermons—a Protestant book, and were overheard by William Lewis, an overseer in the employment of Cornwaleys. Lewis was a zealous Catholic, and it happened that the servants, when overheard by him, were reading a passage to which he took great exception: it charged the Pope to be Antichrist, and the Jesuits to be antichristian ministers. Lewis, it seems, supposed this was read aloud to vex him;—whereupon, getting into a passion, he told them "that it was a falsehood, and came from the devil as all lies did: and that he that writ it was an instrument of the devil, and he would prove it: and that all Protestant ministers were the ministers of the devil,"—and he forbade them from reading more.

Without going further into the particulars, it will be sufficient to relate that the two servants prepared a formal complaint against the overseer, to be submitted to the Governor and Council; that Captain Cornwaleys himself gave the case another direction, by sending it into court, of which Governor Calvert, Cornwaleys, and Mr. Lewger, the Secretary of the Province, were the members; that this court summoned all the parties before it, heard the whole case, and fined Lewis five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ordered him to remain in prison until he should find sureties for his good behaviour in future.

This proceeding needs no comment. It certainly was a curious matter to be made a State affair:—but it very strikingly displays the patriarchal character
of the government and its extreme solicitude to keep all religious bickerings and discontents out of the province. It is curious, not only as an evidence of the tolerant spirit of a Catholic administration, engaged in defending Protestant subjects from insult, but also as an evidence of the care of that government to protect the humblest persons within its jurisdiction from the slightest invasion of their rights of conscience.—We might ask if a parallel to this incident can be produced in the history of colonization on this continent.

I am admonished by the time I have occupied, of the necessity of drawing this discourse to a close. I shall do this, in presenting the character of Calvert, as it strikes me in the review I have made of his life.

Belknap, writing from the biographies of Collier and Kippis, says of him: *—"Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety, that all parties were pleased with him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others, as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he examined all letters, and carried to the King every night, an exact and well digested account of affairs. He agreed with Sir John Popham, in the design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants; Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit; the latter for reasonable expectation, and for employing governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen: he

was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest."

This sketch of Calvert is, doubtless, just. We may say, in addition, that he was characterized not less by the politic management than by the vigor with which he prosecuted his designs. Considering the difficulties in his way, nothing but the greatest tact and judgment could have conducted his plan of the Maryland settlement to a prosperous conclusion. His address in the contest with Virginia, evidenced by his complete success, gives us a high opinion of his fitness for public affairs. The enterprise shown by him in the defence of Avalon; his perseverance and promptness in bringing his Maryland scheme into action; his personal labors in both of these colonies, impress us most favorably with a respect for his courage, his energy, and his skill in the management of men. The posts which he filled, his position and conduct in parliament, the favor and esteem he seems always to have inspired, demonstrate his ability, as well as his prudence, and give us reason to infer an amiable, well bred and affable disposition: the character of the government he established in Maryland, and the just sentiments with which he seems to have inspired his son, and the lavish expenditure which he, doubtless, both authorized and provided before his death, attest his liberal views of the rights of conscience, his generosity, and his zeal in the cause of colonization.

He was eminently fitted for his undertaking, by the circumstances in which he lived. Although we have no reason to believe that he was a very ardent or zealous follower of his faith, but, on the contrary,
moderate in that as in all other matters of opinion or conduct, yet, to a certain extent, he had been schooled in adversity:—not the adversity of want, or of disfavor,—but in that adversity which a lofty spirit equally feels,—the proscription, namely, of himself, his kindred and friends, for maintaining a faith to which his judgment and conscience attached him. Persecution and intolerance of his own particular religious opinions taught him, what they always teach upright minds, the practice of the opposite virtues; and they brought him to a true appreciation of that nobleness of character which cherishes freedom of opinion as one of the highest prerogatives of a rational being. In this respect Calvert was in advance of his age. There was ever before him a daily admonition of the necessity of reserve, prudence and humility, from which he drew a wise man's profit. The bitter intolerance which was, in his time, more or less the characteristic of every religious sect,—almost the universal fashion of opinion,—spent itself with peculiar acrimony in England against those of his creed. It furnished him a daily topic of meditation, and so chastened his feelings towards mankind. "It is the method of charity,"—says Sir Thomas Brown,—"to suffer without reaction." This affords us the key to those virtues which appear so conspicuous in the frame and administration of the Maryland Colony, and which have drawn forth so much commendation from historians.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity."—Happy is he who, experienced in these uses, comes to authority amongst his fellow men; whose temper, tuned to the humility of suffering, brings a heart warm with that memory, brings a mind skilled, by old sympathies
springing from the knowledge of human wrongs, to some station of control wherein he may somewhat direct and shape the lot of his fellow men. Blessed is such a man in his generation, if, wisely and humbly, with due weighing of his own trials, with due reverence for that holy light these trials have thrown upon the pathway of justice and mercy along which he is commissioned to walk,—he remembers, heeds and practises the duty of guidance and instruction to his subordinates.

When I go forth to seek a leader of men in whatsoever enterprise, let me find him of a generous nature, of a manly, brave spirit, of clear insight of what he is and what he has to do, of sturdy intelligence improved by all good studies, of honest soul,—and then to all these rare perfections, let me add that richest grace which comes from a successful encounter with adversity—not broken by it, but taught; not hardened in heart, but mellowed and filled with pity,—such a man would be one, above all men, to follow, cherish, for ever remember. Of such are heroes made: by them is our race adorned, exalted, made worthy of history. Truly, I believe no hero ever became veritable but through this high road of suffering! Mock heroes we have enough: the world is full of them, who strut before the footlights in all manner of tinsel; who flaunt on many sign-posts; who fill the throats of a whole senseless generation with huzzas:—such mock heroes, with their "mad jumble of hypocrisies," we have in all times to a surfeit. But no true hero, who has not stood, in many a dark day, erect and manful, trusting to his manhood, and confident to carve his way either to proud destruction, or to the prosperous light. This world's vicissitudes, which
men somewhat impiously call Fortune, are the tests by which God has signified the true man from the false;—which, checkering the progress of mortals with more or less of pain and privation, in greater or smaller degree, render them heroic;—prepare Hercules for his twelve labors;—prepare Jason for his long circumnavigation;—prepare Columbus for his abyss of waters, and his miraculous Epic of a New World;—prepare Washington to render that New World forever unchained,—for ever proud, and disdainful of tyranny.

Is not George Calvert, in some honorable degree, entitled to a portion of this praise?
MEMOIR

OF

JAMES GRAHAME, LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF NORTH AMERICA.

ORIGINALY PREPARED FOR THE

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON:
CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.
1845.
Gentlemen:

In conformity with the request expressed by your vote, in December, 1842, I have prepared the subjoined Memoir of James Grahame, LL. D., author of the History of the United States of North America. Having never enjoyed the advantage of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, the sole means I then possessed of complying with your request were derived from his writings, and a short correspondence, originally official in its nature, and extended subsequently by an interchange of only a few letters. I should, therefore, have wholly declined the undertaking, had not these slight and transient opportunities deeply impressed my mind with the moral purity and intellectual elevation of his character. It seemed to me, moreover, incumbent upon some American to attempt to do justice to the memory of a foreigner who had devoted the chief and choicest years of his life to writing the history of our country, with a labor, fidelity, and affectionate zeal for the American people and their institutions, which any native citizen may be proud to equal, and will find it very difficult to surpass.

Under these circumstances, my purpose to attempt the task having been formed, I immediately communicated with Mr. Grahame's family and European friends, and received from his highly accomplished widow, from John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, and from Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., who had maintained with him from early youth an uninterrupted intimacy and friendly correspondence, extracts from his diary, and from letters written by him to themselves or others, accompanied with interesting notices illustrative of his sentiments and
views. Robert Walsh, Esq., the present American consul at Paris, well known and appreciated in this country and in Europe for his moral worth and literary eminence, who had enjoyed the privilege of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, also transmitted to me many of his letters to himself. William H. Prescott, Esq., and the Rev. George E. Ellis, with others of his correspondents, have extended to me like favors.

From these sources I have been enabled to sketch the subjoined outline of Mr. Grahame's life and character; in doing which, I have studied, as far as possible, to make his own language the expositor of his mind and motives.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Cambridge, 28 July, 1845.
MEMOIR.

James Grahame, the subject of this Memoir, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 21st of December, 1790, of a family distinguished, in its successive generations, by intellectual vigor and attainments, united with a zeal for civil liberty, chastened and directed by elevated religious sentiment.

His paternal grandfather, Thomas Grahame, was eminent for piety, generosity, and talent. Presiding in the Admiralty Court, at Glasgow, he is stated to have been the first British judge who decreed the liberation of a negro slave brought into Great Britain, on the ground, that "a guiltless human being, in that country, must be free"; a judgment preceding by some years the celebrated decision of Lord Mansfield on the same point. In the war for the independence of the United States, he was an early and uniform opponent of the pretensions and policy of Great Britain; declaring, in the very commencement of the contest, that "it was like the controversy of Athens with Syracuse, and he was persuaded it would end in the same way."

He died in 1791, at the age of sixty, leaving two sons, Robert and James. Of these, the youngest, James, was esteemed for his moral worth, and admired for his genius; delighting his friends and companions by the readiness and
playfulness of his wit, and commanding the reverence of all who knew him, by the purity of a life under the guidance of an ever active religious principle. He was the author of a poem entitled "The Sabbath," which, admired on its first publication, still retains its celebrity among the minor effusions of the poetic genius of Britain.

Robert, the elder of the sons of Thomas Grahame, and father of the subject of this Memoir, inheriting the virtues of his ancestors, and imbued with their spirit, has sustained, through a long life, not yet terminated, the character of a uniform friend of liberty. His zeal in its cause rendered him, at different periods, obnoxious to the suspicions of the British government. When the ministry attempted to control the expression of public opinion by the prosecution of Horne Tooke, a secretary of state's warrant was issued against him; from the consequences of which he was saved through the acquittal of Tooke by a London jury. When Castlereagh's ascendant policy had excited the people of Scotland to a state of revolt, and several persons were prosecuted for high-treason, whose poverty prevented them from engaging the best counsel, he brought down, at his own charge, for their defence, distinguished English lawyers from London, they being deemed better acquainted than those of Scotland with the law of high-treason; and the result was the acquittal of the persons indicted. He sympathized with the Americans in their struggle for independence, and rejoiced in their success. Regarding the French Revolution as a shoot from the American stock, he hailed its progress in its early stages with satisfaction and hope. So long as its leaders restricted themselves to argument and persuasion, he was their adherent and advocate; but withdrew his countenance when they resorted to terror and violence.

By his profession as writer to the signet* he acquired

* An attorney.
fortune and eminence. Though distinguished for public and private worth and well directed talent, his political course excluded him from official power and distinction, until 1833, when, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he was unanimously chosen, at the age of seventy-four, without any canvass or solicitation on his part, at the first election under the reformed constituency, Lord Provost of Glasgow. His character is not without interest to the American people; for his son, whose respect for his talents and virtues fell little short of admiration, acknowledges that it was his father's suggestion and encouragement which first turned his thoughts to writing the history of the United States.

Under such paternal influences, James Grahame, our historian, was early imbued with the spirit of liberty. His mind became familiarized with its principles and their limitations. Even in boyhood, his thoughts were directed towards that transatlantic people whose national existence was the work of that spirit, and whose institutions were framed with an express view to maintain and perpetuate it.

His early education was domestic. A French emigrant priest taught him the first elements of learning. He then passed through the regular course of instruction at the Grammar School of Glasgow, and afterwards attended the classes at the University in that city. In both he was distinguished by his proficiency. After pursuing a preparatory course in geometry and algebra, hearing the lectures of Professor Playfair, and reviewing his former studies under private tuition, he entered, about his twentieth year, St. John's College, Cambridge. But his connection with the University was short. In an excursion during one of the vacations, he formed an attachment to the lady whom he afterwards married; becoming, in consequence, desirous of an early establishment in life, he terminated abruptly his
academical connections, and commenced a course of professional study preparatory to his admission to the Scottish bar.

At Cambridge he had the happiness to form an acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, with Mr. Herschel, now known to the world as Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., and by the high rank he sustains among the astronomers of Europe. Concerning this friendship Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary:—"It has always been an ennobling tie. We have been the friends of each other's souls and of each other's virtue, as well as of each other's person and success. He was of St. John's College, as well as I. Many a day we passed in walking together, and many a night in studying together." Their intimacy continued unbroken through Mr. Grahame's life.

In June, 1812, Mr. Grahame was admitted to the Scottish bar as an advocate, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession. It seems, however, not to have been suited to his taste; for about this time he writes:—"Until now I have been my own master, and I now resign my independence for a service I dislike." His assiduity was, nevertheless, unremitted, and was attended with satisfactory success; indicative, in the opinion of his friends, of ultimate professional eminence.

In October, 1813, he married Matilda Robley, of Stoke Newington, a pupil of Mrs. Barbauld; who, in a letter to a friend, thus wrote concerning her:—"She is by far one of the most charming women I have ever known. Young, beautiful, amiable, and accomplished; with a fine fortune. She is going to be married to a Mr. Grahame, a young Scotch barrister. I have the greatest reluctance to part with this precious treasure, and can only hope that Mr. Grahame is worthy of so much happiness."

All the anticipations justified by Mrs. Barbauld's exalted estimate of this lady were realized by Mr. Grahame.
He found in this connection a stimulus and a reward for his professional exertions. "Love and ambition," he writes to his friend Herschel, soon after his marriage, "unite to incite my industry. My reputation and success rapidly increase, and I see clearly that only perseverance is wanting to possess me of all the bar can afford." And again, at a somewhat later period: — "You can hardly fancy the delight I felt the other day, on hearing the Lord President declare that one of my printed pleadings was most excellent. Yet, although you were more ambitious than I am, you could not taste the full enjoyment of professional success, without a wife to heighten your pleasure, by sympathizing in it."

Soon after Mr. Grahame's marriage, the religious principle took predominating possession of his mind. Its depth and influence were early indicated in his correspondence. As the impression had been sudden, his friends anticipated it would be temporary. But it proved otherwise. From the bent which his mind now received it never afterwards swerved. His general religious views coincided with those professed by the early Puritans and the Scotch Covenanters; but they were sober, elevated, expansive, and free from narrowness and bigotry. Though his temperament was naturally ardent and excitable, he was exempt from all tendency to extravagance or intolerance. His religious sensibilities were probably quickened by an opinion, which the feebleness of his physical constitution led him early to entertain, that his life was destined to be of short duration. In a letter to Herschel, about this period, he writes: — "I have a horror of deferring labor; and also such fancies or presentiments of a short life, that I often feel I cannot afford to trust fate for a day. I know of no other mode of creating time, if the expression be allowable, than to make the most of every moment."

Mr. Grahame's mind, naturally active and discursive,
could not be circumscribed within the sphere of professional avocations. It was early engaged on topics of general literature. He began, in 1814, to write for the Reviews, and his labors in this field indicate a mind thoughtful, fixed, and comprehensive, uniting great assiduity in research with an invincible spirit of independence. In 1816, he sharply assailed Malthus, on the subject of "population, poverty, and the poor-laws," in a pamphlet which was well received by the public, and passed through two editions. In this pamphlet he evinces his knowledge of American affairs by frequently alluding to them and by quoting from the works of Dr. Franklin. Mr. Grahame was one of the few to whom Malthus condescended to reply, and a controversy ensued between them in the periodical publications of the day. In the year 1817, his religious prepossessions were manifested in an animated "Defence of the Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters against the author of 'The Tales of my Landlord';" these productions being regarded by him "as an attempt to hold up to contempt and ridicule those Scotchmen, who, under a galling temporal tyranny and spiritual persecution, fled from their homes and comforts, to worship, in the secrecy of deserts and wastes, their God, according to the dictates of their conscience; the genius of the author being thus exerted to falsify history and confound moral distinctions."

Mr. Grahame also published, anonymously, several pamphlets on topics of local interest; "all," it is said, "distinguished for elegance and learning." In mature life, when time and the habit of composition had chastened his taste and improved his judgment,—his opinions, also, on some topics having changed,—he was accustomed to look back on these literary productions with little complacency, and the severity with which he applied self-criticism led him to express a hope that all memory of his
early writings might be obliterated. Although some of them, perhaps, are not favorable specimens of his matured powers, they are far from meriting the oblivion to which he would have consigned them.

In the course of this year (1817), Mr. Grahame’s eldest daughter died,—an event so deeply afflicting to him, as to induce an illness which endangered his life. In the year ensuing, he was subjected to the severest of all bereavements in the death of his wife, who had been the object of his unlimited confidence and affection. The effect produced on Mr. Grahame’s mind by this succession of afflictions is thus noticed by his son-in-law, John Stewart, Esq.:—“Hereafter the chief characteristic of his journal is deep religious feeling pervading it throughout. It is full of religious meditations, tempering the natural ardor of his disposition; presenting curious and instructive records, at the same time showing that these convictions did not prevent him from mingling as heretofore in general society. It also evidences that all he there sees, the events passing around him, the most ordinary occurrences of his own life, are subjected to another test,—are constantly referred to a religious standard, and weighed by Scripture principles. The severe application of these to himself,—to self-examination,—is as remarkable as his charitable application of them in his estimate of others.”

To alleviate the distress consequent on his domestic bereavements, Mr. Grahame extended the range of his intellectual pursuits. In 1819, he writes,—“I have been for several weeks engaged in the study of Hebrew; and having mastered the first difficulties, the language will be my own in a few months. I am satisfied with what I have done. No exercise of the mind is wholly lost, even when not prosecuted to the end originally contemplated.”

For several years succeeding the death of his wife, his
literary and professional labors were much obstructed by precarious health and depressed spirits. His diary during this period indicates an excited moral watchfulness, and a mind agitated by deep and solemn impressions. Thus, in April, 1821, he remarks: — “In writing a law-pleading today, I was struck with what I have often before reflected on, the subtle and dangerous temptations that our profession presents to us of varnishing and disguising the conduct and views of our clients, — of mending the natural complexion of a case, filling up its gaps and rounding its sharp corners.” And in October following: — “Why is it that the creatures so often disappoint us, and that the fruition of them is sometimes attended with satiety? We try to make them more to us than God has fitted them to be. Such attempts must ever be in vain. We do not enjoy them as the gifts and refreshments afforded us by God, and in subordination to his will and purpose in giving. If we did so, our use would be humble, grateful, moderate, and happy. The good that God puts in them is bounded; but when that is drawn off, their highest sweetness and best use may be found in the testimony they afford of his exhaustless love and goodness.” And again, in February, 1822: — “We are all travelling to the grave, — but in very different attitudes; — some feasting and jesting, some fasting and praying; some eagerly and anxiously struggling for things temporal, some humbly seeking things eternal.”

An excursion into the Low Countries, undertaken for the benefit of his health, in 1823, enabled Mr. Grahame to gratify his “strong desire to become acquainted with extrema vestigia of the ancient Dutch habits and manners.” In this journey he enjoyed the hospitalities, at Lisle, of its governor, Marshal Cambronne, and formed an intimacy with that noble veteran, which, through the correspondence of
their sympathies and principles, ripened into a friendship that terminated only with their respective lives.

About this period he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and soon after began seriously to contemplate writing the history of the United States of North America. Early education, religious principle, and a native earnestness in the cause of civil liberty concurred to incline his mind to this undertaking. He was reared, as we have seen, under the immediate eye of a father who had been an early and uniform advocate of the principles which led to American independence. In 1810, while yet but on the threshold of manhood, his admiration of the illustrious men who were distinguished in the American Revolution was evinced by the familiarity with which he spoke of their characters or quoted from their writings. The names of Washington and Franklin were ever on his lips, and his chief source of delight was in American history.*

This interest was intensely increased by the fact, that religious views, in many respects coinciding with his own, had been the chief moving cause of one of the earliest and most successful of the emigrations to North America, and had exerted a material effect on the structure of the political institutions of the United States. These united influences elevated his feelings to a state of enthusiasm on the subject of American history, and led him to regard it as "the noblest in dignity, the most comprehensive in utility, and the most interesting in progress and event, of all the subjects of thought and investigation." In June, 1824, he remarks in his journal:—"I have had some thoughts of writing the history of North America, from the period of its colonization from Europe till the Revolution and the establishment of the republic. The subject seems

*Sir John F. W. Herschel's Letters.
to me grand and noble. It was not a thirst of gold or of conquest, but piety and virtue, that laid the foundation of those settlements. The soil was not made by its planters a scene of vice and crime, but of manly enterprise, patient industry, good morals, and happiness deserving universal sympathy. The Revolution was not promoted by infidelity, nor stained by cruelty, as in France; nor was the fair cause of Freedom betrayed and abandoned, as in both France and England. The share that religious men had in accomplishing the American Revolution is a matter well deserving inquiry, but leading, I fear, into very difficult discussion."

Although his predilections for the task were strong, it is apparent that he engaged in it with many doubts, and after frequent misgivings. Nor did he conceal from himself the peculiar difficulties of the undertaking. The elements of the proposed history, he perceived, were scattered, broken, and confused; differently affecting and affected by thirteen independent sovereignties; and chiefly to be sought in local tracts and histories, hard to be obtained, and often little known, even in America, beyond the scenes in which they had their origin, and on which their light was reflected. It was a work which must absorb many years of his life, and task all his faculties. Not only considerations like these, but also the extent of the outline, and the number and variety of details embraced in his design, oppressed and kept in suspense a mind naturally sensitive and self-distrustful. Having at length become fixed in his purpose,—chiefly, there is reason to believe, through the predominating influence of his religious feelings and views,—on the 4th of December, 1824, he writes in his journal:—"After long, profound, and anxious deliberation, and much preparatory research and inquiry, I began the continuous (for so I mean it) composition of the history of the United States of North America. This pursuit, whether I succeed in it or not, must ever
attract my mind by the powerful consideration, that it was first suggested to me in conversation with my father, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Dillwyn.” And, at a subsequent date: — “May God (whom I have invoked in the work) bless, direct, and prosper my undertaking! The surest way to execute it well is to regard it always as a service of body and spirit to God; that the end may shed its light on the means.”* In the same spirit, he writes to Mr. Herschel, on the 31st of December: — “For a considerable time I have been meditating a great literary work, and, after much preparatory reading, reflection, and note-writing, have at length begun it. If I continue it as I hope to do, it will absorb much of my time and mind for many years. It is a history of North America, — the most interesting historical subject, I think, a human pen ever undertook. I have always thought the labors of the historian the first in point of literary dignity and utility. History is every thing. Religion, science, literature, whatever men do or think, falls within the scope of history. I ardently desire to make it a religious work, and, in writing, to keep the chief end of man mainly in view. Thus, I hope, the nobleness of the end I propose may impart a dignity to the means.”

The undertaking, once commenced, was prosecuted with characteristic ardor and untiring industry. All the time which professional avocations left to him was devoted to this his favorite field of exertion. His labors were continued always until midnight, and often until three or four o’clock in the morning; and he became impatient of every other occupation. But late hours, long sittings, and intense application soon seriously affected

*A manuscript journal of the progress of this history, including the authorities consulted, was sent by Mr. Grahame, in the year 1835, to the President of Harvard College, and was deposited in the library of that institution, to which it now belongs. It is one of the documents used in the preparation of this Memoir.
his health, and symptoms of an overstrained constitution gradually began to appear. Of this state of mind, and of these effects of his labors on his health, his letters give continual evidence. "I am becoming increasingly wedded to my historical work, and proportionally averse to the bar and forensic practice. At half past three this morning I desist, from motives of prudence (tardily operating, it must be confessed) rather than from weariness." — "Sick or well, my History is the most interesting and absorbing employment I have ever found. It is a noble subject." *

By application thus active and incessant, the first volume of his work, comprehending the history of the settlement of Virginia and New England, was so nearly completed early in the ensuing May, as to admit of his then opening a negotiation for its publication. In a letter to Longman, his bookseller, Mr. Grahame expresses in the strongest terms his devotedness to the work, and adds: — "Every day my purpose becomes stronger to abandon every other pursuit, in order to devote to this my whole time and attention."

He now immediately set about collecting materials for his second volume. Having ascertained that it was impossible to obtain books in England, essential to the success of his historical researches, and that rich treasures in the department of American history were deposited at Göttingen, he immediately transferred his residence to that city, and found in its library many very valuable materials for his undertaking. Here he also met with Sir William Hamilton, whose "unwearied labors in supplying him with information on the subject of his historical work, and whose interest in its success," he gratefully acknowledges in his letters; adding, — "To him nothing is indifferent that concerns literature, or the interests of his friends." During

* Letters to Herschel, January and February, 1825.
Mr. Grahame's short residence on the continent of Europe, his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, died; and he returned to England in the following September, 1825, under a heavy depression of spirits. He resumed, however, his favorite labors, but, in consequence of the failure of his health, was soon obliged to desist.

"The latter part of 1825 and the beginning of 1826," his friend Herschel states, "was passed by Mr. Grahame in London, under pressure of severe and dangerous as well as painful illness, the exhausting and debilitating effects of which were probably never obliterated from his constitution, and which made it necessary for him to seek safety in a milder climate than that of Scotland. Thither, however, he for a while returned, but only to write in a strain like the following: — 'Whitehill, April 24, 1826. My bodily health is nearly reëstablished; but my mind is in a wretched state of feebleness and languor, and indifference to almost every thing. My History is completely at a stand. The last month has been the most disagreeable of my life. If I am not to undergo some great change in the state of my faculties, I do sincerely hope my life may not be long. My discontent and uneasiness are, however, mitigated by the thought, that our condition is appointed by God, and that there must be duties attached to it, and some degree of happiness connected with the performance of those duties. Surely, the highest duty and happiness of a created being must arise from a willing subservience to the designs of the Creator.'"

Being apprized by his physicians that a residence in Scotland during the coming winter would probably prove fatal to him, he transferred his residence to the South of England, and, thenceforth abandoning his profession of advocate, devoted himself exclusively to the completion of his historical work, as appears by the following entry in his diary: — "March, 1826. Edinburgh. I am now pre-
paring to strike my tent, that is, dissolve my household and depart for ever from this place; my physicians requiring me not to pass another winter in the climate of Scotland. I quit my profession without regret, having little liked and greatly neglected it ever since I undertook the history of America, to which I shall be glad to devote uninterruptedly all my energies, as soon as I succeed in re-collecting them."

His journal bears continued testimony to the deep interest he took in every thing American, and the philosophic views which he applied to the condition and duties of the people of the United States. — "American writers are too apt to accept the challenge of Europeans to competitions quite unsuitable to their country. Themistocles neither envied nor emulated the boast of the flute-player, to whose challenge he answered: 'I cannot, indeed, play the flute like you; but I can transform a small village into a great city.' From evils from which America is happily ignorant there arise some partially compensating advantages, which she may very well dispense with. Titular nobility and standing armies, for example, develop politeness and honor (not honor of the purest and noblest kind) among a few, at the expense of depraving and depressing vast multitudes. Great inequalities of wealth, the bondage of the lower classes, have adorned European realms with splendid castles and cathedrals, at the expense of lodging the mass of society in garrets and hovels. If American writers should succeed in persuading their countrymen to study and assert equality with Europeans, in dramatic entertainments, in smooth polish of manners, and in those arts which profess to enable men to live idly and uselessly, without wearying, they will form a taste inconsistent with just discernment and appreciation of their political institutions. Vespasian destroyed the palace of Nero, as a monument of luxury and pernicious to morals. The absence
of such palaces as Trianon and Marly may well be com-

pensated by exemption from such tyranny as the revo-
cation of the edict of Nantes, which was coeval with their
erection."

Of Mrs. Trollope's "Domestic Manners of the Amer-

icans," and her depreciating view of "the society which
he regarded with love, admiration, and hope," he thus
writes in a subsequent page of his journal: — "What
is truth? Is it not as much in the position of the observ-
er as in the condition of the observed? Mrs. Trollope
seems to me full-fraught with the most pitiful vulgarities
of aristocratical ignorance and pretension; and these
would naturally invite the shock of what she seems to
have met with in the antipathy of democratic insolence
and coarseness; — she is Basil Hall in petticoats. Think
of such a brace of pragmatical pretenders and adventurers
as he and she, sitting in judgment on America!"

It is impossible not to remark the delight his mind
took in any associations connected with America. "At the
printing-office of Messrs. Strahan and Spottiswoode," he
writes, "I corrected a proof-sheet of my History of North
America, sitting within the walls of that establishment
where Franklin once was a workman." Again, at Kensing-
ton: — "I delight to stroll amid the sombre grandeur of
these gardens. The lofty height and deep shade of these
magnificent trees inspire a pleasing, solemn, half-melan-
choly gloom. Here Penn and Addison walked. Here
Rousseau, when in England, was wont to sit and muse.
Sometimes, in spirit, I meet their spirits here."

The first two volumes of his work, bringing the narra-
tive down to the period of the English Revolution, being
at length completed, were in February, 1827, published.
But Mr. Grahame was now destined to sustain a severe
disappointment. His History was received with little inter-
est by the British public, and by all the greater Reviews
with neglect. The Edinburgh, the Quarterly, and the Foreign Quarterly maintained towards it an ominous silence. Some of the minor Reviews, indeed, noticed it with qualified approbation. For Englishmen the colonial history of the United States had but few attractions; and the spirit in which Mr. Grahame had treated the subject was not calculated to gratify their national pride. He was thought to have "drunk too deep of the spirit of the Puritans"; it was said that his "hatred of tyranny had terminated in aversion to monarchy," — that towards the church of England "his feelings were fanatical," towards the church of Rome "illiberal and intolerant."

Conscious of the labor he had bestowed upon it, and of the fidelity with which it was executed, Mr. Grahame was not disheartened by the chilling reception his work met with from the British public, nor deterred from pursuing his original design; the conviction predominating in his mind, that sooner or later it would conciliate public esteem. Accordingly, in the autumn of the same year in which his first two volumes were published, he not only commenced their revision, but began an extension of his History to the period of the declaration of American independence. His interest in his subject evidently increased. "American history," he writes, "is my favorite field." — "I am averse to all other occupation." — "I am pleased to gather from any quarter wherewith to decorate my beloved North America." — "God bless the people and institutions of North America! So prays their warm friend, and obscure, but industrious, historian."

About this time, through the kindness of James Chalmers, nephew of the late George Chalmers, he obtained admission to the library of that distinguished American annalist. The treasures there opened to him rekindled his zeal, and he renewed his historical labors with an intense assiduity, ill comporting with the critical state of his health.
Apprehending a fatal termination of his disease, his medical advisers urged him to pass the ensuing winter at the island of Madeira; and thither his friend Herschel, through anxiety for his life, offered to accompany him. But no consideration could induce him to leave England, where alone the researches which occupied his mind could be pursued with advantage; and for the purpose of availing himself of the books on American history which London afforded, he established himself in its vicinity.

In May, 1828, Mr. Grahame visited Paris, accompanied by his father, who introduced him to La Fayette. "I was received," he writes, "by this venerable and illustrious man with the greatest kindness. His face expresses grave, mild, peaceful worth, the calm consciousness and serene satisfaction of virtue. I was charmed with his dignified simplicity, his mild but generous benevolence, and the easy, gentle, superior sense and virtue of his thinking." From Paris, Mr. Grahame travelled with his father along the banks of the Loire, visited Nantes, renewed his acquaintance with Marshal and Madame Cambronne, and spent some days in their family. "The modest, simple, chivalrous character of Marshal Cambronne," says Mr. Stewart, "attracted Mr. Grahame's esteem and admiration, and strengthened those ties of mutual interest and attachment which their former intercourse had originated."

Returning to the neighbourhood of London in June following, his health recruited by his excursion, he immediately resumed, with characteristic ardor, his favorite historical pursuits. At this time the Catholic emancipation question strongly agitated the British nation, and Mr. Grahame's ardent love of liberty and religious toleration excited in him a keen interest in the success of this measure. Having found the climate of Nantes adapted to his constitution, and enabling him, as he expressed himself, "to labor night and day at his historical work,"
he returned to that city in October, of the same year, and fixed his residence there during the ensuing winter and spring.

In May, 1829, on his homeward journey, he passed through Paris, again visited La Fayette, and saw him in the midst of his family, "surrounded," he writes, "by a troop of friends, some of distinguished character and aspect, and all regarding him with respect and admiration. Thus serene is the evening of his troubled but glorious life." Mr. Grahame adds: — "I had the honor and happiness of long and most interesting conversations with him, respecting the origin and commencement of his connection with the American cause. Nothing could be more friendly, kind, or benevolent than his manners; nothing more instructive, entertaining, or interesting than the conversation he bestowed upon me. How mild, wise, and good La Fayette is! Mr. Clarkson described him to me as a man who desires the happiness of the human race, in consistence with strict subservience to the cause of truth and the honor of God. I deem this a very honorable diploma. In the company of La Fayette, I feel an elevation of spirit and expansion of heart. What a roll of great deeds, heroic virtues, and interesting scenes is engraven on the lines of the venerable face of the prisoner of Olmutz!"

From this and other conversations Mr. Grahame acknowledges that he derived the materials for various passages in the text and notes of the fourth volume of his history of North America. This work he finished in December, 1829. The intense labor which he had applied to its completion brought on a severe nervous fever, which for a short time threatened a fatal result.

In April, 1830, Mr. Grahame was married, at Nantes, to Jane A. Wilson, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the Protestant pastor of that city. Concerning this connection, John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, thus writes: — "From this
period till his death, Mr. Grahame's home was at Nantes; and in the society of his pious, amiable, and accomplished wife, and under her tender and vigilant care, Mr. Grahame enjoyed a degree of tranquil happiness and renewed health to which he had been long a stranger; — interrupted only, at times, by his tendency to excessive literary exertion; but at a later period more seriously and permanently, by the dangerous, lingering, and almost hopeless illness of his daughter. Between Mr. and Mrs. Grahame existed the most devoted attachment, based upon a complete appreciation of and profound esteem for each other's qualities and principles. They were both interesting, even in appearance; tall and well proportioned; — their features bearing the impress of a happy seriousness, while their demeanour evinced that peculiarly attractive stamp of real gentility which Christian principles add to natural good-breeding."

After his marriage, Mr. Grahame resided for several years at L'Eperonniere, an ancient chateau in the environs of Nantes; Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the aged parents of his wife, being inmates of his family. "Through their long standing connections," continues Mr. Stewart, "Mr. Grahame found himself at once in the best French society of Nantes. There the worth of his character soon made itself respected. The interest he took in every thing affecting the welfare of the city (to which, if necessary, he was accustomed liberally to subscribe), the urbanity of his demeanour in his intercourse with individuals, united with the generosity of his disposition, soon caused him to be regarded more in the light of a fellow-citizen than as a stranger; and in process of time all such local distinctions as his numerous friends could bestow upon him, or induce him to accept, were conferred on him. The influence he thus acquired was chiefly and successfully exerted in the support of the small but increasing church profess-
ing the Protestant faith at Nantes. To several Frenchmen residing at Nantes Mr. Grahame became warmly attached; but though his spirit of general benevolence led him to take a warm interest in those among whom he lived, and notwithstanding he saw much among the French to admire and respect, yet the character of his mind and habits, staid, serious, and retired, did not permit his feelings towards that country to approach to any thing like the warmth of his affection and admiration for either America or England.”

Although Mr. Grahame had finished writing his History in December, 1829, he was far from regarding it as ready for the press. He had attributed the ill success of his first two volumes to the haste with which they had been published; he therefore resolved to devote several years to the revision of the entire work, and often expressed a doubt of its publication in his life-time.

Nearly four years had elapsed, and the silence of the European public concerning Mr. Grahame's volumes had not been broken by any voice from this side of the Atlantic. The high price of the English edition rendered its general circulation in this country hopeless; and American editors were yet to learn that it was possible for a foreigner and a Briton to treat the early history of the United States with fairness and impartiality. The knowledge of its nature and true value was confined to a few individuals. At length, in January, 1831, a just and discriminating critical notice of the work appeared in the North American Review. After expressing regret at the neglect with which it had hitherto been treated in America, and pointing out the causes of the little interest it had excited in this country, the reviewer proceeds to do justice to the independent spirit of the author; to his freedom from prejudice; to “the happy discrimination he had manifested on the solution of the leading principles that led to the coloniza-
tion of the several States, and the able exposition of the results which followed”; and to his having “corrected with proper boldness the mistakes, whether of ignorance or malignity, which his predecessors in the same labors had committed.” The reviewer adds, “Mr. Grahame, with a spirit able to appreciate the value of his subject, has published what we conceive the best book that has anywhere appeared upon the early history of the United States. He has not invariably avoided errors, but has coped very successfully with the disadvantages of his situation.” This is believed to be the first time Mr. Grahame’s History had been made, either in America or Europe, the special subject of notice in any leading Review.

This high commendation of the two volumes then published appears by his journal to have been “very gratifying” to Mr. Grahame, and to have encouraged him to proceed with the revision and preparation of his extended work. While, under this new incitement, he was assiduously employed in reexamining the details of his History, and exerting himself to render it as accurate as possible, he was interrupted by events which filled his domestic circle with grief and anxiety. In May, 1833, the death of Mrs. Wilson, his wife’s mother, for whom he entertained an affection truly filial, was immediately followed by the dangerous illness of his only daughter. Her physicians, both in France and England, having declared that her life depended upon a change of climate, Mr. and Mrs. Grahame immediately accompanied her to Madeira; whence, after a residence of nine months, they returned, her restoration being now deemed hopeless. She eventually recovered, however, in a manner “incomprehensible and unparalleled in medical experience,” and ultimately attained a state of fair and permanent health, to which the assiduous attention of her excellent mother-in-law greatly contributed.
On his return from Madeira, Mr. Grahame first heard of the death of La Fayette, to whose memory he pays the following tribute in his diary:—"La Fayette is dead! This 'sun of glory' is blotted from the political firmament, which he has so long adorned. Every honest and generous breast must 'feel the sigh sincere' for the loss of this great man,—the extinction of an effulgence of honor, virtue, and wisdom so benignly bright. Fully and beautifully did he exemplify the words of Wolsey: 'Love thyself last,' and 'Corruption wins not more than honesty.' He drew his last breath, and ceased to be a part (how honored, how admirable a part!) of human nature, at an early hour on the twentieth of this month [May], at the age of nearly seventy-seven. Pity that his last days must have been embittered by the existing dissensions in his beloved America! Of the human beings I have known, and knowing have regarded with unmingled veneration, there exist now only Mr. Clarkson and my father. It seems strange to me that La Fayette should be no more,—that such an illustrious ornament of human nature should disappear, and yet the world continue so like what it was before. Yet the words 'La Fayette is dead' will cause a keen sensation to vibrate through every scene of moral and intellectual being on earth. A thousand deep thoughts and earnest remembrances will awaken at that name, over which ages of renown had gathered, while yet its owner lived and moved and had his being among us. France, in losing this man, seems to me to have lost the brightest jewel in her national diadem, and to have suffered an eclipse of interest and glory."

During his residence in Madeira, Mr. Grahame continued the revision of his History, and on his return, after devoting another year to the same object, he took up his residence in London for the purpose of superintending its
publication. Here, again, his anxiety and unremitting industry induced a dangerous illness. His restoration to health he attributed to the assiduous care of two of his friends, Mrs. Reid and Dr. Boott. The former took him from his hotel to her own house, and thus secured for him retirement, quiet, and her undivided attention. "From her," he says, "I have received the most comfortable and elegant hospitality, the kindest and most assiduous care and conversation, seasoned with genius, piety, and benevolence, and the finest accomplishments of education." Concerning Dr. Boott, who is a native of Boston, Massachusetts, established as a physician in London, Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary:—"His knowledge is great; his abilities excellent; his flow of thought incessant; his heart and dispositions admirable. He insists that his valuable attendance upon me be accepted as friendly, and not remunerated as professional, service. In this man, America has sent me one of her noblest sons, to save the life of her historian."

After an interruption of six weeks, Mr. Grahame resumed the revision of the proof-sheets of his work; and, having finished this labor, returned to his family, at Nantes, in December. In the ensuing January (1836), his History was published.

Eleven years had now elapsed since Mr. Grahame had commenced writing the history of the United States. More earnest and assiduous research had seldom been exerted by any historian. His interest in the subject was intense. His talents were unquestionable. There was no carelessness in the execution, no haste in the publication. A Briton, highly educated, universally respected, of a moral and religious character which gave the stamp of authenticity to his statements and opinions, had devoted the best years of his life to the task of introducing his countrymen and the world to an acquaintance with the
early fortunes of a people who had risen with unparalleled rapidity to a high rank among the nations of the earth; yet a second time his work was received with neglect by those literary Reviews in Great Britain which chiefly guide the taste of the public, and distribute the rewards and honors of literary industry. Although highly wrought, elevated in sentiment, generous and noble in its design, all its views and influences made subservient to the cause of pure morals and practical piety, yet, as has been already observed, it was obviously not adapted to conciliate either the prejudices, the interests, or the feelings of the British public. It could not well be expected, that, under an Episcopal hierarchy, whose Roman Catholic origin and tendencies are manifest, a history of successful Puritanism would be acceptable. It could not be hoped, that, in a nation which had risen to the height of civilization and power under a monarchy based on an aristocracy, a work illustrative and laudatory of institutions strictly republican would be countenanced,—much more, generally patronized. Mr. Grahame had, moreover, not only imbibed the political principles of the Puritans, but had caught much of their devotional spirit. Hence his language, at times, is ill suited to the genius of an age which does not regard religion as the great business of life, nor the extension of its influences as one of the appropriate objects of history. Owing to these causes, his work received little encouragement in Europe, and the knowledge of its claims to respect and attention was limited. Nor were these consequences confined to Great Britain. American readers commonly rely on the leading Reviews of that country for notices of meritorious productions of Englishmen, and are not apt to make research after those which they neglect or depreciate. As Mr. Grahame belonged to no political or literary party or circle, he was without aid from that personal interest
and zeal which often confer an adventitious popularity. He trusted the success of his work wholly to its own merits, and, when disappointed a second time, neither complained nor was discouraged,—supported, as before, by a consciousness of his faithful endeavours, and by a firm belief in their ultimate success. He had assumed the whole pecuniary risk of his extended publication, in four volumes octavo, which resulted in a loss of one thousand pounds sterling,—and that, at a time, as he states, when it was not easy for him to sustain it. Taking no counsel of despondency, however, he immediately began to prepare for a second edition of his entire work, and devoted to it, during the remaining years of his life, all the time and strength which a constitutional organic disease permitted.

Hitherto, Mr. Grahame's interest in America had been derived from the study of her history and institutions; but in 1837 he formed an acquaintance with a few distinguished Americans, and received from them the respect due to his historical labors. Among these was Robert Walsh, Esq., who, after a brilliant and effective literary career in this country, had transferred his residence to Paris; by him Mr. Grahame was introduced to Washington Irving. Both these eminent Americans united in urging him to write the history of the American Revolution; Mr. Walsh offering to procure for him materials, and a sufficient guaranty against pecuniary loss.

Under this influence, he now entered upon a course of reading embracing that period of American history; but, as may be gathered from the general tenor of his subsequent remarks and the result, more from curiosity and interest in the subject than from any settled purpose of writing upon it; for early in August of this year (1837), he observes in his diary:—"Mr. Walsh, in his letters to me, renews his urgency that I should
write the history of the Revolutionary War. But I think I have done enough as a historian, and that a prudent regard to my own reputation bids me rather enforce my title than enlarge my claim to public attention.” And about the same time he wrote to Mr. Walsh: — “I cannot agree with you in thinking that our beloved America will regard with equal complacency a historic garland attached to her brows by foreign hands, and one in which a son of her own blends his own renown with hers.” Yet, from a letter to the same gentleman in September following, it is evident that Mr. Grahame entertained a strong predilection for the design; for he thus writes: — “The more I pursue my present American studies, the more I am struck with a pleasing astonishment. The account of the formation of the federal constitution of North America inspires me with delight and admiration. I knew but the outline of the scene before. Now, I find that the more its details are examined, the more honorable and interesting it proves. Truly does it deserve to be termed the greatest scene of human glory that ever adorned the tide of human time. I wish, that, ere my health and spirit had been broken, I had ventured to be the historian of that scene. But surely the country, the *magna mater virum,* that has produced such actors and such deeds, is herself destined to afford their fittest historian.” In a similar strain he writes in his journal, under the same date: — “The account (by Pitkin and others), which I am reading, of the formation of the federal constitution of North America, after the achievement of her national independence, fills me with astonishment and admiration. It would make me glad to be convinced that the present people of America and their leaders are altogether such as were the Americans of those days. Far more was gained to America (and through her, I hope, eventually to the whole world) by the wisdom, virtue, and moderation ex-
hibited by her children after the War of Independence, than by the valor that brought that war to its happy close. Such a scene the history of no other country ever exhibited. I wish I had been its historian. But a fit historian will surely arise one day.”

Botta, who had written the history of the American Revolution, died about this time in Paris. Mr. Grahame’s feelings were deeply moved by the event. “I hope,” he wrote in his diary, “that the Americans at Paris attended his funeral. Though only in heart an American, I would have desired leave to attend, had I been there.” And in a letter to Mr. Walsh, he remarks: — “I hope some memoir of Botta will appear. It should gratify Americans to learn, that, on his death-bed, he related (it was to myself), that his son, in some distant part of the world, received civilities from the officers and crew of an American vessel, who instantly recognized as a friend the son of the historian of their country, — adding, ‘That was a rich reward of my labors.’ When I told him that Jefferson had expressed admiration of his work, he squeezed my hand and testified much delight. And when I told him that both Jefferson and John Adams condemned his speeches as fictitious, he smiled and answered with naïveté, ‘They are not wholly invented.’ ”

Mr. Walsh having, in conversation, expressed to Mr. Grahame his surprise at the partiality he evinced for his country and countrymen, he replied, — “As Hannibal was taught by his father to hate the Romans, so was I trained by mine to love the Americans.” And in writing to that gentleman in October, 1837, he remarks, in the same spirit, — “I regret when I see the defence of America conducted with recrimination against Great Britain. But I must confess that my own indignation at the conduct and language of some of my countrymen towards America is at times uncontrollable. I wish that Americans
could regard these follies with indulgence, or magnani-
mous (perhaps disdainful) indifference. For my part, I
can truly say, that my daughter is hardly dearer to me
than America and American renown."

His admiration of the character of Washington is thus
expressed in his journal, under the date of September,
1837: — "O, what a piece of work of divine handi-
craft was Washington! What a grace to his nation, his
age, and to human nature was he! I know of no other
military and political chief who has so well supported the
character delineated in these lines of Horace: —

``Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidas.''

With the same feeling that tempted the clergyman, who
read the funeral service over the body of John Wesley,
to substitute, for the formula, 'our dear brother here de-
parted,' the words, 'our dear father here departed,' I am
inclined to regard Washington rather as a father than a
brother of his fellow-men. What a master, what a pupil,
were Washington and La Fayette! One day, when I was
sitting with La Fayette, he said to me, 'I was always a
Republican, and Washington was always my model and
my master.'” During the same month, he wrote to Mr.
Walsh: — “Washington impresses me with so much vene-
ration, that I have become more than ever anxious to know
what really was the state and complexion of his religious
opinions” ; and recurring, in a subsequent letter, to the
same topic, he remarks: — “I find McGuire's 'Religious
Opinions and Character of Washington' heavy, tiresome,
and, in general, unsatisfactory. But last night I reached
a passage which gave me lively delight; for now I can look
on Washington as a Christian.”

Until near the close of this year, Mr. Grahame continued
to pursue his researches on the subject of the American
Revolution, although laboring under a constant depression of health and spirits, and a prevailing apprehension that his life would be short, and that his constitutional disorders were symptomatic of sudden death. But in December, 1837, his physicians prohibited him from "writing or reading for some months, on any subject likely to provoke much thinking"; and on the 19th of this month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh, that he had reason to attribute his recent illness to his "late historic studies, and to the anxiety of mind earnest meditation had induced. For me to undertake such a work," he says, "or even contemplate it, or diligently prepare for it, until my health be totally renovated (which, in all human probability, it never will be), would, I clearly see, be to do to the subject and to myself unreasonable injustice. I therefore renounce it altogether. I hope you will not blame me, nor regret the trouble you have taken and the kindness you have shown me with the view of my prosecuting the career from which I have now retreated. For a long time before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, I had resolved, from a sense of both moral and physical incompetency, as well as on account of the slenderness of my success, the heaviness of my pecuniary loss, and other considerations, to carry my historic narrative no farther. It was your flattering encouragement—the laus laudati viri—that tempted me to mistake an agreeable vision for a reasonable hope, and to embrace the purpose I must now painfully, but decidedly, forego.

' Hos successus alit: possunt quia posse videntur.'

Neither category was mine. I had no success to sustain me, and no internal confidence to impel me; but the very reverse."

The charge of "invention," preferred against Mr. Grahame, by Mr. Bancroft, in his History,* on account of the

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1837.
epithet "baseness" applied by him to the conduct of Clarke, the agent of Rhode Island, in negotiating for that colony the charter it obtained in 1663 from Charles the Second, first came to Mr. Grahame's knowledge early in the year 1838, and excited in him feelings of surprise and a deep sense of wrong. "There is here," he immediately wrote to Mr. Walsh, "a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy which should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if the invention with which I am charged were justly laid to me. But the imputation is utterly false.—I have written under the guidance of authorities, on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity, than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute." A defence against this attack upon Mr. Grahame's veracity as a historian was soon after published by Mr. Walsh, in "The New York American"; which was succeeded by another from Mr. Grahame himself, in the same paper.

Mr. Bancroft, in a subsequent edition of his History,* silently withdrew the charge of "invention," and substituted in its stead that of "unwarranted misapprehension." It is not apparent how this charge is more tenable than was the other.

Mr. Grahame's strictures on Clarke's conduct in the negotiation referred to drew upon him the animadversions of "some of the literati of Rhode Island." Through them, he became acquainted with the intrinsic worth of Clarke's general character, and readily acknowledged him to be "a true patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity." Yet Mr. Grahame's mind was so deeply and unalterably

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1841.
impressed with the opinion, that Clarke had exceeded "the line of honor and integrity" in that negotiation, that he appears not to have been able to reconcile it to his sense of truth, as a historian, wholly to exonerate his conduct from censure. Accordingly, in the second edition of his History, now publishing in this country with his final revisions, Mr. Grahame thus alters the sentence which occasioned those animadversions: — "The envoy conducted his negotiation with a suppleness of adroit servility, that rendered the success of it dearly bought"; implying that Clarke, in suing for favors under such pretences as he urged to obtain them, had exhibited a "servile" spirit, "supple" in respect of policy, and "adroit" in the color he gave to the facts on which he based his hopes of success; and intimating that he could find no other apology for his conduct, than "the aptitude even of good men to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke."*

It is proper and due to the subject of this Memoir here to inquire into those general facts and circumstances which led Mr. Grahame (the tenor of whose mind towards the people of the United States was kind, candid, and laudatory) to express so strongly and adhere so perseveringly to the opinion he had formed concerning Clarke's conduct in the negotiation above adverted to.

At the time of Clarke's negotiation, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were both present by deputy at the court of Charles the Second,—both moved alike by fear; Massachusetts of the king, being apprehensive it was his intention to vacate her old charter; Rhode Island of Massachusetts, who had shown a disposition to extend her jurisdiction over territory which Rhode Island claimed, as also to interfere with the local government and religious liberties of this colony. It was no motive of loyalty that induced the appearance of either of them at court; nor was there any thing in their previous history which could entitle the deputies of either colony to vaunt any sentiment of this sort on the part of their constituents.

In this state of things, and notwithstanding "Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament, in the commencement of its struggles with Charles the First, while Massachusetts declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success," (Grahame, l. 323,) — Chalmers represents Clarke as "boasting of the loyalty" of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, and, in order to depreciate Massachusetts in the opinion of King Charles the Second, and exalt Rhode Island, as challenging the deputies of the former colony "to adduce one act of loyalty shown by their constituents to
From Mr. Grahame's position as a distant observer, his views of character and events may sometimes conflict with those entertained in this country; yet his spirit is wholly American, and his prevailing desire and delight is to do justice to the actors in the scenes he describes. The high moral tone, and the ever active, all-controlling religious sentiment and feeling, which pervade his work, inspire the strongest confidence in all that he writes; and it seems impossible for any one, in the exercise of a sound and un-

Charles the First or his successor." "The challenge thus confidently given," adds Chalmers, "was not accepted." The agents of Massachusetts would not condescend, for the sake even of saving their charter, to feign a sentiment which they were sensible had no existence. Their silence, under such circumstances, is impossible for any fair mind not to honor and approve.

Furthermore, Chalmers states that the Rhode-Islanders "procured from the chiefs of the Narragansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown," and that their "deputies boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of that transaction." Now, in point of fact, the name of King's Province was not given to the Narraganset country until 1606, three years after Clarke's negotiation; — see Collections of Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. IV., p. 69; — and in respect of the surrender of the Narraganset country, Gorton, who was the chief agent in receiving it, explicitly states, that it was self-moved on the part of the Indians; that they sent to the colonists and voluntarily offered it; and does not pretend that the Rhode-Islanders had any farther agency in the affair than encouraging the disposition of the Indians to make the surrender, aiding them in doing it in legal form, and promising to transmit their deed and desire of protection to the English government. — See Gorton's Simplicities Defence, pp. 79 - 81.

In view of Clarke's hollow pretences of loyalty on the part of his constituents, and the supposititious proofs of it adduced by him, it is not wonderful that a mind like that of Mr. Grahame should have become immovably fixed in the opinion, that the conduct of the Rhode Island deputy was not reconcilable with truth and integrity, and that it was unbecoming a historian who meant to be just, and was conscious of being impartial, to refrain from expressing with fidelity the convictions forced upon him by a knowledge of the facts and circumstances.

Clarke was unquestionably faithful to his agency. He acted according to the views and wishes of his constituents, and in vaunting their "loyalty" he probably followed their instructions; and was therefore fully entitled to all the thanks they expressed, and all the honors they conferred upon him. A Christian moralist, like Grahame, who had drunk deep of "Siloa's brook, which flowed fast by the oracles of God," naturally can allow no compromise with truth for the sake of effect or success, and must unavoidably apply to the conduct of men, whether acting as private individuals or as public agents, one and the same pure and elevated moral standard; a strictness of moral principle, which, it must be confessed, in respect of public agents, the customs and opinions of the world do not regard as either practicable or politic.
prejudiced judgment, to believe that a mind impelled by motives so pure and elevated, having no personal ends to serve, no party purposes to answer, could, under any circumstances, knowingly warp the truth, invent or suppress facts, or give to them any false or delusive coloring. Mr. Grahame had never visited the United States, and his opportunities for intercourse with its citizens had been few; but he spared neither time, labor, nor expense to acquaint himself with the authentic materials of its history; he laid the public libraries of Scotland, England, France, and Germany under contribution to the completeness and accuracy of his work; and if he has occasionally fallen into mistakes, they are either such as all historians, who rely for their facts on the authority of others, are subject to, or such as might naturally be expected under the peculiar circumstances of the case,—being chiefly on points of local history, in their nature of little interest or importance beyond the immediate sphere or the particular persons they affect; and when traced to their sources, it will often be found that even into these he was led by authorities whose errors have been detected only by recent research, in some instances subsequent to the publication of his volumes.

In February, 1839, Mr. Grahame writes to Mr. Walsh:

"You propose (and deeply I feel the honor and kindness of the proposal) to have an American edition of my work published at Philadelphia. Now, pray, ponder wisely and kindly these suggestions. Much as I should otherwise like a republication of my work in America, I could not enjoy it, "With unreproved pleasure free;"

if I thought it would be at all disagreeable to Mr. Bancroft, or that it would be construed in America as a competitive challenge of an English to an American writer. Let there be, if it be necessary or profitable, a rivalry (a generous one) between England and America. But I am
far too much Americanized, to think, without chagrin and impatience, of *my* seeming the rival (the foreign rival) of a great American writer. Dear to me is the fame of every man whose fame is interwoven with the fame of America, and whose career tends to justify to myself and to the world the delightful feelings of admiration and hope with which she inspires me.” And, in a subsequent letter on the same topic, he writes to the same correspondent: — “Most sincerely do I wish that an American may prove the great, the conclusive, and the lasting historian of America. I shall be content, if of my work some Englishmen and perhaps a few Americans say, ‘So thought an Englishman who loved his country, but affected still more warmly the cause of truth, justice, and universal human welfare.’”

In his correspondence with this gentleman, during this and the ensuing year, the American bias of his mind appears on almost every occasion and every subject. Intermingled with this, we continually meet with manifestations of that all-pervading religious sentiment, and of that tenderness of the domestic affections, which constituted the most striking and beautiful elements of his character. Thus, in congratulating Mr. Walsh on the restored health of his “wife,” he remarks: — “They say that Americans, in general, say lady and female, when we say wife and woman. Now, I reckon wife, woman, and mamma to be the three loveliest words in the English language.”

And, writing concerning his having completed the fortieth year of his age, he adds: — “The period of life, at which, I believe, Aristotle fixes the decline of human abilities. I would give all the abilities I have, and ten times more, if I had them, for a deep, abiding sense of piety and the love of God. May that, my dear, kind friend, be yours and mine! And can we wish a happier portion to those whom we love? All else fades away.”

In the course of this year (1839), a highly laudatory
review of the "History of North America" was read before the Royal Academy of Nantes, by M. Malherbe, in which its merits were analyzed and acknowledged; and Mr. Grahame was, in consequence, unanimously elected a member of the Academy.

In August, of the same year, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mr. Grahame by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard University. It was the first public evidence of respect he had received from this side of the Atlantic; and it drew from him unqualified expressions of satisfaction. In a letter to Rev. George E. Ellis, of Massachusetts, in November following, he writes:—

"Harvard College has long been a spot round which my heart hovered.

"Ille terrarum mihi praefer omnes
Angulus ridet."

Now, indeed, it is doubly dear to me; for I feel myself, in a manner, one of its sons. The view of the College buildings in Peirce's History awakened and detained my fondest regards. May truth, virtue, and happiness flourish within those walls, and beam forth from them to the divine glory and human welfare! Though somewhat broken by years and infirmities, I yet cherish the hope to see Harvard University before I die." In a letter to Mr. Walsh, in October following, he thus refers to the same topic:—"I am now an American. Your dear country has adopted me. Never let me hear again of America or Americans owing any thing to me. I am the much indebted party. I feel with the keenest sensibility the honor that Harvard University has conferred upon me."

The writer of a critical notice of Bancroft's History of the United States, in the North American Review, for January, 1841, introduced some incidental remarks on that of Mr. Grahame. After bearing testimony to his capacity, though a foreigner, to appreciate the motives and institu-
tions of the Puritans, and acknowledging the fidelity and candor, the extent and accuracy of his researches, the critic adds: — "Mr. Grahame's work, with all its merit, is the work of a foreigner. And that word comprehends much that cannot be overcome by the best writer. He may produce a beautiful composition, faultless in style, accurate in the delineation of prominent events, full of sound logic and most wise conclusions. But he cannot enter into the sympathies, comprehend all the minute feelings, prejudices, and peculiar ways of thinking, which form the idiosyncrasy of the nation."

The author of this review was well understood to be William H. Prescott, Esq., and Mr. Grahame thus remarks upon it in his journal: — "Prescott's critical notice of Bancroft's third volume, in the North American Review, contains some handsome commendation of my work; — qualified by that favorite canon of American literary jurisprudence, that no man not born and bred in America can perform, as such a function ought to be performed, the task of describing the people, or relating even their distant history. Now, I am inclined to suspect that this theorem is unsound in principle and false in fact. I think a man may better describe objects, from not having been inveterately habituated and familiarized to them; and at once more calmly contemplate and more impartially estimate national character, of which he is not a full, necessitated, born partaker, — and national habits, prejudices, usages, and peculiarities, under the dominance of which his own spirit has not been moulded, from its earliest dawn of intelligent perception."

In a letter to Mr. Prescott, dated March 3d, 1841, he recurs to this topic. "On the general censure of your countrymen, that, 'personally unacquainted with America, I cannot correctly delineate even her distant history,' — Queen Elizabeth desired that her portrait should
be painted without shade; because, by a truly royal road to the principles of that art, she had discovered that shade is an accident. Are not some of your countrymen possessed of a similar feeling, and desirous that every historic portrait of America should represent it 'as it ought to be,' and 'not as it is'? When I look into the works of some of your greatest American writers, and see how daintily they handle certain topics,—elusively playing or rather fencing with them, as if they were burning ploughshares,—I must respectfully doubt, if, as yet at least, an American is likely to be the best writer of American history. That the greatest and most useful historian that has ever instructed mankind will yet arise in America, I fondly hope, desire, and believe. It would be my pride to be regarded as the pioneer of such a writer, and to have, in any wise, contributed to the utility of his work and the extension of American fame. I trust it is with you, as it is with me, a sacred maxim, that to good historiography elevation and rectitude of soul are at least as requisite as literary resource and intellectual range and vigor."

In June of this year, he received, and in his journal thus comments on, Quincy's History of Harvard University:—"Read it with much interest. No other country, from the first syllable of recorded time, ever produced a seat of learning so honorable to its founders and early supporters as Harvard University. This work is the only recent American composition with which I am acquainted that justifies his countrymen's plea, that there is something in their history that none but an American born and bred can adequately conceive and render. His account of the transition of the social system of Massachusetts, from an entire and punctilious intertexture of church and state to the restriction of municipal government to civil affairs and occupations, is very curious and interesting, and admirably fills up an important void in New England history. He
wounds my prejudices by attacking the Mathers, and other persons of a primitive cast of Puritanism, with a severity the more painful to me that I see not well how I can demur to its justice. But though I disapprove and dissent from many of their views, and regret many of their proceedings, yet the depths of my heart are with the primitive Puritans and the Scottish Covenanters; and even their errors I deem of nobler kind than the frigid merits of some of the emendators of their policy."

In the same strain he wrote to Mr. Quincy on the 4th of July following: — "I regard the primitive Puritans much as I do the Scottish Covenanters; respectfully disapproving and completely dissenting from many of their views and opinions; especially their favorite scheme of an intertexture of church and state, which appears to me not only unchristian, but antichristian. But I cordially embrace all that is purely doctrinal in their system, and regard their persons with a fond, jealous love, which makes me indulgent even to their errors. Carrying their heavenly treasures in earthly vessels, they could not fail to err. But theirs were the errors of noble minds. How different from those of knaves, fools, and lukewarm professors! I forget what poet it is that says,

'Some failings are of nobler kind
Than virtues of a narrow mind.'"

The complete restoration to health of his only daughter, and her marriage to John Stewart, Esq., the brother-in-law of the friend of his youth and manhood, Sir John F. W. Herschel, shed bright rays of happiness over the last years of Mr. Grahame's life. These were passed at Nantes in his domestic circle, in the companionship of the exemplary and estimable lady who had united her fortunes with his, and cheered by the reflected happiness and welfare of his children. His only son, who was pursuing successfully the career of a solicitor in Glasgow, occasion-
ally visited him as his professional avocations would permit. His daughter and son-in-law divided their time between Nantes and England. Always passionately fond of children, and having the power of rendering himself singularly attractive to them, by his gentle, quiet, playful manner, he was devotedly attached to his little granddaughter, who became his frequent companion. By direction of his medical attendant, Dr. Fouré, an eminent physician of Nantes, he abstained from all severe literary toil, and under the influence of these tranquil scenes of domestic happiness his health visibly improved; nor was there the slightest suspicion of the organic disease which was destined soon to terminate his life. During this period, however, whatever study the rule laid down by his medical friend permitted was directed to the improvement of his history of the United States, to which he made many additions and amendments, and which he declared, shortly before his death, he had finally completed to his own satisfaction, and thoroughly prepared for a second edition.

Circumstances in which Mr. Grahame had been accidentally placed had forcibly directed his mind to the subject of slavery, the enormity of the evil, and its effects on the morals and advancement of the people among whom it existed. He had acquired, in right of his wife, an estate in the West Indies, which was cultivated by slaves. His feelings in respect of this slave-derived income are strongly expressed in a letter to Sir John F. W. Herschel, dated the 24th of February, 1827. "A subject has for some time been giving me uneasiness. My children are proprietors of a ninth share of a West India estate, and I have a life-rent in it. Were my children of age, I could not make one of the negroes free, and could do nothing but appropriate or forego the share of produce the estate yielded. Often have I wished it were in my power to make the slaves free, and thought this barren wish a sufficient
tribute to duty. My conscience was quite laid asleep. Like many others, I did not do what I could, because I could not do what I wished. For years past, something more than a fifth part of my income has been derived from the labor of slaves. God forgive me for having so long tainted my store! and God be thanked for that warning voice that has roused me from my lethargy, and taught me to feel that my hand offended me! Never more shall the price of blood enter my pocket, or help to sustain the lives or augment the enjoyment of those dear children. They sympathize with me cordially. Till we can legally divest ourselves of our share, every shilling of the produce of it is to be devoted to the use of some part of the unhappy race from whose suffering it is derived.” Subsequently, with the consent of his children, Mr. Grahame entirely gave up this slave-property, amounting to several thousand pounds.

His interest in the fate of the African race had been excited several years before by a circumstance which he thus relates in his diary, under date of October, 1821. “My father is most vigorously engaged in protecting three poor, forlorn Africans from being carried, against their wills, back to the West Indies. They were part of the crew of a vessel driven by stress of weather into the port of Dumbarton. While the vessel was undergoing some repairs, the people of the town remarked with surprise the precautions by which unnecessary communication with the shore was prevented; and their surprise was converted into strong suspicion, when they perceived sometimes, in the evening, a few black heads on the deck, suffered to be there a short time, and then sent below. A number of the citizens applied to the magistrates, but the magistrates were afraid to interfere; so the people had the sense and spirit to convey the intelligence by express to my father, whose zeal for the African race was well
known. He instantly caused the vessel to be arrested, and has cheerfully undertaken the enormous damages, as well as the costs of suit, to which he will be subjected, if the case be decided against him.” In a subsequent entry in his diary, Mr. Grahame writes, — “But it was decided in his favor.”

By the same daily record it appears, that, in 1823, his feelings were still further excited on the subject of slavery by an incident which he thus relates:— “Zachary M’Aulay showed me to-day some of the laws of Jamaica, and pointed out how completely every provision for restraining the cruelty of the masters and alleviating the bondage of the slaves is defeated by counter provisions that render the remedy unattainable. — What a stain on the history of the church of England is it, that not one of her wealthy ministers, not one of her bishops who sit as peers of the realm in the House of Lords, has ever attempted to mitigate the evils of negro slavery, or ever called the public attention to that duty! No, they leave the field of Christian labor to Methodists and Moravians.”

Actuated by such feelings and sentiments, he published, in 1823, a pamphlet, entitled “Thoughts on the Projected Abolition of Slavery,” — a production, which, in the latter years of his life, he declared that he looked back upon with unalloyed pleasure and satisfaction. In 1828, Mr. Grahame relates in his journal, that he had a long conversation on this subject with the celebrated Abbé Grégoire, to whom he had been introduced by La Fayette. In the course of this conversation, the Abbé stated to him that he “had written to Jefferson, combating the opinions expressed in Jefferson’s ‘Notes on Virginia,’ of the inferiority of the intellectual capacity of the negroes, and that Jefferson had answered, acknowledging his error.”

The prevalent language on the subject of negro slavery in some parts of the United States, and the apparently
general acquiescence of the people in the continuance of that institution, led him, in the latter years of his life, to apprehend, that, in the first edition of his History, he had treated that subject with more indulgence than was consistent with truth and duty. Under this impression, he remarks in his diary, in December, 1837: — "My admiration of America, my attachment to her people, and my interest in their virtue, their happiness, their dignity, and renown, have increased, instead of abating. But research and reflection have obliged me, in the edition of my works which I have been preparing since the publication in 1835, to beat down some American pretensions to virtue and apologies for wrong, which I had formerly and too hastily admitted. Much as I value the friendship and regard of the Americans, I would rather serve than gratify them; rather deserve their esteem than obtain their favor."

Early in the year 1842, a pamphlet, published in London, in 1835, entitled, "A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Subject of American Slavery, by an American," was put into Mr. Grahame's hands, as he states, "by another American, most honorably distinguished in the walks of science and philanthropy," who bid him "read there the defence of his (the American's) country." The positions maintained by this writer — that "slavery was introduced into the American colonies, now the United States, by the British government," and that "the opposition to it there was so general, that, with propriety, it may be said to have been universal" — roused Mr. Grahame's indignation; which was excited to an extreme when he perceived these statements repeated and urged in a memorial addressed to Daniel O'Connell by certain Irish emigrants settled at Pottsville, in the United States. Having devoted some time to a careful perusal of this pamphlet, he felt himself called upon as a Briton, from a regard to the reputation
of his country and to truth, and from a belief that "no living man knew more of the early history of the American people than himself," to contradict, in the most direct and pointed manner, the statements referred to; pledging himself, as he says, "to prove that the above-mentioned pamphlet is a production more disgraceful to American literature and character (in so far as it is to be esteemed the representative of either) than any other literary performance with which I am acquainted."

He accordingly applied himself forthwith to an extended discussion of this subject in a pamphlet to which he affixed the title: — "Who is to blame? or Cursory Review of American Apology for American Accession to Negro Slavery." In this pamphlet Mr. Grahame admits that Great Britain "facilitated her colonial offspring to become slaveholders," — "that she encouraged her merchants in tempting them to acquire slaves," — that "her conduct during her long sanction of the slave-trade is indefensible," — that "she excelled all her competitors in slave-stealing, for the same reason that she excelled them in every other branch of what was then esteemed legitimate traffic"; — but denies that she "forced the Americans to become slaveholders," — denies that "the slave-trade was comprehended within the scope and operation of the commercial policy of the British government until the reign of Queen Anne," — and asserts, that, "prior to that reign, negro slavery was established in every one of the American provinces that finally revolted from Great Britain, except Georgia, which was not planted until 1733." The argument in this pamphlet is pressed with great strength and spirit, and the whole is written under the influence of feelings in a state of indignant excitement. Without palliating the conduct of Great Britain, he regards the attempt to exculpate America, by criminating the mother country, as unworthy and unjust; contending that neither was under
any peculiar or irresistible temptation, but only such as is common to man, when, in the language of the Apostle, "he is drawn away by his own lusts and enticed." His argument respecting the difference, in point of guilt, between America and Great Britain results as another identical question has long since resulted concerning the comparative guilt of the receiver and the thief.

At the urgent request of his and his father's friend, Thomas Clarkson, the early and successful asserter of the rights of Africans, he left Nantes, where he resided, in the month of June, 1842, and repaired to London, for the purpose of superintending the publication of his pamphlet on negro slavery. On arriving there, he placed his manuscript in the hands of a printer, and immediately proceeded to Playford Hall, Ipswich, the residence of Mr. Clarkson. Concerning this distinguished man, Mr. Grahame, under date of the 25th of June, thus writes in his diary:—

"Mr. Clarkson's appearance is solemnly tender and beautiful. Exhausted with age and malady, he is yet warmly zealous, humane, and affectionate. Fifty-seven years of generous toil have not relaxed his zeal in the African cause. He watches over the interests of the colored race in every quarter of the world, desiring and promoting their moral and physical welfare, rejoicing in their improvement, afflicted in all their afflictions. The glory of God and the interests of the African race are the master-springs of his spirit."

After two days passed in intercourse with this congenial mind, Mr. Grahame returned to London, and occupied himself zealously in correcting the proof-sheets of his pamphlet. On the morning of the 30th of June, he was assailed by severe pain, which his medical attendant attributed at first to indigestion, and treated as such. But it soon assumed a more alarming character. Eminent physicians were called for consultation, and his brother,
Thomas Grahame, was sent for. From the nature and intensity of his suffering, Mr. Grahame soon became sensible that his final hour was approaching, and addressed himself to meet it with calmness and resignation. He proceeded to communicate his last wishes to his son-in-law, directed where he should be buried, and dictated his epitaph: — "James Grahame, Advocate, Edinburgh, Author of the History of the United States of North America; aged 51." He, at the same time, expressed the hope concerning his recently published pamphlet, that no efforts might be spared to secure its sale and distribution, "as he had written it conscientiously and with single-heartedness, and had invoked the blessing of God upon it."

Notwithstanding the distinguished skill of his physicians, every remedy failed of producing the desired effect. His disorder was organic, and beyond the power of their art. Such was the excruciating agony which preceded his death, that his friends could only hope that his release might not be long delayed. This wish was granted on Sunday morning, the 3d of July.

"His endurance of the pain and oppression of breathing which preceded his death," says Mr. Stewart, "was perfectly wonderful. His features were constantly calm, placid, and at last bore a bright, even a cheerful expression. His attendants, while bending close towards him, caught occasionally expressions of prayer; his profound acquaintance with the Scriptures enabling him, in this hour of his need, to draw strength and support from that inexhaustible source, where he was accustomed to seek and to find it."

He was buried in Kensall Green Cemetery, in the neighbourhood of London. His son-in-law, John Stewart, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, attended his remains to the grave. His son, also, who had set out from Scotland on hearing of his illness, though arriving too late to see
him before he expired, was not denied the melancholy satisfaction of being present at his interment. A plain marble monument has been erected over his tomb, bearing the exact inscription he himself dictated.

These scanty memorials are all that it has been possible, in this country, to collect in relation to James Graham. Though few and disconnected, they are grateful and impressive.

The habits of his life were domestic, and in the family circle the harmony and loveliness of his character were eminently conspicuous. His mind was grave, pure, elevated, far-reaching; its enlarged views ever on the search after the true, the useful, and the good. His religious sentiments, though exalted and tinctured with enthusiasm, were always candid, liberal, and tolerant. In politics a republican, his love of liberty was nevertheless qualified by a love of order,—his desire to elevate the destinies of the many, by a respect for the rights and interests of the few. As in his religion there was nothing of bigotry, so in his political sentiments there was nothing of radicalism.

As a historian, there were combined in Mr. Graham all the qualities which inspire confidence and sustain it;—a mind powerful and cultivated, patient of labor, indefatigable in research, independent, faithful, and fearless; engaging in its subject with absorbing interest, and in the development of it superior to all influences except those of truth and duty.

To Americans, in all future times, it cannot fail to be an interesting and gratifying circumstance, that the foreigner, who first undertook to write a complete history of their republic from the earliest period of the colonial settlements, was a Briton, eminently qualified to appreciate the merits of its founders, and at once so able and so willing to do jus-
tice to them. The people of the United States, on whose national character and success Mr. Grahame bestowed his affections and hopes, owe to his memory a reciprocation of feeling and interest. As the chief labor of his life was devoted to illustrate the wisdom and virtues of their ancestors and to do honor to the institutions they established, it is incumbent on the descendants to hold and perpetuate in grateful remembrance his talents, virtues, and services.
THE
MEMORY
OF
THE LATE JAMES GRAHA ME,
THE HISTORIAN OF THE UNITED STATES,

VINDICATED
FROM THE

CHARGES OF "DETRACTION" AND "CALUMNY" PREFERRED AGAINST HIM BY MR. GEORGE BANCROFT,

AND

THE CONDUCT OF MR. BANCROFT TOWARDS THAT HISTORIAN

STATED AND EXPOSED.

By JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON:
WM. CROSBY AND H. P. NICHOLS,
118 WASHINGTON STREET.
1846.
THere appeared in the Boston Courier of the fourth of March last a letter from Mr. George Bancroft, addressed to Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, the editor of that paper, in which he complains of a "groundless attack" made upon him, and a "grievous wrong" done to the memory of John Clarke, of Rhode Island, by James Grahame, author of "The History of the United States of North America" recently published in this country.

Mr. Bancroft also complains that the American editor of Mr. Grahame's work (Josiah Quincy) has "given publicity to [Grahame's] personal criminations of him [Mr. Bancroft]," — "still insists on attributing to Clarke the dishonest part of making 'hollow pretences to loyalty' and adducing 'supposititious proofs' of it," — has lent his aid to the promulgation of Grahame's "renewed detraction" of Clarke, and has "stepped forward to defend the new version of the [Mr. Grahame's] calumny, accompanied by an impeachment of his [Mr. Bancroft's] 'candor,' 'correctness,' and 'rectitude.'" The letter concludes with the following words: — "Mr. Quincy owes it to me, and owes it
to the memory of the dead whom he has wronged, to correct the statements which he has put forth; and, as he published Grahame's work by subscription, he should send a copy of the correction to every one of his subscribers."

I thank Mr. Bancroft for the suggestion. A copy of this pamphlet shall be sent to every subscriber to Grahame's History, so far as they can be ascertained. It shall also be published in a form adapted to the most extensive circulation; so that wheresoever either that History or Mr. Bancroft's History shall go, there this pamphlet shall accompany it, if the purchaser so pleases.

Although I enter with exceeding reluctance on the work to which I am thus publicly called, it shall not be slighted. The memory of a man to whom every American owes a debt of gratitude is publicly assailed by Mr. Bancroft,—charged with "detraction" and "calumny." His defence is cast upon me by circumstances I neither sought nor desired, but the obligations of which I recognize; and no considerations of personal labor or responsibility shall deter me from discharging these obligations fully, faithfully, and fearlessly.

So far as I may be thought to be personally involved in the controversy which has arisen between these two historians, I am indeed greatly mistaken, if, after considering the developments I am now compelled to make, and which, unless thus called upon, it was my intention never to have laid before the public, all impartial and intelligent minds do not concur in the opinion, that heretofore my proceedings towards Mr. Bancroft have been kind and considerate, and that hitherto he has owed me gratitude and thanks for what I have withheld, rather than complaint and crimination for what I have written and published.
I shall give a simple narrative of the origin of the controversy between these historians, of my connection with it, and of the language and conduct of Mr. Bancroft in relation to it.

James Grahame, a Briton, highly educated, deeply imbued with a religious spirit, and distinguished for private worth and moral sentiment singularly pure and elevated, imbibed early in life, from paternal influence and the liberal tendencies of his own mind, a deep interest in the institutions, and a lively affection for the character, of the people of the United States. Under these influences, he was led, in the year 1824, to commence a Colonial History of that people, the first two volumes of which, ending with the era of the English Revolution of 1688, he published in 1827. And in 1836, having finished his original design, and brought his History down to the period of the American Declaration of Independence, he published his work complete in four volumes octavo.

A spirit more truly devoted to America, better disposed to do justice to her cause, or more deeply touched with admiration of her conduct and principles, cannot be expected, or hoped for, even among her native citizens. To his History of the United States he gave nearly twenty years of the best part of his life, and sought, with great labor and expense, the original and authentic materials for his undertaking, in the libraries of England, Scotland, France, and Germany. Considering the disadvantages under which he wrote, his success is truly wonderful. He had never visited the United States; his personal acquaintance with Americans was confined to a few individuals; and his opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the idi-
osyncrasies of the people were unavoidably limited. But, on the other hand, he enjoyed singular advantages in his free access to the great collections relative to American history in the British Museum and the public offices of Great Britain, which are far more extensive than any existing in this country. A work of more thorough and laborious research, or more faithful to its authorities, is yet to be written, if it ever can be.

This historian, thus kindly disposed, and without one conceivable motive to be unjust to any man or any party, came, in the course of his narrative, to the consideration of the political relations of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, antecedent to the charter obtained for Rhode Island, from Charles the Second, in 1663, through the agency of John Clarke. The authorities from whom he drew his narrative of the negotiation by which that charter was obtained were Chalmers and Hazard; chiefly the former, although, in material features, corroborated by the latter. The high character of these authorities is too well known and established to render it necessary for me to offer any testimony to their merits; Mr. Bancroft, certainly, will not call in question their accuracy and fidelity, since in his own History he continually cites and relies upon them.

Chalmers relates, that, during the year 1644, the people of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations "procured from the chiefs of the Narraghansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown," — that the measure was "offensive to Massachusetts," — and that subsequently "the deputies of these plantations boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of this transaction, and at the
same time 'challenged the agents of Boston to display any one act of duty or loyalty shewn by their constituents to Charles the First, or to the present king, from their first establishment in New England.' The challenge thus confidently given was not accepted.” He then proceeds to state briefly, that in May, 1647, the Plantations adopted a new form of government, which was suspended in October, 1652, by an order of the Council of State for the English Commonwealth; that it was soon resumed, however, and enjoyed till the Restoration, when they immediately proclaimed Charles the Second, and sent Clarke as their agent to the court of that monarch to solicit a charter, which he obtained in September, 1662, and which was finally passed in 1663.*

Now the only individual who at any time during the reign of Charles the Second sustained the character of deputy of these plantations was John Clarke, whose mission terminated in 1664,† — and besides Clarke’s

* See Chalmers, Political Annals, pp. 273, 274.
† It appears by the State Records and Proceedings of Assembly, as cited in Potter’s Early History of Narragansett (R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., p. 72) that in June, 1670, “John Clark and John Greene were appointed to go to England and vindicate the colonies’ rights before the king.” The occasion of this appointment seems to have been a dispute with the neighbouring colony of Connecticut, in regard to their respective rights in the Narragansett country. “Considering,” however, “the great travill and charge of goeing so far a voyage as that will require,” and for other reasons, the Assembly of Rhode Island, in October following, proposed to the Assembly of Connecticut “that they compose their differences among themselves, and forbear troubling his Majistye with complaints” (Potter’s Early Hist. of Narr., Appendix, p. 184), — a proposal which seems finally to have been acquiesced in. The occasion for the intended mission being thus removed, the deputies appear not to have been sent. This is confirmed by the fact, that in Backus (Vol. I., pp. 398-400) we find a letter bearing date Nov. 30, 1670, addressed to Mr. Clarke at Newport; and by the authority first above cited it ap-
negotiation which resulted in the Rhode Island charter, there is no intimation in Chalmers of the existence of any other during this reign — and in fact there was no other conducted by "deputies of these plantations" — to which the "challenge" and the "boast" can possibly be referred. Moreover, the colonial authorities of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were at this very time engaged in an angry controversy in regard to their respective rights of jurisdiction and territory in the Narragansett country; * and to procure his Majesty’s adjudication upon this point appears to have been a leading object with Rhode Island in appointing Clarke, and with Massachusetts in sending Bradstreet and Norton, as their respective deputies to the court of Charles the Second.† Furthermore,

pears that Clarke and Greene were both present at "a Court of Justices held at Westerly," May 16, 1671, — the former in the capacity of Deputy-governor, and the latter in that of Assistant. — This is the only mention I have been able to find, after a careful search into all the authorities, of any appointment of deputies for the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to the Court of Charles the Second subsequently to Clarke’s return in 1664.

A decisive confirmation of the statement in the text will be found in the following extract from a letter from Professor Gammell, of Brown University, Providence, R. I., the learned and accomplished author of the Life of Roger Williams, in Sparks’s American Biography,—written in reply to one addressed to him by me on this subject, in April, 1845. He says, "I can find no account of any other agent of the colony at the court of Charles the Second than ‘our trustie John Clarke, physician, of Newport.’ . . . . Before the time of Charles the Second, Roger Williams was for a short period associated with Clarke; and it is possible that Gorton and his associates, when in England some time before, may have been regarded as agents; but after the Restoration, it does not appear that the colony had any other representative than Dr. Clarke."

* See Backus, I., 336 - 346.

† This appears by the tenor of their respective commissions and instructions. Clarke’s commission, dated Oct. 18, 1660, recites that "there have been sundry obstructions emerging, whereby this colony
in the preamble of the charter of 1663, the very same vaunts are expressly attributed to Clarke which Chalmers ascribes to "the deputies of these [the Rhode Island and Providence] plantations," — namely, the loyalty of his constituents, and their merit in procuring the surrender of the Narragansett country to the English crown; and this boasted loyalty and merit stand prominent among the grounds on which the charter is declared to be granted: — "Whereas we [the king] have been informed, by the humble petition of our trusty and well beloved subject, John Clarke, on the behalf of, &c., and the rest of the purchasers and free inhabitants of our Island called Rhode Island, and

have been put to trouble and charge for the preservation and keeping inviolate those privileges and immunities to us granted in the foresaid free charter [of 1643], which said obstructions arise from the claims and encroachments of neighbours about us to and upon some parts of the tract of land mentioned in our charter to be within the bounds of this colony"; and the only instructions to Clarke were upon the single point of "the preservation of all and singular the privileges, liberties, boundaries, and immunities of this colony against all unlawful usurpations, intrusions, and claims of any person or persons, on any pretences or by any combination whatsoever." — See R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV., pp. 239, 240.

The instructions to the Massachusetts agents (Bradstreet and Norton) are couched in general terms: 1st. to "present us to his Majesty as his loyal and obedient subjects"; 2d. to "endeavour to take off all scandal and objections which are or shall be made against us"; 3d. to "endeavour the establishment of the rights and privileges we now enjoy"; 4th. "not to engage us by any act to any thing which may be prejudicial to our present standing according to patent." (See Hutchinson, Coll., p. 355.) But that they were to treat, among other things, of the subject matter of the controversy with Rhode Island, may be gathered from the record of the "Proceedings of the Committee of the General Court, appointed for the dispatch of Agents to England," among which we find an order to the Secretary of the Colony, bearing date 7th of January, 1661, to "transcribe the records of the court, referring to the proceedings of the court concerning Gorton and his company, Roade Island, the Iron-works, the Quakers, Piscataqua, &c., and such other as he shall see needful to give a right understanding of the grounds of the court's proceedings about the same." — Hutchinson, Coll., p. 347.
the rest of the colony of Providence Plantations, &c., that they, pursuing with peaceable and loyal minds, &c., did transport themselves, &c., and having, by near neighbourhood to and friendly society with the great body of the Narragansett Indians, given them encouragement, of their own accord, to subject themselves, their people and lands, unto us, &c.; and whereas, in their humble address, they have freely declared that it is much on their hearts to hold forth a lively experiment, &c., and that true piety, &c., will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty: Now know ye, that we, being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking of our said loyal and loving subjects, &c., and to preserve unto them that liberty, &c., which they have sought with so much travel, and with peaceable minds, and loyal subjection to our royal progenitors and ourselves, to enjoy," &c.*


In the Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2d Series, Vol. VII., pp. 98-101, is a copy of an "Humble Petition and Address of the Governor and Company of his Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" to Charles the Second, dated May 3d, 1665, which may be worthy of observation in this connection. The address begins thus: — "That whereas your Majesty's most humble subjects and suppliants, as soon as we heard of the joyful tidings of your Majesty's happy restoration to the possession of your royal crown and dignity, making our humble addresses by petition unto your royal Majesty, in which we employed that faithful and trusty agent, Mr. John Clarke, did thereupon, by your Majesty's royal bounty, obtain a most free and ample charter of incorporation, for our possessing, improving, and governing the lands and islands in and of the Narragansett Bay and country in New England, which grant your Majesty was graciously pleased to make firm and good to us and our successors forever, under the great seal; and that also done, after your Majesty had taken cognizance of the Indian Sachems' submission of the said country unto your Majesty in the year 1662, in which they remembered an address of the same
Reasoning from the facts here adverted to, Grahame did not and could not entertain a doubt that the language and conduct attributed by Chalmers to "the deputies of these plantations" were intended to be understood of John Clarke; and being thus led to form a very unfavorable opinion of the proceedings of this envoy, he deemed it his duty, as a faithful historian, to express that opinion according to the strength in which it existed in his own mind, and to declare that "Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought." He then proceeds, almost in the very language of Chalmers, united with other facts adduced from the history of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, to produce the evidence on which he had expressed this judgment. The exactness with which Grahame defers to his authorities, as it is highly illustrative of his historical fidelity, deserves in this connection to be noticed and carefully observed.*

The epithet "baseness," if applicable to the case at all, might possibly have been more appropriately applied to the policy pursued by Clarke, or to the constituents whose language and feelings he fairly represented, and by whom he was in every respect upheld and applauded, than personally to the negotiator. In applying that epithet, Grahame did not sufficiently allow for the personal provocation, if indeed he was aware of it, which Clarke had received from Massa-
chusetts,* nor for the oppressive conduct of this colony towards the Rhode Islanders, who had many grounds of apology and justification for the language and policy they encouraged and approved in their envoy. No true American can, however, fail to admire and feel grateful for the spirit of affection for the liberties of New England, and of honor for the conduct of the Massachusetts agents, which excited the historian to apply that epithet to the adverse negotiator. Such an American would have seen in that expression the spontaneous effusion of a mind animated by an intense love of liberty, entering with an ardent and enthusiastic zeal into the cause of colonial freedom and of New England independence.

Not so Mr. Bancroft. Without making any allowance for the circumstances which must have given rise in Mr. Grahame's mind to the opinion he expressed concerning the supposed language and conduct of Clarke in the specified negotiation,—without showing any sympathy for the character, or regard for the feelings, of the most friendly disposed Briton that ever wrote concerning the affairs of the United States, he deliberately affixes to a passage in his History, laudatory of the general character of John Clarke, a note, in which he expresses himself as follows:—"The charge of 'baseness' in Grahame I. 315, edition of 1836, is Grahame's own invention." This expression

* He had not only been obliged to fly from Massachusetts for his "heresies," but, after settling at Aquidneck (Rhode Island), having visited Massachusetts, he, being a minister of the Baptist persuasion, was found "venting his heresies" there, was arrested, imprisoned, and condemned to "pay a fine of twenty pounds, or be well whipt." Clarke escaped by having his fine paid by his friends; but one of his companions, having no such friends, had the sentence executed upon him according to the letter. — Backus, Vol. I., pp. 215–225, 234–236.
Grahame understood, according to its true nature and only possible bearing, as a deliberate charge against himself of invention regarding an historical fact; which he considered and felt as a charge of wilful fabrication. Mr. Bancroft was soon informed, by one of Mr. Grahame's friends, through the public prints, of his feelings on this occasion, and in language suited to the nature of such a personal insult; but instead of meeting the subject as Mr. Grahame thought he had a right to expect from a gentleman and brother historian, Mr. Bancroft so delayed and so conducted himself as to satisfy Grahame that he never intended either to explain or apologize, except upon conditions to which Grahame, in regard of his own sense of character, could not possibly submit. At length, after waiting three or four years, it appears that he saw fit, in vindication of himself, and in view of his own death, to place on permanent record an expression of his sense of the injurious language applied to him by Mr. Bancroft. Accordingly, in the revised edition of his History, in a note in reference to this subject, he remarks: — "Mr. Bancroft has, with strange lack of courtesy and correctness, reproached me with having invented the charge I have preferred against Clarke. I am incapable of such dishonesty; and sincerely hope that Mr. Bancroft's reproach is, and will continue, on his part, a solitary instance of deviation from candor and rectitude." In reference to Clarke, he adds, (after modifying somewhat the aspect and the severity of his first charge against him, by substituting for the word "baseness" the expression "suppleness of adroit servility,")— "With a mixture of pain and admiration, I have witnessed the displeasure with which some of the literati of Rhode Island have received my stric-
tures on Clarke. The authorities they have cited prove undeniably that he was a true patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity. But every person acquainted with history and human nature ought to know how apt even good men are to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke.”

This note Mr. Bancroft has made the occasion of a renewed attack upon Mr. Grahame, and of a charge of “renewed detraction” against him,—a charge which he attempts to justify by the production of a document recently brought to light in the State-paper Office in London. It seems that recent researches, made in that office, in December and January last, by request of Mr. Bancroft, resulted in disclosing the following fact, namely:—that the words Italicized in pages 6 and 7 of this pamphlet, relating to the challenge and boast made by “the deputies of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,” substantially coincide with the words used in a petition of Randall Holden and John Greene to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, about the year 1678–9.

Although Chalmers gives no reference whatever, nor so much as the slightest clew, to the document from which he quotes,† so as to enable us to determine


† Directly following the words which he quotes as used by the deputies of the Plantations, Chalmers introduces a reference to this note at the end of the chapter:—“There is a copy of the Indian Surrender in New-Eng. Papers, bundle 3; and see the same, p. 25.” It is hardly necessary to observe that this reference points to a totally distinct matter from that under consideration. That the clerk of the State-paper Office so “very quickly” discovered the document which Mr. Bancroft inquired for is to be ascribed solely to a lucky chance, or perhaps to an intimate ac-
with certainty that the paper produced by Mr. Bancroft is in fact the one quoted by Chalmers, it may nevertheless be admitted that the coincidence here remarked is sufficiently striking to create a presumption favorable to this hypothesis. But what then? In what possible way can this be justly regarded as impairing in the slightest degree Mr. Grahame's credit as a faithful historian, or as giving even a color of plausibility to the charge of "invention" or "unwarranted misapprehension" preferred against him by Mr. Bancroft? The test of fidelity in a historian is the accuracy with which he represents facts derived from approved authorities. Now Chalmers, in express terms, attributes the language he quotes to "the deputies of these [the Rhode Island and Providence] plantations." But Holden and Greene, according to Mr. Bancroft's own showing, and by the account they give of themselves in their petition, were merely "deputies for the town of Warwick." The only other information concerning them and the nature and objects of their mission is that contained in the following incidental notices preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

"1678. Capt. Randal Houlden and Capt. John Greene, agents for the town of Warwick, in a private difference, went for England, and informed his Majesty that both government and soil of the Narraganset country belonged to him, and that there was never any legal purchase there made.

"1678, 9. His Majesty writes to all the colonies in New England of this information, and commands them
forthwith to make their right and title, both of soil and
government, to appear before him at Whitehall, or else
he would proceed so and so, &c.”

“Now at last [1679] comes the king's pleasure to be
known, for the issuing the long contests and differ­
ences about this litigious country of Narragansett, the
occasion arising about difference between Mr. William
Harris, of Pawtuxet, and the town of Warwick, about
certain lands claimed by both parties. To the issuing
thereof, Capt. Houlden and Capt. Greene, deputies
from the town of Warwick, prefers a petition to his
late Majesty, in or about the year 1678, and in their
petition makes a digression from their lands, and steps
into the Narragansett country, giving his Majesty an
account thereof not pertinent to their deputation, which
gives an occasion to the lords of the committee for
trade and plantations to notify a petition presented by
Major Richard Smith, concerning the Narragansett
country, to which petition the said Greene and Houl­
den answered readily; but his Majesty, finding their
reports various, and the differences great, takes the
readiest way to issue them; and therefore, by his let­
ters to the several colonies in New England, dated
February 12th, 1678–9, acquaints them, that Capt.
Houlden and Capt. Greene, deputies for the town of
Warwick, had certified to his privy council, of their
certain knowledge, as having inhabited for above forty
years, that never any legal purchase had been made
thereof from the Indians by the Massachusetts or any
others; that the Indian sachems had submitted them­
selves and people unto the government of King
Charles; and thus these magistrates concludes by

their assertion, that the absolute sovereignty and particular property is invested in him, and therefore strictly wills and requires, that all things relating to the King's Province, or the Narragansett, should remain in the same condition as now they are, or lately have been in, as to the possession and government; and to put a stop to any other contests here, commands all persons, who pretend any right or title to the soil or government of said lands, that they forthwith send over persons sufficiently empowered and entrusted to make their rights and titles appear before his Majesty.”

These two passages, taken from papers preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, contain, so far as I am aware, the only information hitherto published respecting the character of Holden and Greene's deputation, and the contents of their petition, — excepting that now for the first time brought to light by Mr. Bancroft. And what does it amount to? Nothing, absolutely nothing, as respects the matter at issue between Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Grahame. The character in which Holden and Greene here appear is, not as “deputies of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,” accredited to the English court on a general concern of the colony, but merely as agents for the little village of Warwick (little even in those days, — the smallest but two, in point of population, in the whole colony †), petitioners to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in a private difference of the village with an inhabitant of Pawtuxet respecting a land claim. Of the contents of their petition no notice is taken, except of their impertinently, without the shad-

† See Potter's Early History of Narragansett, pp. 102, 104.
ow of authority from Rhode Island, stepping into the Narragansett country, and thereby giving occasion in the sequel to a great deal of anxiety and difficulty to the colony. This reference to the Indian Sachems' assignment of their lands to the English crown is the only particular at all corresponding to the statement in Chalmers. There is no hint of any vaunt of loyalty, any challenge of the Massachusetts deputies, or even of the presence of any deputies from Massachusetts at Charles's court.

And now what was there in all this to have led Graham, even supposing him to have been cognizant of the petty affair of this deputation (of which, however, there is very little probability, as it is wholly unnoticed by the leading historians, or by any of the authorities whom he seems to have consulted), — what was there in this to have led him to surmise for a moment, that the language which Chalmers attributes to “the deputies of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” was intended to be understood of the “deputies for the town of Warwick”? In view of the notorious fact of the bitter controversy subsisting, at the very time of Clarke’s negotiation, between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in reference to the proprietorship and jurisdiction of the Narragansett country,—in view of the tenor of the commissions and instructions to their respective agents at the court of Charles the Second,—in view of the striking coincidence between the language attributed by Chalmers to the Rhode Island deputation, with the information set forth in the preamble of the charter of this colony, as having been communicated by Clarke, and as constituting the grounds on which it was determined to grant that charter,—in view, finally, of the fact, that Chal-
mers makes not the slightest allusion to any other ne-
gotiation than that of Clarke, to which the language in
question can possibly be referred, and that he was,
therefore, according to all the received laws of inter-
pretation, naturally presumed to have meant to refer it
to Clarke, particularly as he was really the only deputy
for Rhode Island, during this whole reign, of whom
mention was made by any historian,—in view of all
this, what possible reason can we imagine Grahame to
have had for supposing that Chalmers, in attributing
the language under consideration as he did, in the
plainest terms, to "the deputies of these plantations,"
expressed himself inaccurately, and that he really had
reference to the "deputies for the town of Warwick;"
—an idea which (even if we can suppose it possible,
under the circumstances, that it should have once oc-
curred to him) seemed to be decisively negativied by
the avowed character of this deputation, and by all
that was then known of the contents of their petition?
Besides, even had any such suspicion crossed his mind,
he had no means of solving the doubt. Chalmers, as
already remarked, gives no reference, certainly no obvi-
ous reference, to the document from which he quotes;
in connection with this whole subject, he refers solely
to "a copy of the Indian Surrender" of the Nar-
ragansett country; and this surely can hardly be
deemed such a reference as would naturally have been
understood by any one to indicate the document in
question. But the supposition of any suspicion in
Grahame's mind as to the accuracy of his authority
on the point under consideration is altogether improb-
able; with the strong corroborative evidence before
him, both documentary and circumstantial, of the es-
sential correctness of Chalmers's statement, to suppose
him to have doubted is to suppose him to have been most rarely endowed with the spirit of "historical skepticism."

But, says Mr. Bancroft, "Mr. Grahame, though the nature of his error was explained to him, persevered in his accusations."* All the explanation which was ever communicated to Mr. Grahame, according to Mr. Bancroft's showing, was that contained in the following extract from a note of Mr. Bancroft to William H. Prescott, Esq., by whom it was transmitted to Mr. Grahame: — "Mr. Grahame was led into error respecting Clarke by attributing to his negotiation for a charter what may have happened, as Chalmers cautiously expresses himself, in the reign of Charles the Second; but on later negotiation about lands and boundaries, a negotiation which took place after Clarke's return, and, I think, after his death. The name, King's Province, was not known till after the grant of the charter, and after Clarke's return." "This," says Mr. Bancroft, "Mr. Grahame read, but he would not be convinced." The explanation thus vouchsafed by Mr. Bancroft, it will be observed, is altogether vague, and on some points is couched in terms merely conjectural: — "What may have happened,† as Chalmers cautiously expresses himself, in the reign of Charles the Second," — "a negotiation which took place after Clarke's return, and, I think, after his death." The reader who takes notice of this fact, and of the further peculiarity by which this explanation is marked, namely, — that it is

* Letter to Mr. Buckingham.
† Mr. Bancroft's own language, — not Chalmers's. The turn (of course, not designed) given to the sentence in which this expression occurs might lead to the opposite inference.
unaccompanied by so much as a single reference to authorities of any sort, — will probably be at little loss to account for a result which seems greatly to astonish Mr. Bancroft, and to be taken by him as an evidence of the most obdurate contumacy in Mr. Grahame, — that “Mr. Grahame read this, but — would not be convinced!” Probably Mr. Grahame was not aware of the paramount, and, indeed, conclusive, authority of Mr. Bancroft’s half-conjectures and wholly unsupported dicta as to historical matters.

But Mr. Bancroft thinks that “the note” which he “deemed it due to historic truth to make,” accusing Grahame of inventing the charge he had preferred against Clarke, — that this note, at least, “should have induced Mr. Grahame to revise the grounds of his opinion.” * Very reasonable, certainly, to expect that a denunciation of a rival historian, in the face of all the world, in terms virtually stigmatizing him as a calumniator of the basest and most despicable sort, who had dared to “invent,” fabricate, facts for the purpose of aspersing an upright and excellent man and patriot, — very reasonable that such denunciation should at least “have induced ” the writer against whom it was directed to sit down meekly and “revise the grounds of his opinion”! And this is Mr. Bancroft’s notion of moral cause and effect! — that an indignity, the greatest that could be offered to a high-minded Christian gentleman, nobly proud in the conscious uprightness and integrity of his motives, judgments, and intentions in all that he had written, — that such an indignity, deliberately and in cold blood offered to such a man, should serve to dispose him, if not at once to acknowledge the

* Letter to Mr. Buckingham.
“soft impeachment” of having palmed off a slanderous invention of his own brain as a veritable fact of history, at least to “revise” the matter and consider of it!

And how does Mr. Bancroft know that Mr. Grahame did not “revise the grounds of his opinion”? On what does he base this inference? On the fact, that, in the revised edition of Mr. Grahame’s History the charge against Clarke is softened as respects the offensive word, — and that accompanied by a note, which, while it avows the fullest conviction of the true patriotism and excellence of the subject of it, and the reverence due to his general character, at the same time suggests an apology for his conduct in the transaction referred to? Or is it, rather, because Mr. Grahame did not, in deference to the views of Mr. Bancroft, incontinently abandon, discard, repudiate, all his previous convictions, the result of deliberate and careful study of the highest authorities known to him, that therefore it is to be presumed he did not “revise the grounds of his opinion”? A kind of reasoning, this, it must be confessed, in respect of which it is difficult to determine whether is more remarkable, — its logic, or its modesty.

In continuation of the very modest and reasonable suggestion, that “the note” charging him with invention “should have induced Mr. Grahame to revise the grounds of his opinion,” Mr. Bancroft goes on to observe, — “Instead of it, like Cotton Mather, when witchcraft was questioned, he chose to regard it as an impeachment of his personal veracity; indiscreetly insisted that he had authority for his accusations; and finally indicated as his authority the Annals of Chalmers.”

It seems, then, according to Mr. Bancroft, that the reference to Chalmers was wholly an afterthought of
Grahame's; that, finding himself accused of inventing the charge preferred against Clarke, having no manner of authority for the charge, and being goaded for the proofs by which he pretended to substantiate this fiction of his own brain, he, at length, when absolutely driven to the wall, and forced to do battle or acknowledge his infamy, luckily discovered, in a work little accessible to general readers, a loophole for escape from this unpleasant dilemma. Translated into plain language, and stripped of all mere innuendo, this is what Mr. Bancroft means—is it?—by saying that Mr. Grahame "indiscreetly insisted that he had authority for his accusations, and finally indicated as his authority the Annals of Chalmers."

And now what will the reader think, when he learns that in every edition of Mr. Grahame's work, from first to last, appended to the paragraph containing the charge against Clarke, the authorities on which it was preferred are as plainly indicated as the charge itself, — and in the very first edition even more minutely than in the others? for while in the second and the revised editions the reference is merely in general terms to "Chalmers, Hazard," — in the one first published it stands, "Chalmers, 273, 274–276, Hazard, ii. 612." What, especially, will he think, when he learns further, that, so long ago as the year 1839, Mr. Bancroft's attention was particularly directed to this fact by a letter under Mr. Grahame's own hand, — that very letter which drew from Mr. Bancroft the note to Mr. Prescott cited by himself in his recent article in the Boston Courier, — a letter which, in this same note to Mr. Prescott, he acknowledges he had read?* Of the

* See post, pp. 45-47; also p. 59.
opinion which should be entertained of the man, the historian (and he scrupulously reverent of what is "due to historic truth," and possessed with "a zeal for accuracy which really vexed himself"), who, with the page containing these references open before him, bearing witness to his face of the utter falsity of the impression he desired to convey, could nevertheless deliberately pen and publish the misstatements here exposed,—it is unnecessary for me to speak. Let the public, to whose tribunal he has presumed to make his appeal, judge him.

Having thus traced the origin of this controversy to Mr. Bancroft's impeachment of Grahame's veracity, having intimated his studied evasion of any direct apology during Grahame's lifetime, and shown the utter irrelevancy of his recent discoveries in respect to the subject matter in question, I now proceed, as I proposed, to state the circumstances which brought me into connection with this affair, and my course in relation to it;—a narrative which I would willingly avoid; but the language, manner, and temper displayed towards me by Mr. Bancroft, in his letter to Mr. Buckingham, and, above all, the artifice to which he has resorted to give a color of apology for denouncing me before the public as his personal assailant, have led to an opinion abroad, that in my proceedings there must have been something to justify the tone of bitter hostility indicated in that letter. I feel it, therefore, a duty which I owe to myself, to leave nothing unexplained in relation to my connection with this controversy.

My first intercourse with Mr. Grahame was official. In 1836, he transmitted, for deposit in the library of Harvard College, a small manuscript, containing a rec-
ord of the authorities he had consulted in writing his History of the United States. In 1839, the Corporation of that institution conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In each case, as President of the University, I addressed to him a letter couched in the terms usual on such occasions. Out of this grew a correspondence, which extended to two, or, at most, three letters, in their nature general and complimentary. This was the whole of our connection, and it excited in me towards him no other feeling or interest than such as unavoidably resulted from the innate excellence of character, the gentlemanly spirit, and the deep affection for the United States, indicated by the tenor of his letters.

In 1842, Mr. Grahame died; and in the December of that year, the Massachusetts Historical Society appointed me to prepare a Memoir of him, to be published in its Collections, — he having been one of its corresponding members. In reference to this appointment I was not previously consulted, and had no intimation of it until I received an official notice of the vote from the secretary of the Society. My first impulse was to decline it, as incompatible with my official engagements; and it was only from considerations, urged upon me by several distinguished members of the Society, of the debt of gratitude due from the people of the United States to the learned foreigner who had evinced such a deep interest in their institutions, and had expended so many years of his life, bestowed so much intellectual labor, and made so many sacrifices to display their origin and character to the world, that I was induced to undertake the task assigned me. As the necessary materials were wanting in this country, I unavoidably applied to his family for them. They
met my application in an honorable spirit and with a natural feeling, and transmitted to me the documents from which I was enabled to prepare that Memoir, which is inserted in the ninth volume of the third series of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, and is also prefixed to the first volume of the revised edition of Mr. Grahame's History of the United States, recently published by Lea & Blanchard, of Philadelphia.

From the documents thus transmitted by his family, I first learned that Mr. Grahame had left, at his death, "a corrected and enlarged copy of his History of the United States, and had expressed, among his last wishes, an earnest hope that it might be published, in the form which it had finally assumed under his hand." This information I communicated to several gentlemen distinguished for their literary attainments, and particularly for historical researches, whose names I have already given to the public* in the Memoir to which I have above referred. They were unanimously of opinion that it ought to be sent for, and published in this country. They offered me their aid, by way of subscription, and, if required, their literary advice and assistance in the publication. On notice of this disposition, Mr. Grahame's son transmitted the copy of his father's History, left by him at his death, with the additions and alterations in the author's own handwriting, — prescribing only the single condition, that I would superintend its publication with fidelity and accuracy, according to the revised manuscript.

Previously to the arrival in this country of Mr. Grahame's revised History, I was, of course, ignorant of

* They were Mr. Justice Story, Messrs. James Savage, Jared Sparks, and William H. Prescott.
the nature of the additions and corrections he had made in it; and had not the most distant idea that the degree of agency I had offered to take in its publication could possibly be offensive to Mr. Bancroft. Towards him I had no cause of personal animosity. Our paths in life were different. They had never crossed, or interfered. I had early notice, however, that the publication of Grahame’s work in this country would be a circumstance very annoying to Mr. Bancroft, and that the concern I was about to take in it would probably be to him a mortal offence,—that Mr. Grahame had preoccupied the historical path which Mr. Bancroft had selected for himself, and in respect to which he was desirous of impressing the opinion upon the public that he was not only the first to engage in it, but that his right to it was, in a certain sense, exclusive,—that he regarded Grahame in the light of a rival, with feelings which had been excited by charges brought against him by European critics, of having drawn from that historian without acknowledging his obligations,—that his attack upon Grahame’s veracity had probably its origin in those feelings,—and that the publication of Grahame’s revised work in this country would certainly interfere with his profits, a circumstance which he would feel very sensibly. Having not the most distant thought or desire of entering upon any quarrel with Mr. Bancroft, on receiving this information I was proportionally fixed in the determination to give to him no possible reasonable cause of offence. I accordingly took no one step in relation to that publication, or the Memoir of its author, without consulting men second to few, if to any, in point of talent and intelligence, in the United States, and with reference particularly to my desire of avoid-
ing offence to Mr. Bancroft,—among whom the late Judge Story, my near neighbour and intimate friend, was the individual to whom I had the most frequent resort, and on whose judgment I placed the most implicit reliance.

When, therefore, I received from Mr. Grahame's family the revised copy of his work, and inspected the note which he had inserted in it, relative to Mr. Bancroft's "lack of courtesy and correctness" in reproaching him with "invention" in the charge he had preferred against Clarke, I was involved in great perplexity, and submitted to several of these literary and confidential friends the expediency of omitting it altogether. Their opinion was unanimous, that I had no right to exercise any such discretion as the inquiry implied;—that I had engaged with the family of Mr. Grahame to publish his revised History accurately and faithfully, in accordance with his final additions and corrections, and the power of omission and substitution was not intrusted to me; and that, particularly, no such power ought to be assumed in the case of Mr. Grahame's note in respect of the language and conduct of Mr. Bancroft; as, from the tenor of that note, it was obviously his intention to leave on record, for the knowledge of all future times, an expression of his feelings in relation to the treatment he had as an historian received from Mr. Bancroft. Ultimately coinciding myself in this opinion of my literary friends, I adopted the rule, to which I scrupulously adhered, in superintending the publication of Grahame's revised work, of adding nothing, of retrenching nothing, and of acting only as the medium of giving it to the public faithfully, with his last corrections, and without remark, criticism, or comment of my own; and thus those who peruse that History will find I have sent it forth from the press.
When, however, in the course of preparing my Memoir of Mr. Grahame, I came to the evidence, transmitted to me from Europe and existing in this country, relative to Mr. Bancroft's treatment of him, my embarrassment was still greater and extreme. I saw at once the occasion of that note which Mr. Grahame had appended to his History, concerning Mr. Bancroft's "deviation from candor and rectitude"; nor could my mind refrain from acknowledging that he had better reasons for it than I had known or anticipated. If I gave that evidence to the world, I foresaw it would be regarded by Mr. Bancroft as a grievous offence, and that, without allowing for my duty to the memory of a man whose biography I was writing, he would certainly pour upon me the vials of his wrath, as the author of an exposure he had hoped to escape. On the other hand, if I should suppress that evidence, I had reason to apprehend that the European friends of Mr. Grahame might regard me as having been unjust to his memory, in withholding facts from the public, which would explain, if not justify, the feelings he had manifested towards Mr. Bancroft in the note above alluded to.

The course I adopted in this dilemma was again to submit the facts in my possession to judicious literary friends, who had no personal or political animosity towards Mr. Bancroft, explaining to them the nature of my embarrassment, and asking their advice. I found a diversity of opinion existing among them on the subject;—some thinking I might omit all mention of those facts, — others, that I could not omit them without doing injustice to Mr. Grahame. After long and anxious deliberation, I came to the conclusion that I ought to pursue the course dictated by my own feel-
ings and judgment, and accordingly resolved to suppress them,—trusting, that, if the European friends of Mr. Grahame should express any dissatisfaction on account of my having neglected to do all the justice in my power to his memory, I should be able to satisfy them of the expediency of my course from the peculiarity of my situation in respect of Mr. Bancroft. I therefore erased every trace of those facts from my manuscript, and intended never to be instrumental in giving them to the world.

My Memoir was written as an independent work, with the intention that it should appear in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and nowhere else. In that Memoir, I, indeed, noticed, because it could not be avoided, the charge of "invention" preferred against Mr. Grahame by Mr. Bancroft, the defence of Mr. Grahame by Mr. Walsh, and the fact that this was succeeded by another from the pen of Mr. Grahame himself; omitting altogether the circumstances which led Mr. Grahame to make this personal defence. Mr. Bancroft having, in the edition of his History published in 1841, withdrawn the charge of "invention" against Grahame and substituted that of "unwarranted misapprehension," and this change of terms having, as I had reason to believe, never been known to Mr. Grahame, who died in 1842, and as I saw nothing "unwarranted" in his apprehension of the subject in question, I thought it due from me as his biographer to express my dissent to the new phase thus given to the matter, and accordingly I simply said in my Memoir, "It is not apparent how this charge is more tenable than was the other," which I regarded as the mildest and least objectionable form of dissent I could devise. With this exception, there is not in the
whole article a word of comment in reference to this charge of "invention." Knowing the topic to be critical, I endeavored to present it in the kindest possible form in respect of Mr. Bancroft. As to the note appended by Grahame to his revised work, relative to Mr. Bancroft's want of courtesy and candor, I made not the slightest allusion to it. No man who read only my Memoir would have known of its existence.

As I have stated, that Memoir was written exclusively for the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and with no intention of its appearing anywhere else. Had it appeared as it was originally intended, exclusively as an independent work, Mr. Bancroft would have been deprived of all color of pretext for connecting my Memoir with Grahame's note appended to his revised History. For, as I have stated, that note was not mentioned or alluded to in the Memoir.

Unfortunately, after my Memoir was prepared, I received a particular request from Mr. Grahame's son that I would prefix it to his father's History. To this request I acceded, without anticipating the advantage thereby given to Mr. Bancroft to misrepresent my proceedings; nor, had I anticipated it, could I have imagined that he would have been capable of availing himself of it in order to give a false color to my doings in relation to this controversy; as the fact of my having thus prefixed it in compliance with the expressed wish of Mr. Grahame's son was stated in the preface to the History.

In view of the manner in which Mr. Bancroft, in this and in other instances to which I shall allude in this publication, has shown himself capable of dealing with facts, I feel myself at liberty to decline all notice
or regard of what he may hereafter write or publish concerning this controversy. My life having been passed, for nearly half a century, in the fulfilment of the duties of a succession of public offices, of no common distinction or importance, conferred upon me by the confidence of my fellow-citizens, my general character and principles of conduct are well known to them. Relying upon their just appreciation of both, I shall regard any attack upon me by Mr. Bancroft as of little importance,—of very little, where I am known and where he is known.

I now turn to the evidence which I have hitherto, from a desire to avoid any personal offence to Mr. Bancroft, withheld from the public, concerning his language and conduct to Mr. Grahame.

Mr. Grahame's History of the United States, tracing the rise and progress of the colonies to the period of the English Revolution of 1688, was, as I have already stated, first published in two volumes octavo in 1827. In the preface to that work, he announced his intention of bringing his History down to the era of American Independence, and the progress he had already made towards its completion.

Seven years afterwards, in the year 1834, Mr. Bancroft issued the first volume of his History of the United States. The ground over which Mr. Bancroft's path lay was almost identical with that Mr. Grahame had already preoccupied, and through which he had opened his way with extraordinary success by his own vigor, unassisted, unencouraged, under innumerable disadvantages, supported only by his admiration of the institutions, and the resulting affection and honor which he entertained for the people, of the United States.
It was natural and to be expected, that a native historian, on entering upon ground which he knew that a learned and industrious foreigner had already explored, and upon which he was then laboring, would have taken some notice of the fact, and paid some tribute to his predecessor. If he had not chosen to express any approbation of his work, it could scarcely be anticipated that he would fail to give some intimation of the preexisting attempt, and make some acknowledgment of the kind disposition and faithful spirit towards the people of the United States and their institutions which characterized his narrative.

So far from this, although Mr. Grahame's History had been seven years before the public, and although the outline he had sketched and successfully filled up was singularly happy and faithful, Mr. Bancroft neither in his preface nor in the introduction to his History says a word concerning his laborious predecessor. In his notes, indeed, Mr. Bancroft refers to Grahame eight times in this first volume; but in six instances out of the eight, only to suggest errors, and not in one does he express any approbation of Grahame's work. As if overwhelmed by the untried "grandeur and vastness of the subject," Mr. Bancroft declares himself "ready to charge himself with presumption for venturing on so bold an enterprise." To indicate the solitariness of his labors, he gives as a reason for his haste to "publish his volume separately" his "unwillingness to travel so long a journey alone,"—taking care to omit all notice of the fact, that Mr. Grahame had already beaten a path half through the wilderness, and was at that moment engaged in cutting his way quite through it;—in point of fact, he had fully accomplished this labor four or five years before, although his success was not made
known to the public until a year and a half afterwards. To secure to his work the character of "originality," Mr. Bancroft avers that he had derived his narrative "entirely from writings and sources which were the contemporaries of the events that are described,"* — a pretension, from which he afterwards found himself obliged to make a considerable abatement, and which, as we shall presently see, has been met by the counter declaration, in other quarters, that no man who compares this work with Grahame’s can doubt that Mr. Bancroft availed himself of that historian’s labors with freedom.

This conduct, on the part of Mr. Bancroft, drew upon him severe animadversion from the learned men of Europe. The remarks of a writer in the Dublin University Magazine, on this subject, are particularly pointed and pertinent. In an elaborate article on the comparative merits of the two historians, this writer observes,—"Mr. Grahame’s work appeared in 1827, and the first edition of Mr. Bancroft’s did not see the light until 1834. Now, under these circumstances, it is not a little surprising that no obligations or even allusions to his predecessor are expressed. The reader might peruse Mr. Bancroft’s bulky and diffuse volumes, without being aware that any one had already surveyed the same ground. This is the more offensive, since it is impossible for any one to read the two books with attention, without being at once aware of the obligations which the one owes to the other. Sometimes very nearly the same words are used, and at other times it is perfectly apparent that Grahame’s paragraphs have served as the skeleton around which Bancroft has constructed his." After quoting a few parallel passages in

illustration of this point, the writer proceeds, — "This is a sample of the mode in which Mr. Bancroft has availed himself of the unacknowledged labors of his modest and conscientious predecessor. If our space permitted, we could easily show, by quoting whole paragraphs, that not merely the turn of expression, but even the turn of thought, has been copied in like manner. It is needless to make any comments on this subject." *

The haste with which Mr. Bancroft issued his first volume separately from the press, and which he attributes to his "unwillingness to journey alone," may probably be attributed rather to the desire of avoiding company. Mr. Grahame had announced, in 1827, that he had made preparation for the extension of his History to the era of American Independence. Mr. Bancroft had a right to anticipate that it was now considerably advanced, and perhaps, at the very moment of publishing his first volume, knew that Mr. Grahame's work was completed and nearly ready for the press; had it been issued previously to the appearance of his own, Mr. Bancroft could hardly have ventured to assume the character of "originality," and to claim for his work the greatness of an undertaking altogether unprecedented, — ideas which it is so manifestly his ambition to impress upon the public.

Mr. Grahame's entire work was published in four volumes octavo in 1836. Mr. Bancroft's second volume appeared in 1837. The rival historians were now in the field together, and the first salute Grahame received from Bancroft was an open, direct, and unqual-

* Dublin University Magazine, for December, 1842, No. 120; American edit. Vol. II., No. 6, pp. 678, 679.
ified impeachment of his veracity as an historian, couched in language the bearing of which no man could mistake, and which no man could use without anticipating its effect upon him to whom it was applied. In this second volume Mr. Bancroft made a studied eulogy on the "modest," "virtuous," "persevering," "disinterested," and "benevolent" John Clarke, the agent of Rhode Island in obtaining in 1663 a charter for that colony from Charles the Second. To this eulogy he appended a note in the following words: — "The charge of 'baseness' in Grahame, I. 315, ed. 1836, is Grahame's own invention"; to which he afterwards cursorily adds: — "Grahame is usually very candid in his judgments." * This last slight, cursorial, and carefully qualified tribute to Grahame, when compared with Bancroft's whole course of conduct in relation to him, is scarcely entitled to be regarded as any evidence of a disposition in him to do justice to this rival historian. It looks rather like the precaution of a practised strategist, who, designing to make a deadly incursion into an enemy's country, takes care to leave a bridge behind him, over which he may retreat in case he find his attack not to succeed according to his hopes.

This note, thus introduced in close connection with a studied eulogy on the general character of Clarke, and without other explanation, necessarily implied that Grahame had made a charge of baseness against Clarke's general character. Now Grahame had made no such charge. In writing a history of Clarke's negotiation with the ministers of Charles the Second, and of his conduct in it, and particularly of his treatment of Massachusetts and her deputies, as he understood the

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1837.
relation in Chalmers, Mr. Grahame came to the conclusion that Clarke's conduct was base, which he expressed in the following terms: — "Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought." The charge, therefore, brought by Grahame against Clarke related exclusively to his conduct in that negotiation. Concerning Clarke's general character Grahame said nothing, and probably knew nothing. The circumstances which led Grahame to apply this epithet to Clarke's conduct on that occasion have been already explained.*

It appears that it was not until April, 1838, that this attack upon his veracity as a historian came to the knowledge of Mr. Grahame. He was at that time residing in France, at Nantes, by the advice of his physicians, as a climate better suited to the constitutional disorders to which he was subject, under the effects of which he was then suffering, and which, in the course of a few years, terminated his life.

Mr. Grahame's feelings, on reading that note in Mr. Bancroft's History, were such as every man of honor would expect, and every man of sensibility must share. Robert Walsh, Esq., of Philadelphia, distinguished for his literary attainments, high moral worth, and gentlemanly bearing, was at that time resident at Paris, where he now sustains the office of American Consul. Between him and Mr. Grahame an intimacy subsisted, founded upon the congeniality of their virtues, dispositions, and pursuits. To him Mr. Grahame wrote, under the date of the 13th of April, 1838, in the following terms: —

"Mr. Bancroft's second volume has greatly interest-

* See ante, pp. 6 - 11.
ed and pleased me. I think his plan bad; but I hope that the defects will be redeemed by the merits of the execution. He starts abruptly from one subject to another; and the best rays of his genius are shed on subjects collateral to his main design. He seems, in wantonness, to revel in the play of talent,—sometimes at the expense of judgment and good taste; yet is he always able. I hope he will soberize, and, as he goes on, evince more and more the seeming and the substance of calm, deliberate thought. In a note to page sixty-four, alluding to the base behaviour which in my work I have imputed to one Clarke, an agent at the British court for Rhode Island, in 1662, he says, 'The charge of "baseness" in Grahame is Grahame's own invention.' There is here a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy that should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if the invention, with which I am charged, were justly laid to me. But the imputation is utterly false. So help me God! I never with heart invented, nor with tongue or pen uttered, a charge I believed false, against a human being. And how gratuitous the miscarancy imputed to me of falsely blackening the memory of a man who never harmed me or mine, and lived about two hundred years ago! I have written under the guidance of authorities on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute. I am as little disposed to advance as I am to tolerate a charge of wilful calumny, and must suppose that Mr. Bancroft has very loosely and imperfectly studied the authorities which I
consulted; a supposition, it must be confessed, nowise creditable to the moral deportment of his historiographic pretensions. However, I hope this is a solitary deviation from candor and rectitude. I am now particularly glad that I wrote some months ago to Mr. Bancroft, expressing my admiration of his first volume, and urging him to perseverance in his noble toil, as hereafter I can never hold the slightest intercourse with him. I shall esteem it a great favor, if you will communicate these observations to him. No one more heartily desires his success and renown, than the brother historian whom he has recklessly vilified.”

A letter more indicative of natural and true feeling, evincing a higher tone of moral sentiment, a more just sense of wrong, or applying language more appropriate to the injury he had received, no human being ever indited.

It was received and responded to by Mr. Walsh in a kindred spirit. He replied to Mr. Grahame, that it was his intention to vindicate him against Mr. Bancroft’s attack. This intention he carried into effect by a communication to the editor of the New York American, which appeared in that paper on the 14th of November, 1838.*

In this communication, Mr. Walsh, after paying a due tribute to Mr. Grahame, as “the greatest friend and benefactor of America among European writers,” and doing justice to “the indefatigable zeal and the fond predilection with which he had explored, and the skill and elegance with which he had digested, the early history of all the North American States,” proceeds to comment “on the round and cavalier imputation

* See Appendix, B.
made upon his veracity” by Mr. Bancroft in his History of the United States; and, after declaring, “all who know Mr. Grahame personally would implicitly trust him in what assertion soever,” introduces, by way of vindication of him, that extract from Mr. Grahame’s letter to himself which is contained in the preceding pages.

From this publication Mr. Bancroft learned the injury he had done to Mr. Grahame’s feelings, the concurrence of a mind like that of Mr. Walsh in the justice of those feelings, and, from the tenor of Mr. Grahame’s letter to Mr. Walsh, that the wound he had inflicted was deep, painful, and irritating; and although, under the first stinging sense of insult, Mr. Grahame was impelled to declare that he must ever after decline to “hold the slightest intercourse with him,” yet, on the other hand, the language of that letter indicated the innate kindness of his spirit, containing, from its very nature, an assurance that any apology would be readily and willingly received. And how does Mr. Bancroft behave on this occasion? He now knew that he had used towards a gentleman of refinement and elevated sentiment language which, in view of the circumstances under which it was employed and the point to which it was directed, that gentleman regarded as in the highest degree insulting. He also knew that another gentleman, second to few, if to any, in intelligence and in the knowledge of what was due from one gentleman to another, concurred in the reasonableness and justice of that feeling. How does Mr. Bancroft act towards him whom he has thus injured? Does he hasten to make the amends due from a gentleman? Does the first mail carry an acknowledgment of his error? Are the newspapers, through which
he received an account of the sense of wrong done by him to another, made the vehicles of his regret, and of reparation? Does he take pains to cause the public, before whose face the insult was offered, to be informed that it was unintentional? Far otherwise. It calls from him not a word of acknowledgment, not a syllable of regret. Among the great discoveries with which his imagination teems, he had not then found out that greatest of all, which he now announces in his letter to Mr. Buckingham, that to charge a man with inventing a fact means only that what he had stated had no foundation in fact! Instead of apologizing, he justifies; instead of withdrawing, he repeats. Instead of using soothing words and doing kind acts, to diminish the anguish he had inflicted, he turns the weapon in the wound, and leaves it to rankle and gangrene. Above all, he makes the act of new wrong to Mr. Grahame an occasion for self-flattery and laudation.

On the 4th of December, 1838, there appeared in the Boston Morning Post an article, which, on the 19th of the same month, was copied into the Providence Republican Herald, attacking Mr. Grahame in a bitter, reckless spirit. Following in the path in which Mr. Bancroft had led, and assuming the same false view of Grahame’s charge, as having been directed against the general character of Clarke, the writer asserts that Grahame had “blackened his character,” leaves it to the judgment of the reader whether he had not “falsely blackened it,” and, as if to vindicate Clarke against the aspersions of Grahame on his general character, proceeds to laud that general character, shows what an excellent man Clarke was, the high terms in which he is spoken of by the Baptist and Rhode Island writers, as “a Christian,” “courteous and amiable,” “an orna-
ment to his profession and offices," "deserving of honor for his efforts in favor of civil and religious liberty," "the original projector of the settlement on the Island," "a Daniel, in whom it seems as if his enemies could find no fault," "a patriot," "freely parting with his money for the public good"; and lest this evidence might be deemed partial, he brings forward the corroborative testimony of an article in Allen's Biographical Dictionary, — endorsed, he is careful to inform us, by "the accurate Savage," as "the best in that laborious work," — to the effect (I quote the whole extract) that "Clarke's life was so pure that he never was accused of any vice which has left a blot on his memory; he possessed the singular honor of contributing much towards establishing the first government upon the earth which gave equal liberty, civil and religious, to all men living under it; and he left his farm in Newport to charitable purposes, the income of it to be given to the poor, and to be employed for the support of learning and religion." Whereupon the writer triumphantly concludes, — "Here is certainly no evidence of 'baseness.' Does not the testimony completely reverse the dark picture by Grahame?"

In the course of this extraordinary article, the writer thus eulogizes Mr. Bancroft: — "Knowing Mr. Bancroft to be unwearied in research, and seldom wrong in regard to historical truth and data, we have taken sufficient interest in this matter to consult all the authorities to whom Mr. Grahame especially refers as his guides, — as also all others from whom any light on the point at issue could be expected; but, unfortunately for Mr. Grahame, we do not find that any of them sustain him in the charge of 'baseness' against Clarke. On the contrary, they go together in supporting Mr. Bancroft's commentary on the charge."
Now either this article was wholly written by Mr. Bancroft, or if not, he at least knew, approved of it, and assisted in writing it. From its tenor, temper, and language, no man who knows Mr. Bancroft can doubt, that, to all substantial purposes, he was the author of it. It was charged upon him publicly by Mr. Grahame, as we shall see, and he never dared to deny it. But whether he wrote the whole of it or not, his responsibility as a man of feeling and a gentleman is the same. If, with the consciousness of the "censurable expression" he had used towards Mr. Grahame, and which he acknowledges to have been such, he knew of that communication to the Boston Morning Post, previously to its appearance in the public prints, and did not use his utmost influence to prevent the publication of it, his guilt and his shame are the same, and without the possibility of an apology.

What shall we say, then, when we learn that he actually knew of it, approved of it, and helped the writer of it? And that these are facts, the subjoined letter to me from the Rev. George E. Ellis, of Charlestown, is my evidence.*

* "Charlestown, May 31st, 1845.

"Dear Sir,—Respecting the question which you ask me in your letter of to-day, I reply: —

"Mr. Bancroft showed me the piece in the Morning Post, and I read it over in his study. On perusing it, I said to him, 'Of course you wrote this yourself,' or something to that precise effect. He answered, 'No, I did not write the piece; but I know who did, and gave him some help.' I well remember that the impression made on my mind at the time—whether just or not—was, that Mr. Bancroft collected the materials, references, arguments, &c., and put them into the hands of a friend, with the request that he would perform a service which no one would have been likely to have volunteered.

"Most respectfully and truly yours,

"President Quincy, Cambridge."
The feelings of Mr. Grahame, as was natural to a gentleman and a man of sensibility, were roused to indignation, when he found insult added to injury, and that Mr. Bancroft had knowledge of this attack beforehand, and was instrumental in aiding, if he was not the sole author of, the publication. In a letter to Mr. Walsh, he immediately communicated his determination to make a short reply “to this furious tirade against himself.” This intention he carried into effect by a letter addressed to the editor of the New York American, which was published in that paper in October, 1839, and is subjoined in full in the Appendix. It will be seen by reference to that letter, that he applied the epithet “baseness” exclusively to Clarke’s language and conduct in negotiating the Rhode Island charter of 1663, and expresses the hope that in another edition he shall “lessen the displeasure he had inspired in the admirers of that excellent and estimable man, Dr. Clarke.” In commenting on the attack made upon him by Mr. Bancroft, and on the manner in which that attack had been justified and sustained by the writer of the article in the Boston Morning Post, he expresses his “regret that any man, much more that an American, should be its author;” — adding, “My regret must be increased, if it be true, as I am assured by one who ought to know, that Mr. Bancroft is himself the author of an article so laudatory to himself and so censorious of me.” *

Two years had elapsed since the original injustice offered by Mr. Bancroft to Mr. Grahame, and one year since the feelings of Mr. Grahame in relation to that injustice had been made known to Mr. Bancroft. Dur-

* See Appendix, C.
ing all this period, instead of writing to Mr. Grahame on the subject, he stands aloof, in the self-assumed dignity of vindicator of a wrong done to John Clarke, and uses that pretence of wrong as a cloak, under which he may make a more deadly thrust at the feelings of his rival. Nor is there any evidence that he ever intended or thought of doing more, antecedently to Mr. Grahame's reply to his "furious tirade" in the Boston Morning Post. But that reply gave Mr. Bancroft the knowledge that Grahame was apprised of his participation in that publication, and, being conscious of the fact, he could not fail to anticipate the disgrace which would necessarily attach to him if it were publicly charged and brought home to him. When, therefore, this fact was again pressed upon his fears by the following letter of Mr. Grahame to Mr. Ellis, his apprehensions led him to the only attempt he ever made towards a satisfactory expiation of his injustice to Mr. Grahame, so far as the documents transmitted to me by Mr. Grahame's family indicate.

On the 6th of November, 1839, Mr. Grahame, in a letter written from Nantes to the Rev. George E. Ellis, placing in strong contrast his conception of the characters of William H. Prescott and George Bancroft, thus expresses himself:—

"One thing with regard to that gentleman [William H. Prescott] strikes me much. All your countrymen who know him and have spoken of him to me seem to rush eagerly from the praise of his talent and genius to a still warmer homage to his moral character, and seem to forget their admiration of the scholar and the man of letters in their respectful contemplation of the man and the gentleman.

"With regard to my dispute with Mr. Bancroft, I
could wish the subject buried and forgotten. What does he mean by proposing that I shall either retract my charge against Clarke, or cite the authorities whence I derived it? Why, they are cited already, and in my first publication (which Mr. Bancroft must be acquainted with, since it seems he wrote a review of it) even the pages to which I refer are particularized. I have neither of the authorities (Chalmers and Hazard) with me here. But I wrote to a literary friend in London desiring him to verify my references, and, in answer, he assures me that Chalmers bears me out in every word I have said. The writer, then, of that article in the newspaper which you sent me (and who some of your countrymen tell me is Mr. Bancroft himself), in asserting that my statement is unwarranted by my authorities, either refers to authorities which he has never consulted, or wilfully misrepresents those that I have cited.

"I wish to say no more, and if possible think no more, on the subject. Of Dr. Clarke, from the information I have gained in the course of this discussion, I am led to form a very high opinion; and this shall be expressed in the next edition of my work, if it ever reach another edition. But I suspect, that, on the occasion in question, he was transported by his zeal beyond the line of honor, and did for others what he would not have done for himself.

"Offer my respects to Mr. Bancroft. Tell him I sincerely desire his welfare and literary success, and hope, that, if he come to Europe, or I go to America, we shall meet as friends."

Such was Mr. Grahame's letter to Mr. Ellis. In the records of human controversy, was there ever any thing more beautiful, more honorable, more Christian-
like in its spirit? Notwithstanding, as before stated, two years had elapsed since the first injustice he had received from Mr. Bancroft, and one year since Mr. Bancroft knew of the deep wound he had inflicted on Mr. Grahame,—and although, during this whole period, Mr. Grahame had not heard a word of acknowledgment or apology from his assailant; yet, in the spirit of "forgiving every one his brother their trespasses," he proffers him his hand across the Atlantic, and promises that if they ever meet, it shall be, on his part, at least, as a friend.

This letter was communicated by Mr. Ellis to Mr. Bancroft; and how was it received and reciprocated by him? Mr. Grahame had now virtually withdrawn the expression in his letter to Mr. Walsh, declining all correspondence with Mr. Bancroft, at which he pretended to have taken offence, and extends to him the hand of a gentleman and a friend. Is it accepted by Mr. Bancroft in the spirit in which it was proffered? Far from it. He continues to stand aloof from the man he has both injured and insulted, in the self-assumed dignity and office of defender of John Clarke. He condescends not even to write to Mr. Grahame, but, seeking Mr. Prescott, on the 26th of December, 1839, he addressed to that gentleman a letter which Mr. Prescott saw fit to transmit to Mr. Grahame. A copy of that letter has been transmitted to me by the family of Mr. Grahame, and is printed at length in the Appendix.*

On this letter it is impossible not to remark,—first, in reference to its spirit. Mr. Bancroft begins with "regretting that an ill-considered word of his had

* See Appendix, D.
placed him apparently in an attitude of hostility, where he had alike every motive and every disposition to have cultivated a different relation”; taking care to forget that Mr. Grahame had, in a communication to the New York American, and now again, in this very letter to Mr. Ellis, avowed, and given his reasons for, the belief, that this “ill-considered word” had been deliberately and openly justified in a publication participated in by him, in the Boston Morning Post, — and that the insult it conveyed had been extended and aggravated by his use of language still more opprobrious, charging Grahame with having “blackened, falsely blackened, Clarke’s character.” If Mr. Bancroft had no concern in that publication, would he not have vindicated himself promptly from any participation in language so wholly inconsistent with friendly feelings towards Mr. Grahame? If he had no concern in it, would he not have repelled the suggestion of such an idea with indignation?

Second, as to the terms which Mr. Bancroft proposes as the condition of his apologizing for the original insult. Although he admits that he “began the misunderstanding by a censurable expression,” yet he offers no apology except upon condition precedent. If Mr. Grahame would “perceive,” and of course acknowledge, “his misconception,” then Mr. Bancroft “would well know how to frame a satisfactory statement.” A man, admitting that he had begun the controversy by an injustice, conscious that he had followed out the original injustice by an aggravated insult, requires that he whom he has thus treated should take the first step towards an accommodation! Without such previous concession, Mr. Bancroft would not condescend to take the hand of Mr. Grahame, though he
had extended it towards him in the spirit of reconciliation!

It was natural, that, under all the circumstances of Mr. Bancroft's conduct, Mr. Grahame's feelings should be rather excited than allayed by this letter of his to Mr. Prescott. What those feelings were can only be gathered from a letter to Mr. Walsh, in February, 1840, and by the note appended to his revised History. In his letter to Mr. Walsh, he remarks, — "Mr. Prescott inclosed to me a note he had just received from Mr. Bancroft, which I read with pain. Mr. Bancroft makes a half or three-fourths acknowledgment of error and inconsideration. I wish to forget the whole affair, and to think kindly of him. Will he reciprocate this feeling, and 'let by-gones be by-gones,' as we say in dear Scotland?"

Two other letters were, indeed, written by Mr. Grahame to the Rev. Mr. Ellis, in one of which, as Mr. Ellis states, he expressed very distinctly his views of the conduct of Mr. Bancroft. When, in January, 1845, I was preparing to write my Memoir of Grahame, I applied to Mr. Ellis for these letters, who answered, that he had lent them confidentially to Mr. Bancroft, but that, although he had repeatedly requested them of him, he could never get them out of his hands, Mr. Bancroft saying that he had lost or mislaid them; which, considering their nature, and the manner in which they were intrusted to him, Mr. Ellis regarded as very extraordinary. Since the commencement of the present year, Mr. Bancroft wrote to Mr. Ellis asking the loan of those same letters; which, considering they had never been returned to him, but, although often requested, as often been withheld on the ground of Mr. Bancroft's having
lost or mislaid them, Mr. Ellis regarded as still more extraordinary. Mr. Ellis replied, that, if in existence, they were in his (Mr. Bancroft's) possession. Mr. Bancroft soon after returned one of the letters, but that which Mr. Ellis states contained Mr. Grahame's view of Mr. Bancroft's treatment of him is yet missing!

It appears from the documents transmitted by his family, that Mr. Grahame "continued the revision of his historical work, and terminated it shortly before his death," which occurred in July, 1842. Oppressed with disease, in the daily anticipation of death,—indignant at the succession of injuries and insults he regarded himself as having received from Mr. Bancroft, and satisfied that no apology was intended, except upon conditions to which he could not submit,—he felt it to be imperatively demanded of him that he should take the vindication of his fame before the world and posterity into his own hands; and he accordingly appended that note to his History, which, in respect of its bearing on himself, Mr. Bancroft has denominated "a groundless attack." Whether it was any thing more than an exercise on Mr. Grahame's part of the just rights of self-defence, or towards Mr. Bancroft any thing more than a just retribution, it remains for the public to decide.

I trust I have shown to the satisfaction of every fair and impartial mind,—

1st. That Mr. Grahame's charges against the deputy of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Dr. John Clarke, in reference to the conduct of the negotiation of 1662, were neither "his own invention" nor the result of "unwarranted misapprehension" on his part; that, on the contrary, he had ample warrant for
the statement on which he preferred these charges, in
the evidence afforded by the authorities whom he indi-
cates, Chalmers and Hazard, and in the notorious and
incontrovertible circumstances of the case; and that
the new evidence recently discovered by Mr. Bancroft,
however it may be regarded as affecting Chalmers's
pretensions to accuracy in the application of the lan-
guage he quotes, is totally irrelevant to the end for
which it is adduced, — to overthrow, or even to impair,
Grahame's credit as a faithful historian, seeking the
guidance of the highest authorities, and true to them.

2d. That, as respects my proceedings in relation to
the difficulty between Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Grahame,
they have been uniformly marked by a disposition to
shun all participation in it, — and this from motives of
delicacy towards Mr. Bancroft; that, guided by these
motives, I have heretofore carefully avoided and sup-
pressed, so far as it was left discretionary with me,
whatever might be calculated to affect him painfully or
injuriously; and that, therefore, in artfully connecting
me, as he does, with Mr. Grahame, in the remark, that,
"in giving publicity to the new version of Grahame's
calumny on Clarke, accompanied by an impeachment of
my 'candor,' 'correctness,' and 'rectitude,' Mr. Jo-
siah Quincy steps forward to defend it," Mr.
Bancroft is virtually guilty of gross misrepresentation,
— as it is only by a critical analysis of his language,
such as few readers would ever be likely to bestow,
that the truth, as respects the part really taken by me
in relation to the matters referred to, is discoverable.

3d. That Mr. Bancroft's conduct towards Mr. Gra-
hame, from first to last, has been marked by a spirit
such as renders him justly amenable to the imputa-
tions he complains of; that in bringing these imputations Mr. Grahame made no "groundless attack" upon him, but only administered to him a rebuke demanded by his own self-respect, and which will find a ready response in every mind animated in any degree by generous sentiments or a sense of right.
The passage in Mr. Grahame's History, which in 1837 drew from Mr. Bancroft the charge of "invention," and in 1841 the charge of "unwarranted misapprehension," against that historian, is as follows: —

"The restored monarchical government was proclaimed with eager haste in this colony [Rhode Island]; and one Clarke was soon after despatched as deputy from the colonists to England, in order to carry their dutiful respects to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favor. Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted, in courtly strains, the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, of which the sole proof he could give was, that they had bestowed the name of King's Province on a territory acquired by them from the Indians; but, meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at the court, he publicly challenged them to cite any one demonstration of duty or loyalty by their constituents to the present king or his father, from the period of their first establishment in New England. Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament, in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First; while Massachusetts had declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success." — Grahame's History of the United States, Vol. I., p. 315, edit. 1836.

The following are the passages in Chalmers's Annals from which Mr. Grahame modelled the preceding passage in his History: —

"They [the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations] cultivated the friendship of the neighbouring sachems with the greatest success; whereby they acquired considerable influence over their minds, which was of considerable importance; and that ascendancy they employed, during the year 1644, to procure from the chiefs of the Narragansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown, in consideration of that protec-
tion which the unhappy monarch then wanted for himself. . . . . . The deputies of these plantations boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of this transaction, and at the same time 'challenged the agents of Boston to display any one act of duty or loyalty shown by their constituents to Charles the First, or to the present king, from their first establishment in New England.'" — Chalmers's Political Annals of the United Colonies, Book I., ch. 11, p. 273.

"That event [the Restoration] gave great satisfaction to these plantations, because they hoped to be relieved from that constant dread of Massachusetts which had so long afflicted them. And they immediately proclaimed Charles the Second, because they wished for protection, and intended soon to beg for favors. They not long after sent Clarke as their agent to the court of that monarch, to solicit for a patent, which was deemed in New England so essential to real jurisdiction." — Ibid., p. 274.

B. Page 39.

MR. WALSH'S LETTER ON MR. GRAHAME. FROM THE NEW YORK AMERICAN, NOVEMBER 14, 1838.

"A propos of friends and enemies of America, the first of the former among European writers has long resided at Nantes. I refer to James Grahame, Esq., originally of Lanarkshire, Scotland, author of the 'History of the United States of America, from the Plantation of the British Colonies till their Revolt and Declaration of Independence'; a work, the first part of which, issued in 1827, was strongly recommended, several years ago, in some of our principal literary journals, to the favor of the American people. The History has been reprinted, with the addition of two volumes, and now consists of four octavos, excellent in style, and beautiful in typography. It is truly, as the author mentions in his Preface, 'the fruit of more than eleven years of intense meditation, eager research, industrious composition, and solicitous revisal'; and, what we should also greatly value, it was prompted by the warmest predilection and esteem for the United States. 'I am not desirous,' he observes in the same Preface, 'of concealing that I regard America with feelings of the strongest, perhaps the most partial, regard.' This regard animated him throughout his arduous task, and remains in all its vivacity, although the degree of attention and honor due to his production has not been yet paid in America. He has never crossed the Atlantic. His labors, so far from yielding him any pecuniary profit, have cost him upwards of six hundred pounds sterling. They have cost him still more in the deterioration of his health; and it was scarcely possible for any constitution to
remain unimpaired under the ardor, anxiety, and pains with which he sought to do justice to his cherished subject. Suffer me to cite some more sentences from his Preface."

[An extract follows from pages xi., xii., and xiii. of the Preface, beginning, "There has never been a people," and ending, "in reviving piety and invigorating virtue."]

"In this there is no exaggeration. You will unite with me in considering the man who has thus indefatigably and fondly explored, and skilfully and elegantly digested, the early history of all the North American States, as our greatest friend and benefactor among European writers. He is constantly employed in collecting materials for the improvement of his work in another edition, and means to bequeath his collections and manuscripts to one of our universities. I have exhorted him to undertake, as a sequel, the history of our Revolutionary War, and of the establishment of our present political system, with the new editions of the Writings of Washington and Franklin, and the Memoirs of Lafayette, as his chief sources of information. He has seized the idea with wonted enthusiasm; but I fear that his health will not prove equal to its accomplishment. The proper panegyric on his work has been bestowed in several of the leading Reviews of Great Britain. The Academy of Nantes have inserted in their Transactions a highly encomiastic account of it, after having elected him a member of their society. Mr. Grahame appears to be about forty-eight or fifty years of age; has an amiable temper and pious spirit, — a tall, fine person, and handsome, fair face; he converses eloquently, and expatiates with as much affectionate interest as he writes about the United States.

"It has really affected me, and I know has deeply chagrined him, that Mr. Bancroft, in his History of the Colonization, has hazarded an imputation on his veracity. I copy the charge, as roundly and cavalierly made in the following note, — Vol. II., p. 64. — [The whole is copied]. You will not hesitate, I am sure, to give me space for the following extract from a private letter of Mr. Grahame, to whom I sent Mr. Bancroft's work. It is an act of common justice to afford a hearing to such a man, when thus arraigned. All those who know him personally would implicitly trust him, in what assertion so ever. This extract contains, besides, critical opinions, which must be deemed of high authority, and by which our gifted countryman may profit. 'Mr. Bancroft's second volume has greatly interested and pleased me. I think his plan bad, but I hope that the defects will be redeemed by the merits of the execution. He starts abruptly from one subject to another, and the best rays of his genius are shed on subjects collateral to his main design. He seems in wantonness to revel in the play of talent, — sometimes at the expense of judgment and good taste; yet is he always able. I hope he will soberize, and, as he goes on, evince more and more the seeming and substance of calm, deliberate thought. In a note to page sixty-four, alluding to the
base behaviour which, in my work, I have imputed to one Clarke, an agent at the British court for Rhode Island, in 1662, he says, — "The charge of 'baserness' in Grahame is Grahame's own invention." There is here a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy that should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if the invention with which I am charged were justly laid to me; but the imputation is utterly false. So help me God, I never with heart invented, nor with tongue or pen uttered, a charge I believed false, against a human being; and how gratuitous the miscreancy imputed to me of falsely blackening the memory of a man who never harmed me or mine, and lived about two hundred years ago! I have written under the guidance of authorities on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute. I am as little disposed to advance as I am to tolerate a charge of wilful calumny, and must suppose that Mr. Bancroft has very loosely and imperfectly studied the authorities which I consulted,—a supposition, it must be confessed, nowise creditable to the moral deportment of his historiographic pretensions. However, I hope this is a solitary deviation from candor and rectitude. I am now particularly glad that I wrote some months ago to Mr. Bancroft, expressing my admiration of his first volume, and urging him to perseverance in his noble toil, as hereafter I can never hold the slightest intercourse with him.'"

C. Page 44.

EXTRACT FROM THE NEW YORK AMERICAN, 26th OCTOBER, 1839.

"Grahame's History of the United States.

"It may be in the recollection of many of our readers, that, in one of the letters of our Paris correspondent, last spring, an unbecoming attack by Mr. George Bancroft, in his History of the United States, on the veracity of Mr. Grahame, was earnestly, but tenderly, reprehended. Since then, as would seem from the annexed letter, this attack has been followed up by a yet more indecent justification of its truth in some Eastern papers; and we therefore feel it to be due, not less to the cause of truth than to the dignity of letters, which are degraded by such illiberality, to publish, with the expression of our entire conviction of its accuracy, and commendation of its tone, the following letter from Mr. Grahame."
"We may add, that, having ourselves read, with instruction and gratitude, the History of the United States by Mr. Grahame, we the more lament that a native of a land to which a foreign historian has done such ample justice, and whose history, exploits, and institutions he has treated with such enthusiasm, yet disciplined skill and admiration, should have selected that historian as a mark for an assault, as illiberal as we believe it to be unfounded.

"Nantes, September 7, 1839.

"To the Editor of the New York American:

"Sir: — A very flattering notice (proceeding, I have reason to believe, from one of the most distinguished writers that America has ever produced), in which I was honored in your pages some time ago, has called forth certain strictures on me of a very different complexion from the Boston Morning Post, subsequently reproduced in the Providence Daily Journal, of which a copy has just reached my hands. May I beg the favor of your assistance to make public the few observations I have to submit on this disagreeable matter? My eyesight is so much impaired that I write with great difficulty, yet I hope to make myself intelligible. In my historical work, guided by authorities on which I relied, I have charged Dr. Clarke, the agent for Rhode Island at the court of Charles the Second, in 1662, with an act of baseness in the conduct of his agency. Your distinguished countryman, Mr. Bancroft, in the second volume of his historical work, has designated this charge as 'Grahame's own invention.' I have denied the justice of this imputation, protesting that I may have been deceived, but most certainly have not invented. The Boston Post defends, against me, both the conduct of Clarke and the language of Bancroft. The first of these topics is foreign to my present consideration. In the next edition of my work (if it reach another edition) I hope to lessen the displeasure I have inspired in the admirers of that excellent and estimable man, Dr. Clarke.

"I have blamed Mr. Bancroft for imputing that to my own invention, which, whether judiciously or not, I have related on the authority of prior testimony, — in the which he might easily have made himself acquainted, and which (cited as it was by me) he ought to have examined before he reproached me with preferring an unsupported and fictitious charge. But the Boston journalist has gone a step farther, and declared, that, after examining all the authorities I have consulted, he finds they not only fail to support my charge against Clarke, but fully support Mr. Bancroft's charge against myself. To a writer who deliberately publishes such a statement I can have nothing to say, but that I regret that any man, much more that an American, should be its author. My regret must be increased, if it be true, as I am assured by one who ought to know, that Mr. Bancroft is himself the author of an article so laudatory to himself and so censorious of me.

"But to any impartial man in America, who takes an interest in this
controversy, I would suggest, that for the obnoxious passage in my work, and some correlative matter, there are but two authorities cited,—and these well known and easily accessible,—Chalmers and Hazard; and that, if he will examine these authorities, he will be in case to pronounce whether I have 'invented' a new charge or merely repeated an old one. This is the first time I have ever publicly noticed any attack (though I have sustained some very unjust and very insulting ones) to which the publication of my American History has exposed me, and it shall be the last. It is said that your countrymen have invented some new words, and also some new meanings for old words. He must have invented a new meaning of the word *invention*, who affects to regard it as otherwise than injuriously applied to the statement of an historian.

"Mr. Bancroft may be much better fitted than I am to give the literary lustre they deserve to the annals of America, and eagerly have I desired that the noblest wreath for her own brows should be woven by the hands of one of her own sons,—but not even to Mr. Bancroft will I yield, in point of admiration of America and good-will for Americans. It is, I think, a proof of the depth and sincerity of these sentiments, that I have never failed to note and condemn what appeared to me a faulty passage in American history.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES GRAHAME."

D. Page 47.

LETTER FROM G. BANCROFT TO W. H. PRESCOTT.

"Boston, Dec. 26, 1839.

"My dear friend:

"I got Mr. Grahame's message from Ellis, and it made me regret more than ever that an ill-considered word of mine had placed me apparently in an attitude of hostility, where I had alike every motive and every disposition to have cultivated a different relation. If Mr. Grahame had not, in his published letter to the correspondent of the New York American, declined correspondence with me, I should immediately have made public and have sent him an explanation.

"Mr. Grahame was led into error respecting Clarke by attributing to his negotiation for a charter what may have happened, as Chalmers cautiously expresses himself, in the reign of Charles the Second,—but in a later negotiation about lands and boundaries, a negotiation which took place after Clarke's return, and, I think, after his death. The name King's Province was not known till after the grant of the charter,
and after Clarke's return. I did not understand the precise nature of Mr. Grahame's misconception till I read his letter to Ellis.

"Hitherto I have kept silent, and now hardly know what to do. If Mr. Grahame should perceive his misconception, I should well know how to frame a statement that would be satisfactory alike to him and to those who take an interest in Mr. Clarke's good name. I hope we may both come to view the facts alike.

"I have always cherished friendly feelings toward Mr. Grahame. A sentiment of gratitude is his due. I have been vexed with myself, that a zeal for accuracy, which I cannot blame, led me into a form of expression, unhappily, but not with forethought, liable to an offensive construction. I hope he will give me leave to make some statement that will remove the present appearance of a misunderstanding between us, which a censurable expression of mine begun, and which I am most desirous of terminating.

"Ever affectionately yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

"W. H. PRESCOTT, Esq."
DISCOURSE

ON THE

CAMBRIDGE CHURCH-GATHERING

IN 1636;

DELIVERED IN THE FIRST CHURCH,

ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1846.

BY WILLIAM NEWELL,
PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE.

BOSTON:
JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY.
1846.
DISCOURSE.

"We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old. How thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them. . . . . For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them." — Psalm xlv. 1 - 3.

On a Monday morning, towards the close of the early and severe winter of 1635 - 36, "The New Towne," or "Newtown," as this village was then called,* presented an unusual aspect. Instead of the

* Two years after this (in May, 1638) its name was changed by the General Court to Cambridge, in prophetic compliment to the newly established College, and in grateful remembrance of the place in Old England where many of the magistrates and ministers of the Massachusetts Colony had received their education. It was at that place, also, that an agreement to remove with their families to New England, on condition of the transfer of the charter and government of the Colony to this country, was drawn up and subscribed by Saltonstall, Dudley, Johnson, Winthrop, Nowell, and others, in August, 1629. See it in Hutchinson's Coll., p. 25. That agreement determined the destinies of America, and involved consequences which will finally encircle the world.
ordinary stir and business of the day, there was a
Sabbath-like quiet and gravity in the looks and move­
ments of the people. There were signs of prepara­
tion for some special solemnity. The signal for a
public gathering was heard; and, as the inhabitants
issued from their dwellings and passed with sedate
step through the streets, others of less familiar coun­
tenance, who had spent the Sabbath with them that
they might be here in season, or who had just arrived
from the neighbourhood, were seen mingling with
them as they went. Gathering from all quarters
came the fathers of the infant church and common­
wealth of Massachusetts, to sanction by their presence
the solemn act which was about to be performed in
the first rude temple, which had been erected a few
years before a little way from the spot on which we
are now assembled to the worship of the one living
and true God. From Boston, from Charlestown, from
Winnisimet, from Roxbury, from Dorchester, from
Watertown, from Medford, from Concord, and the
towns which were within convenient travelling dis­
ance, the “messengers” of the invited churches, and
others drawn hither by curiosity and religious interest,
were seen wending their way, as they then best could,
over new rough roads, or across the open fields and
over the ice-bridged rivers and streams, to the humble
Puritan sanctuary. In the midst of the newly-risen
dwellings which had sprung up as by magic under
the diligent hands of the Christian adventurers who
first planted the town, on the rising ground just above
the marshes, and in the principal street,* leading down to the river,—which bore, as it still bears, the name of their king,†—stood the House of Prayer. A plain, roughly finished edifice it was, but as precious in the sight of God as the marble and gilded cathedral; another expressive testimonial of the spirit which had led the Pilgrims into the Transatlantic wilderness, and which, wherever they went, like Abraham in his journeyings, builded its altars to the Lord. Whether its church-going bell still woke the echoes of Cambridge, we have no record to tell us; though some time in the course of the year, as we

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* Then Water Street; now called Dunster Street, after President Dunster, whose house, as it is believed to be, is still standing there,—the only surviving contemporary of the first church. The church stood on the west side of the street, near the place where it is intersected by Mount Auburn Street, and on the south side of that street, upon land at present owned by Dr. T. W. Harris, Librarian of the University. The spot is now vacant.

† So named by Captain John Smith, renowned for his bravery, enterprise, and romantic adventures, both in the Old World and the New; one of the first voyagers to New England (which also owes its name to him), who, by his writings and personal efforts, did more, perhaps, than any other single individual to direct the attention of men of character and property towards it, and to interest them in its early settlement. In his voyage hither, in 1614, he made a map of the coast, and called it New England. "But malicious mindes," he says, "amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the echo of Nusconcus, Canaday, and Penaquid; till at my humble sute, our most gracious King Charles, then Prince of Wales, was pleased to confirme it by that title and did change the barbarous names of their principall Harbours and habitations for such English that posterity may say King Charles' was their Godfather." In another place, he says,—"I tooke the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles River, after the name of our Royall King Charles." Mass. Histor. Coll., 3d Series, Vol. III., pp. 20, 34. See also Hillard's Life of Smith, in Sparks's Biography, 1st Series, Vol. II.
learn from an incidental mention of the fact by one of our quaint New England historians* of that day, the dull, heavy sound of the beaten drum, converted for the time from the heathen service of battle and war into a herald of the assemblies of the Prince of Peace, announced the hour of gathering to the people. The little church was soon filled to overflowing. The day, perhaps, was one of the mild and bright days which February often mingles with its snows and storms; and even if it were not, our hardy sires who had left their pleasant homes in Old England for the "stern and rockbound coast" of the New, who had deliberately exchanged their dear native soil for the uncertainties and discomforts of a colony in a heathen and savage land, who had traversed the wide, weltering sea for the privilege of worshipping God in purity and freedom,—men who made their religion the sun and centre of their being,—were not to be daunted by a little cold or a little damp in the performance of its duties; and though our modern safeguards against snow and wet were unknown to their pilgrim feet, though neither stove nor furnace—those innovations of modern church-comfort—softened the chilly air, or dissolved the curling breaths that rose thickly upward in the sanctuary, they never thought of complaining, much less of staying at home. And as for distance from church, miles to them seemed little more than as many furlongs now to their descendants.

* Johnson, in his Wonder-working Providence, Chap. XLIII., speaks of a drum as being used here in 1636 "to call men to meeting."
“I have heard,” says Cotton Mather, in his biography of John Norton, the highly esteemed successor of Cotton in the ministry of the First Church in Boston, “I have heard of a godly man in Ipswich, who, after Mr. Norton’s going to Boston, would ordinarily travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, which is about thirty miles, for nothing but the weekly lecture there; and he would profess that it was worth a great journey to be partaker in one of Mr. Norton’s prayers.” Thirty miles on foot to hear a Thursday lecture! And now I will venture to say that half of our people, even in the very neighbourhood of the metropolis, are ignorant that such a lecture still exists; — have never heard of it, or, if they have, have forgotten it, — and that nineteen twentieths of them have never attended it in their lives. It has become what the present successor of Cotton and Norton has so aptly called it, “the shade of the past.” Such are the changes which take place from generation to generation. I do not imagine, however, that such instances as that which Mather has reported were at all common. But it is an indication of the state of feeling and of society among our ancestors, of which this was but an exaggerated specimen. They loved the house of God. They prized its privileges. They were religiously jealous of its honor; and nothing would have more shocked the devout public opinion of that day than absence without good cause from their Sabbath assemblies. It would have been death to a man’s character and influence among them.
Attendance upon public worship, however, was with them a matter not only of fashion and decorum, sometimes enforced by civil authority, but of individual conscience and inclination. They hungered and thirsted after religious instruction. They sat patiently through services which to their descendants of this day would seem of insufferable length. They looked up to the pulpit, then at the height of its glory and influence, for their weekly supply of thought and spiritual nutriment. Preaching was to them a necessary of life. The various causes which in after generations have contributed to lower its authority, and to render it less exclusively the source of moral and religious instruction, had not yet begun to operate. The Congregational clergy — "the Elders," as they were called — were in fact the rulers as well as teachers of the young Christian commonwealth. In all important questions of a civil, as well as of a religious nature, they were formally consulted, and their opinion had great weight. "In early times they were generally present in the courts." A discourse at the Thursday lecture or at a public fast, by Mr. Cotton or Mr. Hooker, more than once settled a growing difficulty, or turned the scale in favor of some disputed measure. The people mingled with reverence for the men much of the old reverence for their office, and listened to their words with an attention and deference second only to that which is accorded by the Catholic to his priest. What the altered tastes and habits of thought of the present age would hardly tolerate, they listened to not
only with patience, but with satisfaction and high relish. Multiplied divisions and subdivisions of text and subject, accumulations of Scripture proofs, gathered indiscriminately from the Old Testament and the New, minute dissections of doctrine, expositions of the technical theology of the day, discussions of its controverted points,—often in a phraseology which added mist to the twilight in which they dwell,—these, which to us, as we read them now on the antiquated and discolored page, seem but dry and husky food, tasteless and innutritive, and sometimes worse than that, were received by our Calvinistic fathers of a different training as the sweet marrow of heavenly wisdom. In their love of religious ordinances, in their zeal for the doctrines and the institutions of their choice, in their thirst for divine truth, in their reverence for the ministry and the pulpit, all quickened by the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, the first settlers of New England took a deep personal, active interest in all that related to the purer church which they came over to establish in a free soil, out of the way of the tyrant kings, and the more dreaded tyrant bishops,* who would fain have strangled and crushed it as it rose in their fatherland.

* The persecutor often does God service, and blesses the world, though in a way which he never intended; as the tornado sows more widely the seed which it rends from the parent stalk. The son of one of the first ministers, in a preface to a sermon preached soon after the Revolution in 1688, remarks, "That, if the bishops in the reign of King Charles the First had been of the same spirit with those in the reign of King William, there would have been no New England."
They wrapped their religion closer round them in the storm. They clave more steadfastly and lovingly to their chosen teachers in their trials and persecutions. They honored their pulpit the more as the fires of intolerance blazed more fiercely against it. Their religious privileges were made dearer to them by the sacrifices and privations with which they had been bought; and the preached word was sought the more eagerly, and enjoyed with a keener zest, because it had been arbitrarily and forcibly withheld. These, added to other obvious reasons in the character, feelings, and present circumstances of the first colonists in New England, invested every religious occasion and religious movement among them with a peculiar interest. The gathering of a new church, therefore, in this place, in the room of the migratory flock from Mount Wollaston, * which was only waiting for the summer days to take up its tents and to pursue its pilgrimage to the greener pastures of Connecticut, was a noticeable occurrence in the early days of the Colony; and Cambridge, before it was rechristened by the General Court with its present time-honored

* "In August, 1632," says Winthrop, "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." They had attended his ministry in England, and upon their settlement here, they sent to him in Holland, whither he had fled from persecution, entreatning him to become their pastor. He came over the next year, and took up his abode with them. They were now (in February, 1636) preparing for another removal, the reasons of which will appear in the following pages.
name, was one of the chief towns of the Massachusetts settlement. Before our ancestors, with a rare and wise forethought, and with a liberality and public spirit which can be matched by few examples in history, had laid upon this spot the foundations of their first and favorite College, before the timely and magnificent bequest of John Harvard, in 1638, and the voluntary contributions of the people at large, had reared its walls, our ancient village had its own prior claims to distinction. It was originally selected for the site of the metropolis; and was to have been the residence of the first governor, Winthrop, and his associates in office, who had made an agreement to build here,* and in a better and safer style than heretofore, none being allowed to have wooden chimneys or thatched roofs, which had already, in other places, been the occasion of destructive fires. They actually commenced the work in the spring of 1631.† New considerations led them to abandon the original plan,

* Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.
† "Deputy-Governor Dudley, Secretary Bradstreet, and other principal gentlemen, in the spring went forward with their design, and intended to carry it on amain. The Governor has the frame of his house set up where he first pitched his tent; and Mr. Dudley had not only framed, but finished his house there, and removed his family thereinto before winter; but on other considerations, which at first came not into their minds, the Governor takes down his frame and brings it to Boston, where he intends to take up his abode for the future; which is no small disappointment to the rest of the company, who were minded to build at Newtown, and accompanied with some disgust between the two chief gentlemen (Winthrop and Dudley); but they are soon satisfied with the grounds of each other's proceedings." — Prince.
though not without considerable struggle and some hard feeling among those who had been concerned in it; and Boston ere long eclipsed the rising glory of Cambridge. The New Town, however, was for a time the object of special notice and patronage. It was fortified at the public expense for fear of the Indians, and a "creek," or passage for boats, was made to it from the river, for the payment of which a tax was laid upon all the plantations. It was afterwards the place in which some of the first annual assemblies of the people were held for the election of the governor and assistants. Here, under the shade of a broad-spreading oak,—one of the aborigines of the soil, in its old age when our Washington Elm was a sapling, and the decayed stump of which is said to have been standing, on the northerly side of our village Common, till within half a century,—the privileged voters of the new settlements, the freemen, as they were called, members of the Congregational churches (for they alone for many years were allowed to have a voice in civil affairs), chose their rulers for the year; at first in person, and afterwards from "the remote towns" by proxy, when a general attendance was found inconvenient and expensive, as well as unsafe, on account of the exposure of their families in their absence to the attacks of their savage neighbours. I find, also, that for the two years previous to the church-gathering in 1636, Newtown paid the highest tax into the colonial treasury, with the exception of Boston and Dorchester, whose assessment was the
same;* and that at the time when this event took place,—before the removal of Hooker’s company,—it stood in point of wealth at the head of the new settlements.† It was then, also, as it had been for the last two years, the residence of the governor; and the courts were generally holden here. Wood, who returned from this country to England in 1633, in his New England’s Prospect, published in 1634, speaks of Newtown as one of the neatest and best built towns in the colony, and of the inhabitants as being “most of them very rich, and well stored with Cattle of all sorts, having many hundred Acres of ground paled in with one general fence, which is about a mile and half long, which secures all their weaker Cattle from the wilde beasts.” I have mentioned these circumstances to show that Cambridge from the beginning was a place of note; and that even its local affairs, especially such as that which I would now commemorate, would naturally attract general attention and interest.

But another occurrence in its history, just before the arrival of Shepard and his people, in 1635, had made it at that time the occasion of much talk, excitement, and controversy. In the autumn of 1633, Thomas Hooker, one of the most celebrated and in-

* Except in September, 1635, when that of Boston was a little smaller. There were frequent fluctuations, however, in the relative population and wealth of the several towns in the course of a few years.
† In March, 1636, Newtown was assessed £ 42, Boston and Dorchester £ 37 10s. each, Watertown £ 30, Salem £ 24, &c.
fluential of the emigrant Puritan clergy, and Samuel Stone, also a man of eminence in his day, were ordained, the former as pastor, the latter as teacher, of the church * in this place, where many of Mr. Hooker's former hearers and parishioners were already settled; and "the New Towne" rejoiced for a season in his light, and reflected his fame. But he and his people soon became dissatisfied with their situation, complaining of the narrowness of the township and the want of land for their cattle, and in a spirit already foretokening the future genius and fortunes of their descendants,—a spirit which seems to be breathed in with our American air,—they proposed to go "further west," where they should have both a wider and a more fertile territory. Of the manner in which this proposition was received and settled, we have a full account in the Journal of Governor Winthrop. As the whole passage is, on many accounts, an interesting one, I shall quote it entire. Under date of September 4, 1634, he writes as follows:—

"The General Court began at Newtown, and continued a week, and then was adjourned fourteen days. Many things were there agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle Island, Dorchester, and Charlestown; also against tobacco, and costly apparel, and

* Of the formal gathering of this church,—the predecessor of Shepard's, but having only a transient abode here,—no account has come down to us. It probably took place between the day of Hooker's arrival, September 4th, 1633, and his ordination, on the 11th of October following.
immodest fashions; and committees appointed for setting out the bounds of towns; with divers other matters, which do appear upon record. But the main business, which spent the most time, and caused the adjourning of the Court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave, the last General Court, to look out some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they moved, that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alleged pro and con. The principal reasons for their removal were, 1. Their want of accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alleged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were set so near each to other. 2. The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English. 3. The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither.

"Against these it was said, 1. That, in point of conscience, they ought not to depart from us, being knit to us in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of this commonwealth. 2. That, in point of state and civil policy, we ought not to give them leave to depart. (1.) Being we were now weak and in danger to be assailed. (2.) The departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw many from us, but also
divert other friends that would come to us. (3.) We should expose them to evident peril, both from the Dutch (who made claim to the same river, and had already built a fort there) and from the Indians, and also from our own state at home, who would not endure they should sit down without a patent in any place which our king lays claim unto. 3. They might be accommodated at home by some enlargement which other towns offered. 4. They might remove to Merrimack, or any other place within our patent. 5. The removing of a candlestick is a great judgment, which is to be avoided.

"Upon these and other arguments, the Court being divided, it was put to vote; and, of the deputies, fifteen were for their departure, and ten against it. The governor and two assistants were for it, and the deputy and all the rest of the assistants were against it (except the secretary, who gave no vote); whereupon no record was entered, because there were not six assistants in the vote, as the patent requires. Upon this grew a great difference between the governor and assistants, and the deputies. They would not yield the assistants a negative voice, and the others (considering how dangerous it might be to the commonwealth, if they should not keep that strength to balance the greater number of the deputies) thought it safe to stand upon it. So, when they could proceed no further, the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done, in all the congregations, the eighteenth day
of this month; and the twenty-fourth the Court met again. Before they began, Mr. Cotton preached (being desired by all the Court, upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for that occasion). He took his text out of Hag. ii. 4,* &c., out of which he laid down the nature or strength (as he termed it) of the magistracy, ministry, and people; namely, the strength of the magistracy to be their authority; of the people, their liberty; and of the ministry, their purity; and showed how all of these had a negative voice, &c., and that yet the ultimate resolution, &c., ought to be in the whole body of the people, &c., with answer to all objections, and a declaration of the people's duty and right to maintain their true liberties against any unjust violence, &c., which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully; and, although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man moved aught about it, and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed.”

So wrote and thought Winthrop at the time. But

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* "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech, the high-priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts.”
it appears that the satisfaction was only a temporary one. The root of the difficulty, whether it lay in the reasons actually given, or in others of a private and personal nature, not openly avowed and now unknown and only matters of conjecture,* was not removed. The people of Newtown were still discontented with their situation, and bent upon leaving it for a better and ampler settlement on the banks of the Connecticut. It was not thought advisable to oppose their wishes any longer, and the next year, 1635, the General Court gave consent to the proposed emigration.

In the autumn of this year arrived Thomas Shepard, with the people of his future charge, who willingly purchased the houses and lands which were about to be vacated, glad to find an American home already prepared for their reception. The first settlers of the place, ministers and people, being about to transplant themselves in a body to a distant part of the country, the new-comers who were to occupy their places, and who had already taken up their abode here with them, proceeded to organize a new church,

* It has been supposed by Hutchinson and others, that the growing rivalry, though as yet a friendly one, between the leading men of Boston and those of Newtown stimulated the wish for a change of situation on the part of the latter. Hooker and Haynes of this place, the competitors in talent, character, and popularity, of Winthrop and Cotton, in church and state, were desirous of another independent sphere, where they could stand at the head of affairs without collision with their eminent neighbours. They would rather be first in Connecticut than share a divided and doubtful sway in Massachusetts. This, however, seems to be a piece of historical scandal, resting only on surmise. The alleged reasons for the movement are sufficient to explain it.
of which Shepard was to be the pastor. The magistrates, as usual, were consulted, and gave their approbation. The neighbouring churches were invited to send their "elders" to be present and take part in the solemnity; — the first day of February, 1636 (O. S.), being fixed upon for the ceremony, a season of the year, it may be observed, when people were most at liberty to attend it, and when some who, at the opening of the spring, were likely to be journeying and exploring the country, or visiting distant towns, were now at home in Boston and the vicinity.

It was this occasion which had produced the unusual throng and excitement in the village, and had drawn together, perhaps, the most interesting and illustrious assembly, as we now look back upon it, which was ever gathered upon such an occasion in New England, at least in its early days. The scene of that time which comes up before me, — now forgotten, uncommemorated, without record, save that which we owe to the honored pen of Winthrop,—at first dimly descried through the haze of the distant past, grows upon me in brightness as I gaze upon it. A hallowed and a delightful one it was to the actors and the witnesses. I see them, as one by one, or in scattered groups, they enter the house of God. I see among its crowded seats the countenances of men who "were honored in their generation, and the glory of their times."

And first among the forms which stand out on the historic picture, as it presents itself to the eye of a
Massachusetts memory, is that of John Winthrop, now in the meridian of life, the father of our commonwealth, the first governor of the colony, and always among its ruling and guiding spirits, — "the Nehemiah," as Mather calls him, "of our American Jerusalem," — the able, discreet, faithful, noble-spirited, open-handed servant of the rising state, for which he freely spent his time, his property, and his strength, — a man of many and great virtues, both in public and in private life, and whose errors were the errors of his age, — of well balanced mind, sound judgment, great courtesy and self-command, — prudent in counsel, energetic in action, mild and considerate in the exercise of authority, so as even to be charged by his more rigid associates with over-lenity, patient of personal injuries, and overcoming evil with good, firm and intrepid in his adherence to right, meek and magnanimous in his acknowledgment of wrong, and pursuing through the little and great trials of his lot the even tenor of his way, — frugal, abstinent, laborious, self-denying, wisely and manfully accommodating himself to his new situation, avoiding in himself and discouraging in others all show and expensiveness in dress and style of living, foregoing for example's sake many of the elegancies and comforts to which he had been accustomed, but at the same time dispensing promptly and bountifully to the wants of the needy, and impoverishing himself in the public service, — the true gentleman, the kind-hearted and benevolent neighbour, the loving husband and father, the humble and
devout Christian, whose revered name has been perpetuated in its lustre, not only to the third and fourth, but to our own generation.*

And with him, among his fellow-magistrates, though more dimly visible,† appears his namesake and eldest son, the first born of his early youth, now a man of thirty, — John Winthrop, Jr., — lately returned from England with "commission from Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and divers other great persons in England, to begin a plantation at Connecticut, and to be governor there," — the heir in full of his father's talents and goodness, his superior in learning and accomplishments, destined to occupy a similar position in the

* He was a native of Groton, in Suffolk, born in 1587, of religious and highly respected ancestry, educated to the law, married at the age of seventeen, and at eighteen made Justice of the Peace, winning golden opinions of all for his wisdom, impartiality, and firmness. When the design of planting the Massachusetts colony was set on foot, he was at once fixed upon by general consent as the man best qualified to conduct the enterprise. "He was eleven times chosen governor, and spent his whole estate," says Hutchinson, "in the public service, the stipend being small, and his hospitality great, and his bailiff unfaithful." "His family," says Eliot, in 1809, "have been more eminent for their talents, learning, and virtues, than any other in New England." An interesting memoir of him is contained in Belknap's American Biography, Vol. II.

† John Haynes was governor, Richard Bellingham, deputy-governor, for the present year. The assistants were the two Winthrops, father and son, Dudley, Humfrey, Coddington, Pynchon, Nowell, Bradstreet, Hough, and Dunmer, most of whom, I presume, were present, according to invitation, at this gathering of our Cambridge church. In the silence of history, I have ventured to paint the scene by the light of probability and conjecture. If History should hereafter convict Imagination of some error in the representation, the consciousness of the mote in her own eye, of the uncertainties and mistakes that sometimes creep even into her written records, should make her charitable in her judgment upon any dim or false vision of her handmaiden and interpreter.
sister commonwealth which was soon to grow up by the side of Massachusetts, the future benefactor and good genius of Connecticut, and its successful agent to the Court of Charles the Second, from whom, by his address and personal influence, he obtained an ampler and more favorable charter than had been yet granted to any of the colonies,—for the fourteen years after that until his death successively chosen to the highest office in the gift of the grateful people (in which, I may add, his own son, Fitz-John, another of this family of American nobles, afterwards succeeded him), and adding to his eminence in public life a high distinction in medical science and philosophical studies and attainments, being one of the founders of the Royal Society of London, and a valued contributor to its papers. The promise of his studious boyhood had been richly fulfilled. The "dutiful and well-deserving child" had become the virtuous and strong-minded man. A liberal education at the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin had been followed up by opportunities of foreign travel, in which he visited the greater part of Europe. The graces of the Christian character, according to his father's devout wish, so finely expressed, added "lustre and beauty to the gifts of nature and industry." * Returning from his travels

* "The Lord grant that thy soul may still prosper in ye knowledge of Js. Ch't., and in ye strength of ye Spirit, as thy mind is strengthened in wisdom and learning; for this gives the true lustre and beauty to all gifts, both of nature and industry, and is as wisdom with an inheritance." — Winthrop's letter to his son at Trinity College, Dublin.
at the age of twenty-three, with improved mind and unsullied morals, he readily gave up his prospects of preferment in England for a wilderness home. "I have seen so much of the vanity of the world," he said, in a letter to his father, "that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries than as so many inns, whereof the traveller that hath lodged in the best, or in the worst, findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey's end; and I shall call that my country, where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends."

And here, in this land of his adoption, his genius and his virtues found their happy field and reward. The purity and high tone of his principles, the sweetness of his temper, the placid serenity and contentment of his spirit, his large charity and tolerance, his wisdom and moderation, his varied gifts and acquirements, blessed the circle and the community in which he moved. "If he had faults, they are forgotten. In history he appears by unanimous testimony, from early life, without a blemish; and it is the beautiful testimony of his own father, that 'God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do.'" *

Near them we discern the sterner countenance of Thomas Dudley, another of the trusty and devoted

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* "The New World was full of his praises; Puritans and Quakers, and the freemen of Rhode Island, were alike his eulogists; the Dutch at New York, not less than all New England, had confidence in his integrity; Clarendon and Milton, Newton and Robert Boyle, became his correspondents." — Bancroft's Hist. of the U. S., Vol. II., p. 53.
servants of the colony, whose name is so often associated with Winthrop's; the first deputy-governor, and afterwards from time to time governor, the principal founder of our town, and the zealous champion of its interests,* whose house † stood close by the church, — and his heart too; — a plain, blunt man, of great integrity and independence, of strict honor and truth in his dealings, ‡ hardy in body and in mind, able in business, well qualified in most respects for public office, which he retained till his death, but at the same time of an irritable temperament and strong passions, somewhat close, it was thought, in money matters, with a soldier's § roughness of speech, severe

* In behalf of which he had a serious misunderstanding with Winthrop, as mentioned above, which was finally settled by the ministers; Winthrop, with his usual moderation and magnanimity, submitting to their judgment against him, acknowledging himself to have been "faulty," and promptly rendering the pecuniary satisfaction required of him, which Dudley, with an equally honorable spirit, refused to accept. The reconciliation between them was soon after more completely sealed by a family union, Dudley's son marrying a daughter of Governor Winthrop.

† At the foot of Water Street, then so called (see p. 5), and opposite the "creek" before spoken of. It seems, from the following passage in Winthrop (Vol. I., p. 73), to have been built in better style than others of the time. "The governor having formerly told him that he did not well to bestow such cost about wainscoting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example, &c., his answer now was, that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was but little, being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainscot."

‡ Governor Belcher says, — "It was wrote of him, 'Here lies Thomas Dudley, that trusty old stud, A bargain 's a bargain, and must be made good.'"

§ He had a captain's commission from Queen Elizabeth, and served under Henry the Fourth at the siege of Amiens, in 1597. In 1644, he was appointed major-general of the colony.
and unbending in the administration of the laws, and zealously intolerant in his religious sentiments.

John Haynes, too, without doubt, is there; that "heavenly man," as Roger Williams calls him, the governor for the present year, another of the early settlers of Cambridge* under the ministry of Hooker, and afterwards with him one of the fathers of Connecticut, where he enjoyed an unbounded and uninterrupted esteem and popularity at the head of affairs in that colony; his wealth, as well as his wisdom and uprightness, giving him an influence which he continued to possess and to deserve through life.

Not far from him, in the seats allotted to the most honored of the assembly, I see one, lately arrived from England, whom the veering popular favor is about to place—though but for a single term†—in the chief magistracy occupied successively by Winthrop, Dudley, and Haynes, men of more than twice his age;—a young man of twenty-four, of noble birth, and more noble spirit, of rich genius and accomplishments, of persuasive eloquence, in after life at least, as Hume testifies, of consummate ability and address, remarkable even in that age so famed for its

* He lived on the west side of Winthrop Square, then Market Place.
† The Hutchinson controversy, in which he took the unpopular side, and his principles of wide toleration, so uncongenial with the spirit of the age, turned the current against him, and defeated his election the following year. Notwithstanding this, after his return to England, whenever opportunity offered, he always "showed himself," says his rival and opponent, Winthrop, "a true friend to New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind."
active talents, — of patrician family, but of republican and Puritan principles, — a most pure and devout Christian, a far-sighted and profound thinker,* an ardent lover and consistent defender of civil and religious liberty in its widest extent, a zealous seeker and champion of truth, one of the earliest expounders, not to say discoverers, of the fundamental principles of a constitutional republic, — whose high and eventful career, commencing amid controversy and tempest in the New World, and passing through scenes of intense and varied excitement in the Old, is to terminate in a martyr’s calm and heroic death upon the scaffold, — a death worth more to mankind than a thousand common lives, — a death which made all England’s heart thrill, which drew admiration even from his enemies, and forced from one of the bystanders, a zealous loyalist, the applauding and expressive exclamation, “He dies like a prince!” I see him in the midst of the magistrates and elders, with that composed thoughtfulness of aspect, and grave majesty of demeanour, which gave to his blooming manhood the weight and authority of age; — his reserve and quietness of manner, like the snows over a still volcano, covering from a stranger’s eye the intense enthusiasm and energy which glowed in the

*Sir James Mackintosh, whose opinion will weigh down a host of minor authorities, spoke of him as “one of the most profound minds that ever existed, not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon.” He has been often called a fanatic. Such fanatics are the salt of the earth and the light of the world.
deep soul beneath; — his peculiar and striking countenance having that in it which at once commanded attention, and, as Clarendon says of it, "made men think there was something in him extraordinary," as there indeed was. Those of you who are familiar with our early history will remember the name, the character, and the fortunes of Sir Henry Vane. And those who are not have a feast yet in store for them in the deeply interesting biography of him published a few years since, by a writer of our own country.* It was fitly reserved for an American pen to render to this man of American principles the full justice which, from obvious causes, his memory had failed to receive in his own land. It was to him that Milton, at an after period, addressed the lines,—

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
The fierce Epirot, and the African bold;
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states, hard to be spelled;
Then to advise how war may, best upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage; besides to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learned, which few have done;
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

* Rev. C. W. Upham, in Sparks's American Biography, 1st Series, Vol. IV. "New England," says Grahame, "has now repaid Vane's noble devotion by the best (Mr. Upham's) memoir of that great man that has ever been given to the world."
I see this young English nobleman, whom Milton in the fond admiration of a kindred spirit addressed as "Religion's eldest son," surrounded by the exiled ministers of that religion for whose sake, as La Fayette afterwards did for Liberty's sake, he had voluntarily relinquished the splendors of rank, and the brilliant prospects which opened before him at the English court, under the high position and influence of his father and his elevated family connections, for the retirement of an obscure colony in the wilds of America. I see him as, with shut thoughts and closed, meditative look, he dwells apart in a world of his own, to the likeness of which he would fain bring the kingdoms of this.

Near him is his chosen preacher and friend,* John Cotton; the ecclesiastical patriarch of the Massachusetts colony, silenced by Laud for the unpardonable sin of Puritanism and neglecting to kneel at the sacrament, but now rejoicing in his banishment from country and home as the opening, in Providence, of an enlarged sphere of active usefulness and influence, in which his learning and popular talents, his piety and zeal, the weight of his character, and the mildness of his spirit, placed him at the head of the clergy.

By his side sits his colleague in the ministry, John Wilson, the first pastor of the Boston church, of which Cotton was the teacher, so called;—of whom it was said by the celebrated Dr. Ames, "that if he

* It appears from Cotton's will, that Vane was for a time—probably at his first coming—an inmate of his family.
might have his option of the best condition this side heaven, it would be that of teacher in a congrega­tional church of which Mr. Wilson was pastor"; * — and of whose preaching our own Shepard, when he first heard him, exclaimed, — "Methinks I hear an apostle when I hear this man." Cambridge saw him again the year after this, on a very different occasion, and in a quite different attitude. In the violent religious controversy kindled by Mrs. Hutchinson, which then divided the people and was carried into their civil affairs,—Winthrop and Vane taking opposite sides,—he was a zealous and decided opponent of the new doctrines, showing in this as in other emergencies, that, with all the meekness and love which characterized him, he had an equal share of spirit and energy when it was called for. At the exciting and tumultuous election which was held in this town in the spring of 1637, for the choice of governor and assistants, the grave Boston pastor climbed into a tree and harangued the people with such effect, that they immediately insisted on taking the vote, which resulted in the triumph of Winthrop and his party. "Blessings on his meek head!" says his living successor.† "His zeal had no mixture of sternness in

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* It was then thought necessary to the complete organization of a church that there should be a teacher to indoctrinate, instruct, and convince, a pastor to exhort and persuade, and one or more ruling elders to assist in the government and discipline of the church, and to conduct the religious services in case of the absence or sickness of the pastor and teacher, who divided the labors of the Sabbath between them; besides the deacons, who had charge of the funds of the church.

† Rev. N. L. Frothingham, in his Second Century Discourse.
it. He was a pattern of wisdom and gentleness in an age which needed it all."

Among his brethren who appear in the scene as it rises before us out of the mist of time, we may discern James and Symmes, of Charlestown, and Phillips,* of Watertown, the fellow-passenger of Winthrop in the Arabella, of whom the governor writes, at his death, as "a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others." And in another seat is the future pastor of Concord, one of the strictest of the Puritans, Peter Bulkley; † a gentleman by birth and education, a scholar of no mean attainments, with a well-furnished library (of which he gave a considerable part to the College in this place) and a large estate, of which he made most bountiful and judicious use in the advancement of private and public good.

Another glance shows us Richard Mather, of Dorchester, an eminent divine and controversialist, and the progenitor of the many distinguished ministers of that name. His neighbour, the pastor of Roxbury, that zealous opponent of the new lights of his time, Thomas Weld, now chiefly remembered as the author

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*A visitor, I presume, at the solemnity, though there was no formal delegation from his church, which, in its thorough-going principles of Independence, as we learn from Lechford and Winthrop, did not send "messengers" to any other church-gathering or ordination, and did not invite any to its own.

† Soon after his arrival in this country, he became one of the residents and proprietors of Cambridge. The gathering of the Concord church took place the summer following our own, and in our Cambridge sanctuary.
of "The Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians," has accompanied him on the way, and has taken his place among the delegates of the invited churches. And there, too, is his beloved colleague, the self-sacrificing and tender-hearted Eliot; the apostle to the Indians, and their devoted and unflinching friend, the first and most efficient Protestant missionary to these wild men of the soil, who, a few years after this, with the aid of Gookin, one of the distinguished inhabitants of this place, commenced his labors among the savages, and made his first conversions at Nonantum, then lying within the limits of Cambridge. His efforts and sacrifices were rewarded indeed with but a temporary and inadequate success; but his loving and saintly spirit enjoyed its reward, as it still toiled on in patience and hope.

Hugh Peters, too (a name not to be forgotten), who, with Vane and others, had arrived in New England the preceding autumn, and was now in Boston or the neighbourhood (for he was not settled at Salem till December, 1636), was in all probability at the gathering of our Cambridge church. He, too, was one of the remarkable men of a remarkable period; and afterwards became a conspicuous actor in the revolutionary scenes in the time of Charles the First. He was the chaplain and counsellor of Cromwell; distinguished by a quaint and homely, but original, vigorous, Latimer-like eloquence, which made him one of the most popular and effective preachers of his time; an ardent, resolute, active, and enterprising
man, lion-hearted and trumpet-tongued, entering with characteristic enthusiasm and energy into the political as well as religious controversies of the day, ready to fight or pray, as his services might be wanted, and finally, like Vane, dying upon the scaffold, and, like Vane, meeting his fate with an unshaken fortitude and heroism. While he was in this country, his ministry at Salem, and his spirited public services of various kinds, made him a rich blessing to the town and the state in which he lived. Of quick mind and versatile talents, ready to act upon all occasions and in all matters, temporal as well as spiritual, the influence of his counsels and wise suggestions, of his labors and successful example, left a deep and enduring impression upon the character of his Salem flock.*

But time would fail me to speak fully of the honored and useful men, both among the laity and the clergy, who, we have good reason to believe, stood sponsors at the christening of our ancient church. I can only mention the names of such men as Richard Bellingham,† and Simon Bradstreet, one of the first settlers of Cambridge, both of them afterwards chosen

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* Hugh Peters was father-in-law to the younger Winthrop. He was an active friend of the College. In 1641, he went as agent in behalf of the colony to England, but never returned to this country.

† Bellingham died governor, in 1672. Bradstreet, the Nestor of the Massachusetts colony, whose life nearly covered the century, dying in 1697, at the age of ninety-four, was at the head of the government when he was nearly ninety, and was sixty years in public office. He married a daughter of Thomas Dudley, a lady of poetical talent and literary accomplishments, whom Cotton Mather bedaubes with pedantic praises.
several times to the chief magistracy, in Massachusetts,—William Coddington, a wealthy Boston merchant, of high character, a friend and supporter of Mrs. Hutchinson, and afterwards among the founders of Rhode Island, and its governor at his death,—William Pynchon, the father of Roxbury, and then of Springfield,—Increase Nowell, of Charlestown, for many years secretary of the colony,—who, with others of less note, filled the seats of the sanctuary.

In front of all were the pastor and the teacher of the first flock here gathered, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, who were soon to be the spiritual fathers of another colony at Hartford.* Hooker also was one of the admired and renowned preachers of his time, and became to Connecticut what Cotton was to Massachusetts, its ecclesiastical patriarch and oracle,—"the light of the western churches."

"So piercing was his holy ministry,
Each ear that heard him said, He spake to me."†

* Hartford was named after the birthplace of Stone. In a "Threnodia upon our Churches' second dark Eclipse, happening July 20, 1663, by Death's Interposition between us and that great Light and Divine Planet, Mr. Samuel Stone, late of Hartford, in New England," are the following lines:

"In Hartford Old, Stone first drew infant breath,
In New, effused his last: O, there beneath
His corps are laid, near to his darling brother,
Of whom dead oft he sighed, Not such another.
Heaven is the more desirable, said he,
For Hooker, Shepard, Haynes's company."

Morton's N. E. Mem., p. 303.

† P. Bulkley's Lines on the Death of Hooker, in Morton's Memorial.
“His colleague, Stone,” as his contemporary, Morton, testifies, “was another star of the first magnitude in New England,” — “a learned, solid, and judicious divine,” celebrated not only for his ability as a disputant, but for his wit, pleasantry, and good-humor. The close of his life was agitated and embittered by a schism in his church, growing out of a controversy between him and the ruling elder upon some ecclesiastical questions, in which all the neighbouring churches became involved. His future antagonist now sits by his side, in the picture before the mind’s eye of the church-gathering at Newtown. Once before this he dimly makes his appearance in the annals of the time, at the session already referred to of the General Court, in which he was one of the deputies from this place, when, as we read, “Mr. Goodwin, a very reverend and godly man, being the elder of the congregation at Newtown, having in the heat of argument” (probably about the removal to Connecticut) “used some unreverend speech to one of the assistants, and being reproved for the same in the open Court, did gravely and humbly acknowledge his fault.” *

In the elder’s seat, under the pulpit, and fronting the congregation, is seen “a poore, weak, pale-completioned man,” in clerical garb, with arms folded under his velvet cloak, of humble, devout aspect, with

a shade of anxiety and sadness* upon his countenance, and in the attitude of meditation and prayer. It is the "faithful and famous" Shepard, the future pastor of the Cambridge flock, under whose ministry the history of our church is commonly reckoned to begin; — a man of fervent, childlike piety, of great simplicity and earnestness, of humble and affectionate spirit, wholly devoted to his Master and his Master's work, and eminently blessed in his ministrations; — the author of several doctrinal and practical works, in high esteem among his contemporaries, though now scarcely to be met with except in our College library or on the shelves of the antiquarian; — a preacher of uncommon unction and power, with that peculiar gift, not always to be distinctly analyzed, which makes a man eloquent in the pulpit and wise in winning souls, even without great genius or personal advantages.

"His natural parts were weak, but spent to the full."†

"Though his voice was low, yet so searching was his preaching and so great a power attending, as a hypocrite could not easily bear it, and it seemed almost

* His wife was then in the last stage of a consumption, brought on by the exposure and fatigues of the voyage with an infant child, and died a fortnight after. Shepard was tenderly attached to her. The ocean-rocked boy, her only surviving child, baptized on the Sunday following the church-gathering, became the minister of Charlestown, and was succeeded at his death by his only son, of the same name. All were short-lived. Shepard's second wife was a daughter of Thomas Hooker. His third wife, who survived him, married his successor, Jonathan Mitchell. Besides Thomas, he had two other sons, Samuel and Jeremiah, who were also settled in the ministry, and were highly beloved and respected.

† Johnson.
irresistible.”* It was the cry of a prophet’s warning, uttered in the tone of affectionate entreaty.

“A parish priest was of the Pilgrim train,
An awful, reverend, and religious man.

He bore his great commission in his look,
But sweetly tempered awe, and softened all he spoke;
He preached the joys of heaven and pains of hell,
And warned the sinner with becoming zeal,—
But on eternal mercy loved to dwell.”†

By his side are two others ‡ of the new company, just settled here, who are to take part with him in the exercises of the day, the ruling elder and the deacon, hereafter to be chosen, of the newly organized church. Near them, as the eye glances over the assembly, another group of our own townsmen attracts our notice,— the first five § who enter with them into church-covenant, among whom, besides the loved and faithful brother of Shepard, we discern one who has shown

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* Prince. † Dryden.
‡ These, I have little doubt, were Edmund Frost, and Thomas Marriot, or Marrett, as the name was afterwards written,—the same who held the offices of ruling elder and deacon in 1658, as appears from the list of church-members at that time, in the Appendix to this discourse. Richard Champney and Gregory Stone were their associates in office, in 1658, and were among the early members of the church; but, as I am led to think from a fact stated in the Appendix, they did not join it during the first month.
§ These we may conjecture to have been Roger Harlackenden, Joseph Cooke, Nicholas Danforth, Samuel Shepard, and George Cooke; as being the men of most note among the first twelve who, in addition to T. Shepard, Frost, and Marriot, appear to have joined the church before March 3d, 1636. I was pleasantly surprised by the discovery of the names of the original members of the church, which I had supposed to be among the buried, irrecoverable things of the past. See Appendix.
him a brother’s affection and care, his protector and supporter in his native land, his companion to the New World, of whom Shepard speaks as his “most dear friend, that most precious servant of Jesus Christ,” Roger Harlackenden,* — “a young gentleman, valiant in faith,” “of good family and estate,” in high esteem through the community, whose early death, in 1638, at the age of twenty-seven, was a great grief to his pastor, and an affliction not only to the town, but to the colony, in which he was already honorably distinguished.

Such was the congregation now assembled in devout silence to witness or take part in the solemnity. The records of our Cambridge church for the first sixty years, with the exception of a single fragment,† which has been picked up from the wreck, have been unfortunately lost; at what time, and by what accident, I have never been able to ascertain. The only account which we have of the transaction is found in the invaluable Journal, so often quoted, of Governor Win-

* Winthrop, under date of November 17th, 1638, has the following notice of him: — “Roger Herlakenden, one of our magistrates, about thirty years of age, second son of — Herlakenden, of Earl’s Colne, in Essex, Esq., died at Cambridge, of the small-pox. He was a very godly man, and of good use, both in the commonwealth and in the church. He was buried with military honor, because he was lieutenant-colonel. He left behind a virtuous gentlewoman and two daughters. He died in great peace, and left a sweet memorial behind him of his piety and virtue.” His sister, Mabell, who came over with him, married Governor Haynes.

† A list of church-members, with their children, in 1658, and for a few years after, which will be found in the Appendix.
throp, himself no doubt an eyewitness of the scene. The fulness of this account, compared with his notices of other similar occasions, seems to me to indicate a peculiar interest in it. This is the record which he makes in his Journal:

"1635, Mo. 12. 1. Mr. Shepherd, a godly minister, come lately out of England, and divers other good Christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighbouring churches for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day, at Newtown, when they should constitute their body. Accordingly, at this day, there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth: — Mr. Shepherd and two others (who were after to be chosen to office), sate together in the elder's seat. Then the elder of them began with prayer. After this Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confession of sin, &c., and exercised out of Eph. v., — that he might make it to himself a holy, &c.; and also opened the cause of their meeting, &c. Then the elder desired to know of the churches assembled, what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon, some of the ancient ministers, conferring shortly together, gave answer: That the Scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number. Three (they thought,) were too few, because by Matt. xviii. an appeal was allowed from three; but that seven might be a fit number. And, for their proceeding, they advised,
that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them; which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder, and one who was to be deacon (who had also prayed), and another member. Then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches, that, if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon, Mr. Cotton (upon short speech with some others near him), in the name of their churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord Jesus to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the rest of his body, about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the assembly, that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepherd for their pastor (by the name of the brother who had exercised), and desired the churches, that, if they had any thing to except against him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their assistance, and so left them to the Lord.”

This is dated the first day of the twelfth month of 1635. In the times of our ancestors, the year began on the 25th of March, which was reckoned the first month, and February the twelfth. Adding ten days
for the difference between Old Style and New, the date of the gathering is February 11th, 1636.

Seven generations, then, have just "passed on," since the first permanent church in Cambridge was solemnly organized, in the presence of a cloud of honored witnesses, according to the simple usages of our Congregational fathers. I have thought that it might not be improper or uninteresting to commemorate the occasion with some historical notices like those which I have endeavoured to present to you. It is good for us from time to time to visit the Mount Auburn of memory, to stand by the tombs of departed sages and prophets, and to read again upon the sunken monuments the moss-covered inscriptions which tell us of their labors and merits. We need not deny, and we need not forget, their faults. We will remember them as warnings and beacons. Where, through human infirmity, and sore temptation, and the pressure and spirit of the age, they were inconsistent with themselves and false to their principles, we may read a lesson for our own times without harsh judgments upon their memory. We may notice, that we may avoid their errors. But it is pleasanter to dwell upon the beautiful image of their virtues, revealing itself more and more distinctly as we gaze back into the dim and scattered records of the past. It is more honorable and more edifying to study the glorious everlasting truths and principles which they maintained and illustrated, than with carrion appetite to
hunt out the dead follies, superstitions, and exploded opinions which were unhappily mingled with them. If we cannot agree with them in the whole of their theological creed, we can agree with them in their religious spirit. If we cannot adopt their doctrinal phraseology, we can admire and cherish their religious faith. If, in the light of what we deem to be a juster interpretation of the Scriptures, and a sounder reasoning, we are forced to reject their Calvinism, we can nevertheless honor and maintain as firmly and steadily as they the precious truth which was inclosed and incrusted within it, like the diamond in the rough rock. If, in this elder age of the world, we can no longer believe with them in witches and apparitions, in omens and dreams, we can believe as devoutly as they in the ever-living, ever-loving God, and in the invisible world on whose borders we are standing. If, from our present point of view, we must condemn or deplore their occasional exclusiveness and intolerance, their violations of the rights of the individual conscience, their bitterness of language and inquisitorial harshness of dealing in the treatment of their heretics, we can gladly and reverently acknowledge — we should filially love and copy — their noble zeal for the glory of God, for the honor of Christ, for the propagation of his gospel, for the establishment of his law, for the diffusion of his spirit. Where they were right, we will follow them; where they were wrong, we will leave them for the truer and better path, till it strikes again into theirs. Where they were mistaken, God forbid
that we should repeat their errors for the sake of their company, however unwillingly we may part from it. But where they have left us wise and winning examples,—where they have gone before us in the way to heaven in shining garments,—God forbid that we should ever be recreant to our ancestry. We should hold faster to the Christian principles and the Christian virtues which are associated with their names.

A few days since, I ascended into the tower of this church, and surveyed the animating and beautiful scene upon which it looks. Around me in every direction I saw thriving villages, from which a thousand busy and cheerful smokes curled upward into the sky; to the east, the populous city, crowned with its stately dome and pointing heavenward with its spires; close by, the College edifices,—the crowded graveyard,—the churches of the Episcopal and Baptist dissenters from the old Congregational establishment, the sight or foresight of which would have made Dudley's* heart ache. At a distance, the steam of the locomotive hung like a low cloud over the ground, as the long train shot swiftly by;—below me, multitudes of sleighs and pleasure-parties were sailing over the frozen roads;—the sounds of business and of merriment came mingling up into the air.

As I gazed upon the scene around me, so full of

* His farewell lines, found upon him after his death, have been often quoted:—
"Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."
prosperity and promise, all radiant with the light of New England industry and New England enterprise, I could not help contrasting it with that which presented itself to the eyes of Winthrop when he first pitched his tent in midwinter upon this then uninhabited spot. My thoughts went back to the time of Hooker and Shepard,—to the day of small things,—when only here and there could be seen a little cluster of newly finished and unpainted houses, rising amidst wild grounds, hitherto undisturbed except by the sounds of nature's offspring, the howl of the wolf, or the shout of the savage. I ascended in imagination the turret of the first plain church where our fathers worshipped;—and all around was as yet a desert, though Faith illumined it with the presence of their God, and Hope brightened it with her visions of the coming future. As I looked upon the fosse and palisade, the Indian settlement at Nonantum came up before me;—and the listening group of the red children of the soil, as they reverently gathered around the apostolic Eliot on his first visit to their wigwams, two centuries ago this very year. I saw walking by his side the tall, straight form of the black-haired Waban,* —the first fruits of his zealous and persevering ministry,—affectionately accompanying his teacher on his way back to his Roxbury home. Could they now

* See Life of Eliot, by Rev. Dr. Francis, in Sparks's American Biography, Vol. V., pp. 48, 50, et seq. The name of this Indian chief appears also in our town records, in a business contract signed by him with "his mark," in 1647.
rise from their graves, and return to the world as they left it, and, reentering the tabernacle of flesh, view the places which once knew them with the same powers, the same eyes, as of yore, with what amazement would they behold the transformation that two centuries have accomplished! What a strange mixture of the familiar and well remembered objects among which they once dwelt and moved with the gradual additions of after generations, with the novelties and improvements of the nineteenth century, with the inventions of modern comfort, the splendors of modern luxury, and the wonders of our iron roads!

But in thus contemplating the changes which have taken place since their time in the scenes around us, I remembered that the great essential features of the landscape still remain the same. One generation of men passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever. Nature and the laws of nature, the year and the seasons, go on as at the beginning and as in the days of our fathers. The same wood-crowned hill, which rose upon their eyes, rises upon ours. The same river, which winded its way along the fields of the Pilgrims, and by a defensive palisade, still winds its way by the cultivated and thick-settled villages of their descendants. The same soft outline edges the horizon; the same sun shines down lovingly upon all; the same azure firmament bends over them; the same ever-burning stars light up the evening sky. In the grandeur and mild beauty of the unchanging forms of his creation, God is still
speaking to us the language which he spake to them of old time. It is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

And as it is with the sky, and soil, and face of the landscape, so may it be with the character of our people. With these changes upon the surface, may it ever show itself to be at heart, and in its great features, the same essentially as it was two centuries ago. In all that was noble and worthy, useful and good, in the parent stock, let it be our aim and our earnest endeavour to remain true to our ancestry, worthy of our calling, and to transmit to our posterity the refined and purified spirit of the Pilgrims,—the gold cleared from the dross.

We stand in their places. They have committed the torch of freedom and truth to our hands. We must bear it aloft in their spirit, if not with their creed. "Contend earnestly for the faith as it was once delivered to the saints," was their motto; and, according to their idea of that faith, they were true to it. "Contend earnestly for the faith as it was once delivered to the saints," should be the motto of this church still,—and should be written in letters of light over its walls. The Christianity of Jesus Christ,—the truth as it spoke from his lips, as it shone out from his life,—the pure and undefiled religion which came down from heaven,—may this church hold it fast and hold it forth with a holy zeal united always with a holy charity and love.

Brethren, let us begin the new year of our church
in the purified spirit of our fathers. Let us begin the new year of our church with a determination to do what we can, each and all, to make it more worthy than it has been of its Christian name, and privileges, and hopes. Let the warm blood of a living faith and a free-flowing charity circulate through its veins, and give it a more vigorous life. Let its winter birthday find summer and sunshine in the heart. Let the First Church in Cambridge be ever among the first in all good things.

And now "unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, — unto Him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."
APPENDIX.

In the original Colony Records at the State-House in Boston, I found in the list of freemen admitted March 3, 1636, a month after the Cambridge church-gathering, the following names, arranged in the order in which they here stand, namely:

Roger Harlackendine, Esq.,
Mr. Joseph Cooke,
Mr. George Cooke,
Mr. Nicholas Danforth,
Thomas Marryot,
Mr. Samuel Shepheard,
Wm. French,
Simon Crosby,
Thomas Cheeseholme,
John Russell,
Passevil Greene,
Mr. Hugh Peters,
Thomas Bloyett,
Edmond Frost,
Mr. Thomas Shepheard,

Henry Vane, Esq.

These fifteen names preceding that of Vane,—which is separated from them by a little dash, as in the original,—are, with the exception of Hugh Peters,* the names of men who are known from the town records to have been inhabitants of Cambridge. These freemen were,

* With what church, if any, Hugh Peters had connected himself, is not known to me. Possibly in his case the usual condition was dispensed with. He did not settle at Salem till the December following.
of course, members of the church; and as the Court, at which they were admitted, and before which they personally appeared to take the freeman's oath, was held that month in Cambridge, it is probable that all who were then in church-fellowship here availed themselves of the opportunity of obtaining the privileges of freemen. They appear to have come in a body to the Court, and the order of their names is probably the order in which they were admitted, those of highest standing being received and enrolled first. The title of Esquire, attached to the names of Harlackenden and Vane, was given at that time only to those of a certain rank or office. These two, with Governor Haynes, another of the English gentry, are the only ones among the Massachusetts emigrants after Winthrop who appear to have had this title before coming to this country. Here it was also given to the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants of the colony. The title of Mr., too, was not the common appellation which it now is, but somewhat aristocratic, and was confined to those of a certain station in society. Out of the forty-seven freemen admitted in March, with Vane and Harlackenden, there are only seven so honored; all but one being of Cambridge. In 1635, out of the one hundred and forty-four admitted, there are only seven Mr.'s. Thomas Marryot, however, stands on the list before Mr. Samuel Shepheard, who probably gave way to him on account of his age and his office of deacon. It will be observed, also, that in this list of our Cambridge people, the names of Edmond Frost and Thomas Shepheard stand last, as if the ruling elder and the pastor had come in together after the others, or chose to be placed last. Hugh Peters may have been in company with his Cambridge friends, perhaps on a visit here, and came in with them into the Court to be admitted freeman. Possibly he may have connected himself for this purpose with our Cambridge church. But there is no record to determine the fact.

On the 25th of May, 1636, four others, known to be of Cambridge, were admitted freemen, and were of course among the first members of our church, namely: — Richard Champney, Gregory Stone, Edward Goffe, Thomas Judd.

In addition to the names above given, that of Mr. Clement Chaplain, whom we also know to have been at that time a resident of Cambridge, stands by itself at the head of the freemen admitted in March, 1636.

We thus find the names of eighteen, at least, besides Shepard, who were in all probability members of our Cambridge church at its first organization, or within four months after; and, we may presume, the only male members at that period. These, with their wives, constituted the original church. About half of them will be found among the members recorded as still living in 1658, in Mitchell's list,—the fragment which helps us to cross the sixty years' chasm in our records.
Shepard, in his autobiography, tells us, that his wife, Margaret, entered into church fellowship before her death. The names of the wives of the persons above mentioned, as presumed to be the first members of the church, are Elizabeth Harlackenden, Thomasine Frost, Jane Champney, Susan Marrett, Lydia Stone, Elisabeth French, Ann Crosby, Isabel Cheeseholme, Susan Bloggett, Ellen Green, Joyce Goffe. Elisabeth (wife of Joseph) Cooke, Alice (wife of George) Cooke, and Hannah (wife of Samuel) Shepard, were probably not married at the time of the gathering. The names of the wives of Danforth, Russell, Judd, and Chaplain (if all married), I have not been able to ascertain.

Roger Harlackenden, the principal man in Shepard's company, has already been noticed in the discourse. He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Godfrey Bossville, June 4, 1635, and about the 10th of August (as Shepard tells us) set sail with his young bride, and his sister Mabel, to seek a new home, and to find an early grave, in America. He was one of those who "took New England in their way to heaven." Hubbard says that he came in the same ship with Vane. From Shepard's autobiography, and from a manuscript register recently discovered in one of the public offices in London, containing the names of persons permitted to embark at London for this country in 1635,* we learn that Harlackenden came in company with Thomas and Samuel Shepard, the two Cookes, William French, and the ministers Wilson and Jones. He settled with his chosen pastor at Cambridge, where he purchased the house and estate of Dudley, who removed to Ipswich, and afterwards to Roxbury. His continued attachment to Shepard is expressed in his will (in Suffolk Probate Records), in which it appears that he left him a legacy. His elder brother, Richard Harlackenden, seems to have had some intention of emigrating to New England, and a farm of six hundred acres was granted to him, on condition of his coming over within a certain period; but he never came, and the land was transferred to Roger. He is erroneously enumer-

* See Savage's Gleanings, in the Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d Series, Vol. VIII. In this document, — first examined and made known to us by Mr. Savage,— Thomas Shepard appears to be registered under the assumed name of "John Shepard, a husbandman," followed by the true names and ages of his wife and infant child. He was one of the proscribed ministers, and was compelled to conceal his name in order to escape from the country. In the same register, S. Shepard, William French, Joseph Cooke, and his brother George (whose name is there written Cooke, instead of Cooke) are recorded as servants of Harlackenden. They appeared in this character for the purpose, no doubt, of evading some of the tyrannical regulations then in force.
ated in Holmes's History of Cambridge among the first proprietors and settlers of this place. It appears from the "Gleanings" of Mr. Savage, to whom the students of our ancient New England history are so largely indebted, that Richard died at an advanced age, at the family seat, I suppose, in Essex.

Five of the first church-members, namely, Harlackenden, Danforth, Green, Crosby, and Bloggett, died within four years after their arrival. Chaplain (elected representative in 1636) and Judd removed to Hartford. Danforth was one of our enterprising and influential inhabitants, and was often employed in public trusts by his townsmen; as were the two Cookes, Russell, Chaplain, and S. Shepard, while they remained here. George Cooke commanded the company which was sent to apprehend Gorton and his associates, was speaker of the House of Deputies in 1645, and afterwards became a colonel in the service of Cromwell, in Ireland; where also (as appears on page 54) Samuel Shepard was living in 1658, with the rank of major. French removed to Billerica, where numerous descendants of his are now living. He died in 1681. Cheeseholme became a deacon of the church, and died August 18, 1671. Goffe died December 26, 1658. Champney died in 1669. He is called "Elder Champney" in the town records, under date of February, 1637. His colleague, Frost, is also designated at that time by the same title. Frost died in 1672. His posterity are still among us. Deacon Marrett died June 30, 1664, aged 75. Gregory Stone, another of the first deacons, brother of the Rev. Samuel Stone, died November 30, 1672, aged 82. He was the last survivor in Cambridge of the first eighteen, who, with Shepard, constituted the original church. A footstone, with the initials of his name upon it, is still to be seen in our ancient burying-ground. John Cooper, the son of his wife by a former husband, was a deacon of the church, and had a son (Samuel) who was afterwards chosen to the same office. His oldest son, John Stone, is called "Elder" in his epitaph in our church-yard. He was probably elder of the church in Sudbury, where he lived for some years. (See Harris's Cambridge Epitaphs, p. 179.)

The covenant which was read and agreed to at the church-gathering, is not extant. It was, probably, like others of the time, a simple, and brief one. That which is at present in use in our church was adopted May 18, 1834, and is as follows:

"Covenant of the First Church in Cambridge.

"We, whose names are underwritten, do solemnly acknowledge Jesus
Christ to be the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, as he is represented in the New Testament; and, as his disciples, we do now express our earnest desire and intention to live a holy, religious, and useful life, after the example and in the spirit of our Lord. We do also purpose to walk with the church, while we have opportunity, in a regular attendance on Christian ordinances, in the promotion of Christian truth and charity, and in the exercise of those acts of Christian fellowship and affection, which the relation in which we stand to one another may seem to us to demand."*

The list of church members, &c., in the time of Mitchell, which here follows, was found in 1815, by my predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Holmes, in the Prince collection of manuscripts, then deposited in the library of the Old South Church, in Boston. The original manuscript, in eighteen folio pages, with double columns, worn, faded, and discolored, is now bound up in the first volume of our church records, which commence with the ministry of Brattle, in November, 1696. On the first blank leaf, in the handwriting of Rev. Thomas Prince, formerly minister of the Old South, is written,—"List of members in the Church of Cambridge in ye handwriting of ye Rev. Mr. Jonathan Mitchell." This being the only ancient document of this kind which has come down to us, I have thought it worth while to print and preserve it for the use of those who are curious in such matters and interested in genealogical inquiries.

N. B. f. c. stands for "full communion." This abbreviation, which frequently occurs in the original, will be used throughout.

The Church of Christ at Cambridge, in N. E., or, the Names of all the Members thereof that are in Full Communion; together with their children who were either baptized in this Church, or (coming from other churches) were in their minority at their parents joining; taken and registered in the 11. month, 1658.

MR. THOMAS SHEPARD, late faithfull and famous pastour of this Church of Christ at Cambridge, was translated hence unto the Church triumphant, 25. of 6th m. 1649, and left behind him 4 sonnes, 3 whereof

* It is usual for those who become members of the church to sign their names to this covenant, or to signify their assent to it to the pastor, or, in case of his absence, to one of the deacons. If any individual should decline, from conscientious scruples, to sign or assent to the covenant, the pastor has, in such a case, a discretionary power to dispense with the observance of this form.
are now living; namely, Thomas, admitted to f. c. with us March 28, 1656; and now lately dismissed to the Ch. of Christ at Charlestowne for the work of ye ministry there. Samuel, baptized in this church; admitted into f. c. July 19, 1663; dismissed to Rowley, August 13, 1665; ordained pastour there Novemb. 15, 1665. Jeremiah, baptized in this church.

JONATHAN MITCHELL, present pastour of this Church, and Margaret, his wife. Their children now living are, Nathaniel, baptized here. John, baptized here; departed this life Octob. 29, 1659, about 2 of clock in ye morning. Samuel, born Octob. 14, 1660; baptized Octob. 21, 1660.

RICHARD CHAMPNY, Ruling elder, and Jane, His wife, in f. c.; their children, yet living, Esther Champney, now [Convers], living at Wooburne, baptized in England, aged about six years when her father joyned here; Samuel, admitted into f. c. Octob. 18, '61; Lydia, admitted into f. c. May 31; Daniel, admitted into f. c. March 7, 1663; Samuel, Lydia, and Daniel, baptized in this Church.

EDMUND FROST, Ruling Elder also of this Church, and Thomas-Anne, his Wife, in f. c. Their children, John, Samuel, Joseph, James, Mary, Ephraim, Thomas, and Sarah, All baptized in this Church: save John, who was baptized in England, being about — old when his father joyned here.

CAPTAIN DANIEL GOOKIN,* and Mary, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Mary and Elizabeth, baptized elsewhere, but the elder not full 6 yeares old when their parents joyned in this Ch.; both admitted into f. c. May 23, 1665. Daniel, Samuel, and Nathaniel, borne and baptized here.

MR. CHARLES CHAUNCY, President of the Colledge, and Catharine, his wife, dismissed hither from the Ch. at Situate, and joyned here in y e 1st month of ye yeare 1656. Their children,† Barnabas and Sarah, admitted also into f. c. Decemb. 10, 1658. Hannah, Nathaniel, El-nathan, and Israel, baptized at Situate.

JOHN HOLMES, a Student and servant to Mr. Chauncy, in f. c. with us, adult; dismissed to Duxbury, July 6.

MR. JOSEPH COOK, and Elizabeth, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Joseph, admitted into f. c. May 18, 1666 (his child, John, baptized Januar. 26, '67); Elizabeth, Mary, Grace, and Ruth, all baptized in this Ch.

* The coadjutor of Eliot and the friend of the Indians, the last major-general under the old charter, a man of great firmness, integrity, and benevolence. His son, Nathaniel, was minister of Cambridge after Oakes.

† He had two other sons, Isaac and Ichabod. All his sons were educated at Harvard.
MR. EDWARD COLLINS, Deacon of this Church, and Martha, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Daniel, now living at Konningsberg, in Prussia, about 9 years old when his parents joined here; John,* admitted into f. c. before he went from hence, being now minister of God’s word at Edinburgh, in Scotland; Samuel, now also living in Scotland (the wife of Samuel Collins admitted into f. c. May 31, 1664. Their child, Edward Collins, baptized June, 1664); Martha, Nathaniel, Abigail, and Edward, borne and baptized here.

MR. JOHN WHITTING, now preacher of ye* word at Salem, and Sybill, his wife (daughter to ye forenamed Edward Collins), both admitted to f. c. here. Both dismissed to the Church of Christ at Hartford. Their children, Sybill and John both baptized here; William baptized Feb. 19, 1659.

MR. NATHANIEL SPARROWHAWKE, sometimes Deacon of this Church; Mary, His first, and Katharine, His second wife, all now deceased, left with us five children; namely, 1. Nathaniel, whose wife Patience is admitted into f. c. with us; and their children are Mary and Sybill, both baptized in this Ch.; Esther, baptized May 5, 1661; Samuel Sparrowhawke, baptized Feb. 5, 1664; Nathaniel, baptized Nov. 3d, 167-. 2. Anne, now the wife of John Cooper, mentioned afterwards, being in f. c. 3. Mary. 4. Esther Sparrowhawke, admitted into f. c. Decembr. 15, 1658. 5. Elizabeth, now living with Broth. Thomas Cheeseholme.

GREGORY STONE, Deacon of this Ch., and Lydia, his wife, in f. c. whose children, John, Daniel, David, Elizabeth, Samuel, and Sarah, Also John Cooper, son of the foresaid Lydia, and Lydia Fiske, her daughter, being all of them, through the Rich Grace of Christ, come into f. c. with his people; they will be mentioned afterward in their places, all save John Stone, now joined member of the Church of X at Sudbury, Lydia Fisk, now deceased, Elizabeth Stone, now Potter, living at Ipswich, Sarah Stone, now Miriam, joined to ye Ch. at Concord.

JOHN BRIDGE,*† also Deacon of the Church, and Elizabeth, His wife,

* He was afterwards a celebrated preacher in London. He was the chaplain of General Monk, when he went from Scotland to England. Nathaniel was the much esteemed minister of Middletown. Cotton Mather has a chapter in his Magnalia upon the Collins family, in which he says: — “There was a good old man called Collins, the deacon of the church at Cambridge, who is now gone to heaven; but before he went thither, he had the satisfaction to see several most worthy sons become very famous persons in their generation.”

† He was freeman in 1635, and probably joined Hooker’s church before the arrival of Shepard; as did Guy Bainbridge, E. Winship, and S. Green.
both in f. c. Under his care also is Joseph Lampson, the Son of Barnabas Lampson, deceased, sometimes a member of this Church. Also Dorcas Bridge, the Daughter of Dorcas (the wife of Thomas Bridge), deceased, sometimes in f. c. with us.

THOMAS MARRIOT, Deacon of the Ch., and His wife, Susan, both in f. c. Their children, John and Thomas, the elder of y′m being but about five years old w′ his father joyned here; But both baptized in England: Hannah, now lately admitted into f. c. with us; viz. on Decembr 15, '58.

MR. (MAJOR) SAMUEL SHEPARD, and His wife, now living in Ireland, doe yet stand in memberly Relation to us. And Here is with us their Daughter, Jane Shepard, now under the care of Mr. Edw. Collins, before named.

MR. ELIJAH CORLET,* Schoolemaster, and Barbara, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Rebeccah, Hephzibah, and Ammi Ruhamah, all baptized here.

EDMUND ANGIER, a member of this Ch. in f. c.; so was also his former wife, Ruth [the Daughter of that famous Light Dr. Ames], now at rest with y′ Lord. Their children, now living, are Ruth, Ephraim, and Samuel, all baptized in this Church; Hannah baptized Dec. 16, '60; Mary, baptized May 10, 1663, deceased; Edmund, baptized Septemb. 25, 1659, deceased; John, baptized May 15, 1664, deceased; Nathaniel, baptized May 14, 1665, deceased; Elizabeth, baptized Sept. 22, 1667.

EDWARD GOFFE, lately deceased (viz. on Decemb. 26, 1658), was a member with us in f. c.; so was and is also Margaret, his wife. His children by a former wife (who was also in fellowship with this Ch.) are Samuel, baptized in England, and when his father joyned

* This famous old Cambridge schoolmaster was a graduate of Oxford; and became teacher of the grammar school in this place as early as 1643. In "New England's First Fruits," published that year, is the following passage;— "By the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity, and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youths under him." He was teacher here for more than forty years. In the town records, under date of Nov. 13, 1648, is the following:— "It was agreed at a meeting of ye whole towne, that there should be land sold of ye Common for ye gratifying of Mr. Corlet for his pains in keeping a school in ye Towne, ye sum of ten pounds, if it can be attained; provided it shall not prejudice ye Cow Common." His son, Ammi Ruhamah, was a Fellow of Harvard College, of which he was a graduate in 1670.
here aged about seven years, and Lydia. His children by Margaret, now living, are Deborah, Hannah, and Abiah, all baptized in this Church.

JOHN STEDMAN, and Alice, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Martha, all borne and baptized here. Elizabeth, admitted into f. c. March 27, 1663; Sarah, admitted into f. c. May 31, 1664 (her child, Sarah Bracket, baptized June 5, 1664, deceased; John Bracket, baptized April 21, '67); Martha admitted into f. c. May 31, '64.

EDWARD OAKES, a member in f. c. His children, Urian* and Edward, baptized in England; the eldest about ten years old when His father joyned here. He is now minister of y* word in England. Mary and Thomas, baptized here.

RICHARD JACKSON, and Elizabeth, his wife, both members in f. c. THOMAS DANFORTH † (eldest Son of Mr. Nicholas Danforth, deceased), and Mary, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Sarah, Mary, Samuel, and Thomas, all baptized in this Church; Jonathan, baptized febr. 13, '58; Elizabeth, baptized Januar. 29, 1664; Bethiah Danforth, baptized June 16, '67; Joseph Danforth, baptized Sept. 22, 1661, deceased Octob. 2, '63; Benjamin, baptized May 24, '63, deceased August 23, '63.

SAMUEL ANDREWS (Son of Mr. William Andrews, deceased), as also Elizabeth, His wife, were joyned in f. c. with us on Decemb. 10, 1658. Their children, Samuel and William, both baptized here in this church; John, Baptized March 10, 1660-1; Elizabeth, baptized April 12, 1663; Thomas, baptized May 21, '65, deceased; Mary Andrews, baptized Januar. 6, 1666; Thomas, baptized March 29, '68.

ROBERT HOLMES, is member in f. c., as was also Jane, his wife, now deceased. Their children, John, Joseph, and Elizabeth, all baptized in this Church.

THOMAS CHEESEHOLME, and Isabel, His Wife, are both of them Members of this Ch., and in f. c. In his family, and under his Care, is Benoni Eaton (Son of Mr. Nathan. Eaton), who was baptized here and whose mother dyed a member of this Church.

EDWARD SHEPARD, member in f. c. So was also his first wife, Violet, deceased. Their children y* were in minority when He joyned, are Abigail, now living at Dedham; Deborah, now also at Dedham; and Sarah, now dwelling at Braintree. The eldest of these aged twelve years, y* 2d ten, and the 3d seven years, when their Parents joyned here,

* Afterwards President of Harvard College.
† A distinguished public character, a man of ability, wisdom, and resolution,—deputy-governor for many years, and elected to other important offices.
being all baptized in England. Mary, now the wife of the foresaid Edward Shepard, was dismissed hither from Ch. at Dorchester, and is in f. c. with us. Her daughter, Mary Pond, baptized at Dorchester, was eleven years old at her mother's joyning with us.

WILLIAM FRENCH, and Elizabeth, his wife, both members in f. c. Their children, Elizabeth, now Elliot, and now joined at Dedham; Mary, baptized in England, between two and three years old at Her father's joyning; John, baptized by Mr. Hooker, in Cambridge; Sarah, Jacob, and Hannah, borne and baptized in this Church.

EDWARD MITCHENSON, and Ruth, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Ruth, Bethia, Edward, and Elizabeth, all baptized in this church.

JONAS CLARK,* and Elizabeth, his wife, both in f. c. His children by a former wife, Sarah and Jonas; By Elizabeth, above named, Elizabeth, Thomas, and Timothy, all five baptized in this Church; Samuel, baptized Novemb. 6, 1659; Abigail, baptized May 4, 1662; Mary Clark, baptized March 12, '64 – 5.

JOHN COOPER (Son of Lydia, now wife of Deacon Stone above-named), and Anna, His Wife, both in f. c. Their children now living are, Anna (marryed to E. P. [Edmund Pinson] and deceased), Mary, Samuel, John, Lydia (baptized Apr. 13, '63), Hannah (baptized Decemb. 29, 1667), all baptized in this Church; Nathaniel, baptized May 8, 1659, deceased in Decemb. 1661.

THOMAS BEALE, and Sarah, his Wife, both members in f. c.

WILLIAM MANNING, and Dorothy, his Wife, both members of this Ch. in f. c. Their children, Hannah, Samuel, Sarah, John, and Mary, all borne and baptized in this church.

JOHN FEZINGTON,† and Jane, his Wife, both in f. c. In his family is Reuben Olbon, who, together with his sister Elizabeth, were baptized in this church, being the children of our Sister Olbon (lately Cole), now deceased.

ROBERT STEDMAN, and Anne, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, John, Mary, and Thomas, all born and baptized in this Church. Thomas, Dyed April 2, 1659.

ANDREW BELCHEER,‡ and Elizabeth (daughter of Mr. Nicholas Danforth), His Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Elizabeth, Jeminah (rec. into f. c. March 5, 1665 – 6), Martha (f. c. May 19, 1666), Andrew, and Anna; all baptized in this Church, the Eldest being almost fourteen yeares old, y* 2d 12, and y* 3d 10, &c., when baptized.

* Afterwards ruling elder of the church. He died in 1699, aged 80.
† Now written Fessenden.
‡ The grandfather of Governor Belcher.
ANNE BRIDGE, the Wife of Matthew Bridge, Daughter also of Mr. Nicholas Danforth (before named) is in f. c. with this Ch. Her children, John, Anne, Matthew, Samuel, and Thomas, all baptized in this Church. Elizabeth, baptized Septemb. 18, 1659.

ELIZABETH GREEN, the wife of Bartholomew, deceased, is a member in f. c. with this Ch.

JUSTICE BAINBRICK, the widow of Guy Bainbrick, deceased, is memb. in f. c.

SAMUEL GREEN, * son of Elizabeth, before-named, is in f. c. So also was Jane, his wife (daughter to ye foresaid Justice Bainbrick), now deceased. Children borne to the said Samuel and Jane Green, Elizabeth, Sarah, Samuel, Joseph, Lydia (deceased Sept. 24, 1665), and Deborah; all borne and baptized in this Ch. Jonah Green, the son of Samuel and Sarah, baptized Januar. 31, 1663; Lydia, baptized Nov. 12, '65; Bartholomew, baptized Nov. 3, 67.

NATHANIEL GREEN, and Phebe Green (children of the forenamed Bartholomew and Elizabeth), are also in f. c.

SARAH LONGHORN, * wife of Thomas Longhorne, and daughter of Elizabeth Green, aforesaid, is member in f. c. Her children, Sarah, Elizabeth, and Mary, all baptized; Samuel, baptized Decemb. 9, '60; Mercy, baptized May 11, 1662; Patience Longhorne, baptized April 3d, 1664.

THOMAS FOXE, and Ellin, his Wife, both in f. c. His son, Jabez Foxe, baptized at Concord, but in minority when his father joyned here. Her children by a former Husband (viz. Persevill Green, deceased, sometimes a Brother of this Church) are, John Green, now in f. c. with this ch., to be mentioned afterward; Elizabeth Green (now Hall), joyned in f. c. with ye Church of Christ, at Concord. Both in their Infancy baptized here.

RICHARD ROBINS, and Rebecca, his wife, both memb. in f. c., formerly dismissed to us from the Church at Charlestown. Their children, John, Samuel, Nathaniel, and Rebecca, all baptized here save the eldest, who was baptized at Charlestowne, and yet under fourteen years of age at His Parents joyning with us.

FRANCIS MOORE, the Elder, and Elizabeth, his wife, both in f. c. So was also Katharine, his former wife, now deceased. His children, francis, who, together with Alby, his wife, is also in f. c.; Samuel, who is now in Barbadoes, and was about nine years old w* his father

* The veteran conductor of the Cambridge printing-press, — the first in New England, — which he carried on successfully for half a century. Many of his descendants, of the same calling as well as name, have ably sustained the reputation of their ancestor. His second wife was a daughter of Elder Clark.

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joyned here, baptized in England; Anne Moore, now Kiddar, who is in f. c.; John (the Sonne of francis and Katharine), baptized in this Church; Elizabeth, now wife of francis, aforesaid, hath three children, but they were all above the age of fourteen years (the youngest, viz. Rebecca, being above fifteen) at the Time of her joyning with this Church, which was in ye 1st month of ye year 1657.

NICOLAS WYTH, and Rebecca, his Wife, both members in f. c. Their children, Mary, Nicolas, Martha, John, and William, all baptized in this Church. The said Nicolas had also by a former wife a daughter, baptized in England, named Sarah Wyth, now fisk, dwelling in Watertowne, who was about thirteen years of Age when her father joyned to this Church. The said Rebecca, now wife of Nicolas Wyth, had also by Her former Husband, Thomas Andrews, three children, viz., Thomas, Daniel, and Rebecca Andrews, all three baptized also in this Church.

GILBERT CRACKBONE,* memb. in f. c., and Elizabeth, His Wife, joyned May 22, 1659. His Son, Benjamin, was about five or six years old when His father joyned here.

WILLIAM HEILY, and Grace, his Wife, both members of this Ch. in f. c. His children, Hannah (admitted into f. c. March 27, 1663; Dismissed to Salisbury, June 24, 1667), Elizabeth, Sarah, and William, Borne at Roxbury and baptized there, whiles He stood member of the Church of Lin, from whence He was dismissed to us. Also Grace (the daughter of William and Grace) borne and baptized in this Church; Nathaniel, baptized Feb. 6, 1658; Martha, baptized Septemb. 9, 1660; Samuel Heily, Son of William and Phoebe (formerly Green), baptized Septemb. 21, 1662; Paul Heily, Baptized April 3d, 1664; Mary Heily, baptized Octob. 29, 1665.

GEORGE WILLOWES, and Jane, his wife, both in f. c. His Children, Thomas and Stephen, borne and baptized in this Church; Also, JOHN PALFREY, son of Jane aforesaid, admitted into f. c. with us Decemb. 10, 1658; His child, Rebekah, baptized Septemb. 17, 1665; John, baptized April 14, 1667, deceased; Elizabeth Palfrey, baptized May 24, 1668.

GOLDIN MOORE, and Joane, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Hannah (received into f. c. May 18, 1666), Lydia, and Ruth, all borne and baptized in this Church. Also the said Joane had by Her former Husband, John Champny, three children, viz. Mary Champny, now Richardson, living at Wooburn; Sarah; John, deceased Feb. 20, 1664; all three baptized in this Ch.

WILLIAM BULLARD, and Mary, his Wife, both in f. c. Her Daugh-

* He was admitted freeman in December, 1636, and was of course one of the early members of the church; as was Thomas Beale, admitted at the same time.
ter, Hannah Grisold (whose father, Francis Grisold, was also member with us), borne and baptized in this Ch.

THOMAS SWETMAN, and Isabell, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Elizabeth (received into f. c. May 18, '66), Rebecca, Mehitable, Sarah, and Ruhamah, all baptized in this Church; Samuel, baptized May 22, 1659; Bethiah, baptized July 7, 1661; Hepziba Swetman, baptized June 24, 1666.

PHILIP COOK, and Mary (the daughter of Barnabas Lampson, deceased), His Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Mary, Samuel, Hannah, and Sarah, borne and baptized in this Church; Philip, baptized May 5, 1661; John, baptized August 30, 1663; Barnabas Cook, baptized June 4, '65.

JOHN TAYLOR, and Katharine, his Wife, both memb. in f. c. Their son, Joseph Taylor, borne and baptized in this Church.

JOHN GIBSON, and Rebecca, his Wife, both memb. in f. c. Their children, Rebecca, now joyned in f. C. with the church at Watertowne; Mary, Martha, John, and Samuel, baptized in this Church.

DAVID FISKE, and Seaborne, his present Wife, both members of this Ch. in f. c. His children, by Lydia, deceased, Lydia and David; the children of theforesaid David and Seaborne, Elizabeth and Sarah; all four baptized in this Church; Hannah, baptized Novemb. 27, '59.

WILLIAM PATTEN, and Mary, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Mary, Thomas, and Nathaniel, the eldest being about four or five years old when her parents joyned; baptized in England.

ROBERT PARKER, and His Wife, both in f. c., having been dismissed Hither (together with their children) from the Churches of Boston and Roxbury. Their children, Benjamin, John, Sarah, and Rachell.

WILLIAM TOWNE, and Martha, his Wife, both memb. in f. c. Their children, Peter, baptized in England, and about three years old at his parents joyning here; Mary, baptized here, admitted into f. c. Novemb. 4, 1659.

WILLIAM DICKSON, and Jean, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Lydia, Abigail, Mary, Hannah, and John, all baptized in this church.

ANDREW STEVENSON, and Jane, his Wife, both memb. in f. c. Their children, Deborah (now the wife of Robert Wilson, of Sudbury), baptized in England, and about six years old when her father joyned here. Sarah, Rebecca (dismissed to Billerica, Aug. 13, '67), John, Mary, Lydia, Andrew, and Hannah Stevenson; all these baptized in this Church.

JOHN SHEPARD (Son of Edward Shepard before named), and his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Rebecca, John, Sarah, and Violet, all borne and baptized in this Church; Elizabeth, baptized July 29, 1660; Edward, baptized August 3, 1662; Samuel Shepard, baptized July 3d, 1664; Thomas, baptized Nov. 18, '66.
RICHARD ECKLES, and Mary, his wife, both in f. c. Their children, Mary, Hannah, and Martha, all borne and baptized in this Church.

JAMES KIDDAR, and Anne, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Hannah, Dorothy, James, John, and Thomas, all baptized in this Church; Nathaniel, baptized ffeb. 27, 1659; Ephraim, baptized May 26, 1661. Dismissed to y® Church at Billerica.

FRANCIS WHITMORE, and Isabell, His Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Elizabeth, Francis, John, and Samuel, all baptized in this Church; Abigail, baptized July 3d, 1659; Sarah, baptized March 30, 1662; Margery, baptized March 27, 1664; Hannah Whitmore (by a 2d wife), baptized ffeb. 15, 1667.

WALTER HASTING* (son of John Hasting deceased), and Sarah, his wife, both in f. c. Their Daughter, Sarah, baptized in this church, deceased; John, Baptized Decemb. 9, 1660; Walter, baptized Novemb. 30, 1662; Sarah Hasting, baptized Decemb. the 18, 1664, deceased Jan. 26, 1664; Hannah, baptized Jan. 14, 1665; Elizabeth Hasting, baptized febr. 23, '67.

JOHN GREEN (Son of Persevill and Ellin Green before-named) and Ruth (daughter of Edward and Ruth Mitchenson), His Wife, both in f. c. Their children, John and Nathaniel, both borne and baptized in this Ch.; Persevill, borne March 29, baptized Apr. 1, 1660; Ruth, baptized Novemb. 24, '61; Samuel, borne May 4, baptized May 10, '63; Elizabeth, born April 22, baptized April 23, '65; Edward, baptized Apr. 21, '67.

WILLIAM HAMLET, and Sarah, his wife, both memb. in f. c. Their children, Jacob and Rebeccah, both borne and baptized in this church. Also the said Sarah had by a former Husband. ——— Hubbard, children, viz. James Hubbard, Sarah Hubbard, now Champny, admitted into f. c., Thomas Hubbard, now joinied to y® Church of Wethersfi.

JOHN WATSON, and Rebecca (daughter of Anne Errington, deceased, sometimes a sist. of this Ch.), His Wife, both in f. c. Their children, Rebecca and John, both borne and baptized in this Church; Abraham, baptized July 28, 1661; Anne, baptized Sept. 16, 1666.

RICHARD FRANCES, and Alse, His wife, both members in f. c. Their Children, Steven, John, and Sarah, all borne and baptized in this Church.

RICHARD DANIE,† and Anne, his Wife, both of them in f. c. Their Children, Anne, Jacob, Joseph, and Abiah, all baptized in this Church;

* Afterwards deacon of the church. His father does not appear to have held this office here, as is erroneously stated by Farmer.
† Dana, as it is now written. He is the great ancestor of the many families and distinguished men of this name in our country.
Benjamin, baptized April 8, 1660; Elizabeth, baptized April 27, 1662; Daniel, baptized April 3, 1664.

WILLIAM BORDMAN, and Frances, his Wife, both members in f. c. with us. Their Children, Moses, deceased March 17, 1661-2; Rebecca, Andrew, Aaron, Frances, Martha, Mary, and William, all baptized in this Church; Elizabeth, baptized August 26, 1660.

ANNE HASTING (formerly Mean), the widow of John Hasting, deceased, is a member in f. c. with this Ch. Her Children, Sarah, the wife of Walter Hasting, before-named, who is in f. c.; Mary Mean, who was born and baptized in this Church. The foresaid John Hasting was dismissed hither from the Church of Braintree, and joined here in February, 1656. His children are, Walter, before-named, Samuel, who was baptized in England, and about — years of age when His father joined to ye ch. of Braintree; John Seaborne and Elizabeth, both baptized at Braintree.

HANNAH THATCHER (the Wife of Samuel Thatcher), living in Watertowne, is a member in f. c. with this Ch.

ELIZABETH OAKES, dismissed to Maldon, Decemb. 2, 1667, the widow of Thomas Oakes, is memb. in f. c., as was also Her Husband, Thomas Oakes, lately deceased. Their Children yet living, Elizabeth and Hannah, both born and baptized in this Ch.; Thomas Oakes, born after his father’s decease, and baptized March 20, 1658-9; Abigail Howard, ye child of Elizabeth (formerly Oakes, now) Howard, baptized here Septemb. 23, 1666.

MARTHA RUSSELL (the Wife of William Russell) is a memb. in f. c. Her Children, Joseph, baptized in England, and about ten years of age when His mother joined here; Benjamin, John, Martha, Philip, William, and Jason, baptized in this Church; Joice, baptized May 13, 1660.

JOHANNA SILL, a memb. in f. c., as was also her Husband. Their Children, Joseph Sill,* but three years old at his mother’s joyning with this Church; Elizabeth Sill, now Hicks, not two years old at ye same Time; both of them baptized in England.

MARTHA OLDAM (now Browne), is a member in f. c.; so was also Her Husband, Richard Oldam, deceased. Their Children, Samuel and John Oldam, both baptized in this Church. Her second Husband, Thomas Brown, admitted May 18, 1666. Her child, Mehitabell Browne, baptized June 2d, 1661; Mary, baptized Nov. 8, '63; Eben- ezer, July 23, '65; Ichabod Brown, baptized Septemb. 9, 1666.

ESTHER CHEAVERS, the wife of Daniel Cheavers, is a member in

* There was a Captain Joseph Sill who distinguished himself in Philip's War, who may have been the person here named.
f. c. Her children, Lydia, James, Daniel, and Mary Cheavers, all baptized in this Church; Israel Cheever, baptized Januar. 26, 1661; John, baptized July 31, 1659; Esther, baptized Januar. 27, 1660, deceased Feb., '60; Hannah and Elizabeth Cheavers (gemelle; baptized May 29, 64; both deceased, June 14 and June 16, 1664); Elizabeth, baptized Aug. 6, '65.

MARGERY CANE, the widow of Christopher Cane, deceased, is member in f. c., as was also Christopher, her Husband. Their Children, Jonathan, Nathaniel, Deborah, Ruth, and Esther, all baptized here.

JOANE PRENTICE, Widow of Henry Prentice, deceased, is member in f. c., as was Her said Husband; also their Children, Mary, Solomon, Abiah, Samuel, Sarah, and Henry, all borne and baptized in this Church.

DEBORAH WILSON (ye wife of Robert Wilson, daughter of Andrew Stevenson, abovenamed) admitted into f. c. March 5, 1665-6. Her child, Deborah, baptized Sept. 30, 1666.

RICHARD HASSELL, and Joane, his Wife, both in f. c. Their Children, Elizabeth, Joseph, and Esther, all baptized in this Church.

THOMAS PRENTICE, and Grace, his Wife, both in f. c. Their Children, Grace, baptized in England, and about four years old at Her parents joyning; Thomas, Elizabeth, Mary, and John, all baptized in this Church.

EDWARD HALL, and Margarett, his wife, both members in f. c.

MARY HALL, Widow, is member in f. c. with us. Her children were all Adult at ye Time of her joyning. But two of them are since joyned to ye Church of Concord; viz. John and Susanna.

ABRAHAM ERRINGTON, admitted into f. c. March 27, 1663.

REBECKAH ERRINGTON (the Wife of Abraham Errington), daughter to Robert Cutler, of Charlestown, is member in f. c. with us. Her Children, Rebecca, Hannah, and Sarah Errington, all baptized in this Church; Mary, baptized Januar. 13, 1660; Abraham, baptized Novemb. 8, 1663.

ANNE ADAMS (the Wife of John Adams), is member in f. c. John Adams Hims. admitted May 18, 1666. Her Children, Rebecca Adams, borne and baptized in England; Mary, John, and Joseph Adams, baptized in this Church; Hannah, baptized June 17, 1660, deceased Januar. 25, 1660; Daniel, baptized Septemb. 14, 1662.

ELIZABETH HALL (the Wife of Thomas Hall), is memb. in f. c. Her Children, Mary, Hannah, and Lydia Hall, all baptized in this Church.

EDWARD WINDSHIP, and Elizabeth, his Wife, both members in f. c. His Children by His former Wife, Jane, deceased, who was also in f. c. with this Church, Sarah, Mary, Ephraim, and Johannah Windship. The children of Edward and Elizabeth, above-named, Elizabeth, Ed-
ward, Abigail, and Samuel Windship, all eight borne and baptized in this Church; Joseph, baptized August 25, '61; Margery, baptized febr. 5, 1664; Mehitabel, baptized Nov. 17, 1667.

SARAH CHAMPNY (the Wife of Samuel Champny abovenamed), is member in f. c. Their Children, Samuel, baptized febr. 13, 1658, deceased; Sarah, baptized May 13, 1660; Mary, baptized August 17, 1662.

ROBERT BROWNE, member of this Church in f. c.

RICHARD CUTTER, readmitted; Elizabeth Cutter (the wife of Richard Cutter) is member with us in f. c. Their children, Elizabeth, Samuel, William, Ephraim, Gershom, and Marah, all borne and baptized in this Church. — Nathaniel Cutter (the son of Richard and [Frances] formerly Embden), baptized Januar. 24, '63, deceased; Rebekah, baptized Octob. 8, 1665; Hephzibah, Baptized Decemb. 1, 1667.

JOHN FRENCH, and Sarah, his Wife, both now deceased, were sometimes members of this Church, in f. c. Their children, John, Sarah (dismissed unto the Church at Billerica, May 16, 1664), Joseph, and Nathaniel, all baptized in this Church.

HANNAH HOLMES (formerly Thatcher), y' wife of John Holmes, admitted into f. c. May 31, 1667. Their child, John, Baptized June 9, 1667; Hannah, baptized June 30, 1667.

DAVID STONE (the sonne of Gregory Stone, above-mentioned), and Dorcas, his Wife, both in f. c. Their children, David, Daniel, Dorcas, John, Samuel, and Nathaniel, all borne and baptized in this Church.

SAMUEL STONE (the sonne also of Gregory before-named) is in f. c. His wife, [Sarah] Stone, admitted into f. c. Oct. 18, 1661. His children, Samuel and Isaack, Both baptized in this Church; Sarah, baptized March 10, 1660-1; John, Baptized June 7, 1663; Lydia, baptized Decemb. 31, 1665; Mary, baptized March 22, 1667-8.

MARY PADDLEFOOT (the Wife of Jonathan Paddlefoot), admitted into fellowship and f. c. Nov. 4, '59. Her children, Mary, Jonathan, and Zachariah, baptized Novemb. 6, '59; Edward, baptized July 8, 1660; Thomas Emes, the son of Thomas and Mary (formerly Paddlefoot, now) Emes, baptized July 12, 1663.


STEPHEN DAY,* admitted into fellowship and f. c., februar. 28, 1660-1.

* The unskilful London apprentice, who came over in 1638, and took charge of the printing-press set up in Cambridge in 1639, the first in North America. He was superseded in 1648 by Samuel Green. (See p. 57.)
MARY GOAVE, the wife of John Goave, admitted into fellowship and f. c. februar. 28, 1660-1. Her children, Mary and John, baptized March 3, 1660-1; Aspinwall, baptized Octob. 6, 1661, deceased Octob. 14, 1661; Nathaniel, baptized Novemb. 16, 1662; James, baptized Decemb. 13, 1663; . . . . l Goave, Baptized August 4, 1667.

ABRAHAM HOMAN, admitted into fellowship and f. c. Octob. 18, 1661. His wife . . . . . admitted May 18, 1666.

HANNAH GOFFE, the Wife of Samuel Goffe, admitted into fellowship and f. c. Octob. 18, 1661. Her children, Hannah, Edward, and Deborah, baptized Octob. 20, 1661; Samuel, baptized febr. 8, 1662; Lydia, baptized Januar. 15, 1664; John Goffe, baptized Decemb. 9, 1666.


WIDOW EMBSDEN,* admitted into fellowship and full communion October 21, 1661. Her children, Isaac and Jacob Embsden, both baptized Novemb. 3, 1661.

ZECHARIAH HICKS, admitted into fellowship and f. c. Januar. 8, 1661; Elizabeth, His wife, admit. into f. c. May 23, 1665. Their children, Elizabeth, Zechariah, and Joseph, baptized Januar. 12, 1661; Thomas, baptized July 3d, 1664; Hannah, baptized March 4, 1665-6.

JONATHAN HIDE, and Mary, His Wife, admitted into fellowship and f. c. Januar. 8, 1661. Their children, Jonathan, baptized febr. 9, 1661; Samuel, John, and Elizabeth, baptized febr. 16, 1661; William, baptized, [Nov]emb. 16, 16—; Eleaza[r], baptized July 3d, 1664.

MARY MITCHENSON (the wife of William Mitchenson) admitted into fellowship and f. c. March 27, 1663. Her children, Mary, Thomas, Alse, baptized April 5, 1663; [R]uth, baptized Octob. 4, 1663; Abigail, baptized March 11, 1665-6.

JAMES HUBBARD, admitted into f. c. March 27, 1663. His child, Sarah, baptized April 5, 16—; Marah (or Mary, borne Octob. 22, 1665; mother dying ye same day), baptized . . . . 1665.

DEBORAH MAKOON (y* wife of John Makoon) admitted into fellowship with us and baptized on July 19, 1663. Her children, Hannah and Deborah, baptized July 19, '63; Sarah, baptized Novemb. 8, 1663.

[B]ETHIAH WELLS (formerly Mitchenson), the daughter of Edward and Ruth Mitchenson, above-named, admitted into f. c. Januar. 1, 1664. Mr. Wells, her Husband, admitted May 18, '66. Her child, Daniel

* Or Amsden, as now written. She afterwards married R. Cutter. See p. 63.
Wells, bap . . . . [Edward,] baptized June 10, 1666 ; [Be]thiah, baptized Januar 20, 1667.


JEMIMA SILL, [formerly Belcher,] the wife of Joseph S[ill,] . . . . mm . . . . Their two children, Joseph, baptized March 11, 1665 - 6; Jemimah, baptized March 31, 1667.

SETH ROSSE,* the wife of Thomas Rosse, (the daughter of Mr. Homan), admitted May 2, and Baptized May 28, 1665; as also Her child Marget, baptized May . . . . Thomas, baptized July 1, 1666.

NATHANIEL HANCOCK, admitted into fellowship May 31, '67, baptized June 25d, '67, aged —.

MARY HANCOCK (formerly Prentice, ye daughter of Henry and Joan Prentice, above-named), admitted into f. c. May 23, 1665. Her child, Nathaniel, baptized May 28 . . . . deceased . . . . ; Mary, baptized May 13, 1666; Sarah, baptized Sept. 15, 1667.


* She afterwards removed to Billerica, where she was murdered by the Indians, in 1695.
THE DAY OF SMALL THINGS.

A

CENTENNIAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED IN NORTHBOROUGH, JUNE 1, 1846,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN THAT PLACE,

AND THE

ORDINATION OF THEIR FIRST MINISTER, ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY JOSEPH ALLEN,

THE THIRD MINISTER IN SUCCESSION OF SAID CHURCH.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

BOSTON:

WM. CROSBY AND H. P. NICHOLS,

118 WASHINGTON STREET.

1846.
Who hath despised the day of small things? — Zechariah iv. 10.

It is not wise to despise the day of small things. Momentous issues often arise from circumstances of the most trivial nature. Great enterprises have had their origin in the meditations and consultations of a few obscure individuals. Revolutions in church and state have sprung from the workings of some single mind into which a new thought had been introduced.

Who could have anticipated the result of the landing from the Mayflower on Plymouth Rock, in 1620, or of the expedition of the Genoese sailor, in 1492? Luther had no conception of the magnitude of the work he had undertaken, when, in 1517, he set at defiance the authority of the pope. It was a day of small things, when, eighteen centuries ago, a little band of Christian disciples met in an upper chamber in the city of Jerusalem, waiting in faith and hope for the fulfilment of the promise of their ascended Master. And, if I may be allowed to compare small things with
great, it was a day of small things, when, one hundred years ago, this day, there was a gathering of other disciples in an unfinished building, that, in the midst of difficulties which it is impossible for us to appreciate, had just been erected near this spot, for the organization of a church and the ordination of its first minister.

The building (forty-six feet by thirty-six) was at the time without pulpit, or galleries, or pews, or even permanent floors, and was lighted only by openings in the unplastered walls. Here were gathered, as members of the ordaining council, venerable divines, with their delegates, from the neighbouring churches: Parkman of Westborough, Prentice of Lancaster, Cushing of Shrewsbury, Loring of Sudbury, Hall of Sutton, Gardner of Stow, and Barrett of Hopkinton.

Here they sat, in the costume of the day; some relics of which continued till a period within the memory of some of my hearers. Here the ceremonies of ordination took place, in the presence of a multitude whom the occasion had brought together. The text chosen by the preacher, Parkman of Westborough, at least the first clause of it, pronounced as it doubtless was in tones of dignity and authority, was well suited, as it was intended, to impress the hearers with the sacredness of the pastoral office, and to secure for him who was just entering upon it deference and honor due. It was from Hebrews xiii. 17: — "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls as they that must give ac-
count, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief." *

The Charge, by Prentice of Lancaster, from the age and character of the man, must have been grave, weighty, apostolic, yet breathing a gentle and catholic spirit; "for they that knew him," says a contemporary divine, Hancock of Lexington, † "esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peaceableness, and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times." He was of the old Puritan race, his father having been, it is said, one of Oliver Cromwell's body-guard. He was at this time sixty-four years old.

The Fellowship of the Churches was by Cushing of Shrewsbury, "a man distinguished," to borrow the words of Dr. Sumner, his venerable successor, "for his prudence and general exemplary deportment." ‡

We are not informed to whom the other parts of the ordination service were assigned; but, from the character of the men in the council, we may conclude that those services were able and appropriate, and contributed to the interest and solemnity of the occasion.

A church had been gathered on the same day, consisting of ten brethren, besides the pastor elect. Their names, in the order in which they stand in the church records, are as follows:—John Martyn, the pastor elect, Ephraim Allen, Joshua Dowsing, alias Townsend,

* Mr. Parkman was then in the prime of life, being forty-four years old.
† See Willard's History of Lancaster, Worcester Mag., Vol. II. p. 321.
‡ Sumner's Half Century Sermon.
John McAllister, Jonathan Livermore, afterwards Deacon Livermore, Gershom Fay, father of the late Thaddeus Fay, Matthias Rice, afterwards Deacon Rice, Samuel Allen, father of the late Samuel Allen, Jacob Shephard, John Carruth, grandfather of the late Joseph and John Carruth, Silas Fay, a brother of Gershom Fay. The Covenant is as follows:

"Westborough Second Precinct Church Covenant,
May 21, 1746.

"We, whose names are hereafter subscribed, inhabiting the Second Precinct in Westborough [now Northborough] in New England (knowing that we are very prone to offend and provoke the most high God, both in heart and life, through the prevalency of sin that dwelleth in us, and manifold temptations from without us, for which we have great reason to be unfeignedly humbled before him from day to day), —

"Do in the name of our Lord Jesus, with dependence upon the gracious assistance of his Holy Spirit, solemnly enter into a covenant with God and with one another, according to the will of God, as followeth: —

"1st. That, having chosen and taken the Lord Jehovah to be our God, we will fear him and cleave to him in love, and serve him in truth with all our hearts, giving up ourselves to be his people, in all things to be at his direction and sovereign disposal, that we may have and hold communion with him, as members of Christ's mystical body, according to his revealed will, to our lives' end."
“2ndly. We also oblige ourselves to bring up our children and servants in the knowledge and fear of God according to his holy institutions, and according to our best abilities, and, in special, by the use of orthodox catechisms, that so the true religion may be maintained in our families while we live, and among such as shall live when we are dead.

“3dly. We promise to keep close to the truth of Christ, endeavouring, with lively affection toward it in our hearts, to defend it against all opposers thereof, as God shall call us at any time thereunto; and for our help herein we resolve to use the Holy Scriptures as our platform (whereby we may discern the will of Christ), and not the new-found inventions of man.

“4thly. We also engage to have a careful inspection over our own hearts, so as to endeavour, by the virtue of the death of Christ, the mortification of our sinful passions, worldly frames, and disordered affections, whereby we may be withdrawn from the living God.

“5thly. We, moreover, oblige ourselves, in the faithful improvement of our abilities and opportunities, to worship God according to all the particular institutions of Christ under the gospel administration,—as, to give reverent attention to the word of God, to pray unto him, to sing his praises, and to hold communion with each other, in the use of both the seals of the covenant, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

“6thly. We likewise promise that we will peaceably submit unto the holy discipline appointed by Christ in his church for offenders, obeying them that rule over us in the Lord.
"7thly. We also bind ourselves to walk in love one towards another, endeavouring our mutual edification; visiting, exhorting, and comforting, as occasion serveth, and warning any brother or sister who offends, not divulging private offences irregularly, but heedfully following the several precepts laid down by Christ for church dealing, in Matthew, 18th chapter, 15th, 16th, 17th verses, willingly forgiving all that manifest unto the judgment of charity, that they truly repent of their miscarriages. Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant make us all perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us all that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen." *

And now let us pause for a few moments to contemplate the scene, as fancy, aided by the scanty records that remain, calls it up before us.

The day, according to the New Style, was the first of June, the season of unrivalled beauty;—June, the queen of the months, when the earth is clothed with her brightest honors, and heaven smiles most benignantly on the forests and the fields.

The rocky knoll, on which the foundations of this church rests, had not been shaped into its present graceful form. Yon green meadows were then, and for many years afterward, an unsightly swamp, cov-

* Appendix, Note A.
ered with birches and alders, through which "Cold Harbour Brook," the name by which it had been known for more than half a century, before a settlement had been made upon its borders, flowed peacefully, uninterrupted in all its course by the obstructions of art. The beautiful eminence beyond, bearing its ancient name of "Liquor Hill," since exchanged for the more dignified title of "Mount Assabet," was clothed on all its sides with forests of oak and chestnut. Where now stands our pleasant village, then stood one or two small dwelling-houses: one built by Jacob Rice (grandfather of Asaph Rice), near the site of the centre school-house; and another, occupied first for a garrison and afterward for a tavern, owned by Captain James Eager, and but recently taken down to make room for the elegant mansion of Mr. Horace Fiske. Only two other dwelling-houses were in sight: one belonging to Mr. Simeon Howard, on the side of the road, a few rods west of the meeting-house common; and the other built and occupied by Nathaniel Oakes, which afterwards came into the possession of the Rev. Mr. Martyn, and subsequently of the Rev. Mr. Whitney, who, in 1780, erected the house which is still standing embosomed in the shade of lofty elms and sycamores, which commend the elegant taste of those who once inhabited that spot. No other dwelling-houses were in sight.

All within our borders was a wilderness, save where, at distant intervals, a clearing had been made and buildings erected for the accommodation of the forty families of which the precinct then consisted.
These were scattered over the whole extent of territory now included within the limits of Northborough. As many as four families, at least, had settled in the remotest corner of the town, on what is called "Ball Hill,"—namely, the two brothers, James and Nathan Ball, Deacon Jonathan Livermore, whose first wife was a sister of the Balls, and Joseph Wheeler, whose daughter married James Eager, Jr. The descendants of the two former, James and Nathan Ball, are still numerous in this and other towns,—one being the grandfather of Doctor Stephen Ball, the other the father of the late Nathan Ball, the son of his old age, the father being seventy at the birth of the son.

Among the most active and influential members of the new society over which a minister was to be ordained, besides those already mentioned, were Lieutenant William Holloway, son of Adam Holloway, who built the house now in the possession of the heirs of the late Stephen Williams, Esq. One of the daughters of Lieutenant Holloway, Mary, was married to the late Jonathan Bartlett, and died since the commencement of my ministry, at the advanced age of ninety-five. The mother of Mrs. Bartlett was Mary, daughter of Simeon Howard, who died in 1788, also at the age of ninety-five. Ger­shorn Fay, the grandfather of the late Nahum Fay, Esq., whose house stood a short distance east of the west school-house, was another of the first settlers of this town. His wife, Mary, daughter of John Brigham, the first white man who took up his residence within the limits of this town, and who erected a hut and
built a sawmill where now stands the mill owned by Messrs. Haynes and Bush, was the person who had so narrow an escape from the Indians, at the time of the tragical fate of Mary Goodenow, with the particulars of which most of you, I suppose, are familiar.

At the time of the formation of this church, the sons of Gershom and Mary Fay, namely, Gershom, Timothy, Silas, and Paul, the last a young man of twenty-six, were among the acting members of this society. Their descendants are numerous, some of whom occupy the soil which their ancestors reclaimed and tilled. Hannah, wife of Gershom Fay, Jr., was the daughter of Nathaniel Oakes, and died in 1806, wanting but a few months of having completed a century of years. They lived on the farm now in the possession of Benjamin Rice; and, as I was informed by her son, the late Thaddeus Fay, who died in 1822, at the age of ninety-one, the young mother, leading her little son by the hand, was accustomed to walk on the Sabbath to Westborough to attend public worship, a distance of five miles, the meeting-house at that time standing near the village of Wessonville.

Among the heads of families at or about this time were the Goodenows, Samuel senior and junior, and David and Jonathan, two sons of the latter, who lived in the east part of the town. Also Deacon Isaac and Hezekiah Tomblin,—the former living on the farm afterwards owned by Deacon Isaac Davis, and the latter on Tomblin Hill, so called from its first occupant. Deacon Matthias and Pelatiah Rice,
both worthy members and benefactors of the church, whose names are inscribed on the silver cups used in our communion service, — the one living on the farm now in the possession of William Stratten, the other on the farm belonging to the heirs of the late Ephraim Barnard, but formerly in the possession of Thaddeus Fay, who married Thankful, a daughter of Pelatiah Rice; the other daughter, Sarah, married Adam, brother of Thaddeus Fay. Jotham and Jonas Bartlett, sons of Daniel, and grandsons of Henry, of Marlborough, the latter an emigrant from Wales, came into possession of the Goodenow farms, now owned by Stephen Howe and Ashley Bartlett; Jonathan, another son, who married Mary Holloway, lived on a part of the Holloway farm, now in possession of Albert Rice.

Two of the largest landholders at this time were Jesse Brigham, grandfather of Henry, who lives on the same spot formerly in the possession of his father Artemas and grandfather Jesse, and Josiah Rice, grandfather of the late Ezra Rice, whose house stood on the site of the dwelling-house of James Davis, and whose numerous acres were sufficient to constitute several large farms. To Josiah Rice, however, the occasion which we are commemorating was not one of joy or of hope. He was one of the disaffected; and, though one of the wealthiest men in the precinct, refused, till compelled by law, to bear any part of the public burdens. Mr. Rice was, at this period, forty-six, and he lived to the advanced age of ninety-two.

Bezaliel Eager, grandfather of the late Colonel
William Eager, was another of the active men in the settlement of the first minister, and in the subsequent doings of the society. He lived on the farm occupied in succession by his son Francis and grandson William, and now in the possession of Charles Southworth.

Thomas Goodenow, father of Asa Goodenow, who lived on the farm now owned by John F. Munroe, was a person of some distinction, being the first that was employed by the town as an instructor of youth. And long before any school-houses had been erected, Master Goodenow was accustomed to teach from house to house, a few weeks at a time in each; the precinct paying him four shillings a week for his board. He was at this time thirty-seven years old. He died in 1790, at the age of eighty-one.

But time would fail me, should I dwell on the names of Warren, and Beeman, and Gamwell, and Bowker, and Billings, and McAllister, and Hudson, and Briggs, and Townsend, and Babcock, and Carruth, and the Goddards, Josiah and Solomon, and the Oakeses, John and George, and others who were heads of families in this place one hundred years ago. I must not, however, pass over, without some slight recognition of their worth, such men as Colonel Levi Brigham, son of David Brigham, and father of the late Judge Brigham of Westborough, and of Winslow Brigham of this town,—who was chosen in 1775 to represent this district in the assembly which convened in Watertown to consult on the state of public affairs at that critical
juncture;* and Deacon Paul Newton, father of Martyn Newton.† He was respected as a man of worth and an exemplary officer of the church.‡

I must not omit to mention also the name of Seth Rice, father of the late Deacon Seth Rice, whose descendants are numerous and respectable. Seth Rice Sen. was born in 1705, the year after his two infant brothers, Silas and Timothy, while in the field with their father at Westborough, were taken by the Indians, and carried into captivity, where they lived, married Indian wives, acquired their habits, and lost all knowledge of their native tongue. Their Indian names were Tookanowras and Oughtsorongoughton,—the latter being one of the chiefs of the Cagnawaga tribe, in the time of the old French War. This chief visited his native place, Westborough, in 1740; but chose to return to die, as he had lived, among the barbarians, "who had shown him no little kindness." Seth Rice Sen., and his son, Deacon Seth Rice, lived on the farm now in the possession of Calvin Hastings. His wife Dorothy died in 1801, aged ninety-three.

Samuel Allen, one of the ten names affixed to the church covenant, was at that time a young man of twenty-six; thus setting an example, which his descendants have not been backward in following, of an early dedication of himself to Christ and the

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* At the time of the settlement of Mr. Martin he was thirty years old.
† Named for the minister, who was buried on the day the child was born.
‡ He was twenty-eight years old at the time of the ordination of Mr. Martyn.
Church. Ephraim Allen, his father, was another of the ten. They lived on the spot now occupied by Deacon Lewis Allen, one of their descendants. Ephraim Allen came from Roxbury, and erected the first grist-mill in town, on the Assabet river.

Samuel Wood, father of the late Abraham and Samuel Wood, came from Sudbury soon after this time,* and set up a fulling-mill in the town. His son Abraham was skilled in music, and composed several pieces which were popular in their day. His other son, Captain Samuel Wood, commanded a company and received a wound at the battle of Bunker Hill, and was a man of great firmness and decision of character. He died in 1818, at the age of seventy-five.

Such were the men that founded our little republic. They were for the most part plain, unlettered men, who had enjoyed but few advantages for intellectual culture. But most of them were of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the blood of the Covenanters and Puritans ran in their veins. They were men who thought and acted with freedom and independence, and sometimes, it may be, with pertinacity and dogged obstinacy. They were not timeservers, nor were they "carried about by every wind of doctrine." At the period referred to, many of the churches of New England were in a very distracted state, torn by intestine divisions threatening their dissolution, owing partly to the excitement produced by the preaching of George Whitefield, the eloquent enthusiast, and his followers. I am

* He was chosen Precinct Clerk in 1750.
not aware that the controversy reached this church, or that the first minister took any part in it. From the circumstance mentioned in the Records of the Precinct, that that part of the ordaining council which was selected by the pastor elect consisted of the Rev. Messrs. Barrett of Hopkinton and Gard­ner of Stow, both of whom were sound, stable, and judicious men, and opposed to the New Lights, as the enthusiasts of that day were styled, I infer that Mr. Martyn, who, at the time of his ordination, was upwards of forty years old, was himself a sound, stable, and judicious man.*

I wish I could present a true picture of the women of that generation, the wives and daughters of the first settlers, the mothers of the men who have risen up in their fathers' stead. They were an industrious, hard-working, thrifty race, and better answered Solomon's description of a good wife, I suppose it will be conceded, than some of their granddaughters and remoter descendants. For they "sought wool and flax, and worked diligently with their hands." They "girded their loins with strength, and strengthened their arms." They "laid their hands to the spindle, and their hands held the distaff." They "looked well to the ways of their household, and ate not the bread of idleness." Methinks I see them now, as they appeared on the memorable day which was to witness the consecration of their new minister, wending their way on foot, or mounted on pillions behind

* Appendix, Note B.
their husbands or brothers, dressed in homely garments, made for use and not for show, through narrow, crooked lanes, impassable for carriages, had such luxuries been in use. They come from their scattered homes,—all who can leave,—and gather to the house of prayer to witness the imposing ceremony. They take their places on the “women’s side,” while the men occupy the seats opposite. And all are attentive while the services of the ordination last.

But I feel that I cannot give life to the picture, and so I let it pass, while I attempt a sketch of the man to whom all eyes were directed, who formed the chief object of attraction, on the occasion referred to.

The Reverend John Martyn, the first minister of Northborough, was the son of Captain Edmund Martyn of Boston, who was the master of a vessel, and led a seafaring life. The father died before the son entered college, leaving him to the care of his excellent mother, whose circumstances enabled her to give him the best advantages of education which were afforded at that time. He became a student at Harvard College, where he graduated in the class of 1724. After leaving college, he devoted himself for some time to secular pursuits, residing in Harvard, in this county. At length, at the age of forty,—about twenty years after he was graduated,—he engaged in studies preparatory to the ministry, and, having completed his course, was employed as a candidate in this place, in the winter of 1745 or 6,—according
as the beginning of the year is reckoned from the twenty-fifth of March or the first of January. Two other candidates, agreeably to the advice of neighbouring ministers, had been heard during the winter, but the preference was given to Mr. Martyn, who was chosen, if not with entire unanimity, yet, as it is recorded in the Precinct Book, "by a clear vote."

As none of Mr. Martyn's sermons are known to be in existence, and as many may be desirous of knowing something of the views and character of the first minister of Northborough, I cannot doubt that his answer to the call he received from the town will be listened to with interest.

"For Messrs. Nathan Ball, Matthias Rice, and Jonathan Livermore, the Committee chosen by the Second Precinct in Westborough to present me, the subscriber, with a call to the pastoral office in said Precinct. To be communicated to the inhabitants of said Second Precinct in Westborough.

"I have spent much time and much thought in seriously considering your invitation to me to settle with you in the relation of a pastor to you, and have asked advice of those I thought most proper and capable to give it; and I hope I have not been negligent in seeking to the throne of grace for direction in this important affair. I am sensible, that, as the apostle says in 1 Timothy iii. 1, 'if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.' So also as that text
implies, 2 Corinthians ii. 16, that none is thoroughly sufficient for these things. But yet, as God hath been pleased to commit the treasure of the gospel to earthen vessels, to men like ourselves, and to make it necessary there should be a standing ministry in his church, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, so although all are not apostles, prophets, or teachers, though all indifferently may [not?] take upon them the work of the ministry, yet it is necessary that some be taken from men to be ordained for men in things pertaining unto God. And as we have not a divine oracle to consult, nor any way to come at the knowledge of God's will, but by observing his providences and comparing those with his word, so when persons of sobriety, learning, and orthodoxy, disposed to the work of the ministry, have a clear and regular call from the people and from God, it is the duty of such to comply with such a call, trusting in God that his grace shall be sufficient for them, and that his strength shall be made perfect in their weakness.

"And now, brethren, as the Providence of God seems to have singled me out from amongst others, to commit unto me a dispensation of the gospel, and as you have manifested unto me so much respect as to count me worthy to rule, guide, and teach you, by calling and inviting me to labor amongst you in this part of the Lord's vineyard, so I do now testify my compliance with your invitation. My brethren, I think that I can say that it is not for the sake of
filthy lucre that I am moved hereunto; for I can see no prospect of any great worldly advantage to be in the ministry, especially in country parishes; neither do I expect a life of ease and pleasure, for I am sensible that, as to the work I am engaging in, it is painful and laborious; and, as the temper of mankind is at present, whoever engages in it must expect to meet with contempt, reproof, sorrow, and trouble; but I trust in the grace of God to grant me those supplies of strength and grace which may be necessary to enable me to perform any work and to bear any sufferings he may have appointed for me, and to arm me with that patience, self-denial, and meekness, which should be eminent and conspicuous in the ministers of Jesus Christ, who should be patterns of every grace and virtue, and who, above others, had need to abound in these things. And I am not without hope that you yourselves, brethren, will contribute what you can to lighten my burthen, and to comfort me under it, by manifesting a readiness to receive instructions, by your endeavouring to live a holy, harmless, blameless, circumspect, shining life; and that you will take part with me in whatever sorrows and sufferings God hath determined to lay upon me. My brethren, our interests are now to be united. It will become us, therefore, to seek and endeavour each other's welfare in all proper methods. Your offers to me, as to temporal support and maintenance, are not large; but yet, as I now comply with them with an honest intention, and not desiring to
make a gain of you upon account of the uncertain foundation of our medium of trade, so I hope, if I should be in need of any further assistance from you in any matters which might be much to my advantage and nothing to your damage, you will readily afford me help. I know very well, that, as the salary is settled upon silver, and that as our paper bills are daily depreciating, so it seems, on a transient view, and considering the present state of trade and living, as if you had given me a considerable advantage over you; on the other hand, if it had not been thus settled, it appears that I might have been subjected to many difficulties, and have been a continual complainer or sufferer. But, as I hope, had there been any seeming disadvantage on my side, you would have endeavoured to ease and relieve me, upon proper remonstrances and representations of my case, so I assure you, though the advantage at present may seem to be on my side (and, indeed, it does but seem so, for none can tell what turn affairs may take with respect to the medium of trade),—therefore, I say, though it may seem so, yet it is not my design to take any advantage of it to your prejudice; and if there should ever happen any difficulty upon this account, I shall be very free and willing to leave it to any impartial judge.

"And now, brethren, I commend myself to God, and beg your prayers for me, that I may be found diligent and faithful in the work whereunto I am called. And God forbid that I should cease praying for you and myself, that both you and I, in our respective
stations, and relations to one another, may so conduct ourselves in this world, as that we may be able to lift up our heads with joy another day, and may meet together in the temple of God in heaven, never more to go out. To conclude, brethren, be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you. And now may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

“I am your sincere friend
and hearty well-wisher,
“John Martyn.

“Bolton, March 29, 1746.”

I am not aware that any other of the writings of Mr. Martyn have been preserved, but even from this specimen I think we are justified in concluding that he was a wise, honest, strong man, and that he entered on his work with right views, and a just sense of the responsibilities of the office he was about to assume.

In regard to his theological opinions, he did not probably differ from his brethren in the ministry with whom he was in habits of intimacy, as Cushing of Shrewsbury, Parkman of Westborough, Prentice of Lancaster, and Morse of Boylston, all of whom were sound, orthodox divines, but not among the “New Lights” of that time, and probably having very little to do with the peculiarities of any human creed, and meddling very little with religious controversy. It is worthy of remark, and it should be borne in mind, that
the old church covenants, which were in general use at that time, were not formularies of faith, embracing the peculiarities of Calvinism or of Arminianism, or of any other system of human origin, but covenants, properly so called, — that is to say, religious engagements entered into on the part of those who became communicants, binding them, not to a fixed creed, but to endeavours after a holy life. The covenant subscribed by Mr. Martyn, and adopted by the church organized on the day of his ordination, is of this character. It is wholly unobjectionable on the score of sentiment, although its length and style might not be adapted to our fastidious tastes. The term orthodox, which occurs in one clause, is a very good term, and ought not to be appropriated by any one denomination, or any body of believers, as belonging exclusively to them.*

At the period referred to, there were not in all this region any but Congregational churches and Congregational ministers; and though there may have been diversities of faith among them, as there must be where there is religious freedom and the minds of men are awake, and though some men were then, as now, of a warmer temperament and more excitable than others, and though feuds and controversies broke up the peace of many of the New England churches about that time, which, it will be recollected, was the season of the great revival produced by the labors of Whitefield, Buel,

* Appendix, Note C.
Tennent, and other itinerant preachers, who travelled through the country, reviled the standing order of ministers, and drew away from them the affections of many of their hearers, yet, so far as I can learn, the churches and ministers in this immediate vicinity remained unaffected by the fanatical spirit of the times, or only shared in a healthy excitement, and were animated with new life. The Rev. Mr. Barrett of Hopkinton, who, it will be recollected, was on the council for the ordination of Mr. Martyn, as we learn from Howe's Century Sermon, from his unwillingness to adopt the new measures, lost the confidence and affection of some of the most serious and pious people in town, who for a time absented themselves from his ministry and joined other societies in neighbouring towns; "but," as we are told, "when the fervor of their affection abated, they returned, respected Mr. Barrett, lived under his ministry, and were edified."

The Rev. Mr. Martyn married Mary Marrett of Cambridge, by whom he had several children, descendants from two of whom, John and Michael, are still living in this town.

A venerable old man, of the stock of Israel, Rabbi Judah Monis, was an inmate of Mr. Martyn's family during a few of the last years of his life. He had been Hebrew Instructer in Harvard College as early as 1720, while yet an unconverted Jew. He embraced Christianity, and was publicly baptized at Cambridge, in 1722. He continued in office forty years, and after the death of his wife, in 1761, he
came to reside with his brother-in-law, Mr. Martyn, in whose family he remained till his death, in 1764. I find in the town records the following vote, relating to Mr. Monis, and several others, who I suppose were among the most aged persons in town, and who, with their three-cornered hats and staves and enormous shoe-buckles, must have made quite an imposing appearance, as they came in to take their places in the seat of honor allotted them: — "March 14th, 1763. The precinct voted that 'Mr. Judah Monis, John McAllister, Thomas Taylor, Ephraim Allen, Joshua Townsend, and Daniel Mason should be seated in the fore [fore] seat below.'" Mr. Monis was then about eighty years old. He died April 25th, 1764, and was buried in what was then the new burying-ground, though that term has been since appropriated to another, — "and his sepulchre remaineth to this day." Mr. Monis was a benefactor of this church; three silver cups, bearing his name, forming part of the plate used in our communion service. The verses inscribed on his grave-stone are a not unfavorable specimen of the poetry of the day: —

"A native branch of Jacob see,  
Which, once from off its olive broke,  
Regrafted in the living tree,  
Of the reviving sap partook.

"From teeming Zion's fertile womb,  
As dewy drops in early morn,  
Or rising bodies from the tomb,  
At once be Israel's nation born."
The last stanza expresses a benevolent and pious hope which many have shared, but which has hitherto been sadly disappointed.

Mr. Martyn had a peaceful and successful ministry of twenty-five years, which, in the midst of his useful labors, was interrupted by his sudden and lamented death, on the last day of April, 1767. A handsome monument was erected in the adjoining burying-ground by his bereaved flock, bearing the following inscription, which, as I have no doubt, expresses not only the estimation in which he was held, but also the true character of the man:

"Under this sepulchral stone lies interred, in Christian hope of a blessed resurrection, what was mortal of the Reverend John Martyn, A. M., the late worthy pastor of this flock, son of the late Captain Edward Martyn, of Boston. Educated at Harvard College, Cambridge. Was ordained in this place May twenty-first, 1746. Approved himself an assiduous, orthodox, eminent preacher of the great redemption by Jesus Christ. After a few days' illness, to the inexpressible grief of his family, flock, and friends, expired April thirtieth, 1767, aged sixty-one.

"Si vitam fide Christi egimus sanctam, si quid præclare gessimus, hoc sit nostri monumentum."

A few other incidents relating to the early history of this town may be listened to with interest, as throwing light on the character of the men and of the times of which we are speaking.
What is now Northborough was for many years known as the Second Precinct in Westborough, having been set off as such, October 20th, 1744, which answers to October 31st, N. S. It did not become an incorporated district till January 24th, 1766, when, from its situation in respect to the First Precinct, it received the name of Northborough. But it was not even yet thought worthy of the rank of a town; and was not allowed the privilege of sending a representative to the Great and General Court till the commencement of the Revolutionary War, in 1775, when, by a general act of the Provincial Congress, all incorporated districts were declared to be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of towns.*

The First Precinct officers were chosen on the 15th of the following November, at which time "it was voted that precinct meetings for the future should be warned by two notifications posted up, one at Ephraim Allen's mill, and the other at Bezaleel Eager's."

One of the first objects to which the attention of the precinct was directed was, of course, the building of a meeting-house, which, after much delay, occasioned by differences of opinion respecting its location, which were at length terminated by arbitration, James Eager having generously given the land for that purpose, was raised April 30th, 1745. It stood very

* See Ancient Charters and Laws of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, — Appendix, chap. xl. p. 3.
near the spot which forms the site of the present church.* They did not, however, wait till the house was built, before they took measures to provide preaching. Meetings for public worship were held through the winter of 1745, first at the house of Nathaniel Oakes, and afterwards, for three months, at the house of Jacob Rice, which, as has been already said, stood near the site of the centre school-house. As they could not agree upon a candidate, agreeably to the pious custom of those times, they appointed "a day of humiliation and prayer," and sent for several of the neighbouring ministers to give them their advice.

"September 12th," as the record stands, "the day appointed, Rev. Mr. Parkman and Rev. Mr. Goss came and carried on the work of the fast day, and adjourned, giving us their advice, till the 23d of September, and then the Rev. Mr. Prentice, and Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Parkman, and Mr. Morse, met at the house of Lieutenant William Holloway, and, after looking up to Heaven for divine help and assistance on the occasion they met upon, they heard each party, and gave us their advice as followeth:—

"Westborough, Sept. 23, 1745.

"Inasmuch as the committee of the Second Precinct in Westborough have made application to us whose names are underwritten to give them our advice with reference to the settlement of divine ordinances among

* Appendix, Note D.
them, after humble application to God for direction ourselves, and maturely weighing what has been laid before us, do lament the appearance of misunderstandings and uneasinesses in the precinct, and would earnestly recommend a mutual condescension as becomes Christian professors, but on consideration that the chief matters of grievance cannot fall under our cognizance, nor can we have any prospect, from anything in our power, to redress them. But though there have been such difficulties subsisting here, yet, if there should be any long delay, we have reason to fear they would rather increase, in such a day of temptation, than be diminished, we do freely advise that they proceed to nominating a number of candidates for the gospel ministry, to be heard by the precinct, in order to a choice; that they be two, together with the gentlemen they have been some time hearing. And we (divers of us) recommend the Rev. Mr. Rand and Mr. Jedediah Adams, of Cambridge, that they all be heard a few Sabbaths each. Upon the whole, brethren, we cannot but express our compassionate concern for you in your new circumstances, and do beseech you to beware of the many evils of strife and contention; be cautious of the snares to which your most precious souls are exposed at such a critical juncture; and may the God of all wisdom and grace conduct and restrain you.

(Signed,)  
"John Prentice,  
Job Cushing,  
Ebenezer Parkman,  
Ebenezer Morse."
This advice was followed; and after hearing the three candidates two Sabbaths each, Mr. John Martyn was declared to be "chosen by a clear vote," on the 9th of the following December, the precinct voting him a "salary of £ 50, in bills of the last emission, or £ 200 in bills of the old form and tenor, with a settlement of £ 300 of old tenor money"; a pound, old tenor, being equal to about 82 cents of our currency; so that his salary was $ 166-66, and his settlement $ 246. This was indeed "a day of small things"; but not, on this account, to be despised. The salary was in proportion not only to the means of the society, but to the price of labor and the articles of living. In consideration of the rise of provisions, the precinct, two years after the settlement of Mr. Martyn, made an additional grant of £ 150, old tenor, to his salary for that year; and numerous grants of a like nature are recorded in the Precinct Book.

It was not till the last year but one of the life of the Rev. Mr. Martyn, namely, 1766, the year that Northborough obtained an act of incorporation, that the precinct voted to provide schooling and to repair the highways at the public charge. The amount granted that year for the former is not stated. For the latter a grant of £ 60, lawful money, was made. In the following year, however, the grant for schooling was £ 11, which was gradually increased, till, in 1776, it amounted to £ 20; while that for highways was £ 40, an equal amount, or £ 40, having been granted the year before to pay the minute men "to learn the military art." It is worthy
of note, that, in the following year, 1777, the sum raised for schooling was doubled, amounting to £ 40 lawful money, while no appropriation was made for repairing the highways, a fact which evinces the interest that was taken even in those troublesome times in the cause of education. Since the Revolutionary War, at least during the last thirty years, the amount raised for each purpose has been, I believe, nearly the same.*

Having dwelt so long on the ministry and times of the Rev. Mr. Martyn, I must pass hastily over the subsequent period.

The Rev. Peter Whitney, the successor of Mr. Martyn, was the son of the Rev. Aaron Whitney, of Petersham, where he was born, September 17, 1744, the year the Second Precinct was set off from Westborough. He also was educated at Harvard University, Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1762, and where he pursued the study of theology, preparatory to the Christian ministry. Mr. Whitney received a call, September 21, 1767, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Martyn, with the offer of a salary of £ 60 lawful money, afterwards increased to £ 66·13·4, about $ 220, and a settlement of £ 160 lawful money, or $ 533·33½; and on the 4th of the following November, was ordained as the pastor of the church in this town, only six months and four days after the death of his predecessor in office.

* Appendix, Note E.
It was during his ministry, namely, in 1808, that, at an expense of more than $11,000, this house in which we are now assembled was erected near the spot occupied by the old meeting-house.

Mr. Whitney's ministry was long, peaceful, and prosperous, and was terminated by his sudden death, February 29, 1816. He is still remembered by many with affectionate respect, and his Christian deportment and useful labors contributed not a little to the harmony and strength and respectability of this religious society as it was at the time when the speaker first became connected with it. Mr. Whitney, at the time of his death, was in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-ninth of his ministry. His mortal remains, and his monument, and the remembrance of his many virtues, are still with us. Of his descendants, with a solitary exception, all have gone from the former home of their honored ancestor, and some have gone to their last home.*

And so, after a few short years, it will be with the family of his successor, into which, by a most remarkable providence, death has not yet entered, and the places which now know them will know them no more. The present incumbent entered on his office, October 30th, 1816, so that he has now nearly completed the thirtieth year of his ministry among the people of his first and latest love. He has never aspired to a higher place or a better fortune; and he hopes to

* Appendix, Note F.
spend the evening of his days, if not in the office that he loves, yet "among his own people," for whom he has so long labored, and from whom he has experienced so constant and considerate kindness.

This church has now existed a century, during which time it has had only three pastors, including the one who now fills that office, and has been destitute of a settled minister only about fourteen months,—"a fact," as he took occasion to say in his account of Northborough, published twenty years since, "highly creditable to the members of the society, as an evidence of their regard for the institutions of religion, and of the union and harmony which have long subsisted among them." I may be allowed to quote the rest of the paragraph from which the foregoing extract is taken. "It may be justly considered," the writer remarks, "that the town is indebted to the spirit of union which has hitherto so generally prevailed among us, for the respectable rank which it now maintains. It would be easy, however painful, to predict the consequences of the prevalence of an opposite spirit. Large and opulent societies can bear to be reduced by division; but in societies small as this, and whose resources are no greater than ours, union should be the watchword of all who wish well to the cause of human improvement."

These sentiments were entertained by the speaker twenty years ago; they are retained and cherished by him still. Union is strength; and though separation is better than strife, it is not unattended by many
painful circumstances. In our own experience the evils of division have been less grievous than in the case of many of our brethren. A good degree of harmony has ever existed between the parent society and the two that have been formed out of it. The speaker has lived in good fellowship with all, and in habits of intimacy with some, of those who from time to time have sustained the pastoral office in the other churches; and he can truly say that he has, with very few exceptions, been treated with all the respect and kindness he could ask or desire by those who went out from us, as well as by those who have since united with them in the maintenance of religious institutions. In return, he has cherished only the most friendly feelings towards them; and, while he has scrupulously endeavoured to avoid all improper interference and all attempts to proselyte, he has, he can truly say, sought opportunities to benefit the rising and the risen generation, without regard to sect or denomination.

Especially has he sought to know nothing of sect or party in his connection with the subject of education; and teachers and scholars in our public schools will testify, that, in his intercourse with them, he has shown no partiality in favor of the advocates of a particular religious creed. I call on others,—I call on you, my hearers,—I call upon this whole community, to pursue the same righteous and honorable course, and never to allow a sectarian spirit to enter those sacred retreats, consecrated to learning and science, where the tender minds of our children receive their earliest and deepest impressions.
The early records of this church, together with the house of the pastor, were destroyed by fire in 1780. In consequence of this calamity, some items of information, which we should be glad to possess, are irrecoverably lost.

From the Rev. Mr. Parkman's account of Westborough, we learn, that, in the year of Mr. Martyn's death, this church consisted of twenty-one males and twenty-three females. The number admitted during the ministry of Mr. Whitney, as nearly as can be ascertained, was 204; while 201 have been received into the church since I became its pastor, of whom about one half remain with us to this day. Our church at present consists of about 120 communicants. The number of baptisms, from the year 1780, when the records were destroyed, to the time of the decease of Mr. Whitney, was 661. The present pastor has baptized 318; while ten received baptism in the interval between the death of Mr. Whitney and the 30th of the following October. During my ministry, I have solemnized 208 marriages. I have thus united in indissoluble bonds 416 persons; of whom about 70 or 75, as nearly as I can learn, are no longer numbered among the living. The survivors, with the descendants of the 208 couples, would make a great congregation, and I have often thought that I should like to see them all assembled in one place, to learn their various fortunes, and to speak to them words of congratulation, and sympathy, and Christian counsel. The whole number of deaths within the borders of this town,
since the beginning of my ministry, has been about 500; making the average 16½. I have probably attended about the same number of funerals, in this and the neighbouring towns.

The scenes and occasions that the recital of these facts calls up before me are, some of them, of the most deeply affecting character, and have left impressions on my mind which will remain while life or memory lasts.

Eight persons only, besides the present incumbents, have sustained the office of deacon in this church since its organization; and it is but justice to add, that, so far as I have learned, they were all men of great moral worth; respectable and respected. Of the first four I had, of course, no personal knowledge. Jonathan Livermore and Matthias Rice were the first that held that office. The former, who came from Watertown, and who lived to the great age of one hundred years and seven months, was, in his day, probably the best educated man in the place, and for many years in succession was clerk of the precinct. After the death of his first wife, the mother of his children, he married a lady of Irish extraction, a widow (Mrs. Jane Dunlap), who lived in Milton, and was a member of the Congregational church in that place, and who, from letters of hers in my possession, addressed to the church, with which she had a protracted controversy, as well as from other sources, I should judge to have been a woman of strong intellect and of great independence, associated perhaps with some acerbity of temper, and, it may be,
other faults of character. Certain it is that the church received her communications, of which she sent several, in no very courteous manner, — voting, on one occasion, (Nov. 23, 1784), "unanimously, not one hand up," as the record reads, that her communication was not satisfactory.

Deacon Matthias Rice was a good man, "in simplicity and godly sincerity having his conversation in the world"; and such were, by reputation, the two successors of Deacons Rice and Livermore, — Deacons Paul Newton and Seth Rice. They all lived to a good old age, leaving behind them the savor of a good name. Of the other four I can speak from personal and intimate knowledge. Deacon Isaac Davis and Deacon Nahum Fay were in office at the time of my ordination, and during several of the first years of my ministry; and I may add, that, though differing from me on points of doctrinal belief, they were my personal friends, from whom, so long as they lived, I experienced uniform kindness. Deacon Jonas Bartlett and Samuel Seaver, Sen., have so recently ceased from their mortal labors, that few among us need to be informed that they, too, possessed the public confidence and respect. Of the present incumbents it does not become me here to speak.

I shall dwell but for a few moments on the present condition and prospects of this religious society. I cannot use the language of exultation and boastful confidence; — it is unbecoming at all times; it would be especially out of place at this time. When I think
of the strong pillars that stood here thirty years ago, on which our social fabric and this church rested, and consider how they have fallen, one after another, till only here and there a decaying shaft remains, I have no heart to exult; I am more inclined to commune with my own heart and be still.

True, we have ample resources and many encouragements; and it were weakness and a criminal distrust of Providence to despond, as, when I think of the past, I am sometimes tempted to do. Once we were, certainly in respect to worldly wealth, much stronger than now. By death and removal, and those changes that are common in this changing world, many of the best estates that once belonged to us have passed into other hands; and although there has been a considerable increase of population in the town, especially within the last ten years, only a small proportion of those who have removed hither from other places have become members of this religious society. One main purpose of our respected friend and benefactor (Henry Gassett, Esq., of Boston), whose bounty we have so liberally shared, has thus been in a manner frustrated. He had hoped that his large donation, ($3000,) intended principally for the support of the ministry, would prove a bond of union, so that all might partake of the fruits of his liberality. In other times it might have been so. And the day may come when sectarian strifes and party names shall be done away; and when that bounty, which was intended for all, shall be shared by all who shall then dwell
within our borders. In the mean time it will be, I trust, a bond of union to us who remain connected with this ancient Congregational church; and the memory of the donor will be dear to our children's children.

We have received other benefactions; among which is the valuable clock lately placed in the tower of our church (the gift of Mr. Jonas Ball), which, so long as it remains, will remind us of the source whence it came, and of the hours as they fly.

And now my parting word; for it is quite time to relieve your exhausted patience. My ministry has been protracted, and my labors among you have been blessed, far beyond my most sanguine hopes. According to the order of nature, which, if I might, I would not subvert or alter, I have seen my best days. I am deeply sensible that it is so; and I submit, without a murmur, to the great law of life,—that, while others increase, "I must decrease."

Receive, then, the word from my lips. As though I stood on the borders of the grave and in the prospect of the eternal world,—in the earnestness of a spirit that yearns towards you with a strong affection, I beseech you, dear brethren and friends, in the words of the apostle, adopted by the first minister of this church: "Be perfect; be of good comfort; be of one mind; live in peace;—and the God of love and peace shall be with you." Amen.
Northborough, being originally a part of Marlborough, may lay claim to considerable antiquity; Marlborough having been incorporated as early as 1660, only forty years after the landing from the Mayflower, and thirty after the settlement of Boston.

It was, indeed, in this very year (1660) that certain meadow lands lying within the borders of this town were surveyed, and the names given them (Three Corner Meadow, Stirrup Meadow, Crane Meadow, &c.) which they now bear. Cold Harbour Meadow, then bearing its present name, was taken up and laid out in thirty-four lots as early as 1672; and in the same year, a grant of land was made to John Brigham (who went by the name of Doctor Brigham, and was a noted land-surveyor) "on Licor Meadow Plain," probably the plain extending north and northwest from Liquor Hill (now Mount Assabet) to the farm of Mr. Jairus Lincoln. On what I suppose were the eastern borders of this grant, near the site of the saw-mill owned by Messrs. Haynes and Bush, Mr. Brigham erected a small cabin, in which he lived several years, remote from any human habitation, tending the saw-mill which he had built on Howard Brook, till at length the fear of the savages induced him to retire to a place of greater security.

In the same year, several other grants of land, now within the borders of this town, were made by the proprietors of Marlborough;—one to Samuel Goodenow, father of Thomas, and grandfather of the late Asa Goodenow; and to Thomas Brigham, father of David, and grandfather of the late Judge Brigham of Westborough. Another grant still was made to John Rediat, "west of Assabeth River, north-west side of the Chauncey Great Pond, bounded on the east by a Spruce Swamp." Another "on the Nepmuck road, that formerly led toward Coneticoat," which was probably on the eastern borders of Little Chauncey Pond,—the Nepmuck road from Marlborough to Grafton (then Hassanemesit) leading through Westborough near Great and Little Chauncey Ponds. Nathaniel Oakes, the person mentioned in the Discourse, married for his first wife a daughter of John Rediat, through whom he came into possession of a
large estate. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Oakes married Mary, daughter of Adam Holloway, by whom he had several children, descendants of whom, by his daughter Hannah, who was married to Gershom Fay, Jr., are still with us. Three granddaughters of Hannah Oakes, namely, Zilpah, Zeviah, and Thankful, daughters of Thaddeus Fay, were married severally to Joel and Asa Parmenter and Deacon Jonas Bartlett. One of the grandsons, Thaddeus Fay, Jr., married Abigail, a daughter of John Martyn, Jr.; she died in 1840, in the eightieth year of her age.

The tragical fate of Mary Goodenow is alluded to in the Discourse. The following particulars may be interesting to those to whom the story is not familiar. It took place August 18th, 1707. Mary Goodenow, daughter of Samuel, who then lived near the present dwelling-house of Mr. Stephen Howe, in a house which was used for a garrison, was gathering herbs in the adjoining meadow, in company with Mrs. Mary, wife of Gershom Fay, who then lived in the east part of the town, when a party of Indians, twenty-four in number, all stout warriors, were seen issuing from the woods and advancing towards them. Mrs. Fay escaped to the garrison, having barely time to fasten the gate of the inclosure, before her pursuers came up. Mary Goodenow, being retarded by lameness, was overtaken, seized, and dragged by the savages to the east side of the meadow, where she was killed and scalped, and where her mangled remains were afterwards found and committed to the dust, and where her grave was visible a few years since.

Some other particulars respecting this event may be found in the historical notice of Northborough, contained in the second volume of the Worcester Magazine, published in 1826.

Before the incorporation of Westborough, in 1717, the western part of Marlborough, including what is now Westborough and Northborough, went by the name of "Chauncey" or "Chauncey Village,"—so called, according to the Rev. Mr. Parkman of Westborough, from the circumstance, "that in early times a person of that name was lost in one of the swamps here." The name is retained in connection with two beautiful sheets of water,—"Great Chauncey Pond," in Westborough, and "Little Chauncey Pond," in Northborough.

The names given respectively to the three towns which were taken from Marlborough were strictly appropriate, at the times when they were assigned. Thus, in 1717, the whole of the western part of Marlborough was incorporated by the name of Westborough; and in 1720, the southern part of what remained, was incorporated by the name of Southborough; and, finally, in 1766, the northern part of Westborough was incorporated by the name of Northborough.

Before the incorporation of Marlborough, in 1660, the English planta-
tion which was commenced there in 1656 was called by the Indian name of Whipsuppenicke, or, as it was sometimes written, Whipsufferadge. The Indian plantation in the neighbourhood went by the not unmusical name of Ockoocangansett, corrupted, in Yankee dialect, into Agoganggomisset. The name originally belonged to the beautiful hill back of the Academy, as Whipsuppenicke was the name of another hill south of the former.

NOTE A. Page 8.

I find by examination, that this very church covenant, with a few slight variations, had been adopted by the church at Sterling about eighteen months previous, namely, December 19th, 1744, at the time of the ordination of their first minister, the Rev. John Mellen. It is not unlikely that it was adopted in other places.

NOTE B. Page 16.

The excitement on the subject of religion, about this time, in many parts of New England, was unprecedented. George Whitefield made his first visit to this country in 1740, and was followed by admiring crowds wherever he went, and his eloquent declamations produced the most astonishing effects. Many of the clergy welcomed him to their pulpits; while others refused to give him their countenance, and more than questioned the wisdom of his measures, and the perfect integrity of his conduct.

So strong, however, was the conviction in the minds of many of the clergy of the value of his services in awakening a religious interest in the community, that a meeting of pastors of churches was called at Boston, the day after Commencement, July 7th, 1743, to bear their testimony and to give their advice in relation to "the late happy revival of religion in many parts of the land," &c.

In the copy of the doings of that convention now in my possession, I find that but four ministers of Worcester county, namely, Webb of Uxbridge, Seccomb of Harvard, Prentice of Grafton, and Goddard of Leicester, were willing to affix their names (and one of these with qualifications) to "the testimony and advice," while the name of Parkman of Westborough is associated with the honored names of Colman, and
Checkley, and Andrew Eliot, of Boston, with ten or twelve others, who, "while they concur with" the testimony "for the substance of it," object to it, on the ground that it did not use sufficiently strong language in testifying against "itinerancy, or ministers and others introducing themselves into other ministers' parishes without their consent."

In the following year, namely, October 28th, 1744, in an occasional discourse delivered to his people, on the twentieth anniversary of his ordination, from the text, Genesis xxxi. 38, Mr. Parkman uses the following language: — "There have been, at several times, some movements of the spirit of God among us. But as to the outward tokens thereof, by persons joining to the church, I have not been very fond of promoting and countenancing great multitudes of these, when it has been plain to me, either that it has been very much out of form, or, when they have been too raw and unqualified, as being too inexperienced in the practical and spiritual part of religion, or not been so much as indoctrinated and instructed in the necessary principles of Christianity."

And not long after, namely, September 6th, 1747, Mr. Parkman, in a funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman of Boston, one of the soundest and most judicious ministers of that generation, introduces his subject in the following eulogistic strain: — "When principal pillars fall, the fabric shakes! When great and eminent men are taken away, the whole land feels a shock! Our spiritual fathers are the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof; — our glory and our defence. But our fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever? . . . . One of the very brightest lights that ever irradiated the Western world has lately been extinguished; and how gloomy and sorrowful hereupon is it! What a sensible and general loss is the death of the excellent, the faithful, and venerable Dr. Colman!"

President Quincy, in his "History of Harvard University," thus speaks of Dr. Colman: — "This liberal and distinguished man, who was second to none of the clergy of that day in character and influence, departed full of years and honors, his intellectual light and moral worth unclouded, and his Christian charity brightening to the last; yet none of the active, able, professional brethren by whom he was surrounded, except his colleague, Samuel Cooper, ever preached, so far as can now be ascertained, and no one ever published, a funeral sermon or eulogy in token of respect for his memory." — Vol. II. p. 76.

It seems, that, if he was unnoticed by his brethren in the metropolis, a tribute of respect was paid to the good man by a retired country minister in the heart of the Commonwealth.

Every one is at liberty to draw what inference he pleases from the facts I have collected. They may serve to throw some light on the character of the times, if not on the character of the first minister of Northborough.
Just as I was preparing to send these notes to the printer, I met with the following letter, which I had carefully laid away, enclosed in an envelope, some thirty years ago, the very existence of which I had forgotten. I think it worth preserving, as a precious relic of olden times. All must admire the manly and independent tone of the letter; and I have no doubt, that, while, as we know, it brought the people to see and to repair their injustice, it increased their respect and veneration for their minister. Some churches in the nineteenth century might be profited by the timely reproofs it conveys.

I may add that the letter was followed by action on the part of the precinct, on the 6th of the following August; and in December, the sum of eight pounds, in addition to the hundred pounds already assessed, was granted "to the Rev. Mr. Martyn, our worthy pastor."

"To Bezaleel Eager and others, Committee of the North Precinct in Westborough.

"Gentlemen,—You are not strangers to the terms or conditions upon which I settled in this place, neither need I tell you that they have never yet been complied with on the part of the precinct; and as you have the management of the public affairs of this precinct, I thought it therefore not improper to inform you of my uneasiness with respect to my salary from year to year. It is an old saying, that sufferers have leave to speak; and as I have been a very great sufferer upon account of the non-fulfilment of the contract from year to year, I think this, if there was nothing else, would be sufficient to justify me in my present complaints, without telling you that I look upon it a real injury to the people themselves to make no conscience of fulfilling their engagements. For let me tell you, if you have a house for the worship of God, a minister, and ordinances, only for fashion-sake, you had better be without them; but if you really intend by them to get that good which God designs by bringing his kingdom so nigh you, how can you expect to reap those benefits, while you injure him who is appointed to bring you the messages of peace and salvation? Is it likely that any success will attend the means of grace among a people who show a manifest slight and contempt of them by their backwardness and unwillingness to maintain and encourage those that wait at God's altar? For is not the laborer worthy of his hire! Don't you acknowledge this in temporal things? for if you have a laborer for the lowest, meanest sort of work, has he not at least his food from day to day? And why must a minister maintain himself, at least nine or ten months of the year, which has all along been the case here, or suffer? Is the work of the ministry of so much less value than digging in a ditch? and can you suppose that persons will always think that any body they deal with should be better paid than the ambassador
of Christ; and that, if they keep their word and make good their promises to others, no matter whether they are kept with ministers or not! Is it not likely that this is oftentimes the case? If there had been fewer instances of it, even in this place, the conditions upon which I settled here had been better performed than they have been. And one great reason, though not the only reason, why the payment of my salary hath been delayed from year to year hath been the putting off making the rates in proper season; and what apprehensions they that are concerned have of public trusts and sacred oaths is very strange to me.

"Gentlemen, you know something of the difficulties and charges I have been put to to settle here, and the very small matter of assistance I have had from the people; and I must needs tell you, that, after all this, I take it very hard that I am obliged to take the very money which I should make use of to pay the debts I have contracted towards my building, to buy the necessaries of life; and not only so, but to be obliged through mere necessity to injure those I owe; whereas, if the precinct was faithful and just to their engagements, I need not be brought to this. I am very sorry I am obliged to write thus; but how can I avoid it, when I am a continual sufferer, and those whose business it is will not move in my behalf? It is a hard case, when a minister is obliged thus to complain, and what I wish there was no occasion for, but necessity puts me upon it; for four years have now passed, and though every year, according to agreement, I was to have my salary at two equal payments, yet more than half a year hath always run away, and sometimes more, before any rates have been made, and then some months after hath been taken up before I have even had any thing of value, which has been to my damage one way or other at least forty or fifty pounds a year. But if the contract was never intended to be kept by the people, why did they ever make it? How vastly different do this people deal with others from their dealings with me! I do not intend any thing I have writ to be by way of reproach to you or any particular person, for I write in sober sadness; for it is designed as an introduction to a petition which I have to make, and that is, that you would be just to yourselves and me for the time to come, and that I may have no more reasons for complaints of this nature. I have told you before, and tell you now, that I owe a considerable sum yet towards my buildings, and the money I should have took to have paid my debts, and which I never had of the people, I was obliged to lay out for the necessaries of life; and do now buy all that I expend in my family, which is very discouraging to me. I wish these matters might be seriously thought of by you, and not only so, but that a meeting may be called and proper steps taken to bring things under a better regulation. I know some may say, the times are hard and difficult, and if the rates should be made in season, the money could not be
gathered. To this I answer, I am as sensible of the hardness of the times, and have as much reason, under my present circumstances, to lament it, as any body; but the times are not equally hard with all; some have money, though others have n’t; and if the generality would deal as well with me as they do with their shoemakers, tailors, smiths, and the like, I doubt not, though the times are hard, I should be better paid this year than I have been in any year past. But supposing the times to be never so hard, do you think this reason sufficient for the committee to betray their trust, or for the assessors to trifle with a sacred oath? You must remember that I am one party in the covenant with this people, and I never yet consented to any alteration of it; and until I do, it ought to be fulfilled as near as possible. And were the rates made sooner, from year to year, it might be an advantage to the people as well as to me; for, as I have something of a farm, a considerable part of my salary might be paid in labor, without injuring any body; but so it is that nobody cares to ease their burthen this way till perhaps a year and a half is gone, and when they have nothing to do at home they may offer their service to me; and what is still to my damage, some that I have hired to work, though there hath been near or quite six months of the year gone, and sometimes more, have insisted upon their wages, which I have paid them in money, when there has been no reason for it but because there was no rate made. Many more grievous things of the like nature I could tell of, were it likely to do any good. Upon the whole, I pray you would take this matter into consideration, and let what is amiss be rectified as soon as possible.

"From your suffering pastor,

"JNO. MARTYN.

"Westborough, June 23, 1750."

NOTE C. Page 23.

The term "orthodox" is found in the original church covenant, subscribed by the Rev. Mr. Martyn, and others, at the formation of this church; and I have said that it was a very good term, and ought not to be appropriated by any one denomination, or any body of believers, as belonging exclusively to them. I do not doubt, however, that it was, at the time, commonly applied to the doctrines of Calvinism, or of the Westminster Divines, which were received, at least theoretically, by ministers and churches generally, throughout New England; and which were publicly controverted or openly rejected but by few, till a somewhat later period. To some ministers of that day these doctrines were peculiarly dear, and
were preached with great vehemence and power. By others, probably, they were held with no very tenacious grasp,—were seldom introduced into their public discourses, or were so softened down and modified as to lose much of their sternness and repulsiveness. I have read several of the manuscript sermons of the Rev. Mr. Parkman of Westborough, which I found, to my great surprise, almost unobjectionable on the score of doctrine. Mr. Martyn may have been a Calvinist of the strictest sort, but I have had no evidence to convince me that such was the fact; and I have never supposed that strict Calvinism extensively prevailed in Northborough, either during the ministry of Mr. Martyn, or that of his immediate successor. I learned, by tradition, when I first came to this place, that, in the earlier part of Mr. Whitney’s ministry, a few who held Calvinistic views were dissatisfied with Mr. Whitney, on account of his leaning to Arminianism; and I have understood, that, at a subsequent period, an attempt was made by several young men of Calvinistic views to introduce those views by appointing religious meetings at private houses, in opposition to Mr. Whitney’s wishes; but I believe that they found little sympathy with the public, and that liberal sentiments continued to prevail till the commencement of my ministry. Great efforts were then made, chiefly by persons in neighbouring towns, to prejudice the people here against Unitarianism, and to prevent my settlement on that ground; the result of which may be gathered from the fact, that only eleven votes out of one hundred and eight were cast against the candidate for settlement, and several of those were given by men who afterwards proved to be among the firmest friends and supporters of the man whom they opposed.

If the Rev. Mr. Martyn and his people generally were Calvinists, which is not proved by their use of “Orthodox Catechisms,”—since I doubt whether there were any other catechisms in use in the New England churches of that day than those of the Westminster Divines, which in many churches were not laid aside till long after the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism had been discarded both by ministers and people,—if, I say, Mr. Martyn and his people were Calvinists, there must have been a great, and, considering the staid habits of the people, a most surprising, change in the sentiments of the latter, within a brief period, in order to account for the state of things during Mr. Whitney’s ministry, to which I have adverted. But the truth is, Calvinism and Orthodoxy are not convertible terms. The popular theology is accounted Orthodoxy. And this, as is well known, varies from age to age. Calvinism cannot vary. It is one thing, and not many. There is, properly speaking, no high or low, strict or loose, extravagant or moderate, Calvinism. For the term applies to what is fixed and definite, namely, to the system of theological dogmas held and taught by John Calvin of Geneva. Now Calvinism may be orthodoxy in one
age, but it is not orthodoxy here and everywhere, now and always. The theology of the Westminster Catechism, which I studied, but never understood, when I was a child, nor believed then, or since I became a man, was accounted orthodoxy among the New England churches a century ago; but is it received fully, in all its length and breadth and depth of meaning, by those who would appropriate that title now? I think not. The term orthodoxy literally means right doctrine or opinion, and orthodoxy has had so many mutations and phases, that it seems to me that I should not be chargeable with unpardonable arrogance, should I claim for the sentiments, which I honestly hold and openly advocate, the title of orthodoxy. Should I make that claim, however, I should do it with the express recognition of the equal claims of my Christian brethren who as honestly hold and as openly advocate other views,—holding as I do, that no denomination, no section of the Christian church, monopolizes the truth, and that, if I have a right to differ from my brother, he has as good a right to differ from me,—that we both have one Master in heaven, and that to his own Master every man standeth or falleth.

One thing is certain,—the church of which I am the pastor has never had a Calvinistic, or even a Trinitarian, covenant or creed. I have in my possession, not a copy or a fac-simile, but the identical church covenant, with the autograph signatures of the original ten members, following that of Mr. Martyn himself, to which were added afterwards three other autograph names, namely, Josiah Bowker, Paul Newton, and William Holloway. It was put into my hands, with the church records and other papers, by the late Deacon Nahum Fay, who had acted as clerk of the church after the death of Mr. Whitney, and while it was destitute of a pastor. In this venerable document, the second article, which prescribes the use of orthodox catechisms, is stricken out by a mark of the pen; when, or by whom, I am unable to say. Neither can I tell how it escaped the flames which destroyed the other church records, together with the house and goods of the Rev. Mr. Whitney, in 1780. That it was preserved, and that it is the original document, and not a copy, is evident on the slightest inspection.

This covenant was superseded by the one which was in use at the commencement of my ministry, and that again by the one that was introduced by the present pastor, in 1817; neither of which is more or less liberal than the original covenant, and to either of which I suppose any conscientious Trinitarian or Calvinist might assent.

Our church is not, and never was, a sectarian church; and there is nothing in its organization or constitution which requires that either the pastor or the members of it should hold this or that particular system of religious belief. It admits of change. It is an Independent Congregational church. It professes to adhere to the two great principles of Prot-
estantism—the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment. It does not aim to secure a uniformity of faith among its members; all of whom are allowed and encouraged to examine for themselves, and who are subjected to no church censure, and no loss of caste, and no social disadvantage, in case they should depart from the views which are entertained by the pastor or by the majority of the brethren. We hold to freedom and progress in religion as well as in other matters, and believe, that, much as religious freedom has been infringed upon, there has been progress in religious knowledge, not in this church only, but in the churches of New England generally, during the century which we have been reviewing; and further, that progress should continue to be the object and aim of all the disciples of Christ. We do not doubt that those who shall come after us will have clearer, more enlarged, and rational views of the doctrine of Christ than any to which the human mind has yet attained. We would not take any system of theology that has been embodied in human creeds, or that has been advocated by the most eminent divines, even of our own faith, and transmit it, in a stereotyped form, to future generations. For we believe that "more light is yet to break forth from God's holy word," which the darkness of the nineteenth century comprehendeth not, but which shall illuminate and bless future generations. The Christianity of Christ is immutable; but the Christianity of the church, the Christianity of creeds, varies from age to age; and it may be late, if ever, that the one shall be brought into an exact conformity with the other.

I trust I shall be pardoned, if I add to this extended note the following sentiments of the venerable Robinson, of Leyden, taken from his celebrated farewell discourse to our Pilgrim fathers, as reported by Governor Winslow, who was present and heard it; and which appeared in print, for the first time, in 1646, just two hundred years ago.

"He charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no farther than he followed Christ; and, if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion, also, miserably to bewail the state and condition of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans, they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now
living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our church covenant, at least, that part of it whereby we promise and covenant with God, and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare it with other scriptures of truth before we received it. For, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

"Words," said Dr. Prince, of Boston, one hundred years ago, "almost astonishing, in that age of low and universal bigotry." Would that the spirit which they breathe might be infused into all the New England churches of the nineteenth century!

NOTE D. Page 28.

The following votes of the precinct, passed at different dates, may remind us of our superior privileges, while they carry us back to "a day of small things."

"December 31st, 1744. Voted to build a meeting-house.

"Voted, that the meeting-house should be set on the most convenient spot on a corner of land between the road coming from Nathaniel Oak's, and the road coming down from Benjamin Lull's, and leading down to Cold Harbour Bridge.

"Voted, that the meeting-house should be forty-six feet in length, and thirty-six feet in wide, and twenty feet post.

"Voted and granted the sum of fifty pounds lawful money [$166.66], to be paid in money, labor, or timber for building the meeting-house."

"April 26th, 1745. Voted to raise the meeting-house on Tuesday next, to begin at nine o'clock in the morning.

"Voted, that every man should provide according as he was spirited."

"August 26th, 1745. Voted and allowed six shillings [twenty-five cents] for scoring timber, and six shillings and six pence [twenty-seven cents] for hewing, and eight shillings [thirty-three cents], per day, for framing, boarding, and shingling."

"November 17th, 1746. Put to vote to see if they would lay the meeting-house floor. Passed in the negative.

"Put to vote to see if the precinct would glaze the meeting-house forthwith, or as soon as glass can be provided. Passed in the negative.

"Desolved the meeting."
"December 29th, 1746. Voted and allowed to Lieutenant William Holloway, for entertaining the council at the ordination, £20, 16 s."

"June 8th, 1747. It was put to vote to see if they would build the pulpit, past in the negative.

"Voted and granted the sum of £150, old tenor, for glazing and finishing the meeting-house."

"September 4th, 1747. Voted to build the pulpit, the deacons' seat, and the minister's pew."

"January 30th, 1748. It was put to vote to see if the precinct will have as many pews as can be built by the walls of the meeting-house with convenience, and four more in the hind part of the body of seats. Past in the affirmative.

"The precinct voted to build the body of seats in the meeting-house by the last day of May."

"September 4th, 1749. It was put to vote to see if the precinct would build the gallary stairs and lay the gallary flor, and build the brest work of the gallary by the last of next October, come twelve months. Past in the affirmative."

"It was put to vote to see if the precinct will grant the pew ground in the meeting-house to those who have paid most on real and personal estate, and one poll only, to what hath been already don to the meeting-house, they building them by the last of next October, come twelve months, or forfeit the ground to the precinct's use again. Past in the affirmative."

"November 13th, 1749. Voted, that they would have twenty pews in the meeting-house."

August 13th, 1752. A committee, chosen for that purpose, reported the following list of persons, who were the highest payers on real and personal estate, &c., to whom, in the order they are named, the choice of pew ground in the meeting-house was allotted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Ball.</td>
<td>Gershom Fay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Gamwell.</td>
<td>Samuel Allen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornet Simeon Hayward.</td>
<td>Thomas Billings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelatiah Rice.</td>
<td>James Eager, Jr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deacon Matthias Rice.</td>
<td>John McAllister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan Ball.</td>
<td>Deacon Jonathan Livermore.</td>
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<td>Jacob Rice.</td>
<td>Thomas Goodenow.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timothy Fay.</td>
<td>Seth Hudson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ensign Rice.</td>
<td>John Oak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Bartlett.</td>
<td>George Oak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Bowker.</td>
<td>Seth Rice.</td>
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Finally, on the 11th day of March, 1754, the question was put to see if the precinct would *finish the meeting-house*, and it passed in the affirmative. Although it appears, from subsequent votes, that leave was given to different individuals to build pews, at their own expense, for their own use, in parts of the gallery that were unoccupied.

November 11th, 1765. The following *females* petitioned for leave to build a pew "behind the long gallery seats in the east end": — Hannah Wood, Dinah Fay, Sarah Rice, Beulah Wood, Mary Brigham, Betty Tenney, Abigail Keyes, Anna Goodenow, and Mary Fay; and leave, of course, was granted.

And, September 6th, 1756, the precinct voted and granted the sum of six pounds, ten shillings, and six pence, three farthings, to pay for finishing the meeting-house.

"Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem."

Up to the date of the incorporation of this town, in 1766, nearly all the votes of the precinct recorded in the Precinct Book relate strictly to parish or ecclesiastical affairs. I do not find a single vote relating to schools, highways, bridges, &c.; and it was not till April, 1766, that a proposition was made "to build a pound," and "to provide a reading and writing school-master," and, in the following November, "to repair their highways by a rate." It seems too, that, even at this date, the *pew-ground* had not all been taken up, as that "over the women's stairs" was granted at this time to John Martyn (son of the minister), Henry Gaschet, Timothy Brigham, Silas Rice, Jonathan Bartlett, and Gideon Hayward.

NOTE E. Page 31.

I have learned, since the delivery of this Discourse, by an examination of the Town Records of Westborough, that, after Northborough became a separate precinct, till its incorporation in 1766, the inhabitants of the precinct continued to exercise their rights as citizens of Westborough, and received their share of the appropriations that were made from time to time for the support of schools, for repairing the highways, and for other objects of public utility. Hence, there was no necessity for making any appropriations, as a precinct, except for the support of public worship.
NOTE F. Page 32.

I cannot forbear adding, in a note, a more extended notice of the Rev. Mr. Whitney, taken from my "History of Northborough," which is now out of print.

"The services at his ordination were performed by the following persons: — Rev. Mr. Morse, of the Second Church in Shrewsbury (now Boylston), made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Petersham, the father of the candidate, preached from Matthew xxviii. 19, 20; Rev. Mr. Parkman, of Westborough, made the Consecrating Prayer, and gave the Charge; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Marlborough, expressed the Fellowship of the Churches; and Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Chelmsford, made the Concluding Prayer."

"Distinguished for the urbanity of his manners, easy and familiar in his intercourse with his people, hospitable to strangers, and always ready to give a hearty welcome to his numerous friends; punctual to his engagements, observing an exact method in the distribution of his time, having a time for every thing, and doing every thing in its time, without hurry or confusion; conscientious in the discharge of his duties as a Christian minister, catholic in his principles and in his conduct, always taking an interest in whatever concerned the prosperity of the town and the interests of religion, he was, for many years, the happy minister of a kind and an affectionate people. . . . . He was extensively known by his 'History of Worcester County'; a work highly valuable for the facts it records, many of which would probably have been lost, had they not, with great pains and fidelity, been collected and embodied in this work. . . . . The other printed writings of Mr. Whitney, so far as they have come to my knowledge, are, two discourses, delivered July 4th, 1774; a sermon delivered at a lecture, July 4th, 1776, on publishing the Declaration of Independence; a half century sermon, preached June 1st, 1796; a sermon at the ordination of his son, Rev. Peter Whitney, of Quincy, February 5th, 1800; a sermon preached at Shrewsbury, February 16th, 1810, at the funeral of Mrs. Lucy Sumner, wife of Rev. Joseph Sumner, D. D.; and a notice of a remarkable apple-tree, in the first volume of the 'Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.'

"Mrs. Whitney [formerly Julia Lambert, of Reading] survived her husband nearly five years, and died at Quincy, while on a visit to her children, January 10th, 1821, aged seventy-nine years. All who knew Madam Whitney will bear testimony to her worth, and admit that she possessed, in no common measure, dignity of manners, sprightliness of mind, and goodness of heart. She was, indeed, a most pleasant companion and a most valuable friend."

The writer now adds, that, with a very moderate income, Mr. Whit-
ney brought up a large family, giving all his children a good education,
and fitting others for various useful walks, in which some of them still
continue. Of his four daughters, one died soon after her marriage; the
other three, with two of the sons, settled in Quincy, were all well mar­
rried, and all survive to this day. Soon after the death of Mr. Whitney,
a tomb was built by his family, a part of the expense being borne by the
town, in which his mortal remains were deposited, and a marble slab, by
a vote of the town, placed over it with the following inscription:

"In memory of the Rev. Peter Whitney, pastor of the Religious
Society in this town, who died February 29th, 1816, in the 72d year
of his age, and the 49th of his ministry,

The esteem and veneration of his flock have devoted this monu­
ment."

The present pastor gave some account of his own stewardship in a dis­
course delivered on the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his min­
istry, which was printed.

In preparing the following notice of the Celebration, at the request of
the Committee for Publication, we have availed ourselves of portions of
the account published in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," written, while
the memory of the occasion was fresh, by one who was an interested par­
taker in it.

"Northborough, Mass., June 1, 1846.

"This day is the centennial anniversary of the gathering of the first
church in this town, and the ordination of its first pastor, Rev. John
Martyn. As Northborough was politically, for many years after this
event, the Second Precinct of Westborough, the collecting of the church
is naturally considered the epoch which most properly marks the begin­
nung of the independent existence of this beautiful and flourishing town.
The members of this church and society, therefore, with their friends
from abroad, have united to-day in a centennial celebration, which has
passed off, in every regard, most agreeably.

"If the early settlers of Northborough chose the day for their ordina­
tion from any regard to the beauty of nature and of the season, it must
be owned that they were men of quick and pure taste. For Northbor­
ough itself, beautiful as you know it to be always, can never appear to
such advantage as in this 'queen of the months,' when all the hills
around it, and the whole valley, are in the very richest verdure. The
long storm of last week had brought every thing to perfect freshness, and
we felt to-day, as one of our friends reminded us, that the very arch of heaven was newly opened for the solemnity,—in the sudden dispersion of a week's clouds and rain.

"At eleven o'clock, a large congregation gathered in the church, which stands finely on a rising knoll overlooking the village. It is a good old New England church, of the older fashion, having been built near the site of the first meeting-house, in 1808. Its large dimensions were put fully into requisition by an interested audience."

The following was the order of services.

ANTHEM. "THE LORD IS IN HIS HOLY TEMPLE."

ORIGINAL HYMN. BY M. W. L.

Almighty power! whose sovereign grace
Hath kindly led us on our way;
Whose guardian care hath blessed our race,
And brought us to this happy day;—

Thou, whose protecting hand hath led
Our exiled fathers to a home,
When from their native land they fled;—
With grateful hearts to Thee we come.

Inspire our hearts with sacred fire,
To warm and gladden all our life,
That we like them may never tire,
Till we have conquered in the strife.

Father! accept the prayer we raise,
And humble praises which we bring;
And, through the remnant of our days,
Thy love and goodness may we sing.

One hundred years have passed away,
Since first our fathers gathered here;
We meet to celebrate the day
Which to our souls is justly dear.

And when in dust this house shall lie,
O, may our spirits, God of Love!
Receive a temple in the sky,—
A heavenly home with Thee above!
PRAYER, BY REV. W. BARRY, OF FRAMINGHAM.

HYMN. “IN PLEASANT LANDS ARE FALLEN THE LINES,” &C.

DISCOURSE, BY REV. JOSEPH ALLEN.

CENTENNIAL HYMN. BY L. C. A.

One hundred years have passed away,
Since first, where now we stand,
To form a Christian brotherhood,
There met a feeble band:
“Ten righteous men” alone stood forth
To consecrate the shrine,
By holy ties together bound,
In days of Auld Lang Syne.

Then met, in that “unfinished hall,”
The matron and the sire,
To bring their humble offering,
And light the altar fire:
Aged and venerable forms
On benches rude recline,—
The seats of honor for the men
That lived in Auld Lang Syne.

For miles along the untrodden way,
And through the forest wild,
In summer’s heat and winter’s cold,
The mother led her child
Far to the plain old meeting-house,
To hear the word divine;—
That was their zeal to worship God,
In days of Auld Lang Syne.

But now our fathers, where are they,
The glory of our youth,—
The honored pastors of our sires,
Their guides to heavenly truth!
Their children’s children, here we meet
Around this sacred shrine,
To honor those who bravely toiled
In days of Auld Lang Syne.

8
And now the dark and gloomy "day
Of our small things" is o'er,
And we will reach the helping hand
To those who need it more:
So children's children, in their turn,
In future years shall join
To bless the friends that strengthened them
In days of Auld Lang Syne.

PRAYER, BY REV. J. H. ALLEN, OF JAMAICA PLAIN, ROXBURY.

After the services, the congregation went in procession to the hotel, where an entertainment had been liberally provided by Mr. Blake for the large company that were assembled. We were gratified by the presence of several strangers, among whom were S. F. Haven and J. C. B. Davis, Esqrs., of Worcester, and the Rev. Messrs. Alger of Marlborough, Barry of Framingham, Hale of Worcester, and Brigham of Taunton. Many sons and daughters of Northborough had also gathered to pay this tribute of affection and respect to the venerable church which had blessed their infancy and instructed their youth.

The following sentiments, with the remarks accompanying, make the only record we are able now to give of the intellectual entertainment that followed the collation.

1. The Day,—which calls together fathers, mothers, and children, grateful to those who established the institutions of religion here, and pledged to sustain and transmit them to ages yet to come.

2. The Memory of John Martyn and Peter Whitney. They labored in the vineyard of their Master; they were faithful servants; they have gone to give an account of their stewardship.

To this the Rev. Mr. Allen replied, by speaking, in a few appropriate and respectful words, of his two predecessors, whose labors had laid the foundation and prepared the way for the religious education of the town; and of the duty which now devolves upon us, of preserving faithfully the heritage we have received from our fathers.

3. The Memory of Jonathan Livermore,—the first deacon of this church, and the first clerk of this precinct,—a faithful public servant, a true man, and one that feared God, with his household. The fidelity and piety of the old man have been transmitted to his children's children.

The Rev. William Barry, of Framingham, responded to this, regretting the absence of the Rev. A. A. Livermore, of Keene (a descendant of Dea-
con Livermore), and expressed his interest and gratification in the pro-
ceedings of the day.

4. The Memory of Deacons Isaac Davis and Nahum Fay,— whose
integrity, piety, and religious trust are worthy of the imitation of every
religious community.

This sentiment called forth F. W. Gale, Esq., of Worcester, a native
of Northborough, and grandson of Deacon Davis. He spoke of his for-
mer desertion of New England for the West, as if a better home could
be found anywhere than in old Massachusetts; and earnestly besought
the young men of his native town to remain faithful to their duty to the
place of their birth.

5. Hon. John Davis. Though reared among us, we are too generous
to claim him for our own. He belongs to his country. The people ap-
preciate his worth.

A letter was here read from the Hon. John Davis, expressing his re-
gret at not being able to attend our celebration, his strong sympathy with
the spirit of the day, and his interest in the place of his boyhood. His
son, J. C. B. Davis, Esq., of Worcester, being present, spoke modestly
of his connection with our distinguished townsman, and claimed a share
in whatever concerns the town to which he is bound by so wide a rela-
tionship. A letter was also read from S. Greele, Esq., of Boston, who
was unable to join (as he had been invited to do) in the festivities of
the day.

6. Marlborough,— the ancient plantation incorporated in 1660. She
comes by her representative, to congratulate her children that Christian
institutions are sustained in their purity amongst them.

This was responded to by the Rev. Mr. Alger, of Marlborough, whose
remarks harmonized well with the spirit of the time and occasion.

7. The American Antiquarian Society. In its birth, the pride of our
county; in its youth, an honor to our State; in its maturity, an ornament
to our country.

S. F. Haven Esq., of Worcester, Secretary of the Antiquarian So-
ciety, being called forth by this sentiment, spoke at some length of the in-
terest and value of antiquarian pursuits; of the services rendered in this
regard by the New England clergy, among whom he made honorable
mention of the ministers of this town; and of the true respect to our
ancestry, as distinguished from the foolish imitations sometimes found of
the emblems of European heraldry.

8. The Clergy,— set apart to minister at the altar, and to offer the
sacrifices of the people;— may they always be found with clean hands
and with pure hearts, and devoted to the great work of their Master.

The Rev. C. H. Brigham, of Taunton, a descendant of one of the old
families of this neighbourhood, replied to this sentiment in a strain of
pleasant remarks,—speaking in particular of the harmony and stability
by which the church in Northborough has been honorably distinguished, in
contrast with many others, as shown by the fact, that no minister has been
dismissed, and that the present is only the third of those whose united
ministries have already filled a century.

9. The Gassett Fund,—a noble gift from a cheerful giver;—may it
never prove a source of dissension, but be the means of propagating a
true faith that shall be a little leaven to leaven the whole lump.

10. New England,—the best country God ever gave to a people;—
may we, who have received it from the hands of our ancestors, transmit
it to posterity, with its customs, laws, and government, improved with
the advancement of the ages.

The Rev. E. E. Hale, of Worcester, here spoke with great interest of
his recent establishment in Worcester county, truly regarded as the heart
of New England, and of his pleasure in being thus entitled to respond to
that call. After some remarks characterized by hearty good feeling and
earnestness, he called our attention, by a bold and striking figure, to the
great thought of that progress of the human mind through centuries,
indicated in this centennial celebration. The middle of each century has
been said to be marked by some great epoch in history,—as the sixteenth
by the Reformation, the seventeenth by the struggle for liberty in Eng­
land, and the nineteenth by the wide diffusion of freedom and general
ideas. As in the great trigonometrical survey of our State, by a con­
certed series of observations, a signal, shown upon Mount Adams in the
extreme west, is repeated on Wachusett in the centre, and so seen from
the Blue Hills near the shore, spanning the State in two great strides;
—so the eighteenth century, marked by the founding of New England
churches, serves as a middle station, interposed between the seventeenth
and nineteenth, to transmit the reflected light of the past.

11. Our Pastor,—a watchful sentinel, always at his post; a good
shepherd, leading his sheep into green pastures; a faithful steward, al­
ways ready to give an account of his stewardship.

In the course of some miscellaneous conversation, the chair abruptly
called on the Rev. J. H. Allen, of Jamaica Plain. With an allusion to
the well-known anecdote of Lamb, who said to Coleridge, "I never heard
you do anything else but preach," he expressed his regret at being
known only as a preacher and an unfamiliar guest, where in his boyhood
he had found a welcome at every fireside; and his joy at being able now
to testify his warm personal interest in that spot which would always be to
him a home. Two places, Northborough and Boston, were with him iden­
tified with the name of New England; for their good name he was jealous
as for his own. And though there seemed cause for fear, sometimes, lest
the best blood of New England should be all drawn away and poured
into the great opening veins of the gigantic West, and its ancient prosperity should fail, yet here every thing was so open, generous, fresh, and hospitable, that there could be no room left for fear, only for gratitude and hope. He concluded with urging the need of individual character, intelligence, and manly independence, as the only safeguard for the true well-being of our country.

12. The Inhabitants of Northborough. May they vie with each other, not as followers of Paul, of Apollos, or of Cephas, but as the advocates of the great principles of Christianity, not by profession merely, but in life and conduct.

13. (Volunteer, by Mr. Anson Rice.) The Day. This day witnesses the church organized by our fathers one hundred years ago, divided into three. May the next centennial witness our descendants united in one, with one creed, and that founded on the abiding principles, faith, hope, and charity.

14. (Volunteer, by Mr. G. H. Williams.) Our next Centennial,—may it dawn on a world without a slave.

"And may that centennial be the town's centennial in 1866," — was the response given, amidst the welcome which this sentiment received from the assembled guests.

Mr. T. P. Allen, of the Cambridge Theological School, being summoned by an allusion to Dr. Prentice, of Lancaster (mentioned in the Discourse), spoke with the design of enforcing the idea of this last Christian wish. His remarks were directed to the need of holding up that lofty spiritual view of the Christian faith, making religion an affair of the character and life, not of creeds, and thus reconciling diversities of opinion in real unity of the spirit.

Dr. Johnson, of Northborough, being called up by a humorous allusion to his English namesake of the last century, spoke briefly, but earnestly, of that especial object of a true education, to unfold and train the individual character, and develop the characteristic strength and excellence of each person. When he sat down, he was greeted by the following encomium:

"The Dr. Johnson of a hundred years ago, we are sorry to say, sometimes preached better than he practised; our Dr. Johnson, we always thought till now, practised better than he preached."

We regret that the sketch offered above is so imperfect, and that we cannot give a more distinct account of the remarks which were made. They were in a tone corresponding with the spirit of the whole occasion, and aided to sustain the interest, which did not seem to flag in the least, even at the close. Among the speakers were Mr. Nahum Ball, of Harvard University, and Messrs. Wood, Lincoln, and Rice, of Northborough. Nor should we omit to notice the readiness and skill with
which the chairman, George C. Davis, Esq., performed the duties of his place, or the music which was agreeably interspersed, under the direction of Mr. Jairus Lincoln.

The general direction was given to the remarks by the series of "Sentiments" which we have copied above; but besides these, many humorous allusions and pleasant sayings came spontaneously with the occasion, and cannot be given here. The whole afternoon, from a little after one till nearly six, was spent in the free interchange of kind feeling, and interesting, sometimes eloquent, remarks; so that it was the universal acknowledgment of those present, that "they had never seen a public dinner where the spirit of all was so perfectly kept up, and where every speaker entered so fully into the cordial, friendly, hospitable tone of the whole celebration." After nearly five hours spent at the table, the whole assembly sang,

"From all that dwell below the skies,"

and, having adjourned to meet at the centennial of the town's incorporation, in 1866, separated to their several homes. And thus ended a successful and agreeable celebration, the auspicious beginning of a new century.

Invitations were extended to the other religious societies in town to unite with us in the celebration, which, to our very great regret, were respectfully declined. It was proposed by the pastor of the First Church, at the Parish Meeting in March, that we, as members of the First Parish, should waive our right to appropriate the day to ourselves, and that the celebration of the first establishment of religious institutions in this town should be made a town affair; and this proposition was seconded by the unanimous consent of the persons present, and a committee was appointed to confer with individuals of the other societies on the subject.

In the hope and expectation that our desires in regard to this matter might be accomplished, a meeting of the citizens of Northborough, without distinction of sect, was called just two weeks before the day of the celebration, to make all the necessary arrangements for the occasion. No members of the other societies attended, and, accordingly, a committee of arrangements was chosen from the First Parish.

Unwilling, however, to leave the matter here, the pastor called personally on the Rev. Mr. Wakefield, of the Baptist Church, and addressed a note to the Rev. Mr. Houghton, of the Evangelical Congregational Church, which, with the reply, are published with the consent of the writers.

"Northborough, May 29, 1846.

Dear Sir: — I intended to call on you, but, as the weather is stormy,
I have concluded to write what I have to say. Without preface, then, I hope you will come to our celebration next Monday, and I hope your people will come. I was never more in earnest in my life than when I expressed my desire that it should be a town affair, and that arrangements should be made for it in a meeting of the citizens of Northborough, such as was called a few days since. Circumstances, over which I have no control, have somewhat changed the character of the celebration; but, so far as I have any influence in the matter, it will not be sectarian in any sense, and I sincerely believe that my Discourse, especially what relates to the Rev. Mr. Martyn, will be as acceptable to your people as to mine.

"I shall be glad to have you make one of the prayers on the occasion. I have invited the Rev. Mr. Day, as he is fond of antiquarian lore, and as he is the pastor of the church which is the 'mother of us all.'

"It will give me pleasure to have your people generally with us, on that occasion.

"Perhaps it is as well that the celebration should be conducted by our society. The proper centennial for the town will be in 1866, which I do not expect to witness.

"Yours very truly,
Jos. Allen."

"Northborough, Monday morning, June 1st, 1846.

Rev. Mr. Allen.

"Dear Sir: — Your polite note of the 29th inst. was received on Saturday evening, and I am happy of this opportunity to express my hearty acknowledgments of your courtesy towards me and my people, in this whole matter of the celebration. So far as my own feelings are concerned, it is exceedingly unpleasant to be constrained, for any reason, to keep aside from an active part in the proceedings of this day. I think all my people feel it unpleasant to refuse the courteous invitation which has been extended to us by your society, to join them in the commemoration of the founding of the first church in Northborough. So far as the act of commemorating that particular event is concerned, we feel that we could do it with all propriety. All know, of course, that that church was a Calvinistic church, embracing the same views as those on which the church to which I minister is also founded. It is known, also, to the world, that we, as a denomination, regard such a foundation as essentially different from the foundation of the churches which are now called Unitarian. And it seems, in our view, — rather in my own, for I have heard no expression of opinion from my people, — it seems in my view, after much deliberation, to be quite inconsistent with our convictions of truth,
for us to say, as the proposed union would, as I look upon it, make us say, that either foundation for a Christian church is equally good. For it is known, of course, that the characteristic views of the original church are rejected by the church now standing in their place. It seems to me, moreover, that any proper celebration of the founding of a church should be specifically religious in its character. And in the present case, were I to take any part, I should be compelled by courtesy to refrain from expressing what I should feel the occasion called for, and could only with difficulty avoid a virtual acknowledgment that views which I hold to be essentially different are equally deserving of our cordial sanction.

"I may be mistaken as to the language or import of a union on our part. But feeling as I do in respect to it, I must respectfully decline an acceptance of your polite invitation.

"Wishing you and your people a pleasant and agreeable time in the celebration proposed, I am,

"Respectfully, your humble servant,


It was a sad disappointment to many that we could not harmoniously unite in the celebration of the day. We trust, however, that the refusal to accept our cordial invitations does not indicate unkind feelings on their part, and will not be suffered to interrupt that harmony which has so generally and so happily prevailed in our favored community.

The note addressed to the Rev. Mr. Day received the following answer:

"Marlborough, June 8th, 1846.

"Dear Sir: — Your favor, inviting me to attend the centennial celebration of the foundation of religious institutions in Northborough, reached me on Saturday, consequently not in season for me to return an answer before the day arrived.

"I take the earliest opportunity which my engagements have permitted, to acknowledge your politeness, and to express the satisfaction it would have given me to be present on the occasion. I was called out of town, however, in another direction, by the illness of a friend, considered near her end. In the hope that the address you delivered will be given to the world through the press,

"I remain very respectfully and truly

"Yours, &c.,

"George E. Day."
BROOKLINE JUBILEE.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED

IN BROOKLINE,

AT

THE REQUEST OF ITS INHABITANTS,

ON 15 MARCH, 1847,

THE DAY, WHICH COMPLETED HALF A CENTURY FROM HIS ORDINATION,

BY JOHN PIERCE, D. D.,

FIFTH MINISTER OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN SAID TOWN.

BOSTON:

JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY.

M DCCC XLVII.
PREFACE.

In submitting the following pages to the public, it may be proper for the Committee of Arrangements to say a few words in regard to the circumstances, which gave rise to the Address in its present form. It will be seen, that it was not delivered to the Parish, of which the author has so long been the respected pastor; but to the inhabitants of Brookline, at their request. The reasons for this are ample and satisfactory. For more than thirty years after his settlement, Dr. Pierce was the sole minister of the town. For fifty years he had served the town on the School Committee; and, during the whole time, had been contributing to the promotion of the intellectual, social, and moral welfare of the inhabitants. In fine, his name had become identified with that of Brookline; and the citizens cherished towards him a kind of filial respect and veneration. Therefore with his consent, and that of the Committee of his Parish, the subject of his approaching anniversary was brought before the inhabitants of the town, at the close of a Lyceum lecture, on the twenty-sixth of January, 1847. At that meeting it was

Voted, That we take measures to celebrate, in a suitable manner, on the 15 March next, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Rev. John Pierce, D. D., in this town.

Voted, That a Committee be appointed to make all necessary arrangements for the celebration.
The following are the names of those, who comprised that Committee.

Charles Stearns, Jr.  William H. Shailer  Isaac Cook
Charles Wild      David R. Griggs    Samuel Craft
Joshua C. Clark   John Howe         Benjamin B. Davis
Thomas Griggs     Charles Heath     Abijah W. Goddard
Otis Withington   George Griggs     James Robinson.
Marshal Stearns

At a subsequent meeting of the Committee of Arrangements, a Sub-Committee was appointed to communicate to Dr. Pierce the proceedings of the above-named meeting, and to request him to deliver an Address, on the 15 March ensuing.

In the discharge of the duty assigned them, that Committee addressed the following note to the Rev. Dr. Pierce.

Rev. and dear Sir,

At a Meeting of the inhabitants of Brookline, held, on the evening of the 26th instant, a large Committee was appointed to make suitable arrangements for the celebration, on the 15 March next, of the Fiftieth Anniversary of your settlement in this town. That Committee held a meeting, on the 29th instant, and chose the undersigned a Committee, to communicate to you their request, that you would deliver an Address to the inhabitants of the town, on the above-mentioned day.

It gives us great pleasure, as individuals, to perform this service; and you will permit us to express the hope, that you will find it consistent with your duties and your feelings to comply with the request.

With much esteem and respect we are, reverend and dear sir,

Your obedient servants,

William H. Shailer,
Charles Stearns, Jr.
Rev. John Pierce, D. D.
B. B. Davis,
Brookline, 30 January, 1847.

To the above communication Dr. Pierce replied, as follows.

Gentlemen,

Your note of 30 January was duly received, inviting me to deliver an Address to the inhabitants of Brookline, on the 15 March, the Fiftieth Anniversary of my settlement in this town.

I feel grateful for the kindness, which prompted this invitation, and for the affectionate terms, in which it is conveyed.

In complying with your request, though sensible of the delicacy, which it involves, it shall be my conscientious endeavor to reciprocate the good wishes of the people, as your and their unfailing friend,

John Pierce.

Rev. William H. Shailer,
Capt. Charles Stearns, Jr.,
Mr. Benjamin B. Davis.
Brookline, 4 February, 1847.
After the Address had been delivered, some three hundred of the friends of Dr. Pierce retired from the Meeting-House to the Town Hall, where they partook of a collation, and enjoyed an interesting social interview.

On that occasion the following Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we render our thanks to the Rev. Dr. Pierce for the interesting Address, which he has, this day, delivered to the inhabitants of this town, and that he be respectfully requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication.

The above resolution having been communicated to Rev. Dr. Pierce by the Committee of Arrangements, he returned the following answer.

Gentlemen,

At your request, I submit to your disposal the Discourse addressed to the inhabitants of Brookline, on the day of my Jubilee, and ask, only, that it may be read with as much candor, as it was heard, when delivered by

Your affectionate friend and townsman,

John Pierce.

Brookline, 16 March, 1847.
Psalm xxxvii. 25.

"I HAVE BEEN YOUNG, AND NOW AM OLD."

The psalmist adverts to these different stages of human life, through which he had passed, in order to declare the result of his observation and experience.

It is my object to employ them for a similar purpose at this time.

It has been usual, on occasions like the present, for the pastor more particularly to adapt his discourse to the condition and circumstances of his own flock.

This I have already attempted, on the first Lord's day in October, which completed fifty years from my first sermon in this place.*

* Brookline was incorporated, on 13 November, O. S. 1705.
The First Congregational Church was gathered, on 26 October, O. S. 1717.
The following has been the succession of its pastors.
I. The Rev. James Allen, of Roxbury, H. U. 1710, was ordained, 5 November, 1718, and died, 18 February, 1747, aged 56.
II. The Rev. Cotton Brown, of Haverhill, H. U. 1743, was ordained, on 26 October, 1748, and died, on 13 April, 1751, aged 25.
III. The Rev. Nathaniel Potter, of Elizabethtown, N. J., a graduate at Princeton, N. J., in 1753, was ordained, 19 November, 1755, and received a dismission on 17 June, 1759.
IV. The Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Boston, H. U. 1753, was ordained, 9 April, 1760, and died, 23 July, 1796, aged 61½.
V. The Rev. John Pierce, of Dorchester, H. U. 1793, was ordained, 15 March, 1797.
In the morning, my subject was Retrospection, from Acts x. 27. "I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." In this discourse I endeavored to show, how I could honestly make this avowal of the apostle; and, in confirmation of what I said, the appeal was made directly to my people.

My topic, in the afternoon, was Anticipation, from II Timothy, iv. 6. "The time of my departure is at hand." This naturally led to the contemplation of an event, which cannot be far distant; and in view of it, I explicitly stated my readiness either to continue a little longer, or to share with another, or else wholly to suspend my official duties, at the option of my people.

Therefore a precise history of this Town, or of this Church, as is usual in half-century discourses, will not now be attempted, for the following among other reasons.

I have already published four discourses relating wholly to this little Town* and Church, besides historical fragments of the same import in other printed sermons.

On 24 November, 1805, the day, which completed a century from the incorporation of this Town, I delivered a Century discourse, which was published.

I next delivered and published a Discourse, 9 November, 1817, on the completion of a century from the gathering of the Church in this place.

In March, 1837, I delivered and published reminiscences of 40 years from my settlement in the ministry. In this sermon, I endeavored to complete what I had left unfinished in my Church Century discourse.

*The first Meeting-house, erected in this Town, was raised, on 10 November, 1714. Its Dedication sermon was preached, on 3 June, 1715, by the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, pastor of the First Church in Roxbury, for several years colleague with the Pastor, familiarly denominated the apostle Eliot. Our fathers attended on the ministry of both of these divines, before their own house was erected.

This stood in about the centre of the garden belonging to the Parsonage of the First Parish.

The present House was dedicated, on 11 June, 1806. On the succeeding day commenced the demolition of the old Meeting-house.
As such details more particularly relate to my own Church, it would be hardly proper to repeat them in the audience of the whole Town, comprising three distinct religious Societies, and the elements perhaps of as many more.

Moreover, on entering our new Town Hall, a year ago, on 14 October last, my address, on that occasion, was published by vote of the Town, and abounds in statistical facts enough to gratify the most insatiate curiosity.

I cannot but feel confident, my friends, that by the methods, which you have adopted to observe this anniversary, as a Town, Christian union will be as effectually promoted among us, as it was accomplished among the larger gatherings in London, from various parts of the world, in May of the last year.

Indeed this immense convocation seemed not to give the satisfaction anticipated to those, whom, it had been hoped, it would more immediately conciliate and harmonise. The celebrated Dr. Chalmers has objected to it, that it had not a sufficiently definite object; especially that it projected no plan for the more general diffusion of Christianity.

Before proceeding farther, I must ask the liberty of thus publicly defining my position. The first Church, in Brookline, now in the one hundred and thirtieth year of its age, is, and ever has been, according to the common acceptation of the term, a Congregational Church. I am, and have been, for half a century, the fifth Congregational minister of said Church; and I have been, for the same term of time, member of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers; for ten years, its Scribe; and twenty-two years ago, this season, I preached its anniversary sermon. For twenty-nine years, I have belonged to the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, richly endowed with funds for the relief of the widows and orphans of Congregational ministers; and, for twenty-eight successive years, I have been one of a committee to report on the distribution of said charities.

This egotism will be excused by the candid, as they find it employed to vindicate the title to Congregationalism of myself and Church against the practice, which, of late years, seems to
find supporters, of using the term in a contracted and sectarian sense, which goes to exclude me and many wiser and better men.

I may as well here add, once for all, that by some, with whom I hold ministerial intercourse, in an annual Register, which is growing into popularity, I have a party name in religion attached to me, not only without my consent, but contrary to my explicit remonstrance.

The covenant of my Church, which has remained unaltered from its original constitution, has, as I understand it, no party bearing. In it we "covenant to walk together, as a Church of Christ, in all the ways of his worship," not according to the Council of Constantinople, or Nice, or the Savoy Confession, or the Synod of Dort, nor yet according to the Westminster Confession of Faith; "but according to his word."

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, an eminent divine in London, about the middle of the XVIIth century, makes this statement, which exactly expresses my views on the subject.

"In the age of Augustus, Potamon began a sect of philosophers called 'Ἐξαλίξτικοι, who wholly adhered to no former sect; but chose out of all of them, what they thought best. Surely such divines, who, in unimporting controversies, extract the probablest opinions from all professions, are best at ease in their minds."

Were I then to accept any name, but that of Christian, it should be eclectic.

This ground I advisedly take, though it is said of Dr. Fuller by his biographer, that, "unwilling to go all lengths with either party, he was, of consequence, vilified by both; willing to unite the maintainers of opposite and conflicting sentiments, he only united them against himself."

In confirmation of the same sentiment, it is the remark of the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, one of the most celebrated living divines in England, whose Jubilee was celebrated, on 31 January, 1841, "The truth generally lies in the middle; and he is commonly the nearest to it, who is abused by both the opposite parties."

Fifty years ago, this day, how can I sufficiently realize the
fact, I was, with appropriate solemnities, set apart to the gospel ministry in this town.

The venerable edifice, in which those transactions took place, has long since undergone the changes, to which all earthly things are subject; and not a vestige is left behind. A large majority of those, whom I now address, if not of those, to whom I statedly minister, are perhaps unaware of its very location.

A flourishing elm tree alone designates the spot, on which stood the school-house, in which the preliminary business of the day was conducted.

The Moderator of the Council, consisting of Elders and Messengers from twelve Congregational Churches, together with the President and Hollis Professor of Divinity of Harvard College, was the memorable President Willard, who superintended my education in our neighboring University. The only survivor of its clerical members is the Rev. Dr. Gray, of Roxbury, who, through the infirmities of age, has, for more than three years since, resigned his office in the Christian ministry.

When the assembly were convened to attend to the exercises of Ordination, after the introductory anthem, the Moderator called to the male members of the church, who were seated together in the front seat of the right side-gallery, if they remained of the same mind, in the election of their pastor, to signify it by the uplifted hand. When they had thus renewed their call, the candidate for ordination, by direction of the Moderator, gave an affirmative response in a few short sentences.

The Rev. John Bradford, of the Second Church, in Roxbury, whose first predecessor, the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, first organized our church, led in the devotions of the occasion. He has long since gone the way of all the earth; and the third of his successors has recently terminated his ministry in his church.

The Sermon, which was afterwards printed with the Charge and the Right Hand of Fellowship, was by the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, of Dorchester, of whom it is to be observed,
that he also preached his first and his last sermon in this town; the last, on his last attendance in the sanctuary, and but fourteen days before his release from his growing infirmities.

The Ordaining Prayer was by the Rev. Dr. Thacher, of the church in Brattle Square, Boston, who survived scarcely six years from this time; and where, since his ministry was completed, a fourth successor now officiates.

The Charge, when it was the practice for old men to perform this service, was by the venerable Cushing, of Waltham, who, for more than thirty-eight years, has been gathered to his fathers.

The Right Hand of Fellowship was tendered by the Rev. Eliphalet Porter, of the First Church, in Roxbury, where your ancestors worshipped, before the first meeting-house was erected in this town, in such numbers, as to share a fifth part of the privileges, and divide a fifth part of the expenses of supporting public worship there. During the latter part of his ministry, he had the rare felicity of a colleague, who has remarkably united the hearts of his people; and, through whose instrumentality, the assembly has so increased, as to render the erection of another house essential for the accommodation of the new comers. Of him his venerable colleague was accustomed to say, with apparent satisfaction, "He must increase, but I must decrease."

The Concluding Prayer was by the evangelical Greenough, of the Second Church, in Newton, at whose motion I exhibited before the Council, as was customary in those days, a confession of my faith, which was unanimously voted to be satisfactory.

Where now is the Choir, with the sweet psalmist of our Israel at its head, Isaac S. Gardner, Esq., son of the devoted hero, who fell in Lexington battle? Not one remains among us, though the present leader, with one or two of his assistants, sprang from those, who officiated at my ordination. Indeed, two of our present number first took their seats in the choir, thirty-five years ago, this very day.

In the church, over which I was ordained, and in the town, where I have so long resided, alas! what changes have I lived to witness!
At my call, there were twenty-two resident male members of this church, every one of whom voted in the affirmative; and thirty female resident members.

Of the male members, at that period, but two remain, the rest having fallen asleep. Of the living, one has been Senior Deacon of the Baptist Church, in this town, from its formation. The other is the only male survivor of our church, before my settlement, who was elected to the office of Deacon, fifty years ago, on 27 February last, who wears the name holden in the highest estimation by our pilgrim fathers; who, in his eighty-fourth year, enjoys a green old age; with whom I have sat in Council, at ordinations and on other occasions, fifty-three times. On 1 January, 1808, he was delegate of our church, at the gathering of the Second Congregational Church, in Dorchester, of which the Rev. Dr. Codman has been sole pastor, for more than thirty-eight years; who is now the second only, in the period of his ministry, with the sole care of a church, of all the Congregational ministers in Boston, and its vicinity.

There were, at the time of my ordination, six non-resident male members, all of whom have long since departed; one of whom was the father of the erratic Elhanan Winchester, a native of this town, recognised, as the founder of a religious sect, denominated Restorationists; and who, both father and son, passed through changes of religious faith and practice, which it would be difficult to enumerate.

Of the thirty female resident members, at that period, but five survive, of whom two only are now resident with us; one, on the confines of eighty years, mother of the late Mayor Davis, of Boston, has been in full communion with this church for more, than sixty-five years.

Of the twenty-two female non-resident members of this church, at my ordination, but one is living, who is at a distance.

The whole number of male members of this church, then, fifty years ago, was twenty-two resident, and six non-resident members, in the whole, twenty-eight; of whom but two of the former are living. The female members were thirty resi-
dent, and twenty-two non-resident, fifty-two in the whole; of whom, but five of the former, and but one of the latter survive; making the whole number of the church, at the period, to which I allude, twenty-eight male and fifty-two female members, eighty in the whole.

The admissions to our church, for fifty years, has been two hundred and seventeen, of whom eighty-seven were those, who had attended, first, my catechisings, and, next, our Sabbath School.

In one hundred and thirty years, the age of our church, the admissions have been five hundred and twenty, averaging precisely four a year. The average since my own ordination, though lamentably few, has been a few more.

There have been ninety-four deaths of our church members, thirty-nine males and fifty-five females. Of occasional communicants with us, there have died nine males and twenty-two females, making the whole number of deaths, of communicants with our church, one hundred and twenty-five, of whom forty-eight were males, and seventy-seven females.

The deaths of church members, in Brookline, within this period, of other denominations, or communicating with other churches, have been thirty-one, nine males and twenty-two females; making the deaths of religious professors, of all denominations, one hundred and fifty-six, of whom fifty-seven were males, and ninety-nine females.

At the time of my settlement here, there were but four known professors of religion of any other denomination than Congregationalists; and these belonged to the Baptist Church, in Newton.

My baptisms, according to the mode practised in this church, have been four hundred and fifty-five, of whom two hundred and twenty were males, and two hundred and thirty-five females.

I have solemnised two hundred and nineteen marriages, of which thirty-one couples now live in this town.

The total number of deaths in the town has been five hundred and seventy-three, two hundred and seventy-nine males and two hundred and ninety-four females. Of these precisely
two hundred died at the age of ten and under; and seventy-four, more than one-eighth part, lived to the age of seventy and upwards. Of the whole number one hundred and thirty died of consumption, nearer a fourth, than a fifth part of the whole number.

The deaths, during the same period, in Roxbury, in families worshipping with us, have been sixty-three.

Other considerations will show the great changes, to which we are subject, of which, as they are gradual, we are prone to be insensible.

Not a single couple now remains in this town, whom I found in the married state, on my arrival.

Since that time, there have been fifty-seven instances, in which both husband and wife have deceased; and twenty-one cases, in which a married person has lost more than one partner.

When I came here, there were seventy-two houses inhabited by seventy-two families; and there were sixty-five voters.

Of the houses thirty-four were below the Meeting-house, and twenty-eight above. By the computation of the assessors, on 1 May last, there were in the town two hundred and forty-three houses, of which one hundred and forty-seven were below the First Parish Meeting-house, and ninety-six above.

Since that time, several new houses have been inhabited.

There were then, by the assessors' returns, three hundred and eleven families, one hundred and ninety-six below this House, and one hundred and fifteen above.

Of the seventy-two original houses twenty are demolished; and of those, which remain, but fourteen are inhabited by descendants of the former owners.

Of the sixty-five aforementioned voters but three are living in this town.

But two individuals in this whole town are now living, who were owners of real estate, when I came here.

Having made remarks, which will furnish a ready answer to the inquiry, "Our fathers, where are they?" I proceed to statements, which will show, that the clerical profession is liable to similar vicissitudes.
Since my introduction into the ministry, there have been eighty members of the oldest Boston Association of Ministers. Of these thirty have died, twenty-two from various causes have left the Association, and twenty-eight remain members.

Of the whole number the first sixteen in uninterrupted succession have died, the only two others, who were my seniors, have resigned; and of the twelve immediately succeeding me nine have died, and three resigned. So that of the first thirty-three in immediate succession, I only remain without a colleague. The very next successor in Boston, who has the sole care of his Parish, was born six days, after I received my first degree at Harvard University; and his ordination occurred, just eighteen years to a day, after my own.

Of the one hundred and twenty-eight settled in Boston, calling themselves Congregational ministers, I have been cotemporary with eighty-four, two-thirds of the whole number; twenty-five have died; twenty-three have resigned; and thirty-six remain in the active ministry.

It is to me a most solemn thought, that though of the one hundred and twenty-eight Boston Congregational ministers, Dr. Increase Mather, of the Old North, officiated fifty-nine years; Dr. Chauncy, of the First Church, fifty-nine years; Dr. Sewall, of the Old South, fifty-six years; Dr. Samuel Mather, first in the Old North, and then in Bennet street Church, fifty-three years; Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, of the First Church, fifty-two years; Dr. Pemberton, of the Second Church, fifty-one years; and the Rev. Samuel Checkley, of the New South, fifty years, these seven have been my seniors in the ministry; yet there has not been a solitary instance, since the settlement of Boston, of one, who has had the sole care of his parish, so long as myself.

Our neighboring University furnishes also a striking illustration of the changes everywhere taking place around us. Its fifth President is in office within the period, to which I refer; its sixth Treasurer; and of the elected members of the Corporation, whose complement is five, there have been twenty-seven, of whom but nine are living, five of whom are in office. Of the large Body of Overseers, at the beginning of my ministry, but
two remain in the land of the living; and they are not in office. Since 1810, the elective part of the Board consists of thirty, fifteen clergymen and fifteen laymen. The whole number elected has been sixty-two, forty laymen and twenty-two clergymen. Not one of the fifteen elected, in 1810, remains in office. Not a Professor, who then officiated, is now living; and but one Tutor, who now holds no office in the University. In the meantime, sixty-five Tutors have been elected, but four of whom ever held their office at the same time.

I have attended sixty-two Commencements at Harvard University, nearly, if not quite, one third of its public Commencements; and there are now living but twenty-one graduates of that Institution, whose Commencements I have not attended. Last August, the whole number of graduates amounted to six thousand and three, of whom I have attended the Commencement of three thousand one hundred and forty-two, more than half of the whole number, of whom one thousand one hundred and seventeen have deceased. Of these, four hundred and fifty-six have been ordained, of whom one hundred and forty-eight have died, three hundred and eight remain alive.

Having arrived at an age, when, though it is very proper to look over the narrow isthmus, which separates me from eternity, my thoughts very naturally revert to the past, and having peculiar facilities for the inquiry, I have taken some pains to ascertain the numbers of graduates at Harvard University, who have sustained the ministry, for fifty years and upwards. My list already amounts to one hundred and twenty-two, which I intend, on some suitable occasion, to make public.

By my last estimate, there are five hundred and forty-one Congregational ministers, in Massachusetts, now belonging to the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, but three of whom are my seniors; each of whom has had his Jubilee; Dr. Timothy Mather Cooley, of Granville, Hampden County, on 27 and 28 August, 1845; Rev. Benjamin Wood, of Upton, Worcester County, on 1 June, 1846; and Rev. Dr. John Fiske, of New Braintree, Worcester County, on 26 October, 1846. Besides these, but fifteen are now living, whose names
are in the Massachusetts Register of 1797. Two only of these have colleagues.

Since my introduction into the ministry, I have held ministerial intercourse, either by direct exchanges, or by preaching in their pulpits, or by assistance from them in my own, with three hundred and thirty-eight different ministers, whose precise theological speculations I would not attempt to define; but barely state that seventy-two of them at least would be likely to denominate themselves orthodox.

Perceiving such notice in the papers of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Nott, of Franklin, Connecticut, who was ninety-three, on 23 January last, and who has sustained the sole care of his Parish, though ordained sixty-five years ago, the day before yesterday, as if his case were unparalleled, I have made some investigation of the subject.

The Rev. Israel Loring, of Sudbury, a graduate of Harvard University, in 1701, was alone in the ministry sixty-five and a quarter years, though he died at the age of ninety. Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, of Harvard University, 1712, though he died at ninety, was alone in the ministry, sixty-six years, before a colleague was settled. The Rev. Joseph Adams, of Newington, New Hampshire, Harvard University, 1710, whose son now lives in Roxbury, ninety-six years old, on 22 May last, died at the age of ninety-five, and was alone in the ministry, sixty-seven years and six months. Dr. Ebenezer Gay, Harvard University, 1714, though he died at the age of ninety years, six months and twelve days, was alone in the ministry, sixty-eight years, eight months and twenty-four days. It is not a little remarkable, that he delivered a birth-day sermon from the words of Caleb, “Lo! now I am, this day, fourscore and five years old,” which was literally true, and which he published under the title of “The Old Man’s Calendar.”

The oldest ministry, of which I have any record, is that of the Rev. Nathan Bucknam, of Medway, of Harvard University, 1721, who was in the ministry, seventy years, one month and twenty-three days, though at eighty-three he preached his last sermon, when he had been in the ministry, sixty-two and a half years.
In the seven Classes, with which I was cotemporary at the University, there were fifty-eight, who have been ordained clergymen, about one quarter part of the whole number. Of these thirty-five have deceased; twenty-three are among the living, of whom but seven preach at all; but one, besides myself, has the sole care of his Parish, and he in two classes after mine; Rev. William Salisbury, Harvard University, 1795, Presbyterian minister, of Jefferson, Schoharie County, New York.

A custom is becoming more and more prevalent, which, whatever may be its advantages, threatens to have an unfavorable bearing on the longevity of ministers in the same parish. I allude to the practice of dismissing clergymen without an apparent cause, after a brief ministry, or else of alluring them, by the strongest possible motives, to leave a narrower for a wider sphere. When the Rev. Dr. Storrs, at the ordination of his son, in Harvard Church, in this town, a year ago, last October, was lamenting this practice, which was soon to operate to the removal of this very son, I afterwards remarked to him, as a case in point, that the second Church, in Brighton, was gathered, in the thirtieth year of my own ministry, and that they already had their fifth minister, who has since been dismissed.

This custom, it seems, is by no means confined to Congregationalists. In a conversation, not long since, with the Rev. Rollin H. Neale, of the First Baptist Church, Boston, I took occasion to remark, that I had been cotemporary with seven ministers of his Church, ten years with Dr. Stillman, the first of the seven.

The bare allusion to this godly man recalls delightful associations, of which I must ask leave to take a passing notice. When a boy, no greater boon could I ask of my father, than permission to walk five miles, on the Lord’s day morning, to hear this good man preach; and to remain, through the day, to be sure of a seat in his crowded house, for the afternoon. It has been my privilege, in my time, to hear eloquent preachers of great notoriety; but, for pulpit eloquence, I have been in the invariable habit of assigning him the very first rank. Indeed, every sermon he delivered was with an earnestness, as if he
had received one more important message from his Master, and the present might be his only opportunity for delivering it.

The vicissitudes attending all earthly things may be strikingly illustrated by reference to this house of our solemnities. Of the committee for building it, in 1805, 1806, consisting of nine, but one remains. Forty years ago, last June, sixty-six of these pews were sold at auction. But eight of the original proprietors are now in the land of the living; but five are residing in this town; and but fourteen of their families occupy the seats of the original owners.

The town was incorporated, one hundred and forty-one years ago, last November; and yet a woman is living here, a native of Newburyport, at the age of ninety-six, the most advanced age on our records, who was born just forty-five years to a day from the date of its incorporation.

There are now living in this town thirty-three, who were born previously to my ordination. Of these eight are my seniors. Several were too young to remember the transactions of those times. Not an individual can remember the ordination of my immediate predecessor, which was eighty-six years ago, on the 9 April last.

Some years since, I received a call from the Hon. John Elliott, Yale College, 1794, Senator of Congress from Georgia. In the course of conversation, he inquired concerning the size of this town. My reply was, that by the last admeasurement, it contained four thousand four hundred and sixteen acres, and added, I presume, that some of your Southern gentry have larger plantations, than the whole of this town. He answered, that is indeed the case; for my own plantation contains five thousand acres. To the inquiry, how many slaves he had to till it, his reply was ninety. To this I added, and he at once confessed, that this town was much more highly cultivated, than his plantation.

In my Address at the Dedication of the Town Hall, it was intimated, that, on arriving at fifty years in my ministry, I hoped to gather up the historical fragments, which remained in relation to this town, that nothing might be lost. Accordingly I have searched diligently the records of Boston, in the City
Clerk's office, and also the books and papers, in the Secretary's office of this Commonwealth. But I found nothing, which was not familiar to me, except a Petition, dated, 25 May, 1698, from certain inhabitants of Muddy-river, for aid in carrying into effect former Resolves made in their favor. The signers were thirty-five in number, of whom but eight have descendants here, and only seven of the names are now known among us.*

*To the Hon. William Stoughton, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, the Honorable Council, and the Representatives in General Court assembled, 25 May, 1698:
The humble petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river humbly showeth;
Whereas in the year 1686, the Honorable Joseph Dudley, President, William Stoughton, Deputy President, and the Council, in answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river, praying liberty for a school among them, &c., did order, that the Hamlet of Muddy-river be free from Town rates to the Town of Boston, and other privileges, as in said grant, on the other side, may more at large appear;
We, your petitioners, do humbly pray, that the said granted privileges may be confirmed unto the said Hamlet, with the addition, that the inhabitants may choose such officers amongst themselves, as may assess the inhabitants their due proportion, as may be thought sufficient and expedient for defraying such necessary charges to said school, and other things; and that one Constable may be chosen, who may be sufficiently impowered to collect the rates for the County and the Hamlet; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray,

THOMAS GARDNER, 
BENJAMIN WHITE,
ROGER ADAMS,

In the name of the inhabitants.

True list of the names given, 20 December, 1697:
The persons whose names are here underwritten, are otherwise minded;
Timothy Harris, Daniel Harris. 2.
Neuters;
John Winchester, Samuel Clark, John Druce, Erosamon Drew, Dorman Marean, Abraham Chamberlain. 6.
On the very month of my ordination, John Adams became the second President of the United States. It was a dark day for our country. The French Revolution was raging with but feeble restraints of law and order. The forms of its government were continually changing. Infidelity prevailed. The Sabbath was abolished by the French Republic. Death was declared to be an eternal sleep. Indeed, no measures were omitted, which threatened the very foundations of religion and social order.

In the mean time, the war between France and England assumed a terrific aspect, and threatened to involve all other nations in one general confusion.

To steer the bark of State with due discretion, so as to avoid the breakers, which, on all sides, threatened it, became a difficult task for our rulers.

The clergy had also a most delicate office, to perform their duties, to exercise their rights, to be faithful to the dictates of conscience, and the word of God, and to counteract the growing infidelity and licentiousness of the times, without giving unnecessary offence to either of the contending and sometimes virulent political partisans.

Happy was it for this town, though it partook, in some degree, of the party spirit which raged with the utmost violence in many portions of our land; yet that the leaders of the opposite parties in this place were men of religious principle, and thus guarded the most violent of their number from those excesses, into which, in other places, they too generally fell. To this circumstance, under God, I impute it, that, though I have always considered it my duty, as well as right, to vote for the general officers of our government, never however meddling in town affairs; in this way understanding the injunction of our Lord, to "render unto Caesar the things, that are Caesar's;" though, at certain elections, I was justly suspected of voting differently from two thirds at least of my parishioners; though, on Fasts and Thanksgivings, I have been free to express what I have considered to be our duties and dangers, as members of a Free Republic, at all times however with studied prudence; yet never to leave it doubtful, with any dis-
cerning person, what have been my sentiments, on controverted subjects; yet never, throughout my ministry, have I received the slightest insult, but once, and that more than forty-six years ago, by a man in liquor, who, on becoming sober, offered of his own accord a satisfactory apology.

Never can I forget, during the early stages of the French Revolution, the dangers to our highest interests incurred by the influx of infidel and licentious publications from unprincipled foreigners, and from those, in the midst of us, who had imbibed their pernicious principles.* A leader in this band of desperadoes was Thomas Paine, who had gained a mischievous influence by his political writings, in "times, which tried men's souls."

The second part of his "Age of Reason" was published in October, 1796. It had a speedy circulation, and produced injurious effects upon certain classes of the community. His infidel writings are said to have exerted a far more extensive and dangerous influence in Great Britain, than in our own country.

But a sovereign God, who delights to educe good from evil, made even this reckless production the occasion of great good to the cause of truth and righteousness. For it led to some of the best defences of Christianity, which this or any other age has produced. Among works of standard excellence, to which it gave rise, was Paley's Evidences of Christianity, followed by far greater benefits, than all the low ribaldry of infidels, with Paine at their head, has been enabled to do mischief. His notorious character helped also to counteract his infamous designs.

Of this fact I was permitted myself to witness a striking proof. In August, 1834, on a visit to West Farms, Westchester County, New York, the immediate neighborhood of where Paine lived and died, I was introduced to Elder Thomas Butler, a countryman of Paine, who had been on intimate terms

* Among works of a pernicious tendency, which, at that time, gained a dangerous notoriety, was Godwin’s Political Justice, a publication equally adverse to religion, morality, and common sense.
with him, imbibed his infidelity, attended him through his last illness, and assisted in his burial. He confirmed the truth of what had been asserted by others, and especially by Cheetham, his biographer, of his worse than beastly intemperance, his filthiness, and his gross violation of the laws of decency and propriety. The spectacle had such an effect upon Mr. Butler, that he was induced to attend in earnest to the evidences of Christianity, became a zealous and confirmed Christian, and died, 14 December, 1845, aged eighty-five, an Elder of a Dutch Reformed Church, in Westchester County.

After much angry controversy between this and our mother country, principally on the long contested topic of sailors' rights, it pleased the Ruler of nations, as a just punishment for our sins, to suffer us to become involved in a sanguinary contest with the nation, from which we sprang, and to which we are allied by many tender ties. This war was declared by our government, on 18 June, 1812. It was waged with much ferocity, and with various fortunes, on both sides. So poorly were we prepared for the contest, that the enemy, at one time, invaded the Capital of our nation, put our rulers to flight, and, not greatly to their honor, committed depredations on our public buildings, at Washington. This war, from its beginning, and throughout its progress, was greatly deprecated by the friends of peace, especially in the New England States, who constantly increased, in proportion as its evils became more and more apparent. Its effect on us was completely to change the politics of this little town. Through favor, it was of short continuance; for after a little more than two years' and a half duration, the Ghent Treaty of Peace was ratified by Congress, on 17 February, 1815. Never were witnessed among us such frantic expressions of joy, as this event occasioned, equally among the chief promoters of the war, and its steady opposers, more cordial perhaps among the former, than the latter, as they were thus rid of a vexatious responsibleness.

On the Christmas, after the proclamation of this peace, a Peace Society was organized in our neighboring capital, under the auspices of that persevering friend of peace, the late Rev. Dr. Noah Worcester, who labored indefatigably in its promo-
tion. It is worthy of observation, that, on the very date of this event, a Peace Society was organized in London, on the same broad principles. Great good, it is confidently believed, has resulted from the combined influence of these and kindred associations in other places. May it not have been in a measure owing to the light thus diffused, that we have been permitted to remain in peace more than thirty-one years, a season of tranquility unknown in former more belligerent times?

Again has the Sovereign of the universe permitted us to become engaged in war with another nation, a sister Republic, whose object I will not attempt to specify, nor to predict its result. You may see this subject abundantly discussed in the journals of the day. Its consideration, as a professed minister of the Gospel of peace, I will now dismiss, with the earnest wish, that its speedy termination may produce as great delight, as was diffused throughout our land by the close of the last war with our mother country, in 1815.

For thirty-one years after my ordination, notwithstanding the gradually increasing variety of religious denominations in this place, there was but one house of worship. The Baptists, whose numbers were constantly multiplying, were subject to serious inconveniences from repairing for worship to neighboring towns, till 5 June, 1828, when a church of that denomination was duly constituted here, and their house of worship was dedicated, on the succeeding 20 November.

The Rev. Joseph M. Driver was installed their first pastor, on 25 March, 1830.

He was succeeded, in a little more than a year, by the Rev. Joseph Andrews Warne, from the city of London, who was installed their second pastor, on 14 April, 1831, and preached his farewell sermon, on 29 January, 1837.

The present incumbent, the Rev. William Hosmer Shailer, from Haddam, Connecticut, was installed their third pastor, on 24 September, 1837.

It gives me great pleasure to bear this public testimony to the uninterrupted harmony subsisting between the different societies and their ministers. We have been intimately leagued together in measures, which promised to conduce to the public
good. Instead of the jealousies and hard speeches, which sometimes pass between ministers even of the same denomination thus situated, the pastors here have been rather like a father and his sons, than the heads of conflicting parties. With truth can I add, that not a single unfavorable or unfriendly report has, at any time, reached me, either from pastor or people, which has occasioned a moment's uneasiness.

What better proof of this happy state of things can be desired, than that, during repairs in the Baptist meeting-house, in August, 1842, the Society was invited to our house of worship, which invitation was cordially accepted; and the rare spectacle was presented, of two religious societies of different denominations harmoniously meeting for public worship, the respective ministers interchanging services.

In process of time, such was the increase of inhabitants, particularly in the lower part of the town, desiring such accommodation, that a third church was gathered, and a neat and convenient house was dedicated, on 21 August, 1844, with the venerable denomination of the Harvard Church.

On 22 October, 1845, the Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, Jr. was ordained its first pastor. But his ministry here was of but short continuance. For, agreeably to the practice, which, in modern times, is becoming lamentably prevalent, he was induced to leave this, his first love, for the Church of the Pilgrims, in Brooklyn, New York.

As preparatory to this measure, a Council, consisting principally of those, who had ordained him, the previous year, reluctantly consented to dismiss and recommend him to his new sphere of labor.

But the flock, though thus suddenly deprived of their pastor, were not long left, "as sheep without a shepherd," for, on renewing their call to one, whom they had previously invited without success, he was enabled at length to return an affirmative answer; and the Rev. Joseph Haven, Jr. was accordingly installed their second pastor, on the last day of the late year, but about two months, after the dismissal of their former minister.

It would have been highly gratifying, could I, on this occasion,
have borne testimony to a more general and earnest attention to religion, than I have been enabled, especially of late, to witness among my people. For defect of which we are constrained to unite with most other religious denominations in our land, in the lamentation, "Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" And in the earnest prayer, "O Lord, revive thy work, in the midst of the years; in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy."

But though it is not my happy privilege to testify to a special attention to religion among us; yet I am happy to announce, and I can omit no favorable opportunity for making the avowal, that, since my connection with this people, especially of late years, there has been a wonderful temperance reformation in this place. As proof, I will state the indisputable fact, that, for several years, since my acquaintance here, I may venture to assert, that there was not a single family, in which it was not customary to treat guests with alcoholic drinks of various kinds; and especially to supply workmen with ardent spirits, twice at least, every day. Now, it is confidently believed, that not a single farmer in the whole town, and it is hoped, but here and there one of any class ever thinks of poisoning himself or his workmen with these vile and unnatural mixtures.

But as I have so lately enlarged upon this topic, in an Address at the Dedication of our Town Hall, I will dismiss the subject with stating, that temperance is an indispensable preliminary step toward a genuine revival of religion, as we may infer from those scriptural directions, which require us to "cease to do evil, in order that we may learn to do well; to lay aside every weight, and the sin, which the most easily besets us, that we may run with patience the race set before us;" in fine, "to lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, that we may receive with meekness the ingrafted word, which is able to save our souls." Thus may we not hope, that, having laid the foundation in temperance, without which no good work can be effectually accomplished, in the right use of the appropriate means, prompted, accompanied, and followed by the spirit of God, if we wait with patience,
godliness may, in due time, be superadded, the crowning attribute of the Christian life?

In the review of my ministry, the subject, which I contemplate with the most unmingled satisfaction, is the impulse given to the education of our rising race. During this period, and indeed as far back as our history reaches, this town has taken a laudable interest in common schools. For the last few years, their improvement has been advancing with rapid strides. You have aimed to select committees for the superintendence of your schools, who should take a proper interest in the cause. I am happy to add my deliberate conviction, that they have been faithful to their trust. We have passed many anxious hours together in devising the best measures for the education of our youth. The result has been to propose frequent improvements, which have added materially to the expenses of the town. Such has been the confidence in your committees, and such your persuasion, that what they proposed was adapted to answer its intended purpose, that their recommendations have, in all cases, been unanimously adopted, without even a dissenting vote.

I cannot forbear to add, as a subject of cordial congratulation, that by the Hon. Horace Mann's last Report, Brookline, the last year, raised the largest proportional sum for scholars between four and sixteen years of age, of any of the three hundred and nine towns in this Commonwealth.

Well done, respected and beloved townsmen and associates, ye have well done, in imitation of our pilgrim fathers, after providing for the worship of God, according to the dictates of your own consciences, to consider no sacrifices too great for the benefit of the rising generation.

How can we be sufficiently thankful for the provision here made for female education! How different, in this respect, are the present from former times! This subject rises into the highest importance, when we duly consider, brethren, how important it is, that the other sex, as they are often our superiors in many other respects, should be at least our equals in mental cultivation. It may be almost said, without a figure, that, under God, they are the honored instruments of forming the hearts and the minds of the rising generation.
In my last visit to the Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham, N. H., a venerable son of Harvard, for several years minister of the gospel, and, after his parish, on the sea-coast, was dispersed, in the revolutionary war, a lawyer, next, judge, in his native State, and, lastly, Senator in Congress, a wise observer of men and things, who died at the venerable age of ninety-nine, he made the following remark. "Through a long life of large intercourse with the world, very rarely have I known one eminent for greatness or goodness, which could not be traced, under God, to maternal instruction and influence." Does not our own more limited observation, my hearers, tend to the same conclusion? What is there, in our early training, which we review with pleasure, that does not recall the recollection of a beloved mother? Examples, in point, might be quoted without number. I shall content myself with two.

A correspondent of the New York Observer, in a discriminating biography of Fellenberg, a distinguished philanthropist of Switzerland, after rendering due honors to his mother, for his early instruction, thus proceeds, "It is remarkable, that in almost all my biographical notices of illustrious men, I meet with a mother, endowed with high faculties; and this mother would seem to be the first and principal instrument of their celebrity; so true is it, that mothers do more than fathers for the education of their children. Christian mothers, never forget this important truth."

The same biographer thus speaks of Baron Cuvier, of France, the most distinguished naturalist, which this, or any other age has produced. "His mother had a superior mind. She was his first teacher, and discharged the duty with admirable zeal. Though she did not know Latin, she made her son repeat to her all his lessons in that language. At the same time, she made him read to her many books of history and literature. Thus she unfolded in the young mind of her pupil that thirst for reading, and that curiosity, which, as M. Cuvier himself relates, were the principal source of his discoveries. Here is a new proof of the influence, which mothers can exercise over the intellectual as well as over the moral culture of their chil-
dren. How often have I had occasion to remark, that men of

genius are almost all sons of their mothers!"

For such reasons, how can we too highly estimate the value

do female education?

But while the proper education of our daughters demands

assiduous care, and will richly reward our most strenuous

exertions; yet, even in this high concern, there is an extreme,

against which mothers cannot too carefully guard. I allude to

the danger, sometimes incurred, of attending solely to their

mental, to the neglect of their physical education, and, above

all, of the primary offices of domestic life. Thus it is to be

apprehended, that some fond mothers will not allow their

daughters, like Solomon's virtuous woman, to "work willingly

with their hands, to rise while it is yet night, to make fine

linen, and look well to the ways of the household;" but do all

this business for them, lest it should interfere with their daily

and nightly studies, and tarnish the lily whiteness of their

hands. The necessary consequence is, that they grow up

ignorant of the appropriate duties of house-keeping; and neither

know how to do the work themselves, nor when it is faithfully

done by others.

Memorable examples of the injudicious, as well as of the

judicious education of females is furnished by the late learned

Hannah Adams and the accomplished Mrs. Adams, wife of the

first President Adams. The former was as notorious for igno-

rance of common household concerns, and indeed of common

things in general, as she was celebrated for book-learning, and

eminent for piety. On the other hand, the first Mrs. President

Adams was as remarkable for practical knowledge and super-

intendence of household affairs, as she was for attainments,

which qualified her to shine in courts, to hold correspondence

with the most gifted minds; and to train up her son to that

distinction, which he has attained, and for which he is ever

ready to express his obligations to his beloved mother.

The mother of the first President Adams was born in this
town, within half a mile west of where we are now assembled,
the daughter of a plain country farmer. Her advantages for

education were incomparably fewer, than our daughters now
enjoy. Yet she supplied the defects of early instruction by
diligence in subsequent life. I have heard her venerable son,
when advanced in years, repeatedly speak with deep emotion
of his mother, whose parents, Peter and Ann Boylston became
members of this Church, 12 April, 1719, one hundred and
twenty-eight years ago. He was accustomed to say, that he
should never forget the lessons of piety and morality, which
she early taught him.

It would be a hopeless task even to enumerate the changes,
which have taken place, during the past half-century, and
especially the improvements in almost every thing valuable.
To my mind they furnish satisfactory proof, that society is
advancing, instead of retrograding. "Say not then, what is
the cause, that the former times were better, than these? For
thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."

Within this period the number of States in the Union is
nearly, if not quite doubled. Besides, what vast accessions
have been made by the purchase of Louisiana, the addition of
the Floridas, the annexation of Texas, the now undisputed
possessions in the Oregon country! What bounds can be set
to the acquisitions of territory still contemplated, the bare
anticipation of which cannot but affect the thoughtful mind
with apprehension?

There have been ten Presidents of the United States, six of
whom have gone to their final account. Washington's second
term of service in the Presidency closed in the month of my
ordination.* Within three years from that period, the whole

* He made his last visit to Boston, Saturday, 24 October, 1789, the au-
tumn after his Inauguration to the Presidency, the only time I was ever
privileged to see him. Well do I remember the circumstances of his
entry into our neighboring capital. The day was quite blustering. He rode
on an elegant white horse, with his suite. He was subjected to the incon-
venience of waiting a length of time, on horseback, on the Neck, for the
Town and State authorities, who were assembled in the Council Chamber of
the Old State House, to determine, which should receive him, or pay him the
first honors. On arriving at the State House, he was conducted to a tem-
porary projection erected over the west door, where he with his suite was
stationed. There were three arches, which extended over, what was then
Cornhill, now Washington street. On the apex of the middle arch, stood a
country was thrown into mourning by his sudden death. In almost every town and village, throughout the United States, appropriate religious solemnities were observed. We in this little town were not backward in rendering this homage. I see before me a few survivors, whose devotions I then attempted to lead, and whose attention I aimed to direct to a suitable contemplation of that great and good man. Alas! when shall we look upon his like again? How important to the growing prosperity, and even to the continued existence of our Republic, is an unwavering regard to the Legacy of this Father of his country!

Within the period under review, there have been thirteen Governors of this Commonwealth, eight of whom have departed.

Among the most wonderful and merciful discoveries of the age is vaccination, which owes its origin and improvement to Dr. Jenner, of our mother country, and which was introduced among us, about the commencement of the present century, by Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge. It is impossible for those, who have grown into life, since that period, to have any conception of the horrors spread over our land by every return of the small-pox. Never can I forget the three weeks, longer, to my imagination, than any three months of my life, which I passed, after inoculation, in the Hospital in this town, in the Summer of 1792, my senior year at Harvard University. The very first person, who took the disease, at that time, the last, in which it spread throughout our land, was our friend Henry Colman, then in his seventh year, in his father's house, the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, Boston, who is now on an agricul-

company of singers, headed by Dr. Nahum Fay, who sang an Ode prepared for the occasion, with such effect, as to draw tears from the eyes of the hero, who was not accustomed to weep on the field of battle. It is said, that Mr. Webb, of Charlestown, is the only survivor of the little band, who sang his welcome.

Owing to the exposures of that day, colds became very prevalent, which the common people denominated the Washington cold; but physicians called it the Influenza, probably for the first time the term was ever used in this region.
nural survey in England, and on the continent. He was sent to the pesthouse, on the western declivity of Mount Vernon, now a populous part of the city, then so densely covered with bushes and shrubs, that from his place of confinement he could not see a single house! It is impossible to calculate the immense preservation of human life, as well as exemption from various diseases, occasioned by the introduction of vaccination.

During the same period, interesting improvements have taken place in Harvard University, in buildings erected, Professorships founded, and the means of education greatly advanced.

Colleges have also sprung into existence in other places. The first class in Williams College was graduated, but the year before my ordination; in Schenectady, New York, the very year; in Middlebury, Vermont, in 1802; in Burlington, Vermont, in 1804; in Bowdoin College, Maine, in 1806; in Amherst, in this State, in 1822; and, the same year, in Water-ville, Maine.

Besides these, Divinity Schools have been formed in Andover, Cambridge, and Newton, Massachusetts; in New Hampton, New Hampshire; in New Haven and East Windsor, Connecticut; and in Bangor, Maine.

The Academies and High Schools, which have, during this period, sprung into being, or been greatly improved, it would be difficult to enumerate.

Missionary Societies had then but just begun to go into operation. How wonderfully have they since increased; and what astonishing effects, through their instrumentality, have been produced among the most degraded and debased of the human race!

About that period, through the untiring influence of Wilberforce, and kindred spirits, Slavery was abolished in Great Britain; and since, in the West India Islands. The Colonization and Abolition Societies among us, are leading to consequences, which it would be difficult for the most sagacious to predict.

Little after the commencement of the present century, the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in Great Britain,
which has been an engine of great power in disseminating the Scriptures over a large portion of the habitable earth. This was soon followed by the Philadelphia Bible Society, and the Bible Society of Massachusetts, the second formed in our land. What numberless kindred societies have since arisen in our own, and other countries!

Sabbath Schools have also originated, in countless numbers, not only in our own land, but in every part of the Christian world, which produce and promise unspeakable advantages to the rising generation.

For the general purposes of education, we have also the American Institute; the Board of Education, with its indefatigable Secretary, who is accomplishing wonders; Associations of Teachers; Normal Schools; and every other conceivable form of instruction.

Law Schools are also multiplying among us. That at Cambridge takes the lead in our land. Its Library, it is confidently asserted, is superior to any law library, even in our mother country.

Great improvements are also making in our Medical Schools, which are large and flourishing, and adapted to give a thorough training to our young men in the healing art.

How many blessed institutions have also been formed for relieving every form of human distress! We have our Massachusetts General Hospital, a most useful institution; Lunatic Asylums; Deaf and Dumb Institutions; Asylums for the Blind; Eye and Ear Infirmary; and, as if provision had not already been made for every form of human woe, through the influence of a benevolent individual, a temporary Home is now opening for the destitute, intended to provide for the unprotected children of both sexes, as also for females of adult age, who may need a temporary shelter.

What merciful provision is also making for our Seamen by the Seaman’s Friend Society, the Boston Port Society, the Seaman’s Aid Society, and the Marine Hospital!

Let me add to these, in this era of benevolent institutions, the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, our Ed-

 Barely to name these various societies, others may have been inadvertently omitted, is sufficient to signify their objects, and evince, what abundant provision has been made, mostly since the commencement of the present century, for every want, and for every wo.

 It was not, till 1805, that the first steam-boat began to run in Hudson's River; and now they ply, in our own and other countries, in almost every stream large enough to contain them. Since then, rail-roads came first into operation; and now the probability is, that the whole country will be riddled by them. The project is forming even for a rail-road over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

 To crown all improbable schemes, we have now in operation the Magnetic Telegraph, which annihilates time and space; which conveys intelligence to remote places more swiftly, than the most vivid lightnings, and more expeditiously, than on the wings of the wind.
Should as great innovations, discoveries, and improvements be produced for the next fifty years, and why should they not, as for the half-century, which has thus imperfectly and rapidly passed under our review, what imagination can keep pace with the changes, which will take place?

I will select one modern improvement, now in progress, which should be regarded by us with unmingled satisfaction. Within a few rods of where I now stand is to be the Reservoir of waters from Lake Cochituate, in Framingham, whence are to be diffused over our neighboring capital those clear streams, which are to make glad this city of our God. As during the seventy-five years from the first settlement of Boston, Brookline formed a component part, and received from the residents within the peninsula the uncourtly name of Muddy-river from the turbid stream, which is one of its eastern boundaries, is it not to be confidently expected, that our citizens will henceforth have the gratitude and the justice to designate her by a purer name?

But I must omit many topics, to which I had intended to advert, and hasten to the close of what, I fear, has already been extended too far.

What shall I say, how can I find words to express my obligations to the inhabitants of this town in general, who have volunteered with my people thus to honor my Jubilee? Accept, my friends, this public and willing testimony to the various marks of confidence, with which you have, on this, as on different other occasions, favored me. In not a solitary instance have I received from either minister or people an unwelcome message, an irritating word, or even an unkind look. On the other hand, our mutual intercourse has been invariably satisfactory.

I cannot here willingly omit a passing notice to the memory of the late Mayor, Thomas Aspinwall Davis, who would have both enjoyed and imparted high gratification on the occurrence of this day, whose peaceful and Christian departure from life I was privileged to witness, and to pronounce a requiem over his lifeless and hallowed remains!

To my dear people what can I add to what I have already
expressed, on October last, the fiftieth anniversary of my first service in this place?

I then said, what I now repeat, "Never have I been reduced to the necessity of asking a single favor of this Parish, as a Parish. You have not only been punctual to your engagements; but you have always anticipated my wants; and have never failed voluntarily to provide for my support, as, you perceived, the exigencies of my family required. Of injuries I retain no recollection. Time would fail to recount the favors, which you have heaped upon me without intermission." I now add, It may give some notion of their frequency, if I state, what my Records testify, that there have been but two months, within the last forty-four years, in which I have not received some present of a greater or less amount.

"If I forget" these and all other deeds of kindness, "let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember" them, 
"let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

My deepest regret is, that I have not more successfully promoted, what I consider, the great ends of the Christian ministry among you.

Words would fail to express my anxiety, as to the future supply of this Pulpit. For the whole fifty years, I have had the sole responsible ness of providing for the religious instruction of my people; and never have I been obliged to ask pecuniary aid for the supply of my Pulpit, a single Lord's day.

Let us, my friends, devoutly pray the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth such a laborer into this portion of the Lord's vineyard, as Bishop Ken has graphically and beautifully described, having the qualities of a good pastor, more to be desired, than confidently expected in this imperfect state.

"Give me the priest these graces shall possess;
Of an ambassador the first address;
A father's tenderness, a shepherd's care;
A leader's courage, which the cross can bear;
A ruler's awe; a watchman's wakeful eye;
A pilot's skill the helm in storms to ply;
A fisher's patience, and a laborer's toil;
A guide's dexterity to disembroil;
A prophet's inspiration from above;
A teacher's knowledge, and a Savior's love."
It being certain from my advanced period of life, that "the time of my departure is at hand," I cannot but feel a degree of the anxiety, which Moses felt, in respect of his successor, when he prayed, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh set a man over the congregation, who may go out before them, and go in before them, and who may bring them in, that the congregation of the Lord be not, as sheep without a shepherd."

With the uncommon health and strength enjoyed, at my age, it can hardly be expected, that I shall realize my growing infirmities, as they are perceived by others, especially by the rising generation.

With but little abatement I can indeed adopt the spirit of Caleb's language to Joshua, "As yet I am strong, this day, as I was in the day, that Moses sent me."

Common sense must teach me, that this state of things can continue but a little while longer. I will therefore say, in the language of a brother, whose Jubilee, was, on 26 October last, "I throw myself upon the directions of a kind Providence, and a kind people."

When occasion calls, be it sooner or later, I desire submissively to adopt the language of David to Zadok, "If the Lord thus say, I have no pleasure in thee; behold, here am I; let him do to me, as seemeth good unto him."

"For others, not myself, I here would stay,
Cheerfully stay, while useful to mankind;
Call me, my God, in thine own time away
To live contented, or to die resigned."
APPENDIX.

ORDER OF EXERCISES
AT THE CHURCH,
COMMENCING AT HALF PAST TWO, P. M.

ANTHEM.

INVOCATION, AND READING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

BY REV. J. HAVEN, JR.

ORIGINAL HYMN,

BY REV. R. C. WATERSTON.

When Israel's host in days of old,
    Had reached in joy a place of rest,
They to their children's children told,
    That righteous Heaven their sires had blest;
For God had marked the appointed way,
    In fire by night, and cloud by day.

Thus, even now, O Lord, we stand,
    And count thy blessings o'er and o'er,
Guarded and guided by thy hand,
    Thy sovereign love we would adore;
Be with us here in gracious power,
    And crown with joy this festal hour
INTRODUCTORY PRAYER,

BY REV. WILLIAM H. SHAILER.

HYMN.

Happy the man, whose cautious steps
Still keep the golden mean;
Whose life, by wisdom's rules well formed,
Declares a conscience clean.

What blessings bounteous Heaven bestows,
He takes with thankful heart;
With temperance he both eats and drinks,
And gives the poor a part.

To sect or party, his large soul
Disdains to be confined;
The good he loves, of every name,
And prays for all mankind.

His business is, to keep his heart;
Each passion to control;
Nobly ambitious well to rule
The empire of his soul.

Not on the world his heart is set,
His treasure is above;
Nothing beneath the sovereign good
Can claim his highest love.
ADDRESS,
BY REV. J. PIERCE, D. D.

ORIGINAL HYMN,
BY W. B. TAPPAN.

Lord! hear the fervent prayer, this hour,
For him who gave the sires his prayers,
And led the children by the power
Of wisdom, found with hoary hairs.

And bless thy servant, as, to-day,
Though not, like Moses, veiled from sight,
He takes on Pisgah wide survey
Of toil, and harvest, shade and light.

And sees, life's wanderings almost o'er,
The world's not all a "fleeting show,"
To him, whose faith discerns, before,
The cloud, and fiery pillar's glow.

And still let gladness on him rest;
So all his future, bright shall be,
Till gathered where the pure and blest
Find an Eternal Now in Thee.

PRAYER,
BY REV. DR. GRAY.

ANTHEM.

BENEDICTION.
The following report of the proceedings, at the Town Hall, was prepared for the Boston Daily Journal, by Mr. A. G. Tenney. It is published in connection with Dr. Pierce's Address, at the request of the friends of the reverend gentleman, and with the sanction of the proprietors of the Journal. It has been revised and corrected by the Reporter, in such a manner as to render it more worthy of being presented in an endurable form to the public. The Anniversary Exercises being of so interesting a character, no apology is required for the length of the report.

The Collation.

After the services at the Church, a large party of ladies and gentlemen repaired to the Town Hall, to partake of the Collation. The room was brilliantly lighted, the tables were loaded with a rich abundance, and adorned with flowers. The tables were prepared by Mr. Smith, a colored gentleman of Boston; the flowers were the gift of J. L. L. F. Warren, of Brighton. A fine band of music was provided, and every arrangement made to give interest to the occasion.

Dr. Charles Wild, of Brookline, presided. The Rev. Drs. Pierce, Codman, Sharp, and Hon. Josiah Quincy, were seated on the right of the Presiding Officer, and the Rev. Messrs. Shailer, Putnam, and Haven, on the left. About three hundred ladies and gentlemen were seated at the tables. A blessing was asked by Rev. Dr. Snell, of North Brookfield; the company partook of the collation, and the following Introductory Hymn, by Miss H. C. F. Woods, was sung; Dr. Pierce, in allusion to its complimentary character, remarking, that it was one hymn he could not sing. He however joined heartily in singing the last stanza.

Introductory Hymn,

By Miss H. C. F. Woods.

A festal band we come,
From many a hearth and home,
To honor one,
Whose heart and voice unite
To plead for truth and right,
And spread the pure, sweet light
Of virtue's sun.
Since first his voice we heard,
Preaching God's Holy Word,
Long years have passed;
And Time with gentle hand
Hath o'er each household band
And loved familiar land
Its changes cast.

Yet firm as mountain oak,
Untouched by blight or stroke,
He long hath stood;
Persuading those, who stray
In error's dangerous way,
True virtue to obey,
And rectitude.

May peace his paths attend,
Health be his constant friend
And willing guest;
Joy round his fireside cling,
Hope spread her balmy wing,
And faith bright prospects bring
To make him blest.

Now join with heart and voice,
With festal mirth rejoice
And cheerful be.
And when earth's joys shall end,
In Heaven, where friend meets friend,
May we forever spend
A jubilee.

The above Hymn was sung by the whole company, and produced a fine effect. A band of musicians, some of them members of the Brass Band, from Boston, accompanied the vocalists, and afforded music, at intervals, during the evening.

At the close of the hymn, Dr. Wild addressed the company. He said, that they had assembled on an occasion, which had no parallel, in this vicinity, and that but a few occurrences of a like kind had taken place in New England. If the event, which they were to celebrate, was so rare among the clerical profession, it was not to be expected, that many of those present would witness another like celebration, in this age of change and restlessness. He would therefore
call upon all to unite with him cordially and heartily in the festivities 
of the hour, offering to their aged and venerated guest, the affections 
of a united and a happy people, knowing no difference of sect or 
belief, when paying respect to age and Christian virtues. Dr. Wild 
said, that he could bear testimony to the relations, which the Rev. Dr. 
Pierce had borne to his people, for a long period of time; it was 
twenty-nine years, since he left his native city, to take up his resi­
dence in Brookline, and placed himself under the pastoral care of the 
venerable man. At that time he was emphatically the minister of 
Brookline; the town and parish were one; their interests were the 
same; Dr. Pierce was the oracle; he alone dispensed the doc­
trines of the Gospel. Time, and an increase of the population, had 
wrought a change; portions of the vineyard had been allotted to other 
cultivators, and they, in peace and industry, had carefully trained the 
vines, so as to produce abundant and good fruit. There has been 
contention among the people and the pastors, but it was not the 
ignoble contention to mar each other's prospects, but the noble strife 
to see, who could best prepare the fruits best adapted for the Re­
deemer's kingdom. So well had the venerable father performed his 
duties in the cultivation of the wide field, that, when he looks around 
him and sees other cultivators upon the soil, he can truly say, these 
are the fruits of my labors. Do I claim too much, asked Dr. W., 
for our guest? No; and the concourse of all sects at this festal 
board, the daily and hourly prayers put up for the blessing of Heaven 
to rest on his aged head, bear me out in the position I have assumed. 

The party had assembled, continued the speaker, with a two-fold 
anticipation; that of administering to the creature comforts of the 
earthly vessel, and to enjoy the more refined repasts offered by the 
better portion of our nature. Thus far we have been consumers of 
the good things provided for us; henceforth we must be producers 
and provide for ourselves, and as we have no spirits upon the table, 
we must trust to the animal spirits around it, to enliven the scene. 
Dr. Wild concluded with the following sentiment.

All hail, Dorchester! the birthplace of our venerable guest, and welcome 
to the enlightened and eloquent clergy, who represent it.

Dr. Codman, of Dorchester, responded to this sentiment, as follows.

It gives me sincere pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to offer my congratu­
lations on this auspicious occasion.
It is, indeed, a rare event for a minister to complete fifty years of active service in the same place, and among the same people. Few of our profession live so long, and fewer still continue so long in the same place. It is my lot, as our matter-of-fact friend has told us, to be next to himself, in seniority, in sustaining the sole charge of the same people, in this immediate vicinity.

Perhaps this may be one of the reasons, why I am expected to address you on the present occasion.

Another reason may be this. I have labored in the ministry, for many years, in the native town of our respected friend.

As a representative of this ancient town, so early settled by our Puritan fathers, consecrated by their prayers and watered by their tears, where his childhood and youth were spent, and where so many of his kindred and friends reside, I am happy to express the high respect, in which he is held by its inhabitants, of all political parties, and religious denominations. His family have long been known, and highly esteemed among us, for their moral and Christian virtues.

I well remember his venerable father, with the same erect mien, and hoary head, which seems to be hereditary in the family. He was the first President of the old Dorchester Temperance Society, and took a lively interest in that great reformation. His mantle has descended upon his son, whose efforts to promote the cause of temperance and every good work are well known throughout the community. I have been told, that it was delightful to see the aged patriarch, surrounded by his children and his children's children, in their social gatherings, and to hear their sonorous and mellifluous voices unite in songs of praise to the God of their fathers.

Descended from such an ancestry, so distinguished for longevity, may we not hope, that the pastor of the church in Brookline, with his fine constitution and temperate habits, and the blessing of Heaven, may attain unto the days of the years of the life of his father, ninety-one, and thus be permitted, for twenty years to come, to attend the annual commencements of his beloved Alma Mater; to set the tune in the hall; and to keep a faithful record of passing events.

The present occasion is one of peculiar interest to the inhabitants of this town. And it is gratifying to behold them merging their distinctive denominations in a desire to unite in a tribute of respect to an aged clergyman, who has been, for a large portion of his life, the minister of the whole town; who has visited from house to house; who has
shared in their joys and sorrows without regard to sect or party; who has been with them, like a father among his children, in sickness and in health, in prosperity and in adversity.

Such a union is alike honorable to him and to them. But I must not forget, that others are to follow, and will no longer trespass on your time.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, to offer the following sentiment.

The Semi-Centennial of a Pastor's life; hallowed by the tenderest recollections, chastened by peculiar trials, and cheered by the hope of a reunion with his people in a better world.

Dr. Pierce then offered the following.

"The coat of Jesus was without seam, woven from the top throughout;" fit emblem for his followers. "His disciples were called Christians, first, in Antioch." By what better name can they be called in our own, or in all future time?

George Griggs, Esq., the toastmaster, then proposed the following.

The Teacher and Preacher. May the one finish what the other has begun.

To this sentiment Mr. Gideon F. Thayer, school teacher of Boston, responded, substantially, as follows.

Mr. President, It would be affectation in me to pretend, that this sentiment was not intended to call me up, being probably the eldest de facto school teacher present. But, sir, we will, if you please, consider the "schoolmaster abroad," and not here, this evening. Assembled on an occasion of joy and jubilee, where freedom would be the most appropriate element in our exercises, the constraint of the school-room would be, as it seems to me, wholly out of place.

And yet, sir, I cannot omit to notice the allusion in the excellent Address we have heard to-day, to the statement of the Secretary of the Board of Education, that, of the three hundred and nine towns in this Commonwealth, Brookline raised, the last year, for the support of its public schools, a larger sum per head than any other town in the State! This fact is highly honorary to the people, and will redound to their intellectual and moral advantage; and reflects much credit on their senior clergyman, who has been, for many years, Chairman of the School Committee. The fact furnishes a subject worthy of protracted consideration, did time and the occasion permit.
For the honor your Committee have done me in their invitation to be present, at this interesting celebration, I tender them, through you, my grateful acknowledgments; but still I have some apprehension, that it was the result of mistake. They supposed, no doubt, as I was an inhabitant of Brookline, at an early period of my life, that I was a native of your lovely hills. How fortunate for me, that the list of invited guests was not wholly dictated by our venerable friend, for whom the feast was made; for, you well know, sir, that no mistake could have been made by him on such a point.

It is said, an Hibernian was once asked, where he was born; to which he replied, “I was born in Ireland, sure; but I might have been born in England, if I had been a mind to!” Now, Mr. President, if the same privilege had been extended to me, I can assure you, I should have chosen Brookline for my birthplace, rather than Watertown. As it was otherwise, I am compelled to confess, that I cannot claim the distinction.

My early days, however, were passed among the elders of your townsmen, some of whom I see around me; and it was at your public schools, that I received the first lessons in intellectual education. Nor intellectual alone, for in those days, on the Saturday afternoons, the only clergyman in the town, our venerable guest, gave to the scholars those instructions in the first principles of Christianity, which now devolve on the Sunday-school teacher.

On this point I should like to enlarge; but I fear, it would not only draw me aside from my purpose of dealing mainly with light matters, as most befitting a table talk, but would oblige me to exceed in time the portion, to which I am entitled.

Being among you, however, by hook or by crook—not intending by any means to implicate the Committee as engaged in crooked things—I will say a word of those early days, to which I have adverted. You know, sir, that the African considers no place fit to live in, that does not produce dates, which form the staple of his earthly paradise; and the Laplander esteems his hut of snow and ice and his fare of sea-horse and whale blubber, as the luxuries of lodging and food; and therefore cannot be surprised, that the gardens and orchards and parterres of the little spot of earth, lying immediately about us here, should have some charms for those, whose tender years were spent among them. To say nothing of the friends and companions, who participated with us in their enjoyment, or whose kindness gave an additional charm to the scenes, in which we were cast.
To me the impression made is deep and lasting; and no spot on the globe stands so high in my geographical estimation, as does Brookline. Its hills and plains, its winding roads, its noble forests, and quiet dells, have all a peculiar charm. Art has added much to its comforts and beauty, and the hand of cultivation has caused it to teem with the richest products. This by many is deemed an improvement; and in some sense, it is; and Brookline is still delightful; but the Brookline of my thought is one with far more of Nature's stamp and Nature's solitude. This is, perhaps, selfish, inasmuch as the change contributes to the enjoyments of an increased number of the great family, whose happiness should be considered as dear to us, as our own.

I have said, sir, this is the dearest spot of all the earth to me; and yet, in the retrospect, I find the sufferings of my childhood were such, as to make me wonder, that I could ever have come among you at all, after having taken my leave.

The ills of my childhood were numerous, and, as I thought, severe; the tyranny of larger boys, and the, to me, tedious walk, through all weathers, to the brick school-house in summer, and the little school-house, as we then called it, in winter; together with various annoyances that, to the feelings of a timid child, were matters of serious moment, made a deep impression on my mind.

It was a common fashion of the day to frighten children; and in the lonely walk, especially by twilight, numerous were the objects and the incidents, by which alarm was excited. Many are the incidents, treasured in my memory, that proved how good a subject I was to enact these cruel freaks upon. The peccadilloes, to which early boyhood is incident, were visited by severe retribution; and a feeling of terror was excited, which was long in dying out; and which, in fact, it is easy, even now, to rekindle into vivid recollection.

Such, then, being my childish trials, not to speak of some of a graver nature, is it not remarkable, that I should have felt any interest in the place or the people? and yet I did. I loved every spot in it; every hill, and tree, and rock, and bird; and how dearly the inhabitants! And after thirty years, I returned; became a freeholder; resumed my old associations, and was warmly welcomed by the former friends of my family, and by none more cordially, than the venerable clergyman, who had performed, nearly a generation before, the baptismal rite for my brothers, my sister, and myself; and also, by one, who was, and still is, an officer of his Church, and had been such for
years, at the close of my first residence in the town. And, at the Doctor's request, I had the satisfaction of taking charge of his Sunday school, and endeavoring, while I remained in the town, to pay back, to some slight extent, to the children of his parish, the debt I had, many long years before, incurred to him, for the moral and religious instruction I received at his hands.

Brookline, at the time of my first leaving it, and for many years afterwards, had no paupers; and it has often been said, that the minister could not find a man in the town poor enough to saw his wood. After a while, one worthy old mechanic, became nearly helpless from an accident, and was cared for and attended to with the most anxious solicitude. One family supplied him with dinners for years, and no one of the circle was helped, until a generous allowance had been despatched to Captain King!

Fearing, however, that the benevolent principle might die out, for want of exercise, some philanthropists have, since that time, introduced a supply of subjects into the town; which, being of self-perpetuating power, will doubtless furnish material to keep the stock always abundant.

But, Mr. President, I have already run to the verge of my limits. I will, therefore, give way to others more worthy of the kind attention you have bestowed upon me, and propose the following sentiment.

Brookline, earth's loveliest spot. May the union of this day be perpetuated by harmony of action among its citizens, in all good enterprises, to the end of time.

Some excellent music was given by the Band, and Mr. Griggs proposed the following sentiment.

The College Friends of Dr. Pierce. Few and honored are those who survive with us.

Hon. Josiah Quincy addressed the company. Dr. Pierce remarking that, strange as it might seem, Mr. Quincy was his senior. Mr. Q. said he felt himself in a false position; he did not intend to be present, owing to indisposition, and did not intend to address the assembly. He thought it impossible to say anything not already suggested to his audience; to others who would say it better than he could. The scene he was called to witness, was a beautiful scene; a scene of the
heart; one that he would enjoy, not analyze; a scene honorable alike to pastor and people, that twice blesses; blesses them who give, and him who receives. He believed he (Dr. Pierce) was a freshman when he was a junior. (No, said Dr. P., a senior.) You are right, I doubt not, replied Mr. Q., and this makes matters better for me in not recollecting Dr. P. when in College. In those days there was a great distance preserved between the freshman and senior classes; the feeling in that regard being very different from that of the present day. The freshmen were looked upon as an inferior race of mortals, by their senior brethren. This mutual feeling, in some degree prevented mutual intercourse, except in a few particular cases. Although Mr. Q. had no recollections of his friend in college, still, whether from memory or fancy, he could not say which, he really thought his hair was not quite so white then as it is now, and if he mistook not, there was more roundness in his countenance. The truth is, said Mr. Quincy, Dr. Pierce has stood to me in the same relation through life as he does this day: my younger friend. And it is difficult to realize how much good it does an old man to see his young friends doing well, as Dr. P. has done.

Since that early period, he had no more recollection of his friend than every gentleman present had; perhaps fewer than many of those who heard him; still he must say that time had dealt kindly with him, or he had dealt cunningly with time. When young he had taken care of time, and mark it when you will, when such men grow old, time will take care of them. He was wise when young, and now he has love, reverence, and troops of friends. He had always supposed that toasts and wine went together, but he had found, on this occasion, that toasts and water did not disagree. Mr. Quincy concluded with the following sentiment.

The happiness of him, who enjoys the blessing of the Psalmist, and bears fruit in his old age.

Music by the Band. "Fair Harvard."

Mr. Griggs said, that, on the 15 March, 1797, their venerable guest was ordained; and he had no doubt, the subject of the sentiment he was about to propose was fully discussed at that time; but, as so long a period had elapsed, since the event, he feared it was forgotten, and
he hoped to hear some one speak of the pastoral relation and of the benefits resulting from a permanency of that relation.

This brought the Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston, upon the floor, who spoke, substantially, as follows.

Mr President, I was exceedingly gratified to be honored with an invitation to be present with you on this occasion, for I have long cherished a sincere regard and true respect for the Clergyman, who is your chief guest. It would do no injury to any of us, who are ministers, to imitate his kind manners, his catholic spirit, and his candor and good-will to other shepherds, whose flocks have sometimes been increased by the diminution of his own. These are virtues easier to praise than to practise. I believe, Sir, that our reverend friend, to whom we offer our congratulations and best wishes for his usefulness and happiness, has been a living illustration of these virtues, for a long series of years.

But, possessing these sentiments, when asked to speak, on this occasion, I demurred. Unused to the service, I felt, that I had no tact to contribute to a dessert, in the form of an after-dinner speech. I therefore prayed to be excused. It was intimated, however, that something might be said on the subject of a permanent ministry. The reply was, give me a text; and I may say something. The text has not been sent, but I have found one in the history of the First Church in Brookline. It is in these words — "The Pastoral Relation. In these moving times its permanency is honorable, as its influence is highly beneficial, both to ministers and people."

This is my text. Of its entire truthfulness, I have a most profound and happy conviction. I suppose, indeed, that the subject was given me, under the rule, that a minister should practise, what he preaches. It was imagined, I suppose, that, without self-reproach, or a fear of any one saying to me, Physician, heal thyself, I could expatiate on the advantages of a settled ministry. And, although it might come with better grace from another, than from me, yet I may say, I set out in life with a generous confidence in my fellow-citizens, and a fixed determination, that if ever I left a church, the fault should not be mine. And I have to-day the sweet consciousness, that I have never swerved from that determination. Once only have I changed my pastoral relation; and were I to relate its history and causes, every person present would not only acquit me of blame, but say,
"Your course was commendable." Since that period, although I have had repeated calls, yet none of them have been, or could have been, loud enough to induce me to give them an hour's thought. My own people never knew of them, and in regard to one or two invitations, perhaps no one in this region, except one, whom I consult in everything, ever knew that I was thus honored. I have been, Sir, thirty-five years the happy pastor of a peaceful, and not unprosperous Church, for whom and with whom, in the city not altogether misnamed the Paradise of Ministers, I hope to labor, until I receive my final discharge.

But not to intrude myself on your notice, when all eyes are, and should be, directed to my venerable friend, and when all hearts present are swelling with joy, that he has continued with his people so long, let me just touch on the honor and the benefits flowing from such a permanent connection.

It is honorable to the Pastor. There might indeed be no honor attached to the permanency of the Pastorate, if, as in olden times, under national establishments, or as a matter of course, every minister was settled for life, without much regard either to character or to the manner of discharging his duties. Then he might perchance be a mere drone, and a burden to his people. His continuance might be a disgrace, rather than an honor to his office. But in these "moving times," when ministers are not settled, during even good behavior, but so long as they are popular, and can attract crowds, or help perhaps to pay off the debts of a costly meeting-house—"in these moving times," it is honorable to a pastor to live and die with his people.

It is honorable to his public character, to his discretion in the pulpit, to his choice of subjects, and to his manner of addressing his hearers. It shows, that he has not been a mere partizan, regardless of the opinions and feelings of those who differed from him on political subjects. And it is evidence, that he has attended to his own appropriate duties, as a teacher of religion and morals. A permanent ministry, if at all a happy one, is also the most satisfactory testimonial of discretion in private, as well as in public. Many an able, upright, and pious clergyman, has lost all his beneficent influence, and been compelled to frequent changes, not from evil intentions, but from indiscriminate conversations. There has been no just discernment of time, or
place, or persons. He has not known when, nor how, nor to whom, nor to what extent, his remarks should be made. He, who meant no harm, has set a whole parish in a ferment, and has kindled a fire, which even his departure and separation from it could not extinguish.

The same might be said of the temper and general character of a minister. He, who has retained his place for fifty years, surrounded by a community, sensitive as to their equality and their rights, as is the case everywhere in our young Republic, looking out for equal attentions, and jealous of neglect, must have been meek, and gentle, and patient, and obliging, towards all men. There must have been firmness of principle, and irreproachableness of character, as well as amiableness of deportment; for an intelligent congregation will not be satisfied with smiles, nor soft and honied words, unless there be a conviction, that these are allied to sincerity, honesty, and truth-speaking. It is honorable to his humility, in not seeking great or high positions; to his steadfastness, in not being given to change; and to his contentedness, in not pining for some other one's lot, nor travelling round to find a more desirable fold.

Now, if there be one Clergyman here, to whom these remarks will honorably apply, and I believe there is, let them be applied, and let him be honored. I see others around me, who are almost deserving of the same honor. They are far on their way towards it. May they live to complete their half-century settlement!

But I do not make these remarks, Sir, so much to praise, either directly or indirectly, the minister, who has completed his fiftieth year of pastoral labor, as to leave an impression on all the younger ministers present, that they will in vain sigh to be permanently settled, unless by habits of reflection, forethought, self-control, discretion, simplicity of purpose, affability of deportment, and zeal, tempered with moderation, they labor perseveringly to deserve it.

I might say, it is honorable to a man's talents, in this community, in which there is a large amount of cultivated talent, that he remains permanently with his people. This is true. But permanency in the ministry does not depend so much on great or brilliant talents, or distinguished scholarship, as on the moral and religious qualities of a pastor. Common talents, conscientiously, benevolently, discreetly and piously consecrated to the moral and spiritual welfare of a congrega-
tion, seldom or never go unrewarded. Nay, they are more likely to secure a permanent pastoral relationship, than talents of a higher and more splendid character.

And permit me to say, Mr. President, that the permanency of this relation is not only honorable to the pastor, but to his people. It may be adduced as evidence, that they "are not given to change." It may be taken as proof, that their attachment to their Minister has not been impulsive, fickle, uncertain; — and that they have some just apprehensions of the sacredness of the relation, into which they or their fathers entered.

The benefits of a permanent pastoral relationship are great — every way. The very anticipation, that it is to be permanent, is productive of mutual good. If the connection is expected and hoped to be for life, there will be less haste and more caution in the choice of a pastor, and in his acceptance. There will be an inquiry, not merely what he is in the pulpit, but what are his social and pastoral habits. Nor will the minister, if he have any far-looking views into the future, determine on a settlement by one consideration — but by considering many things. He will ascertain, if possible, the condition, habits, tastes, virtues, and vices of the people, and his adaptation to their character and wants. This would come of adopting as the rule, "settlement for life," transient and short settlements being the exception. And then these permanent settlements would modify the deportment of ministers and people towards one another afterwards, as I believe, all for the better.

As in the marriage relation, knowing that they must be together until death, so if the ministerial relation were permanent, there would be more caution in the first choice, and considerate kindness and avoiding of offences, and forbearing one another in love afterwards. This is one of the few things, in regard to which my opinion has changed. I once considered a ministerial settlement for life, one of the greatest of evils, that could happen. I should now consider a voluntary approach to it one of the greatest blessings, that could come upon the church.

It would be better for ministers. It would be the means of quickening and strengthening their minds. They would be incited, nay, compelled to be more studious, in order to bring things new, as well as old, from the store-house of God's truth.

And their people would be far more benefitted. They would feel,
that they had not a stranger or a spy, but a spiritual overseer, watch­ing over their characters and pursuits, whose fortune, happiness, and reputation were linked with theirs.

Pastoral visits, pastoral cautions, suggestions, entreaties, persuasions, and encouragements, known only perhaps to the pastor and the individuals concerned, would serve to impart consolation to the afflicted, to give vigor to faith, to guard against evil, to incite to good, and to aid in the formation of a pure, upright and beautiful character, beyond any of the influences, which fall upon a people from those bright, and dazzling, and stirring ministers, who appear and disappear with the irregularity of comets, or wandering stars.

One word more, sir, and I will relieve your patience. I rejoice, that there is one Church, and one Pastor, that has set so worthy an example of a connection, that has continued for fifty years.

Whatever arrangements, as a Society, you may hereafter make, I trust, that the mild and benignant countenance of your Pastor may be with you to smile upon you for years to come, and that his tongue with words of wisdom and kindness may bless you. And may you so receive the truths of the blessed gospel, and so exemplify their influence, that both pastor and people may rejoice together, in the general assembly of the church of the first-born.

When Dr. Sharp had concluded his remarks, a service of silver, which had been brought into the Hall, and placed in front of the presiding officer, was uncovered. This service consisted of a coffee-pot, two tea-pots, a milk pitcher, sugar-bowl, cream-pot, and slop-bowl.

Mr. Griggs offered the following sentiment.

The Support of the Ministry in Massachusetts; Formerly compulsory, now voluntary; nothing has been lost, in the affections of the people for the clergy, by the change.

This sentiment introduced Mr. Timothy C. Leeds, who, in behalf of the donors of this service of silver, rose and presented it to Dr. Pierce in the following terms.

Mr. President, I am requested to appear before you, this evening, as the organ of those, who wish to tender a tribute of respect to one, whose name is identified with the history of Brookline. I shall dis-
charge my duty as briefly as possible, that I may give place to those, who are better able to entertain this brilliant assembly by their genius and eloquence.

Permit me, therefore, in behalf of the donors, to make a presentation of this service of Plate, which is before us, to him, whom, this evening, we delight to honor.

Doctor Pierce, Rev. and Dear Sir, It gives me pleasure, personally to perform the part assigned me on this occasion. As, during the course of a long and eventful life, you have scattered blessings around you, with a liberal hand, it must gratify your benevolent heart to see these blessings appreciated.

Your numerous friends are happy, that such an opportunity as this is afforded them to present to you a testimonial of the high esteem we entertain for your character.

For fifty years, the light of your countenance has shone upon this people. For fifty years, you have been their spiritual leader; and now, on this fiftieth anniversary of your ministerial service, on this mount of fifty years' pastoral vigilance, they come up before you, this evening, in the fulness of their joy, and lay at your feet their spontaneous tribute of gratitude and esteem.

Allow me, then, Reverend Sir, in behalf of your Brookline friends and myself, gratefully to present to you this set of Silver Plate, which bears the following appropriate inscription.

Presented to
Rev. John Pierce, D. D.,
by his Brookline friends,
March 15, 1847.
Being the fiftieth anniversary
of his settlement in Brookline,
as a Minister of the Gospel.

And, my dear sir, in one of these vessels be pleased to find a number of pieces of gold coin.

To this visible offering we now add our hearty and united prayer, that the residue of your days may be crowned with health and happiness, and that the memory of your name may diffuse its grateful fragrance through succeeding generations.

To which Dr. Pierce, who had been standing during the address, replied, in substance, as follows.
Mr. President, Permit me, through you, to express a lively sense of the gratitude, which I feel for this generous donation of plate, in the presentation of which such kind sentiments have been expressed, and such good wishes have been uttered. I beg my friend, who was the organ of presenting it, to accept my sincere thanks, and to tender the same to those, who united with him in this benevolent deed. Valuable as is the gift, it is much more highly estimated by me, as a token of affection, than from its solid intrinsic worth.

Experiencing such marks of attention and regard from so many different sources, I know of no more suitable return, than to offer the following sentiment.

Brookline, our "happy home; name ever dear" to its inhabitants, whose Churches and Pastors harmoniously unite in this semi-centennial celebration. May this occasion prove an omen of our future intercourse. May we ever walk together, where we can agree; and may we agree to differ, where we cannot conscientiously walk together. May no root of bitterness be ever suffered to vegetate in our prolific soil; and may our only strife be to provoke one another to love and to good works.

Mr. Griggs proposed the following.

_The Ladies of Brookline_ — God bless them.

In response to this sentiment, a beautiful child, a daughter of Rev. Mr. Shailer, some ten or twelve years old, dressed in white, with flowing ringlets falling over her shoulders, appeared on the platform, and presented an elegant silver vase on a silver stand, a donation from ladies of the Baptist and Harvard Societies, containing a rare collection of beautiful flowers from the green-house of Col. Thomas H. Perkins, in Brookline.

Honored Sir, Though but a child, I have been taught to venerate age; especially if it be crowned with virtue. It therefore gives me great pleasure, to present to you this standard and vase, in behalf and at the request of several ladies, who are not immediately connected with your religious society.

They would have you accept it, as a token of friendship and esteem. The ladies are aware, that, when compared with other presents, which you have received, and particularly with the splendid one, with which you have been favored, this evening, _this_ is but a mere trifle. But you know, sir, that a gift of small value, may be a testimonial of as sincere respect, as warm affection, as deep veneration, as one of greater worth.
We prize a trifle, if it be the gift of a friend, and the ladies would have you estimate this by the friendship, of which it is a token. And as it may hereafter stand upon your table, filled with the beautiful flowers, which a kind Providence has strewn so bountifully and lovingly around us, and which, alas! in their fading nature are such fit emblems of ourselves; may it serve to remind you not only of loved ones, who are destined to fade like these fading flowers, but of a world where friendships are pure and constant, where flowers ever bloom with vernal beauty, and mortals, having put on immortality, shall not grow old, but have eternal youth and vigor.

During the presentation of this bouquet, the slightest sound was hushed, and the closest attention was paid to what the little girl uttered, and a tear glistened in many an eye. It was indeed a most lovely scene; youth and old age side by side.

As soon as the little girl had finished her address, Dr. P. seized her by both hands, remarking, that never before had he been so deeply impressed with the language of our Lord, when he declared, "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven." His only regret was, that the child’s schoolmates could not be present and witness the scene. He had sometimes thought, that the parents had better remain at home, and let the children come.

He gave this sentiment.

Our Youth; The hope of their friends and of their country. May they excel their parents and predecessors as much in learning and wisdom, as their advantages for acquiring them are superior to those of former times.

Mr. Griggs submitted the following sentiment.

Brookline, though a small town, is unsurpassed for its physical, moral, and intellectual advantages.

The Rev. Mr. Shailer responded to this sentiment. He could not say, that he was born in Brookline, but he could speak well of the place, and he held that, when an adopted child spoke well of a parent, that parent must possess some good qualities. He was very brief in his remarks. He claimed, that in intellectual advantages it was surpassed by no town in the State; it also preserved a high state of morals, as Dr. Pierce's long connection with his society fully proved. Its physical advantages had been referred to by preceding speakers.
Mrs. Shirley then sang the song, the "The Church of our Fathers."

Dr. Pierce gave the following.

The Religious Societies in Brookline; their increase the result, not of division, but of multiplication.

Mr. Griggs then submitted the following sentiment.

*The Present Jubilee.* As it has renewed the social compact, in this town, may its kindly influence be perpetuated, through all coming time.

To this sentiment the Rev. Mr. Haven responded. He said, that, not having selected a text for the occasion, he felt himself, in a measure, unprepared to address the assembly. If he were to select a text it would be, "I pray thee have me excused." He did not think, that a stranger, and he was a comparative stranger in Brookline, should take an active part in the festivities; little need be said in support of the joyous proceedings; their good effect must be self-evident; it requires no argument to prove, that the harmony and good feeling so strongly impressed on every countenance present, augur well for the future. The Rev. gentleman's acquaintance with Dr. Pierce commenced in very early life, at the age of about four years, when the Doctor presented to him a Catechism, which he, in later years, studied at the Sabbath school, and which was his first lesson in theology.

He would speak, as the representative of the children, who were indebted to the venerable man, for many presents, of a like character; his early recollections of him were of the most endearing nature. The schoolmaster had spoken of the African, who deemed his sum of existence to consist in a supply of dates. After the address of to-day from Dr. Pierce, it would not be necessary to visit another continent to obtain a supply of *dates*, as they were ready at hand, in the good town of Brookline. He reminded his friends that they might never again be permitted to witness a similar hour of rejoicing. The clergymen of the present day, do not possess the vigor of constitution and the power so to enlist the good-will and approbation of their churches, as did the clergy of the olden time. He remarked that the old age of the truly Christian pastor was beautifully illustrated in the life, history, and presence of the guest of the evening.

In response to a call for something, relating to the theologians of Germany, Mr. Sears, of Newton, said,
That, though by marriage, one of those third cousins, whose connection with himself, the venerable guest had just mentioned, he found himself banished from the country. But this was evidently done in mercy, as the home field had been so cropped of its harvest, as to leave nothing to be gleaned.

Eight months and ten days before the birth of the friend whom we are assembled to honor, a festival occasion, of peculiar interest, was observed, by a brilliant company of young men, in the city of Göttingen. It was at the lodgings of Lord Rodney’s son, on the evening before the departure of Major Andre, who endeared himself much to the young men of genius in Göttingen. Boie, the oracle of the Union of Göttingen poets, said to Voss, “Had you known it in time, it would have been well to write some verses for the occasion.” “It may not be too late now,” replied Voss. He went immediately to the house of Hölt, and found Hahn there. At half past nine in the evening, they went together to a coffee-house, and afterwards parted, each promising to write, by moonlight, such verses as he could. In the morning, at seven o’clock, they met at Boie’s, and Voss’s production was adopted. Andre, who had often met with the young poets, said, on receiving the poetical effusion, “Voss, you are a noble fellow, you love your country.” As Andre was ordered to repair with his regiment to America, he parted with Voss, with tears, making him promise to come to England, if he should procure a good place for him. Poor fellow, far other things awaited him.

The very month our jubilant was born, this same poetical confederacy met to celebrate Klopstock’s birth-day. They met around a long table adorned with flowers. In a high armed-chair, were Klopstock’s works, with chaplets of roses and gillyflowers. Under the chair, was Wieland’s Idris, torn in pieces, as he represented the abhorred French taste. After dinner, and the coffee, the pipes were brought forward, Wieland’s writings furnishing the tapers. Then the health of Klopstock, of Luther, and finally of the ancient Hermann, was drunk. With covered heads, they spoke of liberty, Germany, and songs on virtue, and closed by burning Wieland’s writings and likeness.

This same year was the middle year of Planck’s theological course. In 1831 his jubilee was celebrated with great splendor at Göttingen. Fifty years before, he had been appointed Professor, and University Preacher, had married, and published the first volume of his great
work on the history of the doctrines of the Protestant Church. This year, too, 1831, was that of the death of his son, the younger and very eminent Professor Planck. On the occasion of his birth, the father hastened with joy to announce the tidings to his friend Spitter.

"Is it a son ?" said the latter. "No." "A daughter?" "No." "What then?" "Two little fellows at once."

The house in which we just met, if I saw and read the inscription rightly, was erected in 1805. ("Yes," said Dr. Pierce.) That was the year in which Schleiermacher revealed himself, in Halle, as a preacher of extraordinary power. He had recently been appointed University Preacher. The funeral solemnities of the widow of the late king of Prussia were to be celebrated, and he was to be the preacher. The day previous, he walked out to a distant hill, with Steffens and a mutual friend. It was a beautiful March afternoon. The night was spent at a country inn. Schleiermacher and Steffens conversed till after midnight on the positive nature of Christianity. Steffens records it as one of the most memorable periods of his life. The effect upon his own religious feelings and views was indelible. In the morning, they had to walk six miles. Schleiermacher, a good pedestrian, outwalked his companions, and seemed to be in deep meditation. Meanwhile, the city of Halle was in a state of excitement. It had been reported that Schleiermacher was absent, that he went yesterday into the country, passed the night at a tavern, and had not been heard from since. They arrived as the bells were ringing. He ascended the pulpit, and with his well-conceived discourse, his powerful logic, and his calm and impressive eloquence, he filled his audience with admiration, and put to silence the whisperings of envy. And yet it was an extemporaneous effort.

In 1803, I learn that the Brookline church was dedicated. That was a memorable year for Germany. It was the year of the battle of Jena. Within a week after it, Bernadotte’s detachment entered the gates of Halle. Schleiermacher and Steffens, deprived of their salaries, with only ten rix dollars in their pocket, were obliged to occupy together a small tenement. The wife of Steffens, and the sister of Schleiermacher, occupied one small room, and these two young Professors the other. It was in these circumstances that Schleiermacher wrote his celebrated work on Timothy.

The students were ordered, by Napoleon, to leave Halle within twenty-four hours. Two young students set out on foot for Gottingen.
One of them, nearly penniless, was taken ill on the way, and was found on the road in that condition, by a young Repetans (a sort of tutor), who procured a carriage, and took care of the unknown invalid. Thus did Neander and he meet, for the first time, and a friendship, broken only by the death of the former, ensued. Neander became one of the first pupils of Gesenius, and attended his lectures on Hebrew and Arabic; the latter had not been six months in Göttingen. The third person, was the poet Neumann, who in company with Neander and Varnhagen Von Ense, had left Gurlitt's school, in Hamburg, the preceding spring, and entered the University of Halle. These, with Chamisso, Hitzig, Koreff, Theremin, and a few others, were the most active members of a poetical and literary association, called "The Polar Star." Neander, for his Platonic studies, and depth of character and feeling, was the idol of the company. It was about the time he became a Christian, being a Jew by birth.

In 1819, our venerable chief guest was first made dispenser of the charities of an Association of Congregational Ministers, which met in Boston. That year, Hahn held his disputation for a Professorship in Königsberg. It was generally believed he was aiming also at becoming Superintendent, a sort of Bishop in the Lutheran Church. Old Dinter, of pedagogic memory, after a brilliant examination had been passed, approached Hahn, and said, "You are a young man, of great earnestness of character; that is a tendency. You have this day shown, that you have successfully directed your mind to theology; that is an intendency. It only remains to wish you a superintendency." And he had it within a twelvemonth.

There were other anecdotes, respecting Knapp being taken for a Jew, by a fresh student, who first saw him in a riding school, and attempted to show the awkward man how to ride; respecting Reinhard, and some tricks played upon him, at his severe theological examinations; and respecting a student's presenting a single louis d'or, with a hole in it, instead of a double one, to Gesenius; and something about a dagesh forte, but the Reporter was unable to take full notes of these.

Dr. Pierce then rose, holding a most beautiful silver pitcher, in his hand. He remarked, that friendship had been pronounced the wine
of life, but as cold water was the only wine which he had tasted, for many years, he would pledge the health of the donor, Mrs. Hayden, in a draught of pure water. The next regular sentiment was:

Before Brookline had a church of her own, her people went to church, in Roxbury. We should be happy to hear from the present clergyman of our old church.

This sentiment called up Dr. Putnam, who said: Had I supposed, Mr. President, I should be called upon to speak here this evening, I should have looked over the records of my church, to find some facts suitable as topics of remarks for such an occasion. But on second thoughts, this would have been impracticable; for I lent the records to Dr. Pierce some months ago, and I have not seen them since. I take it, the integrity of your venerable guest is unimpeachable: any man would trust life and honor in his keeping; he is above all common temptations: but a book of old records; records, too, written by the Apostle Eliot; I will not answer for their safety. I bring no accusation; I only state the fact. They say every man has his weak side. The company must judge. [Dr. Pierce, here, almost convulsed with laughter, said, "I returned them to your deacon."] You hear what the Doctor says. That is his account of the matter. I bring no accusation; I only state the fact. I only say, I have not seen the records. I am here to express the hearty good-will of the old parish in Roxbury, for the new parish in Brookline; that is, for Dr. Pierce; for, as I understand matters, Dr. Pierce is Brookline, and Brookline is Dr. Pierce. Gentlemen may laugh; I should like to know what Brookline would be without Dr. Pierce, or who is bold enough to call up an image of Brookline, of which the venerable Doctor does not form a component part. The parish, in Roxbury, do heartily love the good old man, and shower innumerable benedictions on his hoary head.

The following hymn was then sung by the whole company.

**H Y M N.**

**BY MRS. A. M. EDMONDS.**

**T U N E — A u l d L a n g S y n e.**

O let us raise the joyful notes
In numbers loud and free,
Till through the air our music floats,
A song of jubilee.
A song of jubilee, my friends,
A song of jubilee,
Till through the air our music floats
A song of jubilee.

We sing no hero now, whose fame
On valor's list appears,
But softly breathe the honored name
Of one beloved for years.
Of one beloved for years, my friends,
Of one beloved for years,
Whose voice of hope hath often dried
The mourner's falling tears.

Let memory's finger gently raise
The mantle, time has cast
On other scenes, and other days,
Long numbered with the past;
For many a change hath come, my friends,
To hill, and vale, and glen,
Since time's swift wing has sped the rounds
Of two score years and ten.

Say, where are they once wont to tread
Life's pathway at his side?
Peace to the memory of the dead,
For some have drooped and died;
Peace to their memory, while, my friends,
We give the living, joy;
Whose hand yet firm, and heart still true,
Fulfil life's wise employ.

Thanks be to God, whose mercies cheer
Our paths with richest showers,
Whose hand hath spared a life so dear,
And still is sparing ours.
O let our hearts adore, my friends,
With all their noblest powers,
The hand that spares his life, so dear,
And still is sparing ours.

He needs no costly tributes paid,
To prove him unforgot,
His life hath nobler record made,
We know he needs them not.
We know he needs them not, my friends,
We know he needs them not;
Enshrined within these hearts of ours,
We know he needs them not.

And when his work, on earth, is done,
O may he sink to rest,
As calmly sinks the summer sun
Behind the crimson west;
That leaves a golden light, my friends,
To mark its way serene,
So may a life of virtue gild
His gently closing scene.

The next regular toast was,

The Massachusetts Historical Society; which preserves the record of the settlement and civilization of this country by placing a learned Savage at its head.

James Savage, Esq., the President of the Society, replied. He spoke briefly, directing the weight of his remarks, against the traditions of the elders, for which he entertained no very serious respect. When a story was told of the early history of our country, he would have people ask, where does this story come from; is it tradition? If it came from Gov. Hutchinson, it might be considered almost as true, as if the Apostle Luke related it. If it came from Gov. Winthrop, it would prove indisputable truth. It was no longer ago than last week, that he sent to the Plymouth Society, the bond (received by him from London) given by persons who came out in the Mayflower, for the preservation of six pieces of cannon, which were brought over in the vessel; this bond ran that the cannon should not be used offensively, or sold, in a foreign land. He stated, one of Her Majesty's officers assured him, that the use of the name of the Mayflower, for a vessel, occurred, for the first time, in English history, with that vessel which brought the Pilgrim Fathers to this country. He had been conversant with the names of ships for three hundred years previous to that time, and he could not have overlooked so poetical a name as the Mayflower.

Mr. Chamberlain sang the song of "The Pilgrim Fathers."

The last regular sentiment, was:

The English Pulpit.
This sentiment called up the Rev. John O. Choules. He said, at that late hour of the evening, he could not address the company upon the subject of the English pulpit; it would occupy too much time. He referred to the World's Convention, held in London, last summer, and contended that it was a total failure to the present meeting. He spoke of the land of his birth, and of the land of his adoption. In England the religion is established by law; in this country it is established by the affections of the people. He said that he must respect tradition, when he saw before him one old man who could speak for one fifth of our country's history. He briefly referred to the restless spirit of the age, and the supernatural excitement which pervaded the minds of men. He also spoke of the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, England, whose jubilee was celebrated not long since. He once asked him, while on a visit to his house, what was the secret of his long connection with his society. The old man replied, that much was to be ascribed to his people. They were the kindest in the world; they never feared that they could injure their Pastor with kindness; he never made a journey, but what, upon his return, he found some present in his house. When he lost old friends, he formed new; when the fathers had departed, he took the children. And, (said Mr. C.) I find that the old gentleman has carried out this doctrine to the fullest extent. Not long since, he lost his wife, and at the age of seventy-six, he married a young one. He said Mr. Jay contended that one need not grow old. Mr. Choules concluded with the following:

The Religious Societies of Brookline, and their beloved Pastors: May they live in love, die in peace, and meet in Heaven.

The following resolution was offered by the Rev. Mr. Snailier, and adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That we return our thanks to Rev. Dr. Pierce for the interesting Address which he has delivered today to the citizens of this town, and that he be respectfully requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication.

The following volunteer sentiments were offered.

By T. C. Leeds. The Lady of our guest, whom we this evening delight to honor.

By Rev. Dr. Pierce. Our Consul at London. An honor to his native town, our University, and our country.

By Rev. Dr. Snell. Having obtained help of God, we remain to this day.
Rev. John Pierce, D. D.

Rev. and dear Sir. Invitation to attend your celebration on the 15 instant has been received from your committee of arrangements. The day cannot fail to be one of interest to all the sons and daughters of Brookline, and especially to yourself. I feel regret that I cannot be with you and mingle my grateful emotions with yours, in a review of such expressions of the loving kindness of our Heavenly Benefactor. May the Lord be with you and bless you. Through the great goodness of God, I continue to perform the usual pastoral duties. May we hope yet to meet in this present world, and especially may we meet face to face on the “Delectable Mountains.” With kind remembrance to the committee of arrangements, and especially to yourself and your family,

I remain most truly and affectionately yours,

Timothy Mather Cooley.

Rev. John Pierce, D. D.

New Braintree, March 11, 1847.

My dear Sir,

Some time since I received a very polite and respectful invitation from your Committee of Arrangements for your approaching fiftieth anniversary, to be present on that interesting occasion. I wish through you to express my sincere thanks for this honor, as I really consider it to be. It would give me the most unfeigned pleasure to enjoy the occasion, did the state of my health allow of it. I have been for some time afflicted with influenza, attended with a bad cough, which requires me to keep as much as I can from the cold air.

I expect that your Jubilee will be one of uncommon interest, as your discourse will be filled with a record of facts and incidents which cannot fail of entertaining and edifying all who shall have the privilege of hearing it; as it will embrace the three societies in Brookline, and as it will convene so many distinguished men who were born in the place, or have formed connections with you of the most endeared character. I trust that in a short time, if I live, I shall hear of these matters, and enjoy all that one can enjoy without being present.
In the mean time, my dear Sir, allow me to tender you my sympa­thies, and to express my hope that every thing may be ordered in Providence in such a manner as will tend to make the occasion what you would wish. May the day be pleasant; your health and spirits what they usually have been, and a thousand smiling faces greet you as you cast your eyes upon the assembly. Above all, may you have the presence of that God, whose great goodness you will have occasion to acknowledge, and of which you will probably speak with deeper sensibility than you ever did before. His blessing will be needed by yourself, and by all who will meet you with sympathizing hearts, that it may be not only one of the most pleasant but profitable days that you will ever spend on earth. I cannot doubt, from my own anticipa­tions of a like occasion, in a very humble measure, that you have your anxieties as you look forward to next Monday. But, my brother, cast all your care upon the Lord; for I doubt not that when the day shall come, you will have striking evidence that he careth for you; which will be manifest in ordering every circumstance in such a man­ner as to gratify your wishes, and to answer your prayers.

Your time and thoughts are doubtless fully occupied. Excuse the length of this letter, and permit me to add, that I am your friend and brother,

John Fiske.

Upton, April 5, 1847.

REv. John Pierce, D. D.

My dear Brother, My delay in writing to you needs explanation. This I will do. After receiving such a polite invitation from your Committee to attend your Jubilee, I had made up my mind to witness the scene, and to see your beautiful village, where you have preached so long, and enjoyed so much peace. But after preaching the Sabbath preceding, I found myself in such a state of health that I was not able to go. Soon upon this, I was taken sick, and have not been able to preach for the three last Sabbaths. My health has somewhat improved, though yet unable to be abroad. This will explain to you the reason, why I was not with you, and why this delay of answering your letter.

Your Committee will accept my thanks for their very polite invitation. And at the same time, I rejoice to hear that the day, the solemn day, was so pleasing to you and to your people. I am prepared to feel and sympathize with you, for I have been in like circumstances.
I ask you to send me the half-century Sermon, after it is printed. I wish to read it. I hope, my brother, you will have health and strength to preach for many years to come. We, certainly, have great reason to bless our heavenly Father, that he has continued us in his vineyard so long, to preach his gospel. I hope we may be found faithful until the death; and then have admittance into his glorious kingdom.

Accept my sincere congratulations, a fellow-laborer with you in the gospel.

Benjamin Wood.

Boston, 23 February, 1847.

Gentlemen,

I regret, extremely, that my official engagements must deprive me of the pleasure I should experience, in accepting the invitation of the citizens of Brookline, to unite with them, in testifying the respect I feel, for the long and valuable services of their venerable Pastor.

I am, very respectfully,

Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Rev. William H. Shailer, Esq.

Committee.

Cambridge, 15 March, 1847.

Dear Sir,

I am truly sorry, that it is not in my power to attend your Anniversary this day. I believe you are aware of the cause.

I should have been most happy to appear among your friends, on so interesting an occasion, and especially, in the name of our common Alma Mater, to thank you for your long-continued and highly valuable services to the Institution, and your unabated interest in its welfare. I rejoice, that the completion of a half century, from the time of your settlement, finds you in that unimpaired vigor of body and mind, which, by the blessing of Providence, authorizes your friends to hope for the enjoyment, yet for many years, of your society, counsel, and active cooperation in every good work.

I remain, dear sir, with the highest regard,

Faithfully yours,

Edward Everett.

Rev. Dr. Pierce.
My dear Friend,

I regret, very much, that I am prevented from being with you at this celebration, so honorable to those who appointed it, and to him who is the object of it. Our long friendship, the sincere respect and affection I feel for you, would have rendered it an occasion of great interest to me. For some time past, I have been unwell, occasionally confined to the house, and do not now feel strong enough to encounter the fatigue of joining in the services, even by my presence. I may add, that an event, the last week, has served still more to impair my strength. A grandchild, a year and two months old, born in my house, who seemed given me as a child in my old age, a source of unspeakable comfort to me, loving and lovely, has been taken to Heaven. This circumstance, though I bow in submission, renders me less able than I might otherwise be, to do what I should so gladly have done.

That you may live many years, blessing and blessed, and that we may be permitted to associate together, with the spirits of the just made perfect, in higher and purer praises, than those in which we have mingled on earth, is the fervent wish and prayer of

Your friend and brother,

Cha. Lowell.

Elmwood, 15 March, 1847.

Northampton, 10 March, 1847.


Gentlemen, I have received your invitation to attend the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Rev. Dr. Pierce. As I passed a year in Brookline, nearly fifty years ago, and was an inmate in the family of your now aged and venerable Pastor; as I then became a member of the church under his care, and was the Teacher of the Grammar School of the town; I may very naturally feel an interest in the proposed celebration, and would gladly be present, though I fear it may not be in my power.

I think it was the remark of Lord Brougham, "The schoolmaster is abroad!" This could hardly be said in a literal sense, when I was the schoolmaster of Brookline, for the art of school-keeping was then very imperfect, and the wonderful improvements of modern times
were then unknown. To tutor and school the schoolmasters, there was not then, as there has been of late years, a Mann. There was not then a Mann, to discover all the necessary appliances of the schoolhouse, to unfold the purposes and the methods of teaching, to train up a race of teachers, and to recommend and produce such a revolution, and such a state of things, that we may now say, with more emphatic truth, "The schoolmaster is abroad!" Imperfect as were my short labors among you, I yet remember the youth, who made some progress in learning. I remember the amiable and interesting, some few of whom are yet among the living, but many of whom sleep in the dust; and the names, that linger in my memory, are those of Heath, and Goddard, and Griggs, and Davis, and Clarke, and Robinson, not to mention others.

Brookline was, in the time to which I refer, as it is now, one of the beautiful villages of New England, and the abode of distinguished families. Shall I mention a few, who yet remain in my memory, and in whose elegant hospitality I was permitted to share? One mansion was that of Mr. Higginson, the elder, a merchant of Boston, who has been followed by a race of merchant princes, and one of the leaders in the early politics of Massachusetts. Another mansion was that of Jona. Mason, known in the politics of the State. At the house of Stephen Higginson, Junior, also a merchant, Mr. Channing, just beginning to preach, was a welcome guest. Dr. Aspinwall was an eminent physician, and one of the fathers of the town. Dr. Spooner, of Boston, had also a residence in this town. There were, also, Sullivan, and Walley, and Heath, and Lucas, and Hyslop. I will add only the name of Cabot, whose elegant manners and eloquent discourse, especially on the French Revolution, and other political topics of the day, made a deep impression on all those, who resorted to his house. He was the friend and confidant of Washington.

Of these men, I know not whether more than one is now among the living; all but one, I suppose, are gone; but their Pastor remains, in a vigorous old age. I will not say, as the Spaniards say, "May he live a thousand years;" but I will utter the wish, that he may live as long as a less temperate man at Salem; that he "may live a hundred years!

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, yours,

William Allen.
Rev. Wm II. Shailer, George Griggs, Esq.

Gentlemen, I beg you to accept the sincere thanks of Mrs. H. and myself for the invitation to attend the approaching celebration of Rev. Dr. Pierce's Jubilee. I regret exceedingly that time and space, those inveterate foes to social union, will not permit us to be present on that occasion.

In these days of rotation in the churches, of itching ears and of ministerial unrest, a ministry of fifty years is a fact well worthy of being signalized in the manner proposed. And the union of different sects in a tribute to the eldest minister of the town, adorns this festival with a charitable grace, more precious than itself, which I would fain regard as prophetic. Such a demonstration is equally creditable to the people of Brookline, and to the honored individual to whom it is addressed. For this demonstration's sake, had I no other interest, I would wish success to your preparations. And I do wish it.

The Churches of Brookline; sprung from one; now agreed in one; may the close of another half-century find them still one in spirit and in love, if not in doctrine.

Respectfully yours,

Frederic H. Hedge.

Boston, March 15, 1847.

Gentlemen,

I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks for the invitation you have given me to attend the celebration at Brookline on this day. It is an occasion in which I cannot but take a deep interest, from the feelings of respect and regard which I am permitted to cherish towards him whose anniversary you will keep; and under usual circumstances it would give me peculiar pleasure to be present. But I am now led to avoid rather than seek occasions of social excitement, and must ask your permission to sympathize in the congratulations of the day at a distance. A celebration equally honorable and delightful to all the parties concerned cannot but secure the candid participation of their invited guests; but one who is not able to join in the festivities of the hour may be allowed to express his hope, that the half-century which is now closed may be followed by many years of useful and tranquil age, and that the Christian feelings of which this celebration is a proof, may continue with unabated warmth.

Respectfully and truly yours,

Ezra S. Gannett.

Messrs. Wm. H. Shailer, George Griggs, Committee.