A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT BROOKLINE,

24 NOVEMBER, 1805,

THE DAY, WHICH COMPLETED A CENTURY

FROM THE INCORPORATION OF THE

TOWN.

BY JOHN PIERCE, A. M.

THE FIFTH MINISTER OF BROOKLINE.

One generation passeth away; and another generation cometh.

Solomon.

Your fathers, where are they? Zechariah.

We desire, that every one of you do show the same diligence to the

full assurance of hope unto the end; that ye be not slothful, but follow­
ers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

The Apostle Paul.

CAMBRIDGE,

1806.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM HILLIARD.
IT is hardly necessary to premise, that many particulars in this discourse will be likely to interest only the natives of this town; and of these such only, as have a taste for minute inquiries of this nature.
THE commemoration of important eras and events has been common to every nation and to every age. Before the invention of printing it was essential, to preserve the recollection of memorable facts, which must otherwise have been neglected and forgotten. It is a practice, sanctioned by Jehovah himself.

For this purpose was the institution of the Jewish sabbath, designed as well to commemorate the accomplishment of creation and the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, as to typify that "rest, which remaineth to the people of God." For this purpose was the feast of the first fruits, or, as it is called in the New Testament, the feast of Pentacost. This forcibly impressed on the minds of the people their obligations to heaven for the blessings of the harvest. For this purpose was the feast of tabernacles. In the celebration of this festival the children of Israel were required to dwell in tents, to represent the manner, in which their fathers sojourned, during their long continuance in the wilderness.
For a like useful purpose was instituted the passover, to which the text particularly alludes. By a significant ceremony they were led to reflect on the signal mercy of the Deity in sparing their lives, while others fell victims to divine indignation. The eating of unleavened bread, which formed a part of this rite, revived in their minds a remembrance of their abrupt, yet complete and merciful deliverance from Egyptian usurpation and persecution.

Not merely by such scenical representations were the Israelites reminded of God’s providential dealings and of their correspondent obligations. They were required early and diligently to impress them by parental instruction on the minds of the rising generation. When their children should ask, "What mean ye by this" or that "service," they were religiously bound to resolve their inquiries. "These words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children; and shalt talk of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." The psalmist accordingly says, "I will utter dark sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works, that he hath done. For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children; that the
generation to come might know them, even the children, which should be born, who should arise, and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God; but keep his commandments.” It is also said, “One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts. They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and sing of thy righteousness.”

As parents were required to relate the history of God’s proceedings to their children, so children were commanded to appeal for the knowledge of them to their parents. “Remember the days of old. Consider the years of many generations. Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.”

In relation to such historical discussions, we are not confined to precepts. The sacred scriptures abound with examples. Thus the psalmist gives repeated details of the dispensations of heaven toward the children of Israel from their national birth to the times, in which he wrote. In the book of the Acts the martyr Stephen recounts the leading events relating to his nation down to the crucifixion and death of the blessed Savior.

The same reasons, which render it scriptural and useful for nations to recognise the footsteps of divine providence, make it proper for smaller societies and corporate bodies to retrace, on suitable occasions, those local events, in which they feel more immediately interested.
Such an occasion, my hearers, now presents itself to you. This day completes a century from the incorporation of this town. At such a memorable epoch, the mind almost involuntarily recurs to former times. With melancholy pleasure it dwells on scenes, which are forever past. It delights in imagination to visit the ashes of our fathers, and with prying curiosity to learn the events, in which they were the principal actors.

On such topics, while the inquisitive experience satisfaction, the devout find subjects of religious improvement.

To aid your reflections on this occasion nothing can be better adapted, than the words, with which I introduced my discourse. "This day shall be unto you for a memorial." Yes, my christian friends, it becomes you with pious gratitude to acknowledge and to adore the hand of a kind Providence in conducting you from an origin humble and inconsiderable to your present prosperous and respectable condition. Well may I exhort you, in the language of the prophet, "Tell ye your children of it; and let your children tell their children; and their children another generation."

The name, 1 originally given by our ancestors to the town, we inhabit, was Muddy-river. 2 It was thus denominated from the stream, which is one of its eastern boundaries.

1 By what name it was formerly known to the Indians, whether it were a part of Nonantum, now Newton, or of Shawmut, now Boston, whether it were connected by them with any neighboring town, or had a distinct name, the author, after the most industrious researches, has been unable to ascertain.

2 The first historical notice, I find of it, is in Governor Winthrop's jour-
This town appears to have formed a part of Boston from its first settlement. For so early, as 1633, the following account is given of it in a book, entitled New England's Prospect. 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.

By the records of Boston it appears, that special privileges were early granted in this place to the poor. For the first mention, they make of it, is in a vote, taken in the year 1635, by which it is ordered, that the poorer sort of inhabitants, such as are members, or likely so to be, and have no cattle, have their proportion of allotments for 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.

Agreeably to this resolve, there are recorded the names of one hundred and two persons, who received their portion of acres according to the numbers, of
which their families respectively consisted, and accord­
ing to the part of the town, they occupied. That a large proportion of these emigrated hence, it is prob­able from this consideration, that but ten, who bear these names, are now living in this town, and that four of these are not natives of the place.¹

In the year 1639 "it was agreed" by the govern­ment of this commonwealth, "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."² This was all however gradually alienated by subsequent grants.³

The latter part of this year, the boundary line be­tween Boston and Roxbury, at Muddy-river, was amicably adjusted by a committee from each town; and the next year, 1640, by the same process, the limits between this place and Cambridge, which then comprehended Cambridge, Little-Cambridge, and Newton, were settled in the same harmonious man­ner.⁴

At peace with their neighbors, the inhabitants of this place remained in quiet connexion with their par­ent town, till the year 1686. By reason of the in­convenience of attending business within the peninsu­la, they then petitioned the General Court, and ob­tained leave, to manage their own affairs by men, chosen from among themselves, and to be exempt from rates to the town of Boston. The conditions were, that they should support their own expenses;

¹ The present natives of the town, who bear the names of the first settlers, are Davis, Griggs, Harris, Jackson, Winchester, and White.
² See records in Secretary’s office.
³ See Boston records Vol. I. passim.
⁴ See records in the Secretary’s office.
and "within one year erect a school, and provide an "able reading and writing master."

At their next meeting, the inhabitants of Muddy-river voted their acceptance of this grant and compliance with its conditions. At the same time they made provision for the maintenance of a schoolmaster. It is therefore probable, that, in the true spirit of our New England ancestors, they thus early attended to the instruction of youth, though, at this period, there is an interruption in our records for a series of years.

While providing for their comfortable subsistence and for the education of their children, we are not to suppose, that they were inattentive to religious institutions. Far otherwise. With respect to many of them, they would have esteemed every other worldly convenience, as of little worth, if deprived of the means of knowing their Savior, and of worshipping their God. Unlike great numbers in modern times, who have little or no relish for the beauties of holiness, and who wilfully neglect the assembling of themselves together for religious purposes, they "loved the habitation of God's house, the place, where his honor dwelleth;" and they subjected themselves to great inconveniences, before they could erect a house of worship, in uniting with a neighboring society. Tradition informs us, that they regularly assembled with the first church in Roxbury; and by the records of that church it appears, that they were ad-

1 For this and all other information relating to the incorporation of Brookline see a bundle of documents, on file in the Secretary's office of this commonwealth, under the date of 1705.

2 See Brookline records, Vol. I. p. 3.
mitted, on equal terms with its own members, to partake the benefit of gospel ordinances and institutions.

In the year 1698, when the committee, chosen by the town of Roxbury to seat the people in the meeting house, were about to meet, they requested a committee from the inhabitants of Muddy-river to sit and act with them. At this meeting, it was unanimously agreed, that the inhabitants of Muddy-river should enjoy a right to the fifth part of the said meeting house, they paying a fifth part of all the past and present charges, which did arise from repairing the same. To this condition they readily assented; and they continued ever after peaceably to unite in the public worship of God, till a house was erected in this place.

Unconnected in a great degree with Boston, separated from it by water and an intervening town, and not meeting with it for municipal or religious purposes, the inhabitants of this village came at length to feel no bond of union with their parent town. Besides these circumstances, the increase of their numbers and wealth imboldened them to seek a complete separation.

Accordingly in March 1701, they requested the consent of Boston for reasons, which they specify, "to be a district or hamlet separate from the town."

Instead of granting their request, the inhabitants of Boston rigorously exercised over them all the authority, they possessed.

Finding their application to Boston ineffectual, they resolved to apply to still higher powers. They there-

1 See Brookline records.
2 See aforementioned documents in the Secretary's office.
fore, in June 1704, petitioned the Governor, Council, and Assembly, "that they might be allowed to be a separate village."!

On this the inhabitants of Boston had several meetings, warmly remonstrated against the petition, and represented the request, as highly ingrateful in this people, after having experienced so many favors. Their petition was at this time rejected.

They however persisted in their request; and, in the summer of 1705, presented a petition to be incorporated, signed by thirty-two freeholders.

This petition, having passed through the various readings both in the Assembly and in the Council, was finally granted; and the signature of the Governor incorporating it, as a distinct town, by the name of BROOKLINE, was obtained, on the thirteenth of November, O.S. 1705. They were "enjoined" by the act "to build a meeting house, and to obtain an "able, orthodox minister, according to the direction "of the law, to be settled among them within the "space of three years." But so small were their numbers, and so moderate their circumstances, that they were not able to comply with this injunction.

In the year 1709, they sent their first representative to the General Court.

It was not till the tenth of November, O.S. 1714, nine years after the incorporation of the town, that

1 See aforementioned documents in the Secretary office.
2 There is no date to the petition. See Appendix, I.
3 See Appendix, II.
4 See "A copy of Brookline's grant," which was sent to this town by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and which may be found in Brookline records, Vol. I. p. 13.
5 John Winchester.
6 Samuel Sewall jun'r's. manuscript journal.
their meeting house, the house, in which we now worship, was raised.

In the February previous to this, a committee of the General Court, in consequence of a petition from this town, having viewed the several places, proposed by the inhabitants, unanimously approved of this spot, as the most convenient place for erecting a house of worship.°

The covenant was read in public, and this church was gathered, the twenty sixth of October, 1717, by the reverend Mr. Thayer of the second church in Roxbury. At that time, seventeen males and twenty two females were united in church fellowship.³

On the twenty first of November, in the same year, yonder burial-ground, in which are deposited the remains of so many of our dear friends, was devoted to its present use.⁴

A fast ⁵ was observed in this house, on the twenty third of July, 1718, to seek divine direction in the ordination of a minister.

On the fifth of November, in the same year, the reverend James Allen, ⁶ a native of Roxbury, was ordained the first minister of this church and people.⁷

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° The vote to build it passed, 2 December, 1713. Town records.

² See records in the Secretary's office. It appears, there was some division of opinion among the inhabitants respecting the most convenient place. But we hear of no dissatisfaction, after the report of the court's committee.

³ Brookline church records. ⁴ Town records.

⁵ The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather and the Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston officiated on the occasion. Judge Sewall's manuscript journal.

⁶ He graduated at Harvard University, 1710.

⁷ The Rev. Messrs Wadsworth and Colman of Boston prayed. Dr. Cotton Mather of Boston gave the charge. The Rev. Mr. Shepard of Lynn, whose daughter Mr. Allen afterwards married, gave the right hand of fellowship. It is probable, Mr. Allen himself preached the sermon, as was the custom of those times. Church records.
The character of Mr. Allen, as given by his contemporaries; and by persons of this society, who yet remember him, is that of a pious and judicious divine. The seven miscellaneous sermons now extant, which were published during his life, do equal honor to his head and his heart.

In the course of his ministry, "the word of God," there is reason to believe, "mightily grew and prevailed." In July, 1743, he wrote to a convention of ministers in Boston an account of an attention to religion among his people. In this letter he writes, "There have been scores of persons under awakenings. Yea, I have sometimes thought, there has not been a single person of my congregation, but has been more or less under concern about the important matters of another world, and what he should do to be saved. Though these impressions, "I fear, are worn off; in many in others, I have no reason to doubt, but they have been carried to a sound and saving conversion. Additions to the church have been considerable for numbers of such, as, I hope, through grace shall be saved; and chiefly of younger persons; one of but eleven years of age, and another in the eleventh and last hour of

1 The only survivor, who joined the church in Mr. Allen's day, is Mr. Elhanan Winchester, now living in Newton, aged about 86 years. He became a member, 11 December, 1737. He is the father of the late Elhanan Winchester, who was born in Brookline 1751, and who, without an academical education, commenced a Baptist preacher, and was the first minister of the church of this denomination in Newton. Afterwards he became an itinerant preacher of the doctrine of Restoration in various parts both of England and America. He published several volumes on this subject; and died at Hartford, in Connecticut, 1797. His system is a close imitation of the late Dr. Chauncy's and others.

2 Appendix, III.
"life, being above seventy; three of a liberal education, two of them since hopeful young preachers."

Afterwards, from peculiar circumstances, perhaps from the apostasy of some, who had appeared strong in the faith, Mr. Allen was led to speak of this revival "unadvisedly with his lips." This produced an alienation among some of his former friends; so that the evening of his life was not so bright, as was the meridian of his ministry.

The illness, of which he died, was a lingering consumption. The clergyman, who supplied his pulpit, during his confinement, speaks of his last days, as happy. "He was," says he, "in a frame becoming a Christian. He told me, he had a hope, which he would not part with for a thousand worlds; but he desired to have the light of God's countenance shining upon him, in such a manner, that he might be fearless; and longed to have stronger desires to depart, and be with Christ."

Thus, "after he had served his generation, by the will of God, he fell on sleep," the eighteenth of February, 1747, in the fifty sixth year of his age, and in the twenty ninth of his ministry.

The additions to the church during his ministry were one hundred and fifteen, besides forty four, who owned the covenant without coming to the Lord's table. The baptisms were two hundred and sixty one.

After Mr. Allen's decease, the church and people

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1 For the whole of this letter, see "The Christian History" &c. published at Boston, 1743, Vol. I. p. 394.
2 The Rev. John Walley, in his journal. He was afterwards minister of Ipswich and of Bolton.
3 There was at this period no regular record of marriages or of deaths.
gave a call to Mr. Cotton Brown, son of a former minister of Haverhill. He was accordingly ordained, the twenty sixth of October, 1748. So short was his ministry, that his people had hardly an opportunity to become acquainted with him, before he was summoned to the world of spirits. This happened, the thirteenth of April, 1751, when he had been ordained but little more, than two years, and in the twenty fifth year of his age.

The additions to the church, while he was minister, were only two, admissions to the baptismal covenant two, and baptisms twenty four.

The Rev. Samuel Haven, afterwards of Portsmouth, and the Rev. Stephen Badger, afterwards of Natick, were next successively invited to settle in this place, and each returned a negative answer.

After this, the Rev. Robert Rogerson, a foreigner, received and accepted an invitation to settle here in the ministry. But certain difficulties arising, he was dismissed by a mutual council.

Then Mr. Nathaniel Potter of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was called to the pastoral office, and was ordained, the nineteenth of November, 1755. But after

1 He graduated at Cambridge, 1743.
2 The Rev. Messrs. Cotton of Newton and Walter of Roxbury prayed. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the charge; and the Rev. Mr. Townsend of Needham, the right hand of fellowship. The Rev. Samuel Cooke of Cambridge preached the sermon from 2 Tim. ii. 2, which was printed.
3 His disorder was a violent fever.
4 He had a degree of A. M. conferred at Cambridge, 1765.
5 The difficulties, which arose, were not so much between him and the people, as between different parties among the people. He was afterwards settled at Rehoboth, where he passed a long life in the ministry, highly beloved and respected, and eminently useful.
6 He graduated at Princeton, New Jersey, 1753.
he had been in the ministry about three years and a half, he was dismissed, agreeably to his request, the seventeenth of June, 1759. *

The admissions to the church within this period were fifteen. Five owned the covenant; and forty were baptized.

Immediately after his departure, the eyes of the people were generally directed toward my highly revered and greatly beloved predecessor, the Rev. Joseph Jackson.1 Being a tutor at the neighboring University, he had frequently preached in this place. Recollecting his acceptable services, they chose him to officiate, as the sole candidate. He was soon invited to settle here in the ministry; and was ordained, the ninth of April, 1760.3

With what diligence, fidelity, devotion, and zeal he sustained the pastoral office, you need not be informed. Though dead, he still lives in your memories and your hearts. "Being dead, he yet speaketh" by his doctrines, his preaching, his life. "He was a burning and a shining light; and ye were willing, for a season, to rejoice in his light. Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblamably he behaved himself among you, that believe. Ye know, how he exhorted, and comforted, and charged every

1 He published a discourse, delivered here, 2 January, 1758, from Jeremiah viii. 20. entitled a new year's gift.

2 He graduated at Cambridge, 1753, and was, for several years, a much respected tutor at the University.

3 The Rev. Mr. Storer of Watertown and the Rev. Dr. Pemberton of Boston prayed. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the charge; and the Rev. Mr. Checkley of Boston, the right hand. Dr. Cooper of Boston preached the sermon from 2 Tim. i. 7. which was printed.
one of you, as a father doth his children, that ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory."

Not only among his affectionate people; but in the societies, where he occasionally officiated, he was highly acceptable, as a preacher. Yet, such was his extreme modesty, such his diffidence, that he refused to preach on several public occasions. Never would he consent to issue a sermon from the press, though often and earnestly solicited.

As proof of your generosity and affection toward him, though you yourselves were great sufferers by the late inveterate war with Great Britain, you regularly provided for his comfortable support, while many were content to discharge their obligations in contracts by the mere payment of the nominal sums in depreciated currency. Thus you manifested your readiness "to minister" to him "in carnal things, while made partakers of his spiritual things."

In the year 1759, Samuel White, Esq. gave a valuable woodlot in a neighboring town for the use of the ministry in Brookline.

In May 1762, the town received three hundred and eight half-johannes, which Mr. Edward Devotion very generously bequeathed to the town of Brookline,

1 At the General Election 1769, and afterwards before the convention of ministers.
2 He even left positive orders to have all his manuscripts destroyed immediately after his decease.
3 In like manner, after the peace, when the precious metals greatly depreciated, all his expenses, which exceeded his income, were allowed him from year to year above his stated salary. Town records.
4 Equal to £739 4s in lawful money. After some losses by paper money, the principal is now £280. 6s.
the interest of which is to be regularly appropriated to the use of schools.

The town voted to build a steeple to this house, in September, 1771, and to accept with thankfulness the bell, which was the generous present of the late Nicholas Boylston, Esq.

In the dangers, which threatened, and in the evils, which resulted from the late arduous conflict with our mother country, the inhabitants of this town bore their full share. It is but just to add, that they unitedly manifested the spirit of freemen.

Yonder fortifications at Sewall's point are standing memorials of the dangers, to which you were exposed from the neighboring enemy. When the sword was first drawn, and hostilities commenced, you rushed with ardor, as volunteers, into the embattled field; and, painful to recollect, one of your most active, respectable, useful, and beloved townsmen fell a victim to his patriotism and zeal in his country's cause.

After the happy return of peace, as you had shared the adversities of your country, you partook its prosperity. By your delegate to the convention, my late worthy predecessor, you accepted the federal constitution, which has been the source of so many blessings to our country, and which, under God, is our country's best hope.

1 So early, as 1767, they unanimously voted, that this town will take all prudent and legal measures to promote industry, economy, and manufactures, and to discourage the use of European superfluities.

In 1768 they sent a committee to Faneuil hall to meet similar committees from other aggrieved towns; and in 1772 they chose a committee of correspondence to unite with others of a like description in consulting the general good. Town records.

2 Isaac Gardner, Esq. See page 29
In May 1781, a building spot was purchased; and, in the course of this and the subsequent year, a house was erected for the use of the ministry.  

On the twenty second of July, 1796, the Rev. Joseph Jackson, whose memory you so deservedly cherish, was removed by a sudden and awful death, in the sixty second year of his age, and the thirty seventh of his ministry. His health had been gradually decaying for a considerable time. The loss of an only son, six years before, was evidently instrumental in bringing him "down with sorrow to the grave."  

For some time before his death, he exhibited many presages, and expressed confident expectations of approaching dissolution. But it was then, as it had been long his prayer, that his life and his usefulness might terminate together. His prayer was happily answered.  

The last sabbath of his life, he addressed you from this desk; and his dying counsel was to "beseech you, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." Can you, my hearers, who witnessed his last exertions in your behalf, who even received his dying charge, forget or neglect his affectionate exhortations? Can you be unmindful of his many urgent admonitions, his zealous addresses, his important instructions, his fervent prayers? Be assured, that all these will rise in judgment against you, if, through contempt or indifference,

1 In the summer of 1787 an engine company was formed by an equal number of the inhabitants of Brookline and Roxbury. The engine is in Brookline near the boundary line between the two towns.  
2 At his funeral the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham preached a discourse, which was published, from Luke xii. 35, 36, 37.  
3 He even procured a supply of his pulpit for the sabbath after his decease.  
4 This was his last text, ii Cor. xi. 1.
you neglect the salvation, which, as an ambassador of Christ, he so faithfully announced.

During his ministry one hundred and twenty nine were added to the church; seventy eight owned the covenant; three hundred and seventy nine received baptism; two hundred and seventy six were removed by death.

In an account, published of this town in the year 1785, it is mentioned, that there were but fifty families in this place, and that this was the number at its incorporation. Since that period, there has been a considerable increase. This town can now number eighty eight families; fifty five of which are freeholders; and seventy nine, constant residents.

Eight years ago, last March, your present pastor was solemnly ordained to the ministerial office in this place. It is his daily prayer to the God of all grace, that his sincere, though defective exertions among you may "not be in vain in the Lord."

Since his ordination sixty five of his flock have departed this life; one hundred and five have received the ordinance of baptism; fifteen have owned the covenant; and thirty six have been added to the church.

1 Boston Magazine, for June.
2 This increase has been principally occasioned by gentlemen, who own country seats in this town, many of whom reside in Boston during the winter. By the census in 1800 Brookline contained 605 inhabitants. In the year 1797 there were 72 houses. There are now 82 houses, and another is erecting.
3 March 15, 1797. On this occasion the Rev. John Bradford of Roxbury introduced the solemnities with prayer; the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris of Dorchester preached a discourse, which was published, from 1 Cor. iii. 10—15; the Rev. Dr. Thacher of Boston made the consecrating prayer; the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham gave the charge; the Rev. Eliphalet Porter of Roxbury gave the right hand of fellowship; the Rev. William Greenough of Newton concluded with prayer.
4 Nine members of the church have died.
From the first organization of this church, now eighty eight years, there have been in the whole eight hundred and eleven baptized; one hundred and forty four have owned the covenant; three hundred and forty have been added to the church, and, since the first of January, 1760, when the regular records of deaths commenced, three hundred and forty six have been numbered with the dead.

Since the first settlement of this place, twenty six have received an education at Harvard University, of which one is now a member. Of these six have been ordained ministers of the gospel.

In review of what has been delivered, it becomes us, my hearers, to reflect with gratitude on the divine goodness to us and to our fathers. In the infancy of this settlement, the circumstances of the people were penurious. Many were the difficulties, which they had to encounter. They were liable to frequent incursions from the savages of the wilderness. Besides keeping themselves in a constant posture of defence, they were repeatedly obliged to furnish levies for offensive operations against the indians.

Notwithstanding these obstacles and discouragements, they trained their children to habits of industry. They early provided them with schools. They were particularly attentive to the institutions of religion. Behold now the fruits of these exertions, the blessings of their piety, which, according to divine promise, have extended to children's children.

Attentively call to mind the dealings of Providence toward them; and endeavor to resemble them in those

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1 Appendix, IV.  
2 Appendix, V.  
3 Appendix, VI.  
4 Appendix, VII.
numerous virtues, which they left for your imitation. Shun the vices, which they scorned to practise. In a particular manner copy their fervent piety to God. Then may you rationally trust, that the Lord God will be with you, as he was with your fathers; that he will never leave, nor forsake you.

You will permit me to hope, that the elegant and spacious temple,1 with which you usher in this new century of your corporate existence, is a happy presage, that you will cherish and defend the religious institutions so dear to your fathers; that you will sacredly devote it to the use, for which it is professedly erected; that you will never by vicious or worldly pursuits contract a disrelish for its pious services, nor neglect its stated solemnities. May prosperity continue to attend it, its builders, its proprietors. May it long remain a bond of union to the inhabitants of this town and to those, who worship with us. May it be a consecrated pledge, that we will walk together in unity, while associated here below; and, when called from the worship of Jehovah on earth, may we be transferred to the courts above, be "pillars in the temple of God, to go no more out," and with our pious and revered ancestors, and the spirits of just men made perfect of every nation and of every age, may we together dwell in "the building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

1 Appendix, VIII.
APPENDIX.

I.

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 the 13th day of 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, jun.
Thomas Gardner
Benjamin White
Thomas Stedman
John Winchester
Samuel Aspinwall
Eleazer Aspinwall
William Sharp
Edward Devotion
Josiah Winchester, jun.
John Ellis
John Winchester, jun.
Thomas Woodward
1 Holland
1 Gardner, jun.
Joseph White

Josiah Winchester
John Devotion
Joseph Gardner
Thomas Stedman, jun.
John Ackers
Joshua Stedman
Thomas Gardner, jun.
Ralph Shepard
Abraham Chamberlain
Peter Boylston
John Ackers, jun.
William Ackers
Benjamin White, jun.
Caleb Gardner
John Seaver
Henry Winchester.

1 These christian names, being at the bottom, were worn off.

See documents in Sec. office.
It is supposed, that the town was called Brookline, not from Brooklyn in England; but from the circumstance, that smelt brook, which runs by Sewall's farm, so called, is a boundary line between this town and Cambridge; and that another brook, which falls into Muddy-river, is a boundary between this town and Roxbury.

Judge Sewall, in his manuscript journal, speaks of this place by the name of Brooklin long before its incorporation. He calls it so as early, as 1687, and often uses it in other parts of his journal, before 1705.

It was not customary, when this town was incorporated, to engross acts of incorporation on parchment. Of course, no such record of this town is to be found in the Secretary's office of this commonwealth.

But by an endorsement on the petition there lodged, it is expressly stated, that it was incorporated by the name of Brookline.

In the copy of the act, which the Secretary was directed to send to Brookline, in the records of this town, it is spelt in the same manner.

These facts are sufficient forever to settle the long contested and variously decided question respecting its orthography.

It is a common tradition, that, previously to the incorporation of Brookline, the eastern boundary of this place was Muddy-river to its source; and that, when this town was incorporated, through the influence of Gov. Dudley in favor of Roxbury, where he lived, the boundary was moved back from Muddy-river, where it ought to be, to the brook, which now forms it.

But, when a man is unpopular, nothing is more common, than to allege against him charges, which cannot be supported.

By old deeds in possession of those, who now live between Muddy-river and Brookline, it appears, that the territory between these two places was known by the name of Roxbury precinct, long before the incorporation of Brookline. This precinct is in repeated instances said to be bounded on the east by Muddy-river.

In an old deed of eighteen acres, given in 1675, twenty seven years before Gov. Dudley came to the chair, this land is said to be in Roxbury, and to be bounded on the northwest by the dividing line, which separates Roxbury from Boston. From the land
described, this line is known to run up the lane, which passes by
the engine house, in a southwesterly direction, and which is now
the boundary between Roxbury and Brookline. See old deeds in
the hands of Capt. Wyman, and others in that vicinity.

In May, 1780, the town of Brookline was surveyed, and found
to contain 4416 acres. See Town records.

III.
Mr. Allen’s printed discourses are,
I. A Thanksgiving sermon, “What shall I render,” from
Psalm CXVI, 12. 8 Nov. 1722.
II. “The wheels of the world governed by a wise Provi­
dence,” Ezekiel I. 15, 16. 1727.
III. “The doctrine of merit exploded, and humility recom­
IV. “Thunder and earthquake, a loud and awful call to re­
formation,” Isaiah XXIX. 6. A Fast sermon, occasioned by
the earthquake in 1727.
V. “Evangelical obedience the way to eternal life,” A ser­
mon to a society of young men in Brookline, Mat. XIX, 16, 17.
1731
VI. “The eternity of God, and the short life of man consid­
ered,” A sermon on the death of Samuel Aspinwall, A. M.
Psalm CII. 11, 12. 1733.
VII. “Magistracy an institution of Christ upon the throne,”
An Election sermon, Isaiah VI. 1. 1744.

IV.
A list of Brookline ministers with the time of their ordina­
tion, dismissal, or death.
1. James Allen, A.M. ordained 5 Nov. 1718; died 18 Feb.
1747, æt. 56.
April, 1751, æt. 25.
3. Nathaniel Potter, A.M. ordained 19 Nov. 1755; dismiss­
ed 17 June, 1759.
4. Joseph Jackson, A. M. ordained 9 April, 1760; died 22
July, 1796, æt. 62.
The following is a list of the Deacons of Brookline church with the time of their choice, resignation, and death as far, as has been ascertained.

Chosen.
1718, Dec. 7. { Thomas Gardner.
    Samuel Clark, resigned 12 Feb. 1749; died 7 May, 1766, æt. 81.
    Thomas Cotton, dismissed to Pomfret.
    Ebenezer Davis, resigned 5 April, 1770; died 30 Sep. 1775, æt. 72.
    Joseph White, resigned 5 April, 1770; died 19 Aug. 1777, æt. 75.
    Elisha Gardner, resigned 2 Dec. 1792; died 29 Jan. 1797, æt. 70.
    William Bowies, dismissed to Newton, 20 Sep. 1772.
    Samuel Clark.

An account of the church plate in Brookline with the donors' names.

Four tankards.
1. The gift of Edward Devotion, 1744.
2. The gift of Miss Mary Allen, 1750.
3. The gift of Miss Ann White.
4. The gift of Mrs. Susanna Sharp, 1770.

Four cups.
1. The gift of Thomas Woodward, 1770.
2. The gift of Mary Woodward, 1770.
3, 4. The gift of William Hyslop, 1792.

The whole number of deaths in Brookline from 1 Jan. 1760, to 1 Jan. 1806.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
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<tr>
<td>1761</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>1762</td>
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<td>1763</td>
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<td>1764</td>
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<td>1766</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Between 2 and 10</td>
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<td>Between 10 and 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Between 20 and 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Between 30 and 40</td>
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<tr>
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### Disorders

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumptions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fevers</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropsy</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dysentery</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Decay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fits</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Small pox</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accidents</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suddenly</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaundice</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat distemper</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In child bed</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lethargy: 2  
Gout: 2  
Canker: 2  
Quinsy: 2  
Rising of the lights: 1  
Kings evil: 1  
Apoplexy: 1  
Melancholy: 1  
Asthma: 1  
Strangury: 1  
Worms: 1

One was killed in battle, and 138 died of diseases not mentioned.

Of those, whose ages are specified, precisely one half lived beyond the age of 40; nearly one quarter lived to the age of 70; and about one in ten lived to the age of 80.

The average number of deaths is fifteen in every two years, or seven one year, and eight the next, alternately.

The prevalent disorder has been consumption, of which about one sixth part have died.

### VI.

A list of those,† who have been educated at Harvard University from Brookline.

1. Graduated 1698. *John White, A.M.* He was ordained minister at Gloucester, April, 1703. He died 16 Jan. 1766, aet. 80.

2. 1707. *Ebenezer Devotion, A.M.* He was ordained minister of Suffield in Connecticut, 28 June, 1710; and died 11 April, 1741, aet. 57.

* Mr. Vaughan died in 1775, aged 97.

† For several of the following particulars I am indebted to the Hon. William Winthrop, Esq., of Cambridge.
3. 1712. * Edward White, A.M. He was afterwards a farmer in Brookline, Major of the regiment of militia, Representative to the General Court, and Justice of the peace. He was born 10 July, 1693, and died 29 May, 1769, æt. 76.

4. 1712. * Andrew Gardner, A.M. He was ordained minister of Worcester in 1719, and was dismissed in Oct. 1722. He was after that installed at Lunenburgh, 15 May, 1728, and dismissed, 22 Feb. 1732.

5. 1714. * Samuel Aspinwall, A.M. He was born 13 Feb. 1696; and died 13 Aug. 1732, æt. 37.

The Rev. Mr. Allen published a funeral sermon on his death, in which he gives him an excellent character for moral and literary worth. The following account of him by the same hand appeared in the New England weekly journal, No. 283.

Brookline, Aug. 21. On the 13th instant died here Mr. Samuel Aspinwall, of this town, in the 37th 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.

6. 1733. * Ebenezer White, A.M. He was born 29 March, 1713. He was minister of Mansfield, now Norton.

7. 1737. * Jonathan Winchester, A.M. He was born 21 April, 1717; and was ordained minister of Dorchester-Canada, since Ashburnham, 23 April, 1760. He died 27 Nov. 1767, æt. 51.

8. 1738, * Henry Sewall, A.M. He was born 8 March, 1720. He passed his days on one of his farms in this town; and was justice of the peace. He died 29 May, 1771, æt. 52.

9. 1738. * John Druce, A.M. He was a physician at Wrentham.

10. 1738. * Charles Gleason, A.M. He was born 29 Dec. 1718; ordained minister of Dudley, 31 Oct. 1744; and died 7 May, 1790, æt. 72.

1 See page 25.
11. 1742. * James Allen, A. M. He was son of the first minister of Brookline. He was born 20 Sep. 1723; and died young.

12. 1744. * Benjamin White, A. M. son of Major Edward White, Esq. aforementioned. He was born 5 Oct. 1724. He spent his days on his farm in this town. He was Justice of the peace; for many years a Representative to the General Court, and a Counsellor. He died 8 May, 1790, æt. 66.

13. 1747. * Isaac Gardner, A. M. He was born 9 May, 1726, and led an agricultural life in Brookline. He was Justice of the peace. On the memorable 19th of April, 1775, he went, as a volunteer, to Lexington battle, and was killed at Cambridge 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.

14. 1761. * Hull Sewall, A. M. He was the son of Henry Sewall, Esq. born 9 April, 1744; and died 27 Nov. 1767, æt. 24.

15. 1761. Samuel Sewall, A. M. He was born 31 Dec. 1745. He practised law for some time in Boston. At the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, he left his native country, and has since resided at Bristol in England.

16. 1764. William Aspinwall, A. M. Physician of Brookline. For several years he was Representative to the General Court, and afterwards Senator from the county of Norfolk.

17. 1764. * Isaac Winchester, A. M. He was born 5 Aug. 1743; and died in the continental army.


19. 1777. John Goddard, A. M. merchant in Portsmouth, N. H. For many years he was Representative to the court; and is at present Senator in the legislature of said state.


22. 1787. * Joseph Jackson, A. M, son of the fourth min-
ister of Brookline. He died at Portsmouth, N.H. 19 Aug. 1790, while pursuing the study of physic.


26. In the same class, Isaac S. Gardner, son of Col. Isaac S. Gardner, Esq. He is student of law at Alexandria in Virginia.

Samuel Jackson Gardner, son of Mr. Caleb Gardner, is now Junior Sophister at College.

The late Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, F. R. S. a native of Brookline, has been so highly and so deservedly celebrated, that a brief account of him cannot be unacceptable.

He was born in this town of respectable parents, in 1684. After a good private education, he studied physic with Dr. Cutler, an eminent physician and surgeon of Boston; and, in process of time, arrived at great distinction in his profession.

In the year 1721, the small pox prevailed in Boston. Having been informed by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather of the mode, 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, and the beginning of 1722, he inoculated 247 persons in Boston and the neighboring towns. Thirty nine were inoculated by others, making in the whole 286, of whom only six died.

Notwithstanding this wonderful success, the populace, headed an 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 died in consequence of inoculation. To such a pitch 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 his skill in treating the small pox. He did not however visit that country, till 1725, when inoculation was common. He was then received with the most flattering attention. He was chosen member of the royal society; and 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 useful.

After a long period of eminence and skill in his profession, he retired to his patrimonial estate in Brookline, to pass the remainder of his days. He there expired, on the 1st of 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, on the first day of March, A. D. 1766, ætat. 87.

For a more particular account of him, see a sketch of his life and character, written by the late Dr. Thacher of Boston, and inserted in the Massachusetts Magazine for Dec. 1789, from which the above is principally taken.

It is but justice to add, that Dr. Aspinwall of this town has continued the practice, which his renowned predecessor thus introduced, with equal diligence, fidelity, and zeal, and with still greater success.

Perhaps no practitioner in the United States has inoculated so many persons, or has acquired such skill and celebrity in treating this malignant disease.

Besides his practice in this disorder, when it has generally spread, he has been allowed, ever since the year 1788, to keep a hospital open at all times, to which great numbers have repaired, and from which they have safely returned with warm expressions of satisfaction.

VII.

In these indian wars several of their sons fell victims in the prime and vigor of life.
Tradition has preserved the names of but few. The Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, in the first volume of his American Annals, page 429, has mentioned the following inscription found on a stone in Sudbury, giving an account of the death of Lieutenant Sharp of this town. "Captain Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, his Lieut. Sharp of Brooklin, and twenty six other soldiery, fighting for the defence of their country, were slain by the Indian enemy, April 18th. 1675, and lye buried in this place."

VIII.

16 May, 1804. It was voted to build a new meeting house, where the old meeting house stands.

But it being inconvenient, for several reasons, to carry this resolution into effect, this vote was reconsidered; and, 5 September, 1804, it was voted to build the meeting house, where it is now located.

The corner stone was laid, 11 April, 1805. The house was several days in raising with a very few hands by the help of machinery. The architect is Mr. Peter Banner, a native of England.

The old meeting house is 44 feet long, and 35 feet wide. It originally contained but 14 pews. It now has 28 pews on the floor; and 4 in the gallery.

The new house is 68 feet long, and 64 feet wide. The porch is 19 feet long, and 38 feet wide. The lobbies at each side of the porch are 11 feet square. The height of the building from the top of the foundation to the eaves is 35 feet and 6 inches. From the foundation of the tower to the top of the spire it is 137 feet high.

There will be 74 pews on the floor, and 14 in the gallery.

The unanimity, with which the building has been thus far conducted, and with which every thing respecting it promises to be settled, notwithstanding the obstacles, which at first arose, is truly wonderful. We are constrained to say, "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes."

Great, great grandfather of the present Stephen Sharp, Esq. The son of this Lieut. Sharp afterwards lost his life in an expedition against the indians in Canada.
DISCOURSE

DELIVERED,

9 NOVEMBER, 1817,

THE LORD'S DAY AFTER THE COMPLETION OF A CENTURY FROM

THE GATHERING OF THE CHURCH IN

BROOKLINE.

BY JOHN PIERCE, A. M.

THE FIFTH MINISTER OF BROOKLINE.

The fashion of this world passeth away.

One generation passeth away; and another generation cometh.

BOSTON,
PRINTED BY JOHN FLIOT, NO. 5 COURT STREET
1818.

The Apostle Paul.

Solomon.
The Author affectionately dedicates the following plain matters of fact, with the observations suggested by them, to the beloved church and people of his charge. They may find interest in details, which to others would appear tediously minute.

He has omitted many things, appropriate to the subject, because they are already published in his sermon, delivered, 24 Nov. 1805, on the completion of a century from the incorporation of the town. To this, and particularly to an improved edition, contained in the collections of the Historical Society, Vol. II. New Series, beginning with p. 140, he begs leave to refer for information and authorities, relating to the church and town of Brookline, which he has neglected to specify in this discourse.

He cannot dismiss the subject, without expressing the devout wish, that his people may be as anxious to imitate the virtues of their fathers, as they have been to preserve this tribute to their memory.
EVERY reflecting mind at times recurs to past gener­ations and events. A melancholy pleasure is derived from examining the place of our fathers' sepulchres, from holding converse, as it were, with the spirits of the deceased, from visiting the scenes of their former toils, sufferings, and enjoyments, and from contemplat­ing the constant, yet gradual changes in the face of nature and of society.

The associations suggested by such inquiries are adapted to produce something beyond mere amusement. They are fraught with useful instruction. They furnish us with facts important in the conduct of life. They enable us to discern, and thus caution us to avoid the errors of those, who have gone before us. They bring to view whatever was praiseworthy in their characters, and thus gently allure us to imitation.

Such reflections, properly conducted, bring home to our consciences the most forcible demonstration of the frailty of human life, and the variable and transi­tory nature of all earthly possessions. They assure us, that changes similar to those, which we contem­
plate in our predecessors, and in many of our cotemporarys, await us, our persons, families, and property; and they thus silently, yet powerfully admonish us to live with reference to infinitely higher objects, than this world can afford.

Accordingly the sacred writers frequently direct our minds to such a retrospect. It is suggested by the inquiries of the prophet. "Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?"

In the preceding verse Zechariah reminds the Jews of the transgressions of their ancestors. The queries in the text are designed to convey the sentiment, that, though their fathers are dead, and they, who ministered to them, are, in like manner, departed; yet the truths, enforced by their ministry, are the same; and it is of infinite importance, that they should observe them.

I have thought, that the solemn inquiries of the prophet are peculiarly appropriate, at the completion of a century from the organization of this church.

It appears by our records, that the church of Christ in this place was gathered, 26 October, 1717. If we allow for difference of style, a century from this date was completed, on the sixth of November, which was the last thursday.

As then, since the last Lord's day, so important an epoch has arrived in the history of our church, may not the present opportunity be seriously and profitably employed in such reflections, as the text and the occasion unitedly suggest?

"Your fathers, where are they?" Several successive generations, it is well known, have passed away, since the formation of this church. How many more then, from the earliest settlements in this place, which
were nearly a century sooner, have gone the way, whence they shall not return?

We have historical documents to prove, that this town was inhabited, within three years of the incorporation of Boston, of which, for more than seventy years, it formed a part. Yet so few were their numbers, and so moderate their circumstances, that we hear of no place of worship, within the present limits of this town, for several generations.

Had our fathers contented themselves with lay preaching, like many of the present day, they might have had publick worship among themselves. But it appears to have been a fixed determination, from which they never departed, to appropriate no place to this purpose, till they could provide for a regularly educated pastor from the school of the prophets.

Accordingly, for the greater part of a century, they cheerfully submitted to the inconvenience of attending publick worship with the first parish in Roxbury, in such numbers, that a fifth part of the meetinghouse was devoted to their use.

On the incorporation of this town, 13 November, 1705, O. S. measures were soon projected for the erection of a house of worship, and the organization of a church.

Owing however to various obstacles, they were not carried into effect, till 10 November, 1714, when the first meetinghouse was raised, of the same dimensions with the one then standing in the South West of Roxbury.*

On 10 December, 1716, Mr. James Allen of Roxbury received a call to be the first minister of this town.

* The Rev. Joseph Jackson preached the two last sermons in this house of worship belonging to the 2d parish in Roxbury, 25 April, 1773.
Preparatory to his settlement, a covenant was prepared, subscribed, and read in publick, and the church gathered by the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, the first minister of the second church in Roxbury.

This step is agreeable to the general usage of congregational churches in our own, and other countries. It is recommended in the Platform of church discipline, framed by our fathers, in 1648. In this they say, "This form" of a church "is a visible covenant, agreement, or consent, whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing of the ordinances of Christ together in the same society, which is usually called the church covenant."*

During the reign of papal usurpation, no such liberty was enjoyed. All were obliged to maintain their faith, and regulate their practice in religious matters by the decrees of the Roman see. This hierarchy not only claimed an authority paramount to the holy scriptures; but also assumed the power to dictate to the consciences of its subjects in all matters both of doctrine and discipline.

The third century is, this season, completed, since the intrepid Martin Luther made the first successful stand against the usurpations of the Romish church. Accordingly, the churches in the Lutheran communion, as well as some of other sects, agreed to observe the thirty first day of October last, as a jubilee to commemorate the emancipation of Christians from the thraldom of papacy. If we consider, from what tyrannical impositions the glorious reformation has helped to rescue its adherents, and what exalted privileges it confers on those, who enjoy it in its purity,

* Chap. iv. § 3.
and are sensible of its full value, we can conceive of no higher ground of religious gratitude, and no fitter subject of joyful celebration.

But so imperfect are the best institutions of mortals, and so gradual is human improvement, that Luther stopped far short of the progress, which has since been made in what he so magnanimously and gloriously began. The same remark may be made of various churches, which are improvements upon Lutheranism.

Our scrupulous forefathers agreed in doctrine with the church of England. But such dominion did she assume over their consciences, in matters of discipline, that they separated from her communion, and subsequently from the land of their nativity, to enjoy un molested their unquestionable and inalienable rights.

Yet such is the inconsistency of human nature, that the rigours, which had been exercised upon them, and of which they so justly complained, when freed from the restraints of others, they persisted in imposing upon all, who dared to vary from their faith or practice.

The rights of conscience have since been better understood, and more successfully maintained; and, I am happy to add, that our church was founded upon the basis, and has uniformly acted upon the principles of the two grand doctrines of the reformation, the sufficiency of the scriptures, and the right of private judgment.

The original covenant of this church is short, comprehensive, and, in a great measure, scriptural. It recognises no peculiarities of sect and party. It proposes no result, or confession, or creed of any council, or synod, of any leader of a sect, or of any body of men, as a term of union. Its foundation is so broad, that it
offers communion to Christians of every denomination. Its leading engagement is "to walk together, as a church of Christ, in all the ways of his worship, according to his word." Proposing the word of God, as the great rule of faith, it does not bind the consciences of men to explain it according to any human standard whatever.

By a different procedure, by requiring assent to intricate and unintelligible creeds of man's invention, some of our churches have so narrowed the terms of communion, that none, but persons of a single sect exclusively, can conscientiously subscribe to them; and thus some scrupulous Christians have been virtually excluded from church fellowship.

In reviewing the ecclesiastical proceedings of our fathers, it is proper to add, that this church, from its organization to the present time, has proceeded upon the plan of the baptismal covenant. In other words, it has admitted adults, on their assent to the church covenant, to baptism for themselves and their children, although they may be detained by conscientious scruples from the Lord's supper.

This practice, it is suspected, has been misunderstood. What has contributed to fix the erroneous impression is the denomination of half-way covenant, as it has been improperly called, when owned, as a term of baptism.

This phrase seems to assume the supposition of a middle course between Christianity and infidelity. But such a sentiment, it is manifest, derives no countenance from scripture or reason. The fact is, our church, in accordance with others similarly constituted, admits persons to own the covenant, as a term of baptism, on the ground, that they are sincere in pro-
fessing it; or, in other words, that they are christians, in a judgment of charity, although detained by conscientious scruples from the table of the Lord. We accordingly never fail to state these principles clearly to such, as apply for this partial admission to christian privileges. We admonish them, that the ordinance of baptism is no less sacred, than the Lord’s supper; that the covenant, which they make in the one case, is not only no less obligatory, than in the other; but that it is in substance precisely the same; that there are not therefore two distinct covenants, the one more solemn, or involving higher obligations, than the other. Hence we exhort them to enter upon their obligations understandingly, not merely to procure baptism for themselves, or their offspring, as a mere form; but with “purpose of heart” to live agreeably to their covenant vows; and to labour diligently and devoutly to remove the scruples, which hinder them from “walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord.”

Exceedingly different are the forms of constituting churches, and of admitting members. In order to church membership, some demand assent to the peculiarities, which distinguish them from every other sect. Others have no express covenant. Between these extremes there is an indefinite variety of modes and forms.

It is not a little remarkable, that our forefathers, with all their zeal for the peculiarities of their own faith and practice and discipline, in matters of religion, should admit, that the constitution of a church may be valid without a church covenant.*

* See the Platform of church discipline, Chap. iv. § 4.
It is manifest, that the scriptures lay down no precise rules in the formation of a church. As they are designed for all the countless varieties of taste, of disposition, of knowledge, of character, of forms of government, of mental powers, of means of information prevalent among mankind, the omission is doubtless wise and benevolent. All are left to form churches after the model best adapted to their own notions of right and of duty. For their guidance they have general principles, which they are allowed to apply to the circumstances of their situation.

Certain articles of compact are, for obvious reasons, proper in the formation of a church, as well as in the constitution of other societies. In every church provision should be made to confess Christ before men. On this our Saviour lays great stress. Attendance on publick worship does not amount to this confession; because by this act no pledge is given even of belief in Christianity. We may go habitually to houses of publick worship from motives apart from a respect for the gospel, and yet violate no express engagement.

Every church should therefore be so constituted, as to invite and induce all, as far as possible, who believe in Christ, openly to profess allegiance to him, agreeably to the requisites of his gospel.

But care should be taken, in the compact adopted, that no sincere convert to Christianity may justly scruple to enter into its obligations. For this reason, it is best, whenever a covenant is formed, that it should be expressed, as nearly as circumstances will admit, in the language of scripture.

Will you say, that this will open the door of fellowship too widely; because all sects profess to believe
the scriptures? If you find, that in this way undue advantage is taken, admonish the guilty of their faults; and, if you can reform them by no milder methods, excommunicate them. In this case you have equal advantages for redress, as if they subscribed the best guarded human formulary.

Will you allege, that, in subscribing a scriptural creed, some may practise evasions? This goes on the supposition of their dishonesty. But may they not with equal ease evade whatever the ingenuity of man can devise? Do we not in fact find, that the churches, which require the most explicit confessions of human invention, are most liable to evasions from their members?

The founders of this church, in the construction of their covenant, were careful not to descend into sectarian peculiarities. Nor have their successors, at any time, deviated from this primitive simplicity.

Still as it is, in some parts, the production of fallible men, it may be chargeable with imperfection. If therefore a single sentiment, contained in our covenant, should prove a stumbling block to one sincere disciple of Jesus, so as to prevent his admission into this church, in the name of our Master, let it be obliterated.

During the century from the organization of this church, there have been four hundred and eight members, one hundred and fifty-eight males, and two hundred and fifty females. This is an average of about four members, a year.

For the twenty-one years, in which your present pastor* has ministered in this place, there have been one hundred and five additions to this church, namely,

* He first preached, as a candidate, in this town, 2 October, 1795.
thirty-four males and seventy-one females, which make the exact average of five, a year.

With solemn emphasis may I inquire, "Your fathers, where are they?" For of the one hundred and eighty first members of this church every individual is released from the church militant on earth; and these comprise all, who were admitted, during the ministry of the three first pastors of this town, as well as some of the first, who were added under the ministry of my immediate predecessor.

Of all, who were admitted, before my ordination, but fifty-one are living. Of the one hundred and five added, during my ministry, ninety three are now alive. So that of the four hundred and eight, comprised in the records of this church, one hundred and forty-four are living, and two hundred and sixty-four have gone to their long home.

During my ministration in this place, thirty members of this church have died in this town, namely, fifteen males and fifteen females; and, besides these, twenty occasional communicants. The whole number of deaths, during this period, of those, who originally joined this church, is sixty.

There are now in this town seventy-eight communicants belonging to this church, besides eight in Roxbury, making eighty-six, who statedly commune together. Besides these, there have been, this season, fifty-one occasional communicants from various other churches, making a total of one hundred and thirty-seven, who have communed together, this year.

In addition to the communicants, one hundred and fifty-one have owned the covenant, since the gathering of this church, with a view to the baptism of themselves, or their children.
The members originally composing this church, a century ago, were thirty-nine, seventeen males, and twenty-two females.* To whatever side I turn, I behold the lineal descendants of these pillars of our church, some of whom are members, and the children of members in uninterrupted succession from the organization of this body. In some instances there have been members of this church, for four and five generations in succession. In one case there are members of the sixth generation from an original member, and some of each inclusive generation have also been members. There are children of the seventh generation from one of the first members of this church. So rapidly does one generation pass away, while another generation cometh. Within the short period, which I am sketching, some, who were of consideration sufficient to belong to this church, have not only passed off the stage of life; but the greatest antiquaries among us can give no account even of the families, to which they belonged. So soon may we also be forgotten by the generations, which in quick succession will occupy our places.

Having made these remarks concerning the church in this place, I propose now to take a wider range; and from additional facts, which show the changes continually occurring, to illustrate our obligations, as transitory, yet immortal beings.

Seventy-seven years ago, which is as far back, as the memory of any one,† with whom I have convers-

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* Appendix I.

† For many facts relating to the early history of this church and town, the author acknowledges himself indebted to Mr. John Goddard, a much respected member of this church, who died, 13 April, 1816, at the advanced age of 86. He was the son of John Goddard and the grandson of Joseph Goddard, both members of this church, the latter, one of its founders. He was a man of an uncommonly extensive observation, and with a memory proverbially accurate.
ed, in relation to the events in this place, extended, there were sixty-one houses in this town.* The probability is, that the number was nearly the same, at the gathering of the church, if not, for several years before. For, in the autumn of 1796, which was fifty-six years after the period aforementioned, there had been an increase of but eleven houses, making the whole number seventy-two.† Yet, since the time last stated, which is but twenty-one years, the houses have increased from seventy-two to ninety-seven, making the addition of more than a third of the former number.

A striking proof of the vicissitudes, to which all earthly things are subject, is the circumstance, that of the sixty-one places, owned in 1740, but twelve of the present occupants are lineal descendants from those, who possessed them, at that period.†

The baptisms on record, since the church was gathered, are nine hundred and seventy-one. It is however well known, that there are several omissions in the early history of the church. The average, for the last twenty-one years, has been about thirteen, a year, as there have been baptized, during that period, two hundred and sixty-seven, one hundred and thirty-eight males, and one hundred and twenty-nine females.

No complete account of marriages has been kept, previously to the ordination of your former minister, in 1760. From that time to the present, there have been two hundred and twenty-one marriages, of which ninety-four have been solemnized by your present pastor.

The statement of deaths, in like manner, extends no further back, than fifty-seven years. During that pe-

* Appendix II.  † Appendix III.
riod, four hundred and eighty-two have been numbered with the dead.

For the last twenty-one years, two hundred and eight have deceased; one hundred and six males, and one hundred and two females. But, when we take into consideration the increase of population,* the deaths will not appear disproportionately numerous to former times.

In addition to the instances of mortality in this town, for the last twenty-one years, there have been nineteen in Roxbury in families, which worship with us.

Such have been the ravages of death, during the short period of my residence among you, that but few families have escaped his desolating progress.† Some appear to have been marked out, as his peculiar victims. Within one household, nine have been numbered with the dead.‡

It may serve to show the rapidity, with which one generation succeeds another, if I remark, that of the deaths in this place, which I have been called to witness, seventy-eight were from heads of families; and, in fourteen instances, both heads of families have departed this life.

Of those, who were voters, at the time of my call to the ministry, thirty-one are dead; while but twenty-three are now living in this town, who were voters here, at the period of my ordination.

In the families of tenants the changes have been peculiarly observable. Of the forty-eight families of this description, inhabitants of the town, this year, not

* By the census in 1800, the number was 605. In 1810, it was 784. Appendix IV.
† There has been a death in every house below the meeting-house but four; and most of these have been recently built.
‡ In the house belonging to Joseph White.
one was here so early, as the time of my ordination. In several houses they have succeeded each other, a number of times.*

But the fact, which perhaps more forcibly, than any other, illustrates the revolutions, to which we are subject, is, that there are but six families in the town, in which both heads are the same, and living in the same places, as they were twenty-one years ago. Of these four live above, and two below, our house of worship.

As then from the glance, which I have taken of our history, it sufficiently appears, that our "fathers" pass away, let us briefly inquire concerning "the prophets, do they live for ever?"

It is well known, that, during the century, there have been five pastors ordained in this place, three† of whom died here in the ministry; and that four of them have gone to give an account of their stewardship.

Within the same period, there have been in our parent town, twelve congregational churches; and

* In some instances there have been nine different families of tenants, most of them succeeding each other, in one house. The families of every description, at midsummer, this year, amounted to one hundred and thirteen.

† The remains of the two first lie deposited in the same tomb in our burial ground. The body of the Rev. Joseph Jackson, after the funeral solemnities, was carried to Boston, and laid in his family tomb. No epitaph is inscribed on the tomb of either of these ministers. The character of the last is delineated by the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham, in the sermon at his funeral. No discourse is published on the death of the others. Some account will be found of the Rev. James Allen in the author's century discourse. Of the Rev. Cotton Brown, nothing was then known, but by oral tradition. He was minister here, not quite two years and a half. I have since ascertained, that the Rev. Dr. Cooper, who was his classmate at Harvard University, wrote his character, and says, "his genius had raised in his friends the fairest hopes, and given them just reason to expect in him one of the brightest ornaments of society, and a peculiar blessing to the church." See sketch of Haverhill by Leverett Saltonstall, Esq. of Salem in Historical Collections, Vol. IV. N. S. p. 143.

The average age of the three ministers, who died in this town, is 47 2-3.
these have enjoyed the labours of fifty-nine pastors, thirty-six of whom died in the ministry; seven are now living, who are not pastors of their original charges, and ten still minister to their people.

In the six contiguous towns of Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Roxbury, Brookline, and Chelsea, most of whose congregational churches compose the Boston Association, there have been, this century, twenty-two congregational churches, and ninety-two pastors, fifty-four of whom died in the ministry; twelve died out of the ministry; seven are now living, who do not minister to the first people of their charge; and nineteen are still actively engaged in the duties of the ministerial office. The additional congregational churches, within these limits, to those, which existed before, are nine; and the houses of worship erected, during this period, for congregationalists, twenty-five.

Of the fifty-four congregational ministers, who died, the past century, in the six aforementioned towns, precisely one third lived to be seventy years of age and upwards, and exactly a ninth part lived to eighty and upwards. The oldest was the Rev. Thomas Cheever of Chelsea, who died at the advanced age of ninety-three; while the youngest were the Rev. Cotton Brown of this place, the Rev. Joshua Paine and the Rev. Thomas Prentiss, both of Charlestown, all three of whom died at the age of twenty-five.*

But of this statement of facts illustrating the changes, which constantly take place, and which furnish irresistible evidence, that we also are rapidly

* Appendix V
passing away, it is proper, that I suggest a suitable improvement.

1. The first sentiment, which should arise in our minds, at the historical review of this day, is gratitude to God for our present distinguished blessings.

There is a great and obvious improvement in your external circumstances.

There may not be more comparative wealth. But the lands are incalculably better cultivated. The buildings are much more elegant and commodious. The style of living is greatly advanced. Indeed better provision is made for the various comforts of life, than in the early settlement of this place.

It is not asserted, that these circumstances redound to the best good of each individual so favoured. As an offset to these advantages, it must be confessed, that there are greater temptations, than formerly, to luxury and dissipation; and it is to be feared, that a larger proportion fall victims to excess. But it is surely no argument against our obligations to gratitude, that the very abundance of heaven's blessings is suffered to increase our inclination to abuse them.

In point of advantages for the education of youth, what thanks are not due to him, who, in this respect, makes us to differ from our less favoured ancestors!

During the former part of this century, but little provision was made for publick schools. How incomparably more favoured are the present generation! Conveniences are now afforded for the poorest of our children to receive instruction, through the whole of the year. It accordingly happens, that, from the lowest walks of life, many become qualified to educate others. We cannot but acknowledge our obligations to the Most High for giving the present genera-
tion the disposition and the means so amply to provide for youthful instruction.

Our present civil and political blessings call for religious gratitude.

We enjoy unmolested our invaluable rights. We are favoured with the administration of good and wholesome laws. That baneful spirit of party, so destructive to the best feelings of the heart, so fruitful of discord and every evil work, is, in a great measure, suppressed. God grant, that it may be extinguished in the breast of every fellow citizen.

Seldom, if ever, has there been such general peace among the nations of the earth. What Christian but must exult, that this favourable opportunity is so zealously employed for the distribution of the sacred scriptures? Blessed be God, that Bible Societies, throughout Christendom, are vying with each other, which shall be most sedulous, impartial, and generous in this truly Christian project. It is astonishing to read accounts of the exertions now making by the parent society* of all institutions of this kind, in the land of our fathers' sepulchres, to seek objects of charity, in the most desolate regions, to supply their necessities, and to excite all, who have the means, to unite in the same godlike enterprises! Even missionaries are sent forth, for this purpose, who cheerfully submit to every hardship, both by sea and land, to effect their munificent designs. Societies are also organizing of almost every description of benevolence, throughout the Christian world, not only to disseminate the word of truth; but also to answer the calls of every kind of distress, and to contribute, in ways too numerous

* Allusion is here made to "The British and Foreign Bible Society," and particularly to their thirteenth report, exhibited, last May.
to be particularized, to human comfort. So that the present has been not unaptly termed the era of benevolent institutions.

When our situation, in respect of religious privileges, is compared with that of the early settlements in this place, what thanks are not due to the Disposer of our lot!

For nearly a century, it was customary even for the women here to walk to the first parish in Roxbury to unite in publick worship.

"But we have no such lengths to go." Long have we and our fathers been furnished with a place of worship as convenient, as the population of the town and the local situation of its inhabitants will allow. Nor are there but few families among us, who are not furnished with the means of safe and easy transportation to this house of our solemnities in unfavourable weather.

When the late venerable meeting house was first consecrated to publick worship, a principal part of the lower floor was divided into long seats, and heads of families were placed in situations, unconnected with their respective households.* In process of time, notwithstanding every improvement, of which the house was susceptible, it failed to accommodate the increased population of the town. With what wonderful unanimity did the Author of every good design inspire you to erect this commodious temple! Surely the contrast, in point of elegance, costliness, and convenience, between our present and former house of worship, indicate a striking improvement in your taste

* Appendix VI.
and circumstances, which impose correspondent obligations to gratitude.

2. While dwelling upon reflections, which lead us to advert to our fathers, let us imitate their acknowledged virtues.

Industry was a leading feature in their characters. By this they subdued the rugged soil, and fitted it for the more easy cultivation of their descendants. Shall we then surrender ourselves to inglorious ease, and thus lose the advantages to be derived from their successful toils?

Frugality was likewise in them a conspicuous trait. Like them, let us avoid profusion* in every form, that we may be furnished with the means of doing good and of preventing evil, as far as our influence can extend.

But they were remarkable for attention to religious institutions. Alas! how have their posterity degenerated from them in this respect! How many, instead of esteeming it a privilege, appear to account it a hardship to worship God in their families, or in his house; and avail themselves of the slightest pretexts to neglect the assembling of themselves together for religious purposes? How many seem much more desirous of vindicating their rights, than of performing their duties? Hence when any worldly object, which lies near their hearts, claims their attention, especially when called to a contested political election,† they are deterred by no obstacle, but such, as is inevitable,

* Especially in the unnecessary, wasteful, and destructive use of spirituous liquors, which are fraught with evils too numerous, and yet too obvious, to be mentioned.

† On many such occasions every individual is at his post. Alas! how much more faithful are men to their passions, than to the convictions of conscience, or even the commands of the Most High!
from giving their personal attendance, and exerting all their influence. But when invited to engage in religious exercises, what trivial excuses will not avail to detain them from the worship of their Maker!

Vain is it to object to this good example of our fathers, that the present generation excels them in some valuable properties. It is not to such objectors, that we must look for this excellence; but to those, who imitate the piety, as well as the other commendable qualities of our renowned ancestors.

That they had failings, their most zealous, yet intelligent panegyrists confess. But over these defects they, with filial affection, throw the mantle of charity, and propose, for a model, their exalted virtues.

From the solemn recollections, which this subject has revived, let us, my hearers, seriously consider, what most highly concerns us, as strangers and pilgrims here, yet probationers for eternity.

Let us not make provision for this world, as if it were our final home. Reason convinces us, that we are frail and transitory beings; and we cannot advert to the history of past times, without beholding many a melancholy comment upon this obvious, yet neglected truth.

If religion be of that importance, which is claimed for it by the word of God, it should be our first care to choose God for our portion and chief good, the Saviour, as the medium of the choicest blessings, that thus we may hope for heaven, as our everlasting abode.

I will close with remarks particularly relating to the church* of Christ in this place, whose history I have thus imperfectly given.

* Since the publication of the century discourse, Deac. Samuel Clark died, 29 March, 1814, æt. 62; and 1 May, 1814, his son Deacon Joshua Child Clark was chosen in his stead.
It is worthy of devout notice, that, from its organization to the present time, this church has had rest. Instances indeed have not been wanting, even from its early history, of those, who thought themselves wiser, than their teachers, and purer in their faith, than the body of the church. But, though some of them, especially under the ministry of the first pastor, appear ed earnestly to court opposition; yet they have been permitted to withdraw themselves from the communion of this church, without censure, or remonstrance, and to seek an administration of ordinances more congenial to their taste, and a society of professing christians more consonant to their views.*

While other churches have, in many instances, been rent by intestine divisions, and have cherished bitter animosities toward their pastors, or among themselves, our ecclesiastical records are not disgraced by a single line to perpetuate the remembrance of such an unhappy state of things. No Council has been called to this place, except upon ordinary church business. Nor has this pacifick spirit been confined to the century under review; it was uniformly manifested, for nearly a century before, while our fathers worshipped, and were united, with a neighbouring church.

God grant, that this desirable union may continue without interruption; that we, and our children, and our children's children may imitate our fathers in the purity, the well tempered zeal, and the peaceableness of their worship and church discipline. May no "root of bitterness" spring up to disturb this happy order of things. May we be "valiant for the truth"; but, at the same time, "receive with meekness the ingrafted word," and "speak the truth in love." May our only

* Appendix VII.
contention be to "provoke one another to love and good works."

Beloved, "behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." "It is" grateful, as "the precious ointment," which sheds a delightful fragrance all around; refreshing, as the gentle "dew," which scatters verdure, fertility, and beauty, as it descends upon the fruitful soil. "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the sons of God. Let us be at peace, among ourselves. If it be possible, as much as lieth in us, let us live peaceably with all men. Let us mark them, who cause divisions and offences, and avoid them. Let us follow after the things, which make for peace, and things, whereby one may edify another; endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."
I. James Allen, Pastor elect,  
II. Thomas Gardner, Deacon,  
III. John Winchester,  
IV. Joseph White,  
V. Josiah Winchester,  
VI. Samuel Sewall,  
VII. William Story,  
VIII. Joseph Goddard,  
IX. Thomas Stedman,  
X. Joshua Stedman.  
XI. John Winchester, son of III.  
XII. Caleb Gardner, son of II.  
XIII. Benjamin White, Deacon,  
  son of IV.  
XIV. Samuel White, son of IV.  
XV. Amos Gates,  
XVI. Ebenezer Kenrick,  
XVII. Addington Gardner.  

SISTERS.  

XVIII. Mary Gardner, wife of II.  
XIX. Joanna Winchester, wife  
  of III.  
XX. Hannah White, wife of IV.  
XXI. Mary Winchester, wife of V.  
XXII. Mary Boylston,  
XXIII. Sarah Stedman,  
XXIV. Desire Ackers,  
XXV. Hannah Stedman,  
XXVI. Rebecca Sewall, wife of VI.  
XXVII. Abigail Story,  
XXVIII. Mary Stedman,  
XXIX. Sarah Winchester,  
XXX. Abiel Gardner,  
XXXI. Ann White, wife of XIV.  
XXXII. Hannah Kenrick,  
XXXIII. Tryphena Woodward,  
XXXIV. Eunice Clark,  
XXXV. Mary Gardner,  
XXXVI. Susanna Gardner,  
XXXVII. Elisabeth Boylston,  
XXXVIII. Elisabeth Taylor,  
XXXIX. Frances Winchester.
II.

Owners of dwelling houses in Brookline, in 1740. The names in italicks designate the houses, which still remain.

1. Solomon Hill,
2. Capt. John Winchester,
3. Samuel Sewall,
4. William Gleason,
5. Capt. Robert Sharp,
6. Clark,
7. Thomas Aspinwall,
8. Deac. Thomas Cotton,
9. Major Edward White,
10. Major Edward White,
11. Major Edward White,
12. Major Edward White,
13. John Ellis,
14. Nathaniel Shepard,
15. Capt. Samuel Croft,
16. Major Edward White,
17. Isaac Winchester,
18. Rev. James Allen,
19. Rev. James Allen,
20. Deac. Samuel Clark,
21. Nathaniel Gardner,
22. Solomon Gardner,
23. Dr. Zabdiel Boylston,
24. Nathaniel Seaver,
25. William Ackers,
26. Isaac Gardner,
27. John Seaver,
28. Samuel White, Esq,
29. Joseph White,
30. Deac. Benjamin White,
31. Benjamin White,
32. Joseph Adams,
33. Nathaniel Stedman,
34. Ebenezer Sargeant,
35. Capt. Benjamin Gardner,
36. Joshua Stedman,
37. Ebenezer Kenrick,
38. Nathaniel Hill,
39. John Druce,
40. Abraham Chamberlain,
41. Abraham Woodward,
42. Hugh Scott,
43. James Griggs,
44. William Davis,
45. John Harris,
46. Isaac Child,
47. Joshua Child,
48. Timothy Harris,
49. John Harris,
50. Daniel Harris,
51. John Newell,
52. Andrew Allard,
53. John Woodward,
54. Christopher Dyer,
55. Thomas Woodward,
56. Nehemiah Davis,
57. John Goddard,
58. Henry Winchester,
59. Elhanan Winchester,
60. John Seaver, jun.
61. Dudley Boylston.

By the above account it will be seen, that but twenty-two houses, which were standing, in 1740, now remain.
It will also appear, that but twelve of the present occupants of these sixty-one places are lineal descendants of their proprietors at the abovementioned date.

III.

It may gratify some to compare the owners of dwelling-houses, as last mentioned, with those of 1796.

1. Joshua Griggs,
2. William Marshall,
4. Edward K. Wolcott,
5. Col. Thomas Aspinwall,
6. Edward K. Wolcott,
7. Robert Sharp,
8. Stephen Sharp,
9. Dr. William Aspinwall,
10. Dr. William Aspinwall,
11. Dr. William Aspinwall,*
12. Ebenezer Davis,
13. Benjamin Davis,
14. John Howe,
15. Josiah Jordan,
16. Thomas White,
17. Thomas White,
18. Thomas White,
19. Eleazer Baker,
20. Jonathan Dana,*
21. James Holden,
22. Capt. Cobb,†
23. Daniel Dana,
24. Ziphion Thayer,
25. Jonas Tolman,
26. Capt. Samuel Croft,
27. Capt. Samuel Croft,
28. John Robinson,
29. Enos Withington,
30. Major Gardner,
31. Capt. Timothy Corey,
32. Edward K. Wolcott,
33. Samuel Clark,
34. The Parsonage,
35. David Hyslop,
36. John Goddard,
37. David Hyslop,
38. John Lucas,
39. John Lucas,
40. William Ackers,
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,*
48. Benjamin White,
49. Benjamin White,
50. Caleb Gardner,
51. Ebenezer Richards,
52. Jonathan Hammond,
53. Thaddeus Hide,
54. Ebenezer Webb,
55. Caleb Craft,
56. Thaddeus Jackson,
57. Abraham Jackson,
58. Caleb Craft,*†
59. Jacob Hervey, 60. Elisha Whitney,*
61. John Harris, 62. Elisha Whitney,
63. Heirs of Thomas White, 64. Elijah Child,*
65. Widow Elisabeth Harris, 66. Dr. William Spooner,
67. John Corey, 68. Joseph Goddard,
69. Nathaniel Winchester, 70. Hon. George Cabot,

The names in italics represent the present owners. The houses of those, with an asterisk, are demolished. Those with an obelisk have others erected on, or near the site of former houses.

It will be perceived, that, within the short space of twenty-one years, precisely two-thirds of the houses have been demolished, or shifted owners.

IV.

Deaths for the last 21 years, 208.

| Under 2 years | 33 | Between 50 and 60 | 13 |
| Between 2 and 10 | 27 | 60 and 70 | 22 |
| 10 and 20 | 12 | 70 and 80 | 22 |
| 20 and 30 | 27 | 80 and 90 | 11 |
| 30 and 40 | 14 | 90 and 100 | 1 |
| 40 and 50 | 26 |

Diseases.

| Consumption | 43 | Jaundice | 6 |
| Fever | 33 | Apoplexy | 5 |
| Decay | 20 | Cholera morbus | 5 |
| Dysentery | 10 | In child bed | 3 |
| Dropsy | 9 | Hooping cough | 3 |
| Fits | 8 | Quinsy | 2 |
| Casualties | 8 | Cancer | 2 |
| Suddenly | 8 | Suicide | 2 |
| Paralysis | 8 | Tetanus | 2 |
| Dropsy in brain | 6 | Throat distemper | 1 |
V.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregational churches</th>
<th>Pastors</th>
<th>Died in ministry</th>
<th>Died out of ministry</th>
<th>Living in other places</th>
<th>Present pastors</th>
<th>Houses built</th>
<th>Additional churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charlestown, 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorchester, 3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Boston, 12</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roxbury, 3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookline, 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelsea, 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev. Thomas Cheever, 93, Dr. Benjamin Colman, 73,
Rev. Nehemiah Walter, 87, Rev. Samuel Checkley, 73,
Dr. Increase Mather, 85, Rev. Thomas Prince, 72,
Dr. Charles Chauncey, 82, Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, 72,
Dr. Joseph Sewall, 80, Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton, 72,
Rev. Thomas Prentice, 80, Dr. Simeon Howard, 72,
Dr. Samuel Mather, 79, Rev. Simon Bradstreet, 72,
Rev. John Danforth, 78, Rev. Hull Abbot, 72,
Dr. John Lathrop, 77, Dr. Samuel West, 70.

VI.

It may gratify some to be informed of the following particulars of the former meeting-house, and its earliest occupants.

It originally contained but fourteen pews; and these were all wall pews, disposed of to the following persons, 29 April, 1718.

I. Samuel Sewall, next the pulpit, West.

II. John Winchester, sen. West of No. I.

III. Capt. Samuel Aspinwall, North West corner.

IV. Lieut. Thomas Gardner, South of No. III.

V. John Seaver, between West door, and men's gallery stairs.

VI. John Duce, left of men's gallery stairs.

VII. Joseph Gardner, left of front door.

VIII. Josiah Winchester, sen. right of front door.

IX. Thomas Stedman, right of women's gallery stairs.
X. William Sharp, left of East door.

XI. Ensign Benjamin White, right of East door.

XII. Benjamin White, jun. North of No. XI.

XIII. Peter Boylston, North east corner.

XIV. Ministerial pew, right of pulpit stairs.

Account of the manner, in which the body and the gallery of the old meeting-house were seated, 9 March, 1719, from a paper found carefully folded between the upper and under floor of the Hon. Jonathan Mason's farm house, at its demolition, in 1809. Said house was built and first inhabited by Deacon Benjamin White, one of the first deacons of this church.

"In the men's foreseat in the body seats are seated Josiah Winchester, Capt. Aspinwall, Joseph Gardner, and Edward Devotion.

In the second seat are seated William Story, Joseph Goddard, Thomas Woodward, Daniel Harris, and John Ackers.

In the third seat are seated James Griggs, Samuel Newell, Abraham Chamberlain, Ebenezer Kenrick, and Robert Harris.

In the fourth seat are seated Thomas Lee, William Davis, and Joseph Scott.

In the front foreseat in the gallery are seated Caleb Gardner, Josiah Winchester, Samuel White, Henry Winchester, Joseph Adams, Robert Sharp, Thomas Cotton, and Samuel Clark, jun.

In the foreseat in the side gallery are seated Joshua Stedman, William Gleason, Dudley Boylston, Addington Gardner, John Taylor, Stephen Winchester, and Philip Torrey.

In the second seat in the front are seated Isaac Gleason, John Wedge, Thomas Woodward, jun. and James Goddard.

In the women's foreseat in the body seats are seated the wife of Josiah Winchester, sen. the widow Ackers, the wife of Joseph Gardner, and the wife of Edward Devotion.

In the second seat are seated the wife of William Story, the wife of Joseph Goddard, the wife of Thomas Woodward, the wife of Daniel Harris, the wife of John Ackers, and the widow Hannah Stedman.

In the third seat, the wife of James Griggs, the wife of Samuel Newell, the wife of Abraham Chamberlain, the wife of Ebenezer Kenrick, and the wife of Robert Harris.

In the fourth seat, the wife of Thomas Lee, the wife of William Davis, and the wife of Joseph Scott.
In the front foreseat in the gallery, the wife of Samuel White, the wife of Henry Winchester, the wife of Joseph Adams, the wife of Robert Sharp, and the wife of Samuel Clark, jun.

In the foreseat in the side gallery, the wife of Joshua Stedman, the wife of William Gleason, the wife of Dudley Boylston, the wife of Addington Gardner, the wife of John Taylor.

In the second seat in the front, the wife of John Wedge, and the wife of James Goddard.”

Individuals seated 66, of whom 28 couples were men and wives.

VII.

This was particularly the case with several, during a period of great excitement, in the spring of 1744. They left Mr. Allen’s church with heavy charges against him, his preaching, and his church. But no notice appears to have been taken of them or their charges. On this they set up new-light preaching, as it was called, and became most of them, in their turns, exhorters. The most distinguished among them was Mr. Elhanan Winchester, father of the celebrated preacher of the same name, who preached in Europe and America the doctrine of the restoration. The father was first a deacon among the new-lights, to whom Mr. Jonathan Hide was, for a season, a stated preacher, within the limits of Brookline. When Elhanan, jun. became a baptist, the father also joined this sect, and was immerged. The principal part of Mr. Hide’s followers, one after another, became baptists, chiefly through the instrumentality of Deacon Winchester and son. But Mr. Hide, to his dying day, though forsaken by most of his adherents, persisted in his attachment to infant baptism. When Elhanan Winchester, jun. became a universalist, the father soon adopted the same faith. Some years after the death of the son, the father turned shaker, and died at Harvard, full in the faith, Sept. 1810, aged 91. So that he was first a congregationalist, then a new-light, then a baptist, then a universalist, and at last a shaker. At the closing period of life, he sent intelligence to some friends in Newton, “In every other denomination, I have had my doubts; but now I am sure, that I am right.”
I shall improve this opportunity to point out a few mistakes, which have been detected in the Century Discourse from the incorporation of this town, delivered, 24 November, 1805.

From want of time properly to examine the town records of Boston, I supposed, in pp. 7 and 8, that grants of four and five acres at Muddy-river were made to the poor only; and that those, who had the allotments, of course became settlers. But my friend, James Savage, Esq. of Boston, has kindly corrected this error. By a more thorough investigation of the subject, he has shown, that "very few of the grantees, whose names are found in the records, moved from the old town; and perhaps of the poor, who took up lots under the town's vote, many were not recorded in the town book."


In p. 13, it is asserted, that Mr. Elhanan Winchester was the first minister of the baptist church in Newton. I have since ascertained, that he was never the stated pastor of that church. Indeed, he was too much of an itinerant to be settled in any place. But it is well known, that he was very active in producing the excitement, which led to its formation; and that he immersed numbers of those, who became members of that church.

In p. 19, a mistake is made in mentioning the last text of the Rev. Joseph Jackson. But five days before his death, he preached, all day, to his people; in the forenoon, from Heb. xiii. 5. "Be content with such things, as ye have." P. M. from Heb. xii. 15. "Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God."

P. 25. Rev. Cotton Brown was ordained, 26 October, 1748.
P. 28. Rev. Ebenezer White was minister of Norton, now Mansfield.
P. 30. Dr. Zabdiel Boylston's birth was, in 1679.
AN ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, INCORPORATED, OCTOBER 24th, 1812.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY.

"Primaque ab origine Mundi
Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen."

BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY ISAIAH THOMAS, JUN.
November—1813.
AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

AT a stated meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, September 29, 1813, a committee was appointed to draw up an account of the nature of the Institution, with a detailed statement of its objects, for the purpose of publication, together with the petition to the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation, the Act of Incorporation, Bye Laws, &c.

The Committee having attended to that duty, presented to the Society their Report, which was read and accepted, and is as follows:

THE great benefits arising to the civilized world from associations of individuals for promoting knowledge, industry, or virtue, are universally acknowledged. It is an obvious truth, that men, without regard to nation, sect, or party, by united exertions in one general pursuit, may effect more in a few years, than could be accomplished, individually, in ages. They are so constituted by nature, that "human actions, and the events which befall human beings, have more power-
ful influence than any other objects, to engage and fix their attention.” We cannot obtain a knowledge of those, who are to come after us, nor are we certain what will be the events of future times; as it is in our power, so it should be our duty, to bestow on posterity that, which they cannot give to us, but which they may enlarge and improve, and transmit to those, who shall succeed them.—It is but paying a debt we owe to our forefathers.

From combinations of this kind, the old continents, within the last century and an half, have received and diffused more light and useful information in the arts and sciences, and in the natural, civil and religious history of the habitable globe, than had been exhibited to mankind for thousands of preceding years.

The first society of scientific men among the moderns of which history gives us any certain information, was established near the close of the eighth century, by Charlemagne, at his imperial palace in France, by the recommendation of Alcuinus, one of the most learned men of the age. This society in time was productive of many others; few, however, appeared, which were of great advantage to the publick, or gained a permanent establishment, till the middle of the seventeenth century. Many literary and scientific institutions were then formed, and afterwards greatly increased and spread through the several quarters of the globe. We will take notice of that class only of those societies, which had the same object in view, as the one of which we are members.
Irish historians have asserted, that "there was an ancient college of antiquaries erected in Ireland by Ollamh Fodhla, one of its kings, seven hundred years before Christ, for the purpose of composing a history of that country;" and to this, say they, "it is owing, that the history and antiquities of this kingdom may be traced back beyond that of most other nations." But the first society of Antiquaries, of which we have any authentic information, is that which originated in England in 1572, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and others. Although it was not incorporated, its reputation gradually increased until the reign of James I, who, in turbulent times, "fearing it might canvass the secret transactions of his government, suppressed it." It was revived in the year 1717. From this time the importance of the society increased, and in 1751, it was incorporated by the name of "The President, Council and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries" in England. "It is now in a very flourishing condition, consisting of many learned and ingenious men of the nobility, gentry and clergy, whose business, as members, is to discover the antiquities of their own, as well as of other nations."

Their council, says Mr. Rees, "consists of twenty one persons, ten of whom are annually changed; the election of members is by ballot, by a certificate signed by three or more fellows being previously exhibited for six ordinary successive meetings, except in the case of peers, members of the privy council and judges, who may be proposed by a single member and balloted for the same day;"
and the choice is determined by a majority of two thirds. Every member pays an admission fee of five guineas and two guineas a year; or, as an equivalent, a sum of twenty one guineas. They have weekly meetings. This society began to publish its discoveries in 1770, under the title of Archeologia."

An institution similar to that of the Antiquarian Society in England, and for like purposes, was founded in Scotland in 1780, and received the royal charter in 1803.

There is a society of Antiquaries at Upsal in Sweden, which owes its rise to queen Christina, but its establishment to her successor, Charles Gustavus; its design is to collect and illustrate the antiquities of that country, and the northern languages. Another was instituted at Copenhagen, in Denmark, in 1742; its immediate object is to make researches into, and explain the antiquities and history of that country. It is patronized by the king.—An Academy of Antiquities exists at Cortona, in Italy, the members of which are very respectable, numerous, and not confined to that country. It was founded for the study, &c. of the Hetrurian Antiquities; the chief officer is called Lucumon, by which name the ancient governours of Italy are said to have been distinguished.

There are in Europe many other similar institutions; all of which, having proper funds, have been very useful. Many more for want of funds were of short duration.
An institution of this kind was formed at Calcutta in the East Indies, called the Asiatic Society, by Sir William Jones, in 1784; the objects of which are the antiquities, history, arts, and literature of the continent of Asia.

Among the numerous societies formed in the United States for the promotion of literature, the useful and fine arts, and other valuable purposes, it appeared that one more might be added, which could also be truly beneficial, not only to the present, but particularly to future generations—a society not confined to local purposes—not intended for the particular advantage of any one state or section of the union, or for the benefit of a few individuals—one whose members may be found in every part of our western continent and its adjacent islands, and who are citizens of all parts of this quarter of the world.

Should it be asked, what are the intended objects of this society?—We will answer in the words of Sir William Jones to the members of the Asiatic Society, "Man and Nature—whatever is, or has been performed by the one, or produced by the other."—"Human knowledge," says he, "has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind, Memory, Reason and Imagination, which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection; hence the three main branches of Learning are History, Science and Art."
The chief objects of the enquiries and researches of this society will be American Antiquities, natural, artificial and literary; not, however, excluding those of other countries. It must be acknowledged that the study of Antiquity offers to the curious and inquisitive a large field for research, for sublime reflection, and for amusement.—Those who make enquiry, and those who make collections in this branch of science, "furnish the historian with his best materials, while he distinguishes from truth the fictions of a bold invention, and ascertains the credibility of facts; and to the philosopher he presents a faithful source of ingenious speculation, while he points out to him the way of thinking, and the manners of men, under all the varieties of aspect in which they have appeared."

As all things, which are in their nature durable, if preserved from casualty and the ravages of time, in a course of years will become antique, it will be also an object of this society to deposit, from time to time, such modern productions as will denote to those who succeed us, the progress of literature, the arts, manners, customs and discoveries in our time with accuracy.

Thus by an attention to these objects, which the society hope to promote by the exertion of its members residing in various parts of this vast continent, the utility of the institution will speedily be realized, and it may in time vie with those of a similar kind in Europe, which are now so justly celebrated. Each individual of the Society, we persuade our-
selves, will imbibe a belief, that its reputation, in a
great degree depends on his individual efforts; and
will feel an interest in collecting and forwarding to
the Librarian, the Secretaries, or to any officer of
the Institution, such antiquities of our country,
whether of nature or of art, as may be portable, and
which he can obtain; and authentic accounts of
such as cannot be transported; with such articles
of modern date, as are curious and interesting, and
will tend to aid the purposes of the establishment.—
Justice will be done to the donor—his name will
live on the records.

Among the articles of deposit, books of every de-
scription, including pamphlets and magazines, es-
pecially those which were early printed either in
South or in North America; files of Newspapers
of former times, or of the present day, are particular-
ly desirable—as are specimens, with written ac-
counts respecting them, of fossils, handicrafts of the
Aborigines, &c. Manuscripts, ancient and modern,
on interesting subjects, particularly those which
give accounts of remarkable events, discoveries, or
the description of any part of the continent, or the
islands in the American seas; maps, charts, &c.

The decline as well as the rise of nations is in the
course of nature—like causes will produce like ef-
fects—and, in some distant period, a decline may be
the state of our country. A depository like this,
may not only retard the ravages of time, but preserve
from other causes of destruction, many precious
relics of antiquity, many specimens of the work of nature, and those of modern art, which once lost could never be restored.

For the better preservation from the destruction so often experienced in large towns and cities by fire, as well as from the ravages of an enemy, to which seaports in particular are so much exposed in times of war; it is universally agreed, that for a place of deposit for articles intended to be preserved for ages, and of which many, if destroyed, or carried away, could never be replaced by others of the like kind, an inland situation is to be preferred; this consideration alone was judged sufficient for placing the Library and Museum of this Society forty miles distant from the nearest branch of the sea, in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts, on the great road from all the southern and western states to Boston, the capital of New England.

It is almost needless to observe, that a society of this kind cannot be supported with any degree of respectability or usefulness without funds—donations, legacies, contributions, and royal patronage, are the support of those in Europe, and have raised them to a state of eminence—and, it is not doubted that there are persons in America, who are as public spirited as those in Europe, by whose aid this society will be enabled to pursue those researches, so desirable, into the antiquities of our country—to make valuable collections of them, and of other articles proper for this institution, and to deposit them
in a suitable, permanent building, which it is intended shall soon be erected for their safe keeping; where they may at all times be found, and be, not only pleasing, but useful to the members of historical, philosophical, and, perhaps, of other societies, as well as to individuals.

ISAIAH THOMAS, per order.

Worcester, October, 1813.

PETITION to the LEGISLATURE. October, 1812.

To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled.

THE subscribers influenced by a desire to contribute to the advancement of the Arts and Sciences and to aid, by their individual and united efforts, in collecting and preserving such materials as may be useful in making their progress, not only in the United States, but in other parts of the globe, and wishing also to assist the researches of the future historians of our country, respectfully represent to the legislature, that, in their opinion, the establishment of an Antiquarian Society, within this Commonwealth, would conduce essentially to the attainment of these objects. At present there is no public association for such purposes within the United States. The rapid progress of science, and of the useful and ornamental arts, in our country, may be ascribed in a great degree to the numerous public
institutions originated by patriotic individuals, but deriving their countenance and support from legislative authority. Such a society as is now contemplated, as its objects are essentially distinct from any other in our country, it is believed, may advantageously cooperate with, without in the slightest degree impairing the utility of other institutions; its immediate and peculiar design is, to discover the antiquities of our own continent; and, by providing a fixed and permanent place of deposit, to preserve such relics of American antiquity as are portable, as well as to collect and preserve those of other parts of the globe. By the long and successful labours of the College of Antiquaries in Ireland, their historians, it is said, have been enabled to trace the history of that country to an earlier period than that of any other nation of Europe. The researches of a similar society in England established at a later period, at times discouraged, but now aided and fostered by the patronage of the government, have not merely furnished food for curiosity, but have provided many valuable materials for the benefit of history, the improvement of science, and the advancement of the arts of life. Almost every nation indeed of the European world bears witness to the utility of similar institutions. To the enlightened Legislature of Massachusetts the Subscribers do not deem it necessary to exhibit more in detail the advantages, which may be expected from such an establishment within this Commonwealth—They ask
for no other aid from the Commonwealth, than the facilities which, in the pursuit of their objects, may accrue from an Act of Incorporation. As an inducement to the grant of these privileges, they beg leave to state that one of their number is, at this time, in possession of a valuable collection of books obtained with great labour and expense, the value of which may be fairly estimated at about five thousand dollars, some of them more ancient than are to be found in any other part of our country, and all of which he intends to transfer to the proposed society, should their project receive the sanction and encouragement of the Legislature. This grant which is designed as the foundation of a superstructure to be hereafter erected, with such other conditions as may be reasonably expected, the subscribers believe will ensure the future growth and prosperity of the institution.

As no injury can at any rate be apprehended from such an experiment, even if it should prove unsuccessful, and as it may be productive of much public advantage, the petitioners flatter themselves their project will not be discountenanced by the government of Massachusetts.

They therefore respectfully pray for leave to bring in a bill for the incorporation of themselves, and such persons as may hereafter associate with them, into a Society by the name of the American Antiquarian Society, with the privilege of holding real estate in perpetuity of the annual value of
fifteen hundred dollars, and with such other privileges and immunities as are usually granted by acts of incorporation to other public societies established within this Commonwealth.

ISAIAH THOMAS,  
NATH'L PAINE,  
WM. PAINE,  
LEVI LINCOLN,  
AARON BANCROFT,  
EDW'D BANGS.

Sec'ry's Office, ☞ A true copy of the petition on Dec. 3d 1812. ☜ file in this office.

Attest,  
ALDEN BRADFORD, Sec'ry Commonwealth.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

An Act to incorporate the American Antiquarian Society.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of the antiquities of our country, and of curious and valuable productions in Art and Nature, have a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, aid the progress of science, to perpetuate the history of moral and political events, and to improve and interest posterity.
Therefore,

Sec. I. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that Isaiah Thomas, Levi Lincoln, Harrison G. Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Nathaniel Paine, Edward Bangs, Esqrs. John T. Kirkland, L. L. D. Aaron Bancroft, D. D. Jonathan H. Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, Elisha Hammond, Timothy Williams, William D. Peck, John Lowell, Edmund Dwight, Eleazer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, Jr. Samuel M. Burnside and Benjamin Russell, Esqrs. Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Walcut, Ebenezer T. Andrews, Isaiah Thomas, Jr. William Wells, and such others as may associate with them for the purposes aforesaid, be, and hereby are formed into and constituted a society, and body politic and corporate, by the name of the American Antiquarian Society; and that they and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be, and continue a body politic and corporate, by that name forever.

Sec. II. Be it further enacted, that the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, Vice Presidents, and such other officers as they may determine to be necessary; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change and renew at pleasure, and that the
same society, by the name aforesaid, as a body politic and corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

Sec. III. Be it further enacted, that the said society shall have power to make orders and by-laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth, and may expel, disfranchise, or suspend any member who by misconduct shall be rendered unworthy.

Sec. IV. Be it further enacted, that said society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings, and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate by gift, grant, devise, or otherways, and the same or any part thereof, to alien and convey; provided, that the annual income of any real estate by said society holden shall never exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, and that the personal estate thereof, exclusive of books, papers and articles in the museum of said society, shall never exceed the value of seven thousand dollars.

Sec. V. Be it further enacted, that said society may elect honorary members residing in, and without, the limits of this Commonwealth. And that Isaiah Thomas, Esq. be, and hereby is authorized and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said society; and that the said society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and have power to adjourn, from time to time, as may be found necessary.
Sec. VI. Be it further enacted, that the Library and Museum of said society shall be kept in the town of Worcester, in the county of Worcester.

In the House of Representatives, October 23, 1812. This bill having had three several readings passed to be enacted.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, Speaker.

In Senate, October 24, 1812. This bill having had two several readings passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL DANA, President.

October 24th, 1812. CALEB STRONG.

Approved,

Secretary's Office, Nov. 2, 1812.

A true copy, Attest,

ALDEN BRADFORD, Sec'y Commonwealth.

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NOTIFICATION AND WARNING
To the Members Incorporated to attend the first meeting.

American Society of Antiquaries.

zer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, Jun. Samuel M. Burnside and Benjamin Russell, Esqrs. Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Walcutt, Ebenezer T. Andrews, William Wells, and Isaiah Thomas, Jun. and such others as may associate with them for the purposes therein mentioned, were "formed into, and constituted a Society, and body politic and corporate, by the name of "The American Antiquarian Society," for the purposes therein specified.

And whereas, by the fifth section of said Act, the undersigned is "authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society," therefore, in conformity thereto, he hereby notifies and warns each and every of the persons above named to meet at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on Thursday the 19th day of November instant, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, then and there to take such measures as shall be necessary for organizing said Society, establishing such Rules and Regulations as shall be deemed expedient, "agree upon a method for calling future meetings," and to act upon any other matter or thing relating to the objects of said institution.

ISAIAH THOMAS.

WORCESTER, November 2, 1812.

The members met at the time and place appointed, and the Society was organized.
LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Article I.

There shall be a President and two Vice Presidents. It shall be the duty of the President, and in his absence, of one of the Vice Presidents, to preside in the meetings, and to regulate the debates of the Society and the Council; to call meetings of the Council, and extraordinary meetings of the Society by advice of Council. The President, or presiding officer, shall vote in council, and also have a casting vote. The Vice Presidents shall ex officio be members of the Council.

Article II.

There shall be seven Counsellors, exclusive of the President and Vice Presidents; any four of the whole number shall constitute a quorum. It shall be the duty of the Counsellors to direct the Corresponding Secretaries in the performance of their duty; to present to the Society for their acceptance, such regulations and by-laws as from time to time shall be thought expedient; to receive donations, and with the President to purchase, sell or lease, for the benefit of the Society, real or personal estate; to draw orders on the Treasury for necessary monies; and in general to manage the prudentials of the Society. It shall be the duty of the Council, to enquire concerning the characters of persons...
living out of the Commonwealth, proper to be elected honorary members; particularly in Spanish America.

**Article III.**

There shall be one Recording Secretary; and one assistant Recording Secretary; and two Corresponding Secretaries. The Recording Secretary shall be the Keeper of the Seal of the Society. It shall be his duty to attend all meetings of the Society and Council, and to make and keep records of all their proceedings; and shall keep on file all literary papers belonging to the Society under the direction of the Council. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretaries to receive and read all communications made to the Society; and to manage, under the direction of the Council, all the correspondence of the Society.

**Article IV.**

There shall be a Treasurer, who shall give such security as the President and Council shall require, for the faithful performance of his trust. It shall be his duty to receive and keep all monies and evidences of property belonging to the Society; to pay out to the order of the President and Council; to keep a record of his receipts and payments, exhibit the same, and settle with a Committee which shall be annually appointed for this purpose; and he shall put the money of the Society out to interest, under the direction of the Council.

**Article V.**

There shall be a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, who shall give bonds to the satisfaction of the President and Council for the faithful performance of his trust. He shall receive, and have in his custody, all books, papers, productions of nature and works of art, the property of the Society. These he shall arrange in classes and register in a book, with a proper description of each article, with the donor's name, when the same shall be a present. No article shall ever on any occasion be loaned or taken from
the Museum; nor shall any book or other article be borrowed
from the Library, except by a vote of the Council, and then the
loan of such article shall be recorded, and a receipt given there­
for by the borrower, engaging to return the same in four weeks,
or pay a forfeiture, such as by a vote of the Council shall be af­
fixed.

**Article VI.**

There shall annually be three meetings of the Society, viz.—
one in Boston on the twenty second day of December, and when
the same shall fall on a Sabbath, then the day after; one in Bos­
ton on the first Wednesday in June; and one in Worcester on
the Wednesday next after the fourth Tuesday of September, at
such hours and places as shall be notified by the Secretary. At
the annual meeting in Boston in December, shall be chosen by
ballot, all the officers of the Society to serve during the follow­
ing year, and until others are chosen. At this meeting a public
oration shall be delivered by some person to be appointed by the
Council. [The last section of this law is altered. The Oration
is to be delivered annually on the 23d of October.]

**Article VII.** See page 24.

At any meeting of the Society, any member may propose a
candidate for admission, by writing the name of the candidate,
with his own name, in a book to be kept by the Recording Secre­
tary for that purpose; and at the next meeting such candidate
may be balloted for, and on obtaining two thirds of the votes
given in, shall be constituted a member.

**Article VIII.** See page 32.

Each member shall annually pay into the hands of the Treas­
urer, at the meeting in December, two dollars towards a fund; and
every person who shall neglect to pay the annual tax, and
shall suffer himself to be in arrear for three annual taxes, after
having been called upon by the Treasurer in person, or by writ­
tea order, shall be considered as having abdicated his interest in
the Society and no longer a member.

Article IX.
All meetings, standing or special, shall be notified by the Re­
cordmg Secretary, under the direction of the President and
Council, in one newspaper published in Boston, and one in Wor­
cester, fourteen days previous to the day of the meeting; in
which notification, the hour and place of the meeting shall be
designated.

Article X.
In case of the death, resignation, incapacity or removal out of
the State of either of the Secretaries, or the Treasurer, or Li­
brarian, the Council shall take charge of the official books, pa­
pers and effects belonging to the vacated office, giving receipts
for the same, which books, &c. they may deliver to some per­
son, whom they may appoint to fill the office until the next
meeting of the society, when there shall be a new choice.

BY-LAWS.

At a Meeting of the Society on the 23d of October,
1813, at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston,
the following BY-LAWS were reported and ac­
cepted, viz.

I. THE ballots for the election of officers, and for the ad­
mission of members, shall be collected by a committee chosen by
nomination, who shall assort and count the votes, and make re­
port to the presiding officer, and he shall declare the result to
the Society.

II. Every member who shall advance twenty dollars to the
funds, shall be excused paying the annual tax of two dollars.
III. Every new member shall be notified of his election by a printed letter signed by the Recording Secretary.

IV. The Secretary shall record, in a book for this purpose, the name of the members, and the times of their admission.

V. All books and other articles belonging to the society shall be appraised, and the price of each article shall be mentioned in the catalogue.

VI. A correct copy of the catalogue of books and other articles shall be made out by the librarian and cabinet keeper, or by a committee chosen by the society for this purpose, which copy shall be kept by the president for the time being. And, as additions are made to the library and museum, they shall be entered on the catalogue and on the copy thereof.

VII. Every deed to which the common seal of the Society is affixed, shall be passed and sealed in Council, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary.

VIII. There shall be a temporary place of deposit in Boston, and in such other places as the Council shall hereafter direct, for the convenience of those who may be disposed to present to the Society any articles for its library or museum. Every article so deposited, shall, as soon after as circumstances will permit, be forwarded to the library and museum in Worcester.

**In conformity to this article, a temporary place of deposit is provided in Boston, at No. 6, Marlborough Street; where any thing left for the society will be received, and carefully attended to, by I. THOMAS, Jun.**

AT a stated meeting of the Society held in Boston at the Exchange Coffee House, June 2, 1813.

VOTED, that the 6th article of the laws be so far altered, as that the Oration contemplated therein to be delivered on the
22d of December, annually, be delivered on the 23d day of October, the day on which America was discovered by Columbus.

AT a meeting of the Society, at the Exchange Coffee House, in Boston, October 23d, 1813.

VOTED, that the 7th article of the laws be so far altered, as that all nominations for members, shall hereafter be submitted to a committee of three, for their approbation; and, if approved by said committee, the names of the candidates, with the names of the members who proposed said candidates, shall then be entered in the book of nominations, and the candidates may be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society.
LIST OF OFFICERS
AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
OCTOBER 25, 1813.

[Annual Meetings for the choice of Officers are held in Boston on the 22d of December.]

OFFICERS for the present Year, 1813.

PRESIDENT.
ISAIAH THOMAS, Esq. of Worcester.

VICE PRESIDENTS.
Dr. WILLIAM PAINE, Worcester.

COUNSELLORS.
Hon. TIMOTHY BIGELOW, Medford,
Rev. Dr. AARON BANCROFT, Worcester,
EDWARD BANGS, Esq. do.
GEORGE GIBBS, Esq. Boston.
REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, Salem,
Dr. REDFORD WEBSTER, Boston,
BENJAMIN RUSSELL, Esq. do.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.
Rev. Dr. THADDEUS M. HARRIS, Dorchester.
Rev. WILLIAM JENKS, Profes. Bowdoin College.

TREASURER.

RECORDING SECRETARY.
SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, Esq. Worcester.

ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY.
EBENEZER T. ANDREWS, Boston.

LIBRARIAN.*

* By a vote of the Society, the Library, &c. are to remain with the President until a place of deposit is provided.
MEMBERS.

Hon. Harrison G. Otis, Boston,
Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Worcester,
Jonathan H. Lyman, Esq. Northampton,
Elijah H. Mills, Esq. do.
Elisha Hammond, Esq. Brookfield,
Timothy Williams, Esq. Boston,
John Lowell, Esq. do.
Edmund Dwight, Esq. Springfield,
Eleazer James, Esq. Barre,
Hon. Josiah Quincy, of Quincy,
William S. Shaw, Esq. Boston,
Hon. Francis Blake, Worcester,
William Wells, Boston,
Thomas Walcott, do.
Isaiah Thomas, jun. do.
Dr. David Hunt, Northampton,
Hon. Oliver Fiske, Worcester,
Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, Cambridge,
Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse, Charlestown,
Rev. Samuel Cary, Boston,
Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Fitch, President Williams College,
Noah Webster, Esq. Amherst,
Hon. James Winthrop, Cambridge,
Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq. Boston,
Samuel J. Prescott, Esq. do.
Hon. John Wheelock, L. L. D. President Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Hon. David Ramsay, Charleston, South Carolina,
Dr. John Greene, Worcester,
Frederick W. Paine, Worcester, now in East Indies,
Dr. James Hugh Mac Culloch, Baltimore, Maryland.
Rev. Timothy Alden, New York,
Jacob Gourgas, Esq. Milton,
William Sheldon, Esq. Jamaica, W. I.
Sidney Willard, Prof. University, Cambridge,
Rev. Joseph Sumner, Shrewsbury,
Rev. J. L. Abbot, Boston,
Nathaniel G. Suelling, do.
Hon. Elias Hasket Derby, Charlestown,
His Excellency William Jones, Governor Rhodeisland,
William Goddard, Esq. Providence, R. I.
William Wilkinson, Esq. do. R. I.
Nathaniel Maccarty, Esq. Worcester,
Rev. Dr. Joseph Lyman, Hatfield,
Rev. Samuel Willard, Deerfield,
Lewis Strong, Esq. Northampton,
Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, L. L. D. President Yale College,
Connecticut,
Benjamin Silliman, Prof. Yale College, Connecticut,
Rev. Dr. Jesse Appleton, President Bowdoin College,
Simon Elliot, Esq. Newtown,
Aaron Davis, Esq. Roxbury,
Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, New York,
Hon. Theophilus Parsons, L. L. D. Chief Justice, Boston,
Hon. William Winthrop, Esq. Cambridge,
Roswell Shirtliff, Prof. Dartmouth Col. N. H.
Ebenezer Adams, Esq. Prof. Dart. Col. N. H.
Thomas L. Halsey, Esq. Providence, R. I.
Dr. Pardon Bowen, Providence, R. I.
Nicholas Brown, Esq. Providence, R. I.
Samuel Bridgham, Esq. Providence. R. I.
Thomas L. Halsey, jun. Esq. Providence, R. I.
John Lathrop, jun. Esq. Boston,
Isaac Goodwin, Esq. Sterling,
Rev. William Nash, West Boylston,
Hon. Dwight Foster, Esq. Brookfield,
Josiah Bartlett, Esq. Charlestown,
Hon. Elijah Brigham, Westborough,
Thomas W. Ward, Esq. Shrewsbury,
Abijah Bigelow, Esq. Leominster,
Abraham Biglow, Esq. Cambridge,
Rev. Francis Brown, North Yarmouth.

[Those names to which no state is affixed, are of Massachusetts.]
LIST OF MEMBERS, Continued.
[Elected since October, 1813. Arranged Alphabetically.]

Hon. John Adams, L. L. D. late President of the United States, Quincy, Mass.
Hon. John Quincy Adams, L. L. D. Minister to the Court of Russia; Quincy, Mass.
Hon. William Baylies, Bridgewater.
William Bigelow, M. A. Boston, Mass.
General Joseph Bloomfield, New Jersey.
William Bond, Dorchester, Mass.
Hon. Jabez Bowen, L. L. D. Providence, R. I.
Oliver Bray, Esq. Portland, Maine.
Hon. Christopher Grant Champlin, Newport, R. I.
Dr. Abraham Clark, Newark, New Jersey.
Hon. David Cobb, Goldsborough, Maine.
Hon. Thomas Dawes, Boston, Mass.
Silas Dinwoode, Esq. Agent of the United States, to the Choctaw Nation.
Hon. William Ellery, Newport, Rhode Island.
Moses Fiske, Esq. Tennessee.
Hon. Nathaniel Freeman, Sandwich, Mass.
Henry Ghau, Esq. Swedish Consul, Newyork.
His Excellency John Taylor Gilman, Governor of Newhampshire, Exeter.
Hon. Christopher Gore, L. L. D. Waltham, Mass.
Rev. William Harris, D. D. President Columbia College, N. Y.
Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, Northcarolina, Agent to the Upper Creek Nation.
Dr. Gad Hitchcock, Scituate, Mass.
Hon. David Humphreys, L. L. D. Humphreysville, Conn.
Peter Augustus Jay, Esq. Newyork.
Hon. Thomas Jefferson, L. L. D. late President of the United States, Virginia.
Hon. John Coffin Jones, Boston, Mass.
Hon. Rufus King, L. L. D. Jamaica, Longisland, Newyork.
Tobias Lear, Esq. Virginia.
Rev. Dr. John Mitchell Mason. Profes. Columbia College, N. Y.
Hugh M'Call, Esq. Georgia.
Hon. Gouverneur Morris, Morrissina, Newyork.
Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D. President Union College Skenecktady, Newyork.
Hon. Elijah Paine, L. L. D. Williamstown, Vermont.
Hon. George Partridge, Duxbury, Mass.
Hon. John Phillips, President Senate, Mass.
Hon. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charleston, S. C,
Major General Thomas Pinckney, Charleston, S. C.
Hon. John Reed, Yarmouth, Mass.
Rev. James Richards, Newark, Newjersey.
Richard Rush, Esq. Attorney General U. S. Washington,
Samuel Savage, M. D. Barnstable, Mass.
Rev. Daniel Clark Saunders, D. D. President Vermont University, Burlington.
Hon. Samuel Sewall, L. L. D. Chief Justice Supreme Judicial Court Massachusetts, Marblehead.
His Excellency John Cotton Smith, Gov. Connect, Farmington.
Rev. Isaac Smith, Boston, Mass.
His Excellency Caleb Strong, L. L. D. Governor Massachusetts, Northampton.
Hon. Joseph Story, Judge Supreme Court U. S. Salem, Mass.
Horatio Gates Spafford, M. A. Albany, Newyork.
Daniel Stanniford, A. M. Boston, Mass.
Dr. James Thatcher, Plymouth, Mass.
Hon. Joshua Thomas, Judge Probate, Plymouth, Mass.
Hon. Charles Thompson, L. L. D. Philadelphia.
Dr. Abraham R. Thompson, Charlestown, Mass.
Nicholas Tillinghast, Esq. Taunton, Mass.
His Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, Gov. Newyork.
Hon. William Tudor, Boston, Mass.
Benjamin Vaughan, Esq. Portland, Maine.
Hon. Bushrod Washington, Judge Supreme Court of the U. S. Mount Vernon, Virginia.
Dr. James T. B. Watt, Island of Jamaica.
Hon. Benjamin West, Charlestown, Newhampshire.
Dr. Jonas Whitman, Barnstable, Mass.
Hon. Oliver Wolcott, L. L. D. Newyork.
John Winslow, Esq. Hanover, Mass.
Dr. Isaac Winslow, Mansfield, Mass.

At a stated meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, held at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, June 1, 1814,
On motion of Samuel J. Prescott, Esq.
VOTED, unanimously, that the Eighth Article of the Laws of this Society be amended, and stand as follows, viz.

ARTICLE VIII.

Each member, residing within this Commonwealth, shall annually pay to the Treasurer of said Society, at the meeting in October, two dollars, towards a fund for the necessary contingent expenses of the Society; and any such member, who shall neglect to pay said annual tax, and shall suffer himself to be in arrear for three annual taxes, after having been called upon by the Treasurer in person, or by written order, shall be considered as having abdicated his interest in the Society, and no longer a member.

A true Copy from the Records,

Attest:    SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, Rec. Sec'y.
ADDRESS

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

PRONOUNCED IN

KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON,

ON

THEIR FIRST ANNIVERSARY,

OCTOBER 23, 1813.

BY WILLIAM JENKS, A. M. S. A. S.
Pastor of a Church in Bath, and Professor of Oriental Languages, &c.
in Bowdoin College, Maine.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY ISAIAH THOMAS, JUN.
November—1813.
At a meeting of the American Antiquarian Society at the Exchange Coffee House, in Boston, October 23d, 1813—

"Voted, unanimously, That the President and the two Vice Presidents be a Committee to express the thanks of this Society to the Rev. Professor Jenks for his ingenious and learned address, this day delivered, and to request of him a copy for publication."

Rev. and Dear Sir,

The undersigned, appointed a Committee to make the request and present the thanks expressed in the above vote, do accordingly present you the hearty acknowledgments of the Society, and beg your kind compliance with their wishes.

Isaiah Thomas,
W. D. Peck,
W. Paine.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the request of the Society, so obligingly communicated through you, I hereby commit to you a copy of the "Address," and am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

William Jenks.

Isaiah Thomas, Esq.
Professor Peck,
Dr. Paine.

Committee.
ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN

OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

THE acceptance of your appointment to address you on this occasion, may well seem to demand an apology. I shall however decline to offer it, and trust your candour and the indulgence of this audience, in proceeding to comply with my duty, as a member of your respected body, by obeying your desires.

In the choice of your anniversary, gentlemen, you have seen fit to fix the attention of this Society and the publick on events worthy to be commemorated by all civilized America. Your name embraces a continent. The first view of land belonging to the New World distinguishes this day in the annals of time.*

* "A light, seen by Columbus at ten in the night of the eleventh of October, was viewed as the harbinger of the wished for land; and early the next morning (Friday, Oct. 12th) land was distinctly seen." Dr. Holmes' Amer. Annals, Vol. 1. p. 4. In the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, October 23d corresponds to this memorable day.
But you have not, I presume, selected this day for the purpose of hearing repeated the story of the Discoverer. Interesting and instructive as is his story, almost every circumstance of it has happily become familiar even to our youth. In their earliest years, our countrymen of these United States associate the memory of the illustrious but long neglected citizen of Genoa, with the deep impressions made on their hearts, by the virtues of their political Father. In the latter they contemplate an example of national confidence unbounded yet secure, of publick honours lost in "the wild majesty of private life,"* of power used with moderation and resigned with dignity; in the former, talents, merit and conscious superiority to the men of the age meekly, yet with firmness, submitting to disappointments, bearing the ingratitude of a penurious and jealous king, and, more than all, the undeserved success of haughty, worthless courtiers.

Poetry, as well as History, has consecrated the achievements of Columbus.† But we must leave, for the present, to History and Poetry the pleasing task of dwelling on individual characters. The appropriate researches of the Antiquary aim at objects

* Akenside. † See the splendid national work of Barlow.
less exposed to ordinary notice, yet illustrative often of the interests of nations.

The concerns of the present moment generally engross the attention of the greater number of mankind. "All things are full of labour; man cannot utter it; the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing."* Multiplied and various, the affairs of business and pursuits of pleasure seem to require the whole man. But in every community will be found some, who are not satisfied with the contemplation of present objects only. They delight to trace the progress of events, and investigate their causes. They look back on manners, men and things, with a curious, scrutinizing eye. And not unfrequently does the Antiquary return from his excursions laden with invaluable spoils of time to swell the treasures of science and art.

To a philosophick mind such employment is pleasing. The state of society, which we behold, has resulted from the accumulated labours of many generations. Repeated efforts and experiments in legislation have led mankind, by gradual advances, to ascertain and appreciate their mutual rights and duties, and, of course, the mutual bearing and dependence

* Eccl. i. 8.
of each class and individual in society. The com-
forts, conveniences and luxuries of life, at the present
day so varied, lead to reflections on the progressive
acquisitions of human research, enterprise, skill and
industry. Even in nations highly civilized, History
can point us to periods, wherein the eye is arrested
by the gloom of savage indolence on the one hand,
or the barbarism of savage rapacity on the other.
To an observing traveller the face of the earth now
exhibits an interesting variety of stages. He may see
the human nature degraded to its lowest debasement
in some portions of the earth, and trace the effects of
art and industry, as his eye glances from tribe to
tribe, and nation to nation, in the vast family of man.
The native of New Holland, the rude mountaineer of
Burmah, the wretched islander of Andaman,* the
shivering Samoïede and disgusting Hottentot are al-
most infinitely removed from the state of refinement
exhibited in Europeans and their descendants. Yet
it improved the nourishment of the first population of
Greece, to indicate the beech-nut;† in Germany,
Gaul and Britain‡ human sacrifices were not unfre-
quent, and, at her origin, imperial Rome§ herself

* Symmes's Embassy to Ava. † Pausanias, lib. viii. p. 599. (Ed. Kuhn.)
‡ Tacit Germ. & Cæsar de bello Gall. l. 6. § Liv. l. i. 8.
owed much of her greatness to outlaws of the surrounding country.

Permit me then, gentlemen, to invite your attention, and that of this audience, to the general design of this Society, and a consideration of the utility and importance of pursuits denominated Antiquarian. This will necessarily, indeed, open to us a wider field, than we can now survey with minuteness, or than can be cultivated, without time and labour. And perhaps a liberty of diffuse remark may best accord with the present occasion, in which the Society celebrates for the first time in publick its auspicious anniversary.

Every thing regarding the Revelation, which the Creator and Governor of the universe has been pleased to make of his holy will and conduct, is interesting to us. Infidels have been found, who attempt to invalidate its proofs, or deny its authenticity. They have attacked the historical narrations of the scriptures, and with great zeal endeavoured to enlist in their service, the records, whether fabulous, interpolated, supposititious, or genuine, of ancient nations. They have denied the existence of certain facts, on the evidence of which much of the clearness, with which our holy religion is exhibited as divine, may seem to depend. Representations of external nature
made in the Bible have been ridiculed, its supposed philosophy held up to scorn, its chronology discarded, and, to say nothing of the manner, in which its recorded miracles have been treated, the history of the Israelites, the style and manner of composition, and the allusions to Gentile nations have met obloquy and reproach.*

That there are difficulties attending the adjustment of sacred chronology, none, who are versed in studies of that nature, will deny. But these difficulties have served to call forth the acuteness and learning of laborious investigators. And though a Bolingbroke may affirm, that he has "a thorough contempt for all the researches into antiquity, for all the systems of chronology and history, that we owe to the immense labours of a Scaliger, a Bochart, a Petavius, an Usher, or even a Marsham;" yet "to endeavour to digest the history of mankind, and of the principal events that have happened in the world, in a regular series, to mark the rise and fall of cities and empires, to compare and connect the histories of different countries and nations, sacred history and profane; and, in order to this, to lay together the scattered hints and fragments of different ages, is, notwithstanding-

* See Leland's "View of Deistical Writers," and his "Reflections on Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the study and use of History."
ing this degrading description of it, a noble employment, an employment that even a Sir Isaac Newton judged not to be unworthy of his great genius."

Whatever learning elucidates the sacred records, repays amply the labour of acquisition. Hence they, who have appreciated justly the value of Divine Truth, have been anxiously sedulous to investigate all parts of history and philosophy connected with it; and the student of biblical literature is now richly furnished from their collected treasures.

The high antiquity assigned to the history of the Egyptians has been a favourite theme with infidels. Among them Dupuis and Volney have considered fifteen or seventeen thousand years,† as the most probable period of their arrangement of the signs of the Zodiac. But this pretended antiquity beyond the accounts of Moses is amply disproved by the critical investigations of learned Antiquaries. Greece received her mythology from Egypt, blended, as it was, with Phænician rites, and Rome, in a considerable measure, from Greece. Illustrations, therefore, of Egyptian theology, including that of neighbouring countries of the East, apply with much force to the elucidation of the popular systems of religion in those

* Leland, Reflections, &c. † Priestley's Remarks on Dupuis' work.
celebrated nations. And the whole has tended to establish the great facts of a deluge, the repeopling of the earth from a single family, and a subsequent compulsory dispersion.

In these studies no man, perhaps, has done more for the cause of truth, than the celebrated Bryant, a name ever to be mentioned by the Antiquary with respect and veneration. In his great work, "the Analysis of Ancient Mythology," he has undertaken "to divest it of every foreign and unmeaning ornament, and to display the truth in its native simplicity; to show that all the rites and mysteries of the Gentiles were only so many memorials of their principal ancestors, and of the great occurrences, to which they had been witnesses"—that "they all related to the history of the first ages, and to the same events, which are recorded by Moses."*

While the frost work of Pagan fiction in Europe was thus dissolving before the rays of science, the recesses of Hindoo superstition, rendered tenfold more gloomy by Brahminic arts, were discovered and explored. In this survey the

"Accomplished Jones—whose hand to every art
"Could unknown charms and nameless grace impart,"†

is regarded justly, as bearing away the palm from all competitors. He has identified the gods of Greece, Italy, and India, taken off the veil of mysterious secrecy from ancient rites, reduced to historick possibility the boasted, but "endless genealogies" of Hindustan, curtailed the fabulous antiquity of China, and shown the world, that the great lawgiver of Israel was a historian and geographer as accurate, as he was a legislator divinely inspired.

Bold indeed must be the infidel capable of reading and reflection, who, after weighing the elaborate disquisitions of such eminent scholars, would attack, on the ground these champions occupy, the authenticity of the scriptures of the Jews. Are we not rather convinced, to use the words of one, who has compared the "Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos,"* that, "it has been by means of this one despised nation, (for Jesus the founder of the Christian religion was of it)" as concerning the flesh,† "that the knowledge of the one true God has been preserved and propagated in the world to this very day"—that "all nations that have not been directly or indirectly instructed by them are idolaters"—and that "it is to revelation only, and not to any exertion

* Dr. Priestley, p. 86 of his "Comparison." † Rom. ix. 5.
of human reason, that we are indebted for such great and important light."

If already so much has been done to aid the cause of truth, by the comparison of ancient profane history with the Sacred Scriptures, we may hope that whatever obscurity yet remains will vanish, as the investigations of learning are pursued with steady, persevering caution.

But Sir William Jones and the venerated Bryant are only distinguished from a host of illustrious votaries of recondite learning. There has, in fact, never been wanting, since history has been written, a taste and inclination to search out, preserve and transmit the discoverable traces of ancient knowledge. Even Moses, the sacred instrument of the providence of God in leading Israel to the promised inheritance, and founding their commonwealth by Divine legislation, stops at times his hallowed narrative to sketch its remnants.* Valuable fragments of Chaldaean, Phœnician and Egyptian history have been preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, those valued Antiquaries, whose toil has smoothed the path of succeeding historians. Homer too has cast light on the origin and progress of nations; and the amiable Plu-

* Instances often occur, as Numb. xiii. 22. Deut. ii. 20—23. iii. 9, &c.
Tarch assists the enquirer by his learned dissertations on ordinary manners, religious superstitions, and general antiquities.

Miscellaneous collections almost innumerable have also been made by individuals in ancient and modern times. Athenæus and Gellius, Pliny and Ælian have gained celebrity by this employment of their time, and rescued several valuable facts and names from oblivion*—while the deep and extensive eruption of Varro, Dionysius, Pausanias, Ptolemy and Nonnus cast a strong and steady light on the subjects of their notice.

Among the moderns we can hardly name a respectable historian or critic of weight, who has not felt the obligation to pay a marked regard to the study of antiquities. Indeed some knowledge of antiquities is indispensable to the historian, if not to enable him to describe with accuracy the subjects of his record, yet at least to form a sound judgment of their character and importance.

But I fear, lest the patience of this respected audience may not accompany the speaker, should he at——

* Yet " Vixère fortés ante Agamemnōna
" Multi ; sed omnes illaerymologyles
" Urgentur, ignotique longa
" Nocte, carent quia vate sacro."

Hor. Carm. l. iv. Od. 9.
tempt to review, though briefly, the branches of labour in this department of science. Yet why should he distrust it? For in which of the cities of America have such pursuits met more attention and patronage, than in this? He will not forget the solid and various learning of the illustrious Mathers, the accurate and laborious researches of the classick Belknap, nor the beloved name of Eliot, his early patron, and lamented literary friend and guide.

I have not attempted to define antiquities, for they belong to almost every art and science; and they, who have cultivated any art or science with attachment and diligence, may be often benefited by the history of its progress.

In the important sciences, for instance, of legislation, jurisprudence and statisticks, we have already seen in part the essential aid to be acquired, from perusing the remains of ancient knowledge and experiment. The first formation of states, the sources of wealth and power, the origin of laws, their adaptation to the character and situation of the community, the result of this adaptation,* and the various changes of manners and government induced by circumstances:

* — "inde tibi, tuxque reipublicae, quod imitere capias; inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites." Liv. Pref.
all these, as they are of high interest to the legislator, have found able and faithful observers, whose lessons, deduced from the happy or distressing experience of ages more or less remote, are the golden rules of the sagacious statesman.

We might proceed with almost every subject, that occupies the attention of mankind. Poetry has its history and antiquities. The nature and progress of language has employed much curious speculation, and is still, and will long remain a fruitful theme of critical remark. Mathematics, geography, natural and experimental philosophy, agriculture, commerce, and "the art that embalms all arts," have had their stages of advancement, which inquisitive observers have delighted to record. Physiology is traced with interest from its rudest to its most cultivated state, from its stem to its branches; and as its flourishing shoots are observed to multiply and expand, the pleasing fruit is expected to nourish and prolong human existence, and its leaf to be "for the healing of the nations." *

The history of the Church of GOD under the Jewish and Christian dispensations, as it has occu-

* Rev. xxii. 2.
pied the pens of innumerable writers, derives elucidation greatly from judicious antiquarian labour.

In all these branches it would be invidious to name only the few, who can find a place in this address; yet must we not omit, in addition to those, who have been mentioned, the indefatigable Grotius, the learned Selden, Hottinger, D'Herbelot, Dupin and Cumberland. In another branch we must distinguish Camden, Stukeley, Dugange, Spelman, Dugdale, Sheringham and Barrington; still further, Goguet, De Guignes, Pelloutier, Caylus, Vallancey, Wilford and Maurice, nor pass by the immense labours of Gronovius, Muratori, Gruter, and Montfaucon.

If we except, however, the Jesuits, that once wealthy and powerful association, and some monastick orders, especially the Benedictines, few bodies have encouraged such pursuits, and several of the industrious Antiquaries, we have named, were private scholars. Universities indeed, and other publick literary institutions, have assisted such inquirers occasionally, but associations of men for purposes professedly literary are the invaluable privilege of times comparatively modern. The Societies formed under royal patronage in London, Paris, Berlin, Peters-
burgh, and other cities of Europe, have greatly advanced the progress of science, and by the publication of select essays on subjects maturely examined introduced a precision and caution, which cannot but be favourable. At the same time the Antiquarian Societies of London and Edinburgh, with others embracing the same design, have brought before the publick a mass of valuable ancient topography, many curious remains of art, and interesting views of former population and manners.

The taste for such pursuits, which arose at the resuscitation of liberal learning, and has increased in Europe to the present times, accompanied, as it now is, with bibliographick literature, has crossed the Atlantick. I do not say it has lately crossed for the first time, since, probably, there has been no period of the history of our European settlements destitute of those, who have directed their attention to these branches of enquiry.

The preceding remarks, gentlemen, have been offered mostly, as introductory to a consideration of the special design and objects of the American Antiquarian Society. If I have been successful in describing the value of researches into antiquity in general, and the interest excited by them in the minds
of many of the first and ripest scholars of ancient and modern times, I flatter myself we shall contemplate with increased regard the province appropriated to ourselves. With the stale objections to such pursuits, arising more, perhaps, from indolence or overweening self esteem, than from sober conviction, although it be acknowledged that many of the apparently grave and learned have been egregious triflers, neither this audience, nor he, who addresses it, has any concern.

Prevalent and successful, as the taste has been in Europe, for antiquarian research, it has also been observable and striking here, and apparently increases. Already has it done much. A catalogue of the books, tracts, and documents of original value, which have been produced among us, must be considered honorary to our country. "The Historical Society of Massachusetts" has led the way in the encouragement of this taste, and in supplying means for its gratification. The liberal arrangements of its library cannot but be beneficial to those, who happily reside in its vicinity, while its publications have been uninterrupted, interesting and satisfactory. Much was effected and is still doing by the respected Societies instituted previously in Pennsylvania and Mas-
sachusetts. But their designs embrace a wider range. It is a subject of felicitation to our country, that, in the increase of institutions of a literary and scientiffick nature, there yet appears room for another association, which shall still more appropriately than either of those, which before were instituted, devote itself to the acquisition, description and preservation of American Antiquities. The multiplying and securing of copies of ancient documents, their preservation in the interior, less exposed to ordinary hazards, and an additional interest excited in a greater number of the community—some such considerations, as these, gentlemen, were probably motives for forming this Society. May its success answer your most lively expectations, and the best wishes of its friends.

A few of the objects, which present themselves to an American Antiquary, shall now be noticed.

*The ancient Indian nations of our continent demand our first attention.*

Here an extensive field of enquiry opens at once. The present condition of the native Indian tribes indicates a deterioration in numbers, spirit and skill, if we survey them even by the light of those narratives, which have been left us by our ancestors, and
those, who were first acquainted with this extensive country.

**America** was discovered at a period, when the human mind, rousing from its long slumbers, began to exert itself anew in the splendid career of science. The invention of printing, as it offered a surprising facility in the multiplication of books, left their writers more leisure to increase their original productions. Commerce had begun to expand the conceptions of men, to enlarge their enjoyments, and multiply their wants, as well as the means of supply. The stores of ancient literature were unlocked; the precious manuscripts, which had survived the desolations of barbarism, and lain in the secrecy and silence of the cloister, were brought forth, committed to the press and distributed among the learned. The ruin of the empire of the East, by the final subjection of Constantinople to the Turks,* had expelled from that capital many Greeks of eminent accomplishments, who became the instructors of Italy. Science revived under the liberal patronage of the Princely Merchant of Florence,† and as his example allured others, a consequence was, that Italy furnished to the States of Europe not only the best statesmen,

* A. D. 1453.  † Cosmo de' Medici.
and most accomplished scholars, but also the most skilful navigators, and most adventurous seamen.*

No sooner was the discovery effected, than it began to be enquired whence the new race of men originated—an enquiry, which has continued to employ the conjectures, and to animate the investigations of men of leisure and learning from that time to the present. Much, therefore, has been written on the subject, and many hypotheses formed.† Interest gave an edge to these speculations at that period; for not only was it contended who first discovered America, but the honour of peopling it has been assigned successively to almost every nation; it being then imagined, that some right in the soil would accrue to the nation, from which the population flowed.‡

Wedded to systems, and not always disposed to undergo the labour necessary to ascertain their truth,

* Dr. Belknap observes, "It is remarkable that the three great European kingdoms, Spain, England and France, made use of three Italians to conduct their discoveries: Columbus, a Genoese; Cabot, a Venetian; and Verazzani, a Florentine." Am. Biog. vol. I. p. 159.

† See Robertson's Hist. of Amer. and Hornius de Gentium Amer. origine.

‡ Dr. Barton supposes the principle to have operated in the account so often copied from Dr. Powel's Hist. of Wales of the emigration of Madoc. Med. and Phys. Journal.
European writers have contented themselves too frequently with vague reports and slight resemblances. Hence their reasoning has been deceptive, and their results false. Yet the misrepresentations, which have been made by De Pauw and Buffon, and from which even Robertson is not freed, have happily excited able replies, from mature examination of facts; and in the "Notes on Virginia," as well as the Abbé Clavigero's extensive and elaborate "History of Mexico," the assertions of these writers, which are most glaringly inconsistent, are found refuted.

The exertions of the Society formed by the advice and under the presidency of Sir William Jones, of whose learned labours the "Asiatick Researches" will ever be esteemed a most honourable monument, have made us acquainted with many curious facts in the history of the nations of the east, which may tend to elucidate the great question of American population. But possibly traces of the daring enterprise and naval skill of the Cuthite or Amonian Family,* whose achievements form, in the opinion of Mr. Bryant, so great a portion of ancient mythology.

may yet be discovered on the western, as well as eastern coasts of the American continent.

How barren then soever the theme of Indian antiquities may appear at a superficial glance, because they present so few of those means of remote investigation, which are common on the old continent, as books, and monuments for recording important events, or commemorating distinguished characters; yet it may be found, that etymological enquiry, cautiously and diligently pursued, with a careful investigation of religious rites and ceremonies, and the prevailing manners, will connect the history of our Indian population with the ancient achievements of the early descendants of Noah. Already, in fact, has this course terminated here, in the result of the unremitting perseverance of our distinguished countryman, Dr. Barton, whose "New Views of the American Indians" have led him to the same conclusions, to which enquiries of a similar nature had conducted Mr. Bryant and Sir William Jones.

To collect complete vocabularies of the Indian tongues, to ascertain the boundaries of their ancient governments, and the progress they made in the few arts, which were practised among them; to obtain a knowledge of their numbers and circumstances at
the various epochs of their progress or declension, are objects of laudable curiosity.

Connected with this are two subjects especially, which seem of much higher import, than the gratification of even laudable curiosity. Our Puritan Ancestors thought much and expended time, pains and money, in the truly Christian work of evangelising the natives. In the single state of Massachusetts, toward the close of the 17th century, more than thirty congregations of praying Indians met for publick worship,* and more than twenty Indian teachers† were the precious fruits to Christ of the "Pilgrims of Leyden," and their pious associates. How these churches have declined—what number of native Indians are now to be regarded, as Christian brethren; and how far the effects of Christianity are happily discernible among any, may well be esteemed fit subjects of enquiry.

The other is this. A language of signs has been discovered, simple, easy, and intelligible, and supposed to savour of Asiatick origin.‡ By means of

* Neale. Dr. C. Mather's India Christ.
† Noticed by Leusden, in dedicating his Hebrew Psalter to President Mather.
this, it is asserted, that, “Almost all Indian nations living between the Mississippi and the Western American ocean” are able to hold communication, “although their respective oral tongues are frequently unknown to each other.” What a treasure would be this language of signs to a Christian Missionary among those nations!

A second general subject of enquiry is the Western Mounds of Earth.—These may in fact be considered as belonging to the preceding division. But as they are the only striking evidence we have of ancient population, and the progress of arts in remote times, they demand a distinct notice. Their use is variously conjectured. Ordinarily enclosures of this kind have been termed fortifications, and contrivances for defence have been supposed to be ascertained. Others have considered them the remains of ancient temples, and have discovered the altar and other appendages. But a third opinion is that of the Rev. Bishop Madison, as the result of personal observation, that these enclosures (for of the conical tumuli there is generally but one opinion) were only lines or fences erected for the purposes of agriculture.* Possibly this question may find a decision in the wilds of Siberia; but a

new interest has of late been given to the subject by information respecting a tribe of Welsh Indians,* to whom the building of these enclosures and circular mounds is assigned by other Indians themselves. Few subjects connected with American antiquities have excited more curiosity than this, and few deserve a more critical attention.

A third branch of enquiry offers itself in the early European Settlements.—To ascertain by whom, at what time, and for what purpose settlements were made, and how long, if now deserted, they were held; or their subsequent progress, if retained, belongs, in all its branches of Spanish, French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Danish and Swedish population, to the history and antiquities of our Continent; as do also the fossil remains of animated nature, or primitive art.

I shall but name a fourth branch, consisting of Civil Antiquities.—This head of enquiry I propose to refer to the European accessions of population in America. At the time when the colonising of the southern portion of this vast continent commenced, Europe was in slavish subjection to the mandates of Rome. But for some time before the northern portion received inhabitants from England, Henry VIII. had shaken off the yoke. Our own ancestors were mostly dissenters

* Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana.
from the Church establishment in the reign of James, his sister's grandson. At that period the rights of subjects began to be discussed, but no Stuart would willingly permit the discussion of the duties of kings.

Would we form then a just opinion of the feelings, views and actions of the Fathers of New England, we must attend minutely to their history. To judge of their treatment of Indians, for instance, it is necessary to ascertain their speculations and views concerning them. In all their conduct, we should make our conclusions with reference to their times, their habits of life, and the progress of society in their memorable age.

If in this manner we study their history, permit me to remark, we shall not only be impressed with a strong sense of their resolution, enterprise and piety; but also find our own views and feelings purified by converse with ancient times and ancient manners. An accurate observer of the world has suggested, that the man, who thinks little of his ancestors, will be careless of his posterity. Would we appreciate our privileges, we must contemplate their cost. If it is important to transmit them to posterity, we must be strongly impressed with their value; for the more we value them, the greater will be our exertions to hand them down unimpaired to the coming age. But their worth can never be known, until we form a com-
parison between our institutions, rights and advantages and those of other times and other people. This comparison will also tend to repress the inflations of individual and national vanity; for while it shows the origin and advancement of the principles of national greatness, by heightening our respect for solid worth, it may contribute much to imbue our own minds with those qualities, which have stood the test of time.

To animate our labours, we will then look forward to the period, when that which is determined in the councils of the Almighty, shall be brought into effect by His gracious Providence, for human happiness and divine honour. Viewing in the discoveries of Revelation the designs of God, we anticipate the glory of the "latter day." Then, as we will hope, by Antiquarian researches only, shall be discovered traces of impure morals, and mistaken principles, vicious practices, diseased bodies, and violent animosities, gloomy superstition and lax indifference, disregard of a Saviour, and careless neglect of the salvation of fellow men.

You will therefore, gentlemen, unite with me in the fervent wish, that the world may continue to grow wise, until it exhibit for ages a resemblance of heaven. For ourselves, and for our cotemporaries, may it be the effort, privilege and delight of life, to contribute somewhat at least toward such a consummation.—FINIS.
ACT OF INCORPORATION,

BYE-LAWS, CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS,

AND

CIRCULAR LETTER

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY;

WITH A

List of Articles on which the Society wish for information; Books and pamphlets wanted by the Society; and methods recommended for collecting and preserving animals, vegetables, minerals, &c.

BOSTON:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY


1813.
An Act to incorporate a Society, by the name of The Massachusetts Historical Society.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States is a desirable object, and the institution of a Society for those purposes will be of publick utility:

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, and all other necessary officers; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change, and renew at pleasure; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a Body Politic and Corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society shall have power to make orders and bye-laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth; and may expel, disfranchise and suspend any member, who, by his misconduct, shall be rendered unworthy.

And be it further enacted, That the said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate, by gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey: Provided, That the annual income of any real estate, by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of five hundred pounds; and that the personal estate thereof, besides books, papers, and articles in the Museum of said Society shall never exceed the value of two thousand pounds.

And be it further enacted, That the members of said Society, shall never be more than sixty (except honorary members, residing without the limits of this Commonwealth) and that James Sullivan, Esq. be, and he hereby is authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society; and that the same Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and may have power to adjourn from time to time, as may be found necessary.

And be it further enacted, That either branch of the Legislature shall, and may have free access to the Library and Museum of said Society.

This Act passed February 19, 1794.
LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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

Art. II. If any person elected shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprized of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any resident member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of three years after it shall have become due, or shall neglect to attend six successive quarterly meetings of the Society, he shall forfeit his right to its privileges and shall no longer be considered as a member thereof, unless he shall send his excuse to one of the Secretaries in writing, and the same shall be judged reasonable by the Society. Each member, at his election, shall be furnished with an attested copy of this article.

Art. III. All elections shall be made by ballot. Nominations of corresponding members may be made by the members of the Society; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Art. IV. There shall be four stated meetings of the Society in each year; namely, on the last Thursdays of January, April, and October, and on the day before Commencement at Harvard College. And occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification, by the President, or in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

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

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

Art. VII. All accounts shall be kept in dollars and cents.

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

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

Art. X. Members who are chosen in other states and countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

Art. XI. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in two, at least, of the Boston newspapers; and the Recording Secretary shall also send notifications of the same to every member whose usual residence is within ten miles of Boston.

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LAWS, REGULATING THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

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

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

Art. III. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.
Art. IV. They shall frequently inspect the records, and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude. The names of members in the records shall be in alphabetical order.

Art. V. They shall inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

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

LAWS, REGULATING THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

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

Art. II. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves, in the best part of the cabinet.

Art. III. At every quarterly meeting, a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet Keeper: and every member shall in person, if present, and in writing, if absent, give an account of the books and manuscripts, or whatever article belonging to the Society, he may have in his possession.

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

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

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

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

Art. VIII. Newspapers and maps shall not be allowed to be taken out of the library, except by the Publishing Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

Art. XIV. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to attend at the library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at 3 o'clock, for the accommodation of the members. And it is under-
stood and expected, that the members will regulate themselves accordingly.

Art. XV. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates, which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

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

Art. XVII. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next meeting of the Society.

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

True copy of the Laws of the Historical Society, 1 January 1813.

JOSEPH MCKEAN, Recording Secretary.
### ALPHABETICAL LISTS

**OF THE RESIDENT AND THE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

#### RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Those with * prefixed have died—those with † have resigned, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Time of Election</th>
<th>Deceased, Resignation, &amp;c.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hon. John Adams, LL.D.</td>
<td>Quincy</td>
<td>31 July, 1800</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon. John Q. Adams, LL.D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>27 April, 1802</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Allen, Esq.</td>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>7 Sept. 1808</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. John Allyn,</td>
<td>Duxbury</td>
<td>29 Oct. 1799</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D.</td>
<td>Charlestown</td>
<td>24 April, 1798</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon. William Baylies, M. D.</td>
<td>Dighton</td>
<td>Original member,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. William Bentley,</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td><strong>2</strong> Jan. 1793</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alden Bradford, Esq.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>31 Oct. 1797</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Capt. Gamaliel Bradford,</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>30 Jan. 1798</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. John Bradford,</td>
<td>Roxbury</td>
<td>25 April, 1797</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*Thomas Brattle, Esq.</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>25 April, 1811</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*Rev Joseph S. Buckminster,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>10 Oct. 1801</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CharlesBulkinsh, Esq.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elisha Clap, A. M.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>29 Oct. 1812</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*Hon. Peleg Coffin, Esq.</td>
<td>Nantucket</td>
<td>18 Aug. 1792</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Joseph Coolidge, jun.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>25 April, 1811</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D.</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>29 May, 1792</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon. John Davis, Esq.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>24 Oct. 1791</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hon Daniel Davis, Esq.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>29 May, 1792</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Samuel Davis,</td>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>30 Jun. 1812</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Elias Hasket Derby, Esq.</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>28 April, 1801</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aaron Dexter, M. D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>29 May, 1792</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. John Eliot, D. D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Original member,</td>
<td></td>
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*The first meeting was held on Jan. 1791. Present, Rev. J. Belknap, J. Eliot, and J. Freeman, J. Sullivan, Esq. Rev. Mr. Thacher, W. Tudor, Esq. Mr. T. Walcutt, and J. Winthrop, Esq.*
### Alphabetical Lists.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Residence</th>
<th>Time of Election</th>
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<td>William Fiske, Esq.</td>
<td>Waltham</td>
<td>25 April, 1797</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. James Freeman, D. D.</td>
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<td>Caleb Gannett, Esq.</td>
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<td>Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D.</td>
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<td>Mr. Obadiah Rich,</td>
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* Asterisk indicates original member.
### Alphabetical Lists.

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<td>His Exc. Caleb Strong,</td>
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<td>10 December, 1806</td>
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<td>William Sullivan, Esq.</td>
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<td>John Langdon Sullivan, Esq.</td>
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<td>Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.</td>
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<td>Isaiah Thomas, Esq.</td>
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<td>30 July, 1793</td>
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<td>Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq.</td>
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<td>Mr. Thomas Wallcut,</td>
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<td>*Marston Watson, Esq.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>29 April, 1800</td>
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<td>Mr. Redford Webster,</td>
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<td>13 Aug. 1792</td>
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<td>William Wetmore, Esq.</td>
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<td>Rev. Peter Whitney,</td>
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<td>28 Aug 1804</td>
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<td>John Williams, Esq.</td>
<td>Deerfield</td>
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<td>Hon. James Winthrop,</td>
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<td>Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>28 Aug. 1804</td>
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### CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

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<td>Rev. Timothy Alden,</td>
<td>New-York</td>
<td>1 Oct. 1801</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Anderson, M. D.</td>
<td>Edinb. Scotl.</td>
<td>27 Aug. 1805</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Gardiner Baker, Esq.</td>
<td>N. York N.Yk.</td>
<td>17 Aug. 1795</td>
<td>October, 1798</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. John Bassett,</td>
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<td>29 Aug 1809</td>
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<td>Benjamin S. Barton, M. D.</td>
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<td>Rev. Andrew Brown, D. D.</td>
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<td>Rt. Hon. Earl of Buchan</td>
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<td>James Clarke, Esq.</td>
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<td>Henry W. Dessaussure, Esq.</td>
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<td>Rev. Timo. Dwight, D.D.LL.D.</td>
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<td>Rev. C. D. Ebeling (Professor)</td>
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<td>Constant Freeman, Esq.</td>
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## Alphabetical Lists.

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**Presidents.**

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<tr>
<td>Hon. James Sullivan</td>
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**Recording Secretaries.**

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<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Wallcut</td>
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**Corresponding Secretaries.**

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**Treasurers.**

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<td>1796-1799</td>
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<td>Hon. Josiah Quincy</td>
<td>1803</td>
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**Librarians.**

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<tr>
<td>Hon. George Richards Minot</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. John Thornton Kirkland</td>
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<td>William S. Shaw, Esq.</td>
<td>1806-1808</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Timothy Alden, jun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Joseph McKean</td>
<td>1809-1812</td>
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<td>Joseph Tilden, Esq.</td>
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**Assistant Librarians.**

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<td>Rev. John T. Kirkland</td>
<td>1798, April to 1798, August</td>
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<td>Thomas Wallcut</td>
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**Cabinet Keepers.**

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**Standing Committee.**

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<td>Hon. George Richards Minot</td>
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<td>Rev. William Emerson</td>
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<td>Rev. John T. Kirkland</td>
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<td>Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq.</td>
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<td>Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.</td>
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<td>Rev. James Freeman, D. D.</td>
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**Committees of Publications.**

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<td>Rev. James Freeman, D. D. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, &amp; I. N. S.</td>
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<td>Hon. George R. Minot, 1, 4 &amp; 6 I. N. S.</td>
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<td>William Wetmore, Esq.</td>
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<td>Aaron Dexter, M. D.</td>
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<td>Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D.</td>
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<td>Hon. William Sponer, M. D.</td>
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<td>Rev. Thaddius Mason Harris</td>
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<td>William Sullivan, Esq.</td>
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<td>Hon. John Q. Adams</td>
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<td>Alden Bradford, Esq.</td>
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<td>Rev. John Pierce</td>
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CIRCULAR LETTER
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Respectfully addressed in 1794, by Rev. Jeremy Belknap,
D. D. then Corresponding Secretary, to every Gentleman
of Science in the Continent and Islands of America.

SIR,
The professed design of our institution is to collect,
preserve, and communicate materials for a complete history
of this country, and of all valuable efforts of the ingenuity
and industry of its inhabitants. In pursuance of this de-
sign we have already amassed a large quantity of books,
pamphlets and manuscripts; and we are still in search of
more.

The Library and Museum of the Society are deposited
in a spacious and convenient apartment of the Crescent, in
Franklin-Place, Boston. To this apartment, any person
may have access, by application to the Librarian, or to any
one of the members.

But from many instances which have occurred during
our own memory, we are satisfied, that depositories, how-
ever desirable, are exposed to such accidents, from the
hand of time, from the power of the elements, and from
the ravages of unprincipled or mercenary men, as to ren-
der them unsafe. The surest way of preserving historical
records and materials is, not to lock them up; but to mul-
tiply the copies. The art of printing affords a mode of
preservation, more effectual than Corinthian brass, or
Egyptian marble. Statutes and pyramids, which have
long survived the wreck of time, are unable to tell the
names of their sculptors, or the date of their foundations.

Impressed with this idea, the Massachusetts His-
torical Society have determined, not only to collect; but to diffuse the various kinds of historical information
which are within their reach. Though these materials may
come in, at different times, and there may not be opportu-
nity to digest them, in the best manner, previously to their
publication; yet we will present them in such order as
may be convenient and effectual. If we cannot erect an
elegant building, we will plant a forest, into which every inquirer may enter at his pleasure, and find something adapted to his purpose.

We have therefore encouraged a publication in which is given the result of our inquiries into the natural, political, and ecclesiastical history of this country. It is requested, that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attending to the annexed articles of inquiry; and we beg leave to depend on your obliging answers, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

We have also contemplated the forming of an extensive cabinet; comprehending the various natural productions of our continent, the adjacent islands and the neighbouring seas. To facilitate this purpose, we have annexed to this letter the best directions we have been able to obtain, for the collection and preservation, of all the proper subjects of natural history. Any specimens which it may be in your power to send will be gratefully received.

Your letters, free of expense, addressed to the President or either of the Secretaries, will be duly acknowledged, and noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge with which we hope to entertain the public.

ARTICLES ON WHICH THE SOCIETY REQUEST INFORMATION.

1. THE time when your town or city was incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what Colony or County it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labours and sufferings of the inhabitants in war, particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town or city into parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits.

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination; names of the several ministers; the times of their settlement, removal and death; and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for in-
genuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment; an account of their literary productions, and if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town or county, and its vicinity; mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, sands, clays, chalk, flints, pit-coal, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts on farther improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relics of the ancient Indians; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity from the first settlement, to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualties, the proportion of births and deaths; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Observations on manufactures of various kinds in any part of America at any time; and a comparative view of them at any two or more periods; particularly before and since the independence of the United States; before and since the establishment of the present federal constitution; with thoughts on the farther improvement of them.

13. Past and present state of fisheries either in the seas or rivers of America.

14. Modes of education, private or public; what encouragement is given to schools and colleges, and what is done to advance literature; whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and of what value.

15. Associations for religious or literary improvement, or the encouragement of the arts.

16. What remarkable events have befallen your State, county, town, or particular families or persons at any time.

The Corresponding Members of this Society are requested to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, any historical and geographical information of which they may
be possessed, respecting any part of the American Continent and Islands, together with printed acts and journals of Assemblies and Conventions, whether civil or ecclesiastical. And the Society will gratefully receive from them and from all other persons whatever, any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans which may be useful in an historical collection—and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge the Museum.

As one branch of a collection of materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country—it is intended to form a complete series of Sermons,

On the discovery of America.
On the completion of one century from the discovery or settlement of any State, town, or other place in the United States.
Delivered before the General Court in Plymouth
At the anniversary elections in Boston, in Connecticut, New Hampshire, or any other of the States.
At the anniversary conventions of the clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist.
At the anniversary elections of officers of the artillery company.
On annual and special Fasts and Thanksgivings.
To militia companies, or to troops in camp.
On victory or defeat in war.
On ordinations, installations, or removals of ministers, dedication of churches, &c.
On the return of peace.
On remarkable events, as fires, earthquakes, epidemic sickness, &c.
At assizes, or the opening courts of justice.
At town meetings, and on other popular occasions.
Orations, Sermons, or Poems,
On the anniversary of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth.
On the anniversary of the 5th of March.
On the anniversary of the 4th of July.
At the meetings of the Cincinnati Society.
On the death of eminent characters in church or state.
Before any literary society.
Journals, laws, resolves and protests,
Of Congresses.
Of Assemblies, Conventions, and other Legislative and deliberative bodies.
Conferences and treaties of publick Commissioners, appointed to treat with Indians.
Tax acts of an older date than 1775.
Proclamations by authority, and other single printed sheets. Proceeding of Episcopal conventions, Ecclesiastical councils, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, Baptist Associations, Circular Letters of the Societies of Friends; and of other denominations of christians.
Indian exploits, speeches, anecdotes, &c.
Narratives, Of battles, with the Indians.
Of captives, their exploits, sufferings, escapes, &c.
Of missionaries and itinerant preachers of all denominations.
Journals, Of voyagers and travellers, for discovery, curiosity, or other causes.
Minutes, or other doings of political clubs.
Magazines, museums, newspapers, &c.
Laws, catalogues, &c. of the several colleges in our country.

Directions for preserving animals and parts of animals.

**Quadrupeds.** The head should be preserved as nearly as possible in its natural form, with all its parts. If it be necessary to remove any of the bones of the head, care should be taken, to retain the jaw-bone with all the teeth entire; as the number, form, and situation of the teeth afford some of the most essential and distinguishing characters. The tongue ought to be preserved in its natural form; also the legs, feet, and hoofs or claws.

**Birds.** These should be preserved in full plumage; with the bill, tongue, and other parts of the head; the wings, thighs, legs, and claws; and the fleshy part of the rump, in which the tail-feathers are inserted; with all the feathers as nearly as may be in their natural position. There are many parts or appendages of the head, the presence or absence
of which affords distinguishing characters. Specimens of birds of both sexes and of the same species are desirable. The nests and eggs of birds contribute to increase the knowledge of natural history.

**Amphibious.** The head, with all its parts; the skin or shell in its natural form; with all the limbs and appendages.

**Serpents.** The whole head, teeth and tongue. The skin ought to be opened on one side, to preserve uninjured the scales on the belly, from the head to the end of the tail. A small portion of the bone at the end of the tail should be retained. If the skin be spread open and dried (as hereafter directed in the mode of drying the skins of birds) all the rings, spots, and stripes will appear; and especially the scales under the belly, called the scuta and squama; the number of which affords distinguishing characters.

**Fishes.** Specimens may be preserved, by splitting the head and taking one half of the head and gills, and skin, with all the fins of the back and belly, and along the tail to its extremity; the membraneous part which is an extension of the head over the gills, called the bronchia, and contains a number of long bones called rays, which are generally essential in giving the characters of fishes.

**Insects.** These should be preserved entire.

**Testaceous.** In preserving those which have two valves or shells; great care should be taken to preserve the joints by which the shells or valves are connected; because they contain the essential characters. Those shells which are found with the fish in them are most valuable for the brightness of colour.

**Zoophytes,** which partake of the nature of both animals and vegetables, should be preserved entire; with the substances to which they may be found to adhere.

**Doctor Cutler's method of preserving the skins of birds.**

"Open the skin along the breast; remove the whole of the body and neck, retaining the bones in the fore-part of the head; the wings, thighs and legs. Then spread the skin open; and place it on a sheet of brown paper, adjusting the head, wings, legs and tail. Over the skin, thus disposed, place another sheet of paper, and a small weight, so as to produce a gentle pressure. When the skin is be-
Methods of preserving animals and their skins.

"First. Take half an ounce of crude Sal Ammoniac in powder; put it into a pint of water; and when dissolved, add one ounce of corrosive sublimate mercury also in powder.

When this solution is used, it should be put into a glass phial and set in a vessel of cold water over the fire. When the water boils, the solution will be sufficiently heated. When heated, it must be laid on with a brush. It is used for washing the inside of boxes, in which insects and other preparations are kept. There should be a string or wire, round the neck of the phial, by which it may be lifted, when hot; and it must be heated in a glass phial as directed; because it corrodes with great rapacity every metallic substance.

"Second. Take twelve ounces of rectified spirit of wine; one ounce and a half of spirit of turpentine; mix, and add half an ounce of camphor.

The skins of animals may be passed over with this fluid, by means of a brush. It will destroy several species of insects.

"Third. Take white arsenic two ounces, alum, common salt, flower of sulphur, white chalk, one ounce of each; colocynth one quarter of an ounce, and of black pepper one ounce. Let each be powdered separately, then mix them intimately.

* The stiffest skins of any animal whatever may be rendered soft and pliable, by the application of the yolk of an egg mixed with warm water.
"Fourth. With this compound powder, let the fresh skins of animals be sprinkled on the inside; and for the outside, use one pint of rectified spirit in which one quarter of an ounce of mercury sublimate corrosive is dissolved. This method is very proper for birds. The celebrated Reaumur used every spring to place his preparations in an oven made so hot as only not to burn the feathers or hair; by which means any latent insects were destroyed.

It may not be improper to observe, that these are all nocturnal insects, and begin to move soon after twilight in quest of proper substances on which to deposit their eggs. The evening is therefore a fit time to examine the walls, by which attention, many of them may be destroyed. I have found this a useful precaution. The specimens themselves should be frequently and carefully examined, to discover any insects which may have crept into them; without this care, no application whatever will I believe effectually preserve them."

A method of preserving birds and other animals, from the Philosophical Transactions, recommended by Dr. Lettsom, in his Traveller's Companion, p. 13.

"Birds in perfect plumage should be opened from the upper part of the breast, to the vent, with a sharp knife or pair of scissors; the feathers of the breast and belly being first carefully laid aside by the fingers; so as not to hinder the skin being easily come at. The skin must then be carefully loosened from all the fleshy parts of the breast and body. Take out all the entrails. Then with a composition of burnt alum, camphor and cinnamon, of each an equal quantity, well powdered and mixed, let the whole carcase be strewed over lightly; but salt is not to be used with this composition, as it will, in moist weather, drop and besmear the feathers. Pour into the body a small quantity of camphorated spirit of wine; after that, fill up the cavity with cotton or any soft wooly substance, pouring some of the aforesaid spirit into the cotton or stuffing.

"Fill up the body where the flesh has been taken away, with cotton, and your composition; and having a fine needle and silk, sew up the skin, beginning at the breast; ob-
serving, as you approach towards the vent, to stuff the skin as tight as it will bear. This will be easily accomplished by means of a small stick, of wood or ivory, till the whole is done. Then lay the feathers of the breast and belly in their proper order.

"To preserve the head, Mr. Kuckahn directs the neck to be pulled within the skin, till the back of the skull is drawn into sight; out of which a small piece is to be cut, and the brains extracted. The cavity of the skull is then to be moistened with spirits, and filled with the composition and with cotton; the skin may then be drawn to its proper place.

"Or, the brain may be extracted, by making an incision through the roof of the mouth (taking care not to injure the tongue) with a sharp pointed knife and drawing the substance of the brain, the eyes, and other internal parts of the head; the cavity should be immediately filled with the composition and cotton. No water should be used to cleanse any of the cavities.

Large sea fowls have thick, strong skins; such may be skinned, taking care to preserve the bones of the head, and other essential characteristic parts. The inside of the skin may be moistened with any of the aforementioned solutions, the sublimate solution to be preferred. But where these cannot be had, a mixture of tobacco-dust, alum, pepper, and camphor may be substituted. The skin may then be stuffed with oakum or tobacco steeped in the solution, and sewed up. It should be kept dry, and as soon as possible dried in an oven, not so hot as to crisp the feathers.

"The skins of fishes taken off at sea may be preserved in a strong brine, with the addition of a little alum.

"When any subject is to be kept some time in a hot climate, it should be secured in a box filled with oakum, tow, or tobacco, well sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

"Small birds may be preserved whole in spirits; the finest plumage is not injured by this mode.

"Small quadrupeds, reptiles, zoophites and marine insects, may also be preserved in spirits, with the addition of a little alum; the corks of the phials must be well secured, or the spirits will evaporate. The first drawn spirits, commonly called high wines, are to be preferred.
"Winged insects are best preserved by drying; when first caught, they should be put into boxes well besmeared with camphor.

Method of collecting and preserving vegetables.

By Dr. Lettsom.

"When the naturalist is in search of vegetable productions, different soils and situations should be examined; as the sea and its shores, deep running waters, dykes, marshes, moors, mountains, rocks, woods, neglected or cultivated fields. Each of these affords peculiar plants; and when any are collected, the particular soil and situation should be remarked. If it be convenient to take the whole plant with its root, flowers and parts of fructification entire and perfect, the most effectual way of preserving it, is to put it into a bottle of spirits. But it is often more convenient to convey them dried in a hortus siccus.

"To do this in the best manner, and to make the stalks, leaves and flowers lie flat and smooth, they must be exposed, between papers, to a free dry air, with considerable pressure upon them. The leaves and flowers should be carefully expanded; for on this, the beauty and value of the specimen greatly depend. The plants should be gathered on a dry day, whilst they are in full bloom, and all their parts perfect and entire. When perfectly dry, they may be kept, either loose in quires of paper, or fastened into a book, with glue made of fish ising-glass, dissolved in boiling water.* Particular care should be taken to avoid any injuries from moisture or insects; to prevent any accident from the latter, let the paper and stalks of the plants be sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

* One ounce of fish ising-glass dissolved in a quart of brandy, and boiled till three quarters of the liquor be evaporated, will make a fine glue, which may be kept bottled for a long time.

Dr. Clarkson, late of Philadelphia.
Method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves.

The impressions of plants well taken off on paper look very little inferior to the best drawings. Several methods have been recommended. The following by professor Peck is very easy and effectual.

Method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves by means of smoke.

"The apparatus necessary for this purpose consists of a pane of glass; a pair of pliers, the jaws of which must be covered with leather; a pair of small forceps; a wooden cylinder, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, covered with soft woolen cloth, wrapped four or five times round it and secured; two pieces of sponge of the size of a hen's egg; and some splinters of pitch pine wood. It is convenient also to have two cups of water."

"The process is as follows.—Take a dry leaf, let it lie in warm water till it becomes perfectly flexible; then with one of the sponges moisten the glass; lay the leaf on it, with the face next the glass, pressing it close with the sponge, which at the same time absorbs all superfluous moisture. The glass is then to be taken up by the pliers; a splinter of the pitch pine is to be lighted and the leaf held over the smoke; it must be kept moving, that the smoke may be equally distributed, and the leaf prevented from drying;"

"When it is sufficiently blackened, it is to be removed from the glass with the small forceps, taking it by the stalk, near the leaf, and placed on a smooth clean table. Then with the other sponge dipped in clean water, wet the paper on each side, till it is sufficiently moist and soft; then laying it carefully on the leaf, pass the roller over it, bearing on it with both hands, with an even pressure; and you will find a beautiful impression of the leaf with every vein and ramification."

"The smoke is to be washed from the glass for every new impression, If the leaf chosen is fresh, it must be suffered to wither, then wetted and placed on the glass as above."
On collecting mineral and fossil substances.

Method of preserving marine productions.

"Corals, Corallines, Sponges and other marine productions are found in considerable variety near the coasts of islands and continents, particularly in hot climates. Some of these are very tender and brittle when dry, and should therefore be carefully packed up in sand, in order to keep them steady; or they may be placed between papers in the manner of a hortus siccus.

"In hot climates the insects are rapacious and the finest fan-corals and others of a soft texture, when first taken out of the sea, are sometimes almost devoured before they become hard and dry. To prevent injuries of this kind; a little powdered corrosive sublimate or its solution may be sprinkled on them. Some of the smaller, and some branches of the larger may be put into spirits and the parts of them preserved more distinctly."

Dr. Lettsom.

In collecting mineral and fossil substances, the following particulars are to be attended to.

"When any articles* are collected, mark them by numbers or some other sign of distinction referring to a catalogue, with all the particulars relative to the subject— as (1.) Where it was found. (2.) In what quantity. (3.) Whether on the surface of the earth, or at what depth. (4.) In what position, whether horizontal, perpendicular or inclined, in what angle and to what point of the compass. (5.) Whether in strata or loose. (6.) The depth and thickness of the strata, how inclined and to what point; whether the fissures be horizontal, perpendicular or inclined; and what fossil bodies are contained in the fissures. (7.) The quality of the neighbouring waters, whether pure, tasteless, purgative, vitriolic, chalybeate, &c.

"The places to be searched are the sides and gullies of hills, the shores of the sea and rivers, with adjacent banks and cliffs, and the falls of rivers.

* Sands and clays, chalk, flints, and pit coal are particularly desirable, because useful in manufactures.
"The situation of mines, pits and quarries, whether in vallies, hills, or plains, and the disposition of the strata, their depth and thickness. The damps and steams of mines and pits, and the effects of them on the human body or on fire; in what seasons and in what state of the air they are observed; and what is the temperature of the air at particular depths. The accounts of these things given by natives and workmen." All these are subjects of inquiry for a naturalist.

Dr. Lettsom.
ACT OF INCORPORATION,

REGULATIONS, AND MEMBERS OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

CONGREGATIONAL CHARITABLE SOCIETY;

WITH A BRIEF SKETCH

OF ITS

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PURPOSES.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.

BOSTON: JOHN BLIOT, 5, COURT-STREET.

MDCCCLXV.
In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six.

An Act incorporating a Society, by the name of The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society.

WHEREAS a number of congregational ministers, within this Commonwealth, have petitioned, and it appears to the General Court expedient, that a number of persons be incorporated into a society, for the humane and benevolent purposes of affording relief and support to the widows and children of deceased ministers, and other persons herein mentioned:

duly elected into the said corporation, shall be and re-
main a body politic and corporate, by the same name,
style, and title, forever.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority afore-
said, That the said society and corporation, shall be ca-
pable of receiving, and shall have power to receive,
from any person or persons disposed to aid the benevo-
 lent purposes of this institution, any grants or devises
of lands or tenements, in fee simple, or for a lesser es-
tate, and all donations and bequests of money, or any
other personal thing; and to use and improve the same
for the purposes, and according to the directions herein
mentioned and provided.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority afore-
said, That all grants, donations, devises and bequests,
made to the said society, of any real or personal estate,
shall be by the said society used and improved to the
best advantage; and the annual income thereof, shall
be by them applied to the support of such widows and
children of deceased congregational ministers, who have
been, or shall be settled within this Commonwealth, and
of the widows and children of the president and pro-
fessors of the University in Cambridge, as in the opin-
ion of the said corporation, shall be proper objects of
the said charity.

Provided nevertheless, That the said society, if at
any time they shall judge it will best answer the good
purposes of their institution, may increase their capital,
by placing a part of the said income at interest, or by
purchasing real estate therewith; and they shall have
power also to take a part of the principal of their per-
sonal estate, and bestow it on the widows and children
before mentioned, if it is consistent with the directions
of the donor.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority afore-
said, That the said society and corporation shall, at
their annual meeting in May, have power to elect by
ballot, any other person or persons, as members of the
said society:
Provided always, That the said society shall not at any time consist of more than thirty members: Provided also, That the same proportion be observed in the said elections, between the clergy and the laity, which is observed in this act.

V. And be it further enacted, That when it shall appear to the said society, that the changing any real property into personal estate, will best answer the intentions of this institution, the said corporation shall have full power, unless it is expressly ordered otherwise by the donor, to sell and convey the same; provided that the monies for which the said real estate shall be sold, shall always be applied to the same use, to which the income of the estate sold, was before applicable.

VI. And be it further enacted, That the said society may have one common seal, which they may change and renew at pleasure; and that all deeds, conveyances and grants, covenants and agreements made by their treasurer, or any other person, by their authority and direction, according to their institution, shall be good and valid; and the same corporation shall at all times have power to sue, and may be sued, and may defend, and shall be held to answer, by the name, style, and title aforesaid.

VII. Be it further enacted, That the said society shall hereafter meet at Boston, or such other place as they may think proper within the State, some time in the month of May annually, and as much oftener as they may judge expedient; and any seven members of the said corporation, the president, vice-president, treasurer or secretary, being one, shall be a quorum; and the said society, at their meetings in May, annually, shall have power to elect and choose a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and all other such officers as to them shall appear necessary: which officers so chosen shall continue in office one year: and all officers so chosen shall be under oath to the faithful performance of the duties of their offices respectively.
VIII. And be it further enacted, That the said society hereby are, and forever shall be vested with the power of making by-laws for the more orderly managing the business of the corporation; provided such laws are not repugnant to the laws of the Commonwealth, or the principles of the constitution of the same; nor shall any penalty by them provided, exceed the sum of twenty shillings.

And it is nevertheless provided, That the rents of the real estate, together with the interest of the personal estate of the said society, shall never exceed the annual income of three thousand pounds.

IX. And it is further enacted, That Simeon Howard, doct. of div. be, and he hereby is authorized, by publick notification, in two of the Boston newspapers, to call the first meeting of the said society, at such time and place as he shall judge proper; at which meeting, the said corporation shall have all the power hereby vested in them at their annual stated meetings in May; but the officers by them chosen shall not continue in office longer than the next May meeting, unless they shall be elected anew.

In the House of Representatives, March 24, 1786.

This bill, having had three several readings, passed to be enacted.

Artemas Ward, Speaker.

In Senate, March 24, 1786.

This bill, having had two several readings, passed to be enacted.


By the Governour, approved,

James Bowdoin.

A true copy, attest,

John Avery, Jun. Secretary.
I. **This** Society shall hold its annual meeting on the Monday preceding the day of general election, at 11 o'clock, A. M. The secretary shall advertise the time and place of meetings, in one of the Boston newspapers, and also send notifications to such of the members as are within a convenient distance.

II. Besides a President, Vice President, Treasurer, and Secretary, a Council of seven shall be annually chosen by ballot. Their duties shall be, generally, to advise the officers of the society, in any cases in which they may ask counsel; and particularly, they, together with those officers, shall advise the treasurer, in regard to the manner of keeping his accounts, and investing the funds which may come into his hands.

III. The treasurer shall pay no monies but to the order of a major part of the council, or by warrant from the secretary, in consequence of a vote of the society.

IV. Special meetings shall be holden, by direction of the president; or in case of his decease or absence, by the vice president; or under similar failure of both these, of the treasurer, or secretary, whenever a majority of the council shall advise, or any five members shall, in writing, apply for the same. The notifications for such meetings, shall be issued at least eight days previous to the meeting, and the business to be transacted, be expressly mentioned.
V. A subscription paper shall be kept open by the Treasurer, for increasing the funds of the society; and it shall be the duty of each member to aid in collecting subscriptions.

VI. No person shall be elected into the society, unless nominated by a member, at a previous meeting to that on which the balloting is made. If any person elected, neglect to signify his acceptance for one year, after being notified of the choice, it shall be considered void.

Agreeably to the provisions of the statute, a meeting was called, and holden in the Senate chamber, Boston, 21 May, 1786; and the society was organized by the choice and qualification of the several officers, named in the act. The "by-laws for the more orderly managing the business of the corporation," have been varied from time to time, in some few particulars. The preceding is an abstract of the principal of those now in force.

At the annual meeting of the Society, 29 May, 1815, continued by adjournment, 1 June,

Voted unanimously, that the preceding be published as by-laws of the Society.

JOSEPH MCKEAN, Secretary.
LIST OF THE MEMBERS AND OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY,
FROM ITS FORMATION.

(Those marked * have died.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Named in the Act of Incorporation</th>
<th>Last Residence</th>
<th>Time of Decease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Rev. Thomas Barnard, D. D.</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>1 Oct. 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon. Stephen Choate,</td>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Hon. Caleb Davis,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>6 July, 1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Hon. Benjamin Goodhue,</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>28 July, 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Hon. Nathaniel Gurham,</td>
<td>Charlestown</td>
<td>11 June, 1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*His Ex. John Hancock, LL.D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>8 Oct. 1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rev. Jason Haven,</td>
<td>Dedham</td>
<td>17 May, 1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rev. Timothy Hilliard,</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>9 May, 1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rev. Joseph Jackson,</td>
<td>Brookline</td>
<td>22 July, 1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Hon. William Phillips,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>30 Aug. 1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*His Hon. Sam. Phillips, LL.D. Andover</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rev. Daniel Shute, D. D.</td>
<td>Ithaca</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>His Ex. Caleb Strong, LL. D.</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*His Ex. James Sullivan, LL.D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>10 Dec. 1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>16 Nov. 1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon. Oliver Wendell,</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elected

- 29 May, 1788, Richard Cary, Esq.
- 25 May, 1789, *His Hon. Moses Gill,
- 23 May, 1791, *Rev. Thomas Cary,
- 12 Feb. 1795, Rev. Joseph Lyman, D. D.,
- 25 May, 1798, *Hon. Timothy Edwards,
- 28 May, 1798, *Rev. Thomas Russell,
- 28 May, 1798, *Rev. Anthony Wibird,
- 12 Feb. 1795, *Hon. Jonathan Mason,
- 25 May, 1798, Rev. David Tappan, D. D.,
- 28 May, 1798, Samuel Parkman, Esq.
- 25 May, 1801, Samuel Eliot, Esq.
- 25 May, 1801, Hon. George Cabot,
- 25 May, 1801, *Hon. John Colman,
- 25 May, 1801, *His Hon. William Phillips,
- 24 May, 1802, *Hon. Theoph. Parsons, LL.D.
- 24 May, 1802, Rev. David Osgood, D. D.
- 24 May, 1802, Edward A. Holvoke, Esq., M.D.
- 25 May, 1803, Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D. D.
- 25 May, 1803, Rev. John Prince, LL.D.
- 25 May, 1803, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D.
- 25 May, 1803, Theodore Lyman, Esq.
- 25 May, 1803, Rev. Henry Ware, D. D.
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Presidents.

Rev. J. Willard, D. D. LL.D. 1786—1804
Rev. John Lathrop, D. D. 1805—

Vice Presidents.

His Ex. J. Sullivan, LL.D. 1786—1804
Hon. Oliver Wendell, 1805, declin.
Hon. Benj. Goodhue, 1805—1806
Samuel Eliot, Esq. 1807—1813
His Hon. William Phillips, 1814—

Treasurers.

Rev. Simeon Howard, D. D. 1786—1804
Hon. William Phillips, 1804, declin.
Rev. John Lathrop, D. D. 1804—
Hon. George Cabot, 1805—1806
Samuel Parkman, Esq. 1807, declin.
Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D. D. 1807—

Secretaries.

Rev. John Lathrop, D. D. 1786—1804
Rev Joseph Eckley, D. D. 1805—1810
Rev. John Elliot, D. D. 1811—1812
Rev. Joseph McKean, LL.D. 1813—

Preachers of the charity lecture.

Rev. Daniel Shuttle, D. D. 1787, declin.

Council.

Hon. Sato. Phillips, LL.D. 1786—1797
Hon. Oliver Wendell, 1786—1791
and 1793—1806
Rev. Joseph Jackson, 1786—1796
and 1787—1814
Rev. Timothy Hilliard, 1786—1789
Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D. 1786—1802
Hon. Caleb Davis, 1787—1792
Hon. Thomas Russell, 1792—1795
Hon. Moses Gill, 1793—1799
Hon. James Sullivan, LL.D. 1794,
and 98—1805
Jonathan Mason, Esq. 1795—1797
Samuel Parkman, Esq. 1796—1805
Rev. David Tappan, D.D. 1799—1803
Samuel Eliot, Esq. 1800—1801
Hon. George Cabot, 1802—
Rev. John Elliot, D. D. 1803—1810
Rev. John Lathrop, D. D. 1804—
Rev. Joseph Dana, D. D. 1806—
Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D. D. 1807—
Hon. Thoep. Parsons, LL.D. 1806—1813
Samuel Webber, D. D. 1808—1810
Rev. David Osgood, D. D. 1810—
Rev. Abel Holmes, D. D. 1811—
Rev. William Shaw, 1811—
His Hon. William Phillips, 1814—
Rev. John Prince, LL.D. 1815.
Immediately on the organization of the Society, the Convention of congregational ministers transferred to it, in trust, "l.571, 18. 7d. in publick and private securities, which sum had been given by divers persons, the interest to be used for the benefit of the poor widows and orphans of deceased ministers; to be improved by said society in such ways as in their wisdom they shall judge most conducive to the benevolent purposes of the donors; the interest of which securities, and such other property as the convention may put into the hands of said society, to be distributed, from time to time, agreeably to the advice of the convention."* These funds have been held and improved, in the same manner as the society's stock, but are kept separate from it; and an annual account is rendered to the convention of their exact state. The property of the society, has been increased at different times, by donations and bequests. The income is now such as enables them to lend important assistance to several worthy objects. Still, their means fall far below the pressing claims, continually made on them; claims, which they should be most happy to grant, from a full knowledge of the wants and merits of the applicants. The last, and the present year, they contributed £150 to the collection, which is made after the convention sermon, and which is distributed in equal proportion, by vote of the convention, among a number of widows of deceased ministers. Besides this, they gave £200 to a few individuals, whose circumstances were peculiarly necessitous. But they have felt it a duty, in the management of their funds, to endeavour to add something to the capital, by reserving annually a portion of the interest; so that in time, it may be hoped, the proceeds may be more adequate than heretofore to the applications continually urged for help and relief. They acknowledge, with pleasure, the liberality of many; and doubt not the continued benefactions of the friends of religion, to a charity so important and interesting. Once and again its design has been briefly stated to the publick.

* Society's Records, folio, volume I. page 7, ¶.
In 1795 a sermon was preached by Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D. and published with an appendix, containing a history of the society, "By a member, who is not a minister;" from which a few extracts follow:

"The congregational ministers of the late province, now commonwealth, of Massachusetts, from the beginning of the government under the charter of 1692, have practised the holding of a convention in Boston, on the next day after the general election of counsellors. Thus being assembled, from time to time, their reflections were carried to the seats which death had rendered vacant, since their last meeting. The transition from this reflection was very easy and natural, to that of the situation of the widows and orphans of their deceased brethren. They realized, that in general, the salaries of ministers gave them but a bare competency; and that, when this was their only dependence, and they died in early life, leaving large families, their widows and children frequently become real objects of charity. They considered this a strong objection, with men of genius and learning, to engaging in the work of the ministry.

Upon these ideas, with others worthy of their character, they originated the plan of an annual collection amongst themselves, for the relief of the widows and children of ministers, who had died without leaving a competency for the support of their families. From year to year, they continued this benevolent collection; which, though it was small, yet it gave relief to many distressed persons, who had seen better days, and who had, on a reasonable foundation, entertained hopes of a prosperous and plentiful life. When the publick attention had been attracted by this extraordinary scheme of liberality in the ministers, it was aided by donations from others, who realized the advantages of publick devotion, and of religious instructions.

In the year 1786, an application, which had been long in agitation, was made by the convention to the legislature, expressing their intentions on this subject,
and praying for an act of incorporation of a certain num-
ber, for the directing of the funds, which charity had
placed in their hands; and an act was accordingly
passed.

This indulgence of our government to the clergy, and
the respect so universally paid to religious institutions,
by the rulers of our state, will continue the encourage-
ment to men of literary talents to settle as ministers;
and will give ease to the pained hearts of many, who,
after spending the prime of their life in labours to pro-
mote the happiness of others, are leaving widows and
orphans on the arms of publick charity.

The act by which this society is established, inde-
pendent of pecuniary considerations, has an unfailing in-
fuence to render the office of a minister respectable.
It is the commonwealth's smile of approbation upon the
office, and will render to the clergy a substantial support
in the important duties of it. Perhaps there never was
an institution, which was pointed more directly to pro-
er objects of charity, or in the execution of which, the
principles of true benevolence could be exerted in a
manner more productive of the general good of the
country."

In 1803, a circular letter was sent to gentlemen in
various parts of the commonwealth, soliciting attention
and aid to this institution. As this expresses well the
present wants and wishes of the society, it is given en-
tire; in the hope that from the truly venerable name of
their departed associate, it may make a stronger im-
pression.

Boston, January, 1803.

"Sir,

On a conference of the Congregational Charitable
Society, with the Convention of Congregational Minis-
ters, in May last, it was agreed, that the corporation
should form and issue subscription papers, with a view
to obtain an increase of the funds of that body. Such
a paper is therefore annexed to this letter, that any per-
son in your parish, or elsewhere, within your acquaint-
ance, who may be disposed to aid the institution, may
become a subscriber.

It is necessary that a short history of the circumstan-
ces leading to this measure, should be given to you, for
the advice of those who may want information. Though
the people of Massachusetts have always exhibited a
warm attachment to the ministers of the gospel, yet the
situation of that order of men has been adverse to such
an accumulation of property from their salaries, as
would enable them to provide for the support of their
families, when called to leave them as widows and or-
phans. In many instances, they have died, leaving
their families in very indigent circumstances. The
ministers of the congregational order have, annually,
for a long course of years, from their penury, cast in
their mite for the relief of those objects of charity.
Others have made donations, with a view to render these
contributions more extensive, and the source of them
more permanent. In this way, a sum has been raised,
which called for legal powers to preserve, and manage
it. Accordingly, in the year 1786, a corporation was
formed by an act of the general court, denominated
"The Congregational Charitable Society."

By the exertions of that Corporation, very considera-
ble additions have been made to the sum existing, when
the corporation was formed. Men who are blessed
with wealth have been very liberal; and others, less af-
fluent, have exhibited no less goodness. The annual in-
terest has, however, been very inadequate to the relief
of all the sufferers, who are within the intendment of the
act of incorporation. To exhaust the principal sum
would be to destroy the hope of rendering this benevo-

tent institution a benefit to future generations.

The corporation forward to you a subscription pa-
per, for you to improve as your prudence shall dictate.
You will be pleased to observe, that as, from the course
of events, this class of poor will always remain in the
State, and that, as the corporation is a perpetual insti-
tution, those kinds of property which are of small value
now, but which may, from length of time, become more valuable, will be very acceptable. Therefore donations in wilderness lands will be received with respect and gratitude. Whatever the donations subscribed may be, whether in lands, securities, or stocks, you will have them transferred to the corporation without delay. You will be kind enough to communicate information of your success to the secretary of the society, as it may be convenient to you; holding the subscription paper for further use.

That you may have the favour and support of Him, who takes notice of a cup of water, given to his disciple in his name, is the wish of the society.

JOSEPH WILLARD, President.

JOHN LATHROP, Secretary.”

At the adjournment of the first meeting of the society, a committee, consisting of Rev. Doctor Willard, Hon. Judge Sullivan, and Rev. Doctor Wigglesworth, reported the following

“Plan for raising Annuities.”

“I. That each subscriber pay to the treasurer of the corporation l.5. 5s. a year, during his marriage; the first payment to be made at his admission, and the following payments, on the first day of May annually.

“II. That in case the subscriber be older than his wife he make a farther payment, at his admission, of 10s. 6d. for each half year of the excess of his age, above the age of his wife, if such excess be less than ten years; but if such excess be more than ten years, then that he make an additional payment of l.4, 1s. for every half year that his age exceeds the age of his wife, more than ten years.

“III. That in consideration of these payments at admission, and these annual contributions, the widow of every subscriber be entitled to an annuity for life, of l.8, if the husband has lived one year after making his first payment, and has made two annual payments:
1.9, if the husband has lived two years, and made three annual payments; 1.10, if the husband has lived three years, and made four annual payments: the annuity to increase at the rate of 1. for every year that the subscriber shall live more than one year after his first payment, and shall have made his annual payment to the time of his decease.

This plan is recommended by the Rev. Richard Price, D. D. as preferable to any other, for the following reasons.

(1.) It is the safest, because it depends less than any other on the firmness of life. (2.) It guards against the danger arising from fraudulent intrusions into the society of persons, who may be dying by concealed distempers. (3.) It is more simple than any other plan; because it establishes nearly the same common payment for all ages, and all the difference of ages, between husbands and wives. (4.) It is more equitable than any other plan, because it makes the widows of those, who have contributed the most, the greatest gainers; and it is also more useful, by providing the largest annuities, at the time of life they will be most wanted.

"IV. That the widow, of each subscriber who neglects to make his annual payments yearly, on the first day of May, shall lose all benefit of any past payments; unless such subscriber shall pay, or cause to be paid to the treasurer of the corporation, such annual payment or payments as may be in arrears, with compound interest, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, for the time such payments may have been in arrears.

"V. That each subscriber, at his admission shall lodge with the secretary certificates of his own age, and of the age, and Christian name, and maiden name of his wife; which certificate shall be confirmed by the oath of the subscriber, or otherwise attested to the satisfaction of the secretary, who shall record the same in a book to be kept for that purpose.

"VI. That all monies, paid by those subscribers who survive their wives, shall be vested in the common stock, for the support of the annuity fund.
"VII. That all monies, received by the treasurer by virtue of such subscriptions, and the interest thereof, shall be put to interest, on good security; except so much as may be necessary to pay the annuities that become payable, by the death of any of the subscribers. Such securities shall be made payable at the expiration of six months, and if the borrower neglects to pay the interest, for more than thirty days after it becomes due, the treasurer shall put his bond in suit, at the next term of court.

"VIII. That the treasurer be allowed one per cent. on all payments made by the subscribers to this fund; and one and a half per cent. on all interest he may receive, arising from the loan of such payments.

"IX. That the fund for annuities shall not commence till there be fifty subscribers to it, which number being completed, the first payment shall be made.

JOSEPH WILLARD, Per order."

This plan, which is contemplated to embrace only clergymen and college officers, is now published with the view of calling the attention of those classes particularly, to this subject. Whether it failed of going into operation, at the time it was projected, from the want of the number of subscribers, required in Art. IX. and whether that want arose from the state of opinion and pecuniary means, in the country; or whether some doubts were entertained as to the expediency, or perhaps the legality, of such a business being undertaken by this corporation, is not now known. It is submitted to the consideration of the publick; and if on being duly matured by the aid of reflecting men, it shall be found desirable to form such an annuity fund, and any doubts still be actually entertained by any of the legal competency of the society for managing it; application would be made to the legislature, who, it may be safely calculated, would readily pass a declaratory act, putting the sufficiency of their charter beyond the reach of any uncertainty or objection.
Excerpts from a Letter of Rev. Dr. Price to Rev. Dr. Wigglesworth.

"Hackney, near London, July 23, 1787.

"Dear Sir,

I am glad to be informed that a Society is incorporated in your State, for providing annuities for the widows of the congregational ministers and professors. The plan recommended in the P. S. of my former letter, may I think be adopted with perfect safety; and it seems one of the most simple and equitable, and also to young ministers particularly encouraging. The calculations are all made by the rules in Qu. vii, viii. Vol. I. of my book on annuities; and the mathematical demonstration of those rules are given in the notes, at the end of Vol. II. To save trouble I have made use of approximations; but the numbers are as nearly right, as a plan of this kind can well be made.

The proper compensation for the annual payment of five guineas, [l.5, 5s. st.] is that sum multiplied by the value of the joint lives of the subscriber and his wife. But as the first of the annual payments is at admission, unity must be added to the tabular value of the joint lives before it is multiplied by l.5, 25. I will only add, that every subscriber, for every extraordinary payment which he shall at any time make of l.4, 4s. may entitle his widow to an addition of l.4. to the annuity, to which she would have been otherwise entitled. For instance, if after living three years, and entitling his widow, by the plan, to an annuity of l.10, he make an extraordinary payment of 4 guineas, his widow from that time shall be entitled to l.12, if he lives four years, instead of l.11: to l.13, if 5 years, instead of l.12, &c. &c. Should he make 2, 3, 4, &c. such extraordinary payments, he shall, in like manner, be entitled to an additional annuity of l.2, l.3, l.4, &c. &c. Perhaps the members, as they grow richer, may like to enjoy a liberty of this kind, and thus to be able to improve their expectations.
I wish you, dear Sir, all possible comfort and usefulness in the important station you fill, and am
Your very obedient and humble servant,

Richard Price."

"N. B. Interest reckoned at 4 per cent. and the probabilities of the duration of human life as they are in the Northampton Table of observations."*

Of the benefactions to the society, no continued registry appears on the records or files. Many have contributed liberally, from time to time, to the annual collection, made in accordance with this charity, after the convention sermon; and in some few years, after the sermon delivered before this society. To the following donors, particular votes of thanks have been passed, and the names of many others recorded.

1786, May 24. "To Honourable James Sullivan, esq. for an elegant book, in which the proceedings are to be entered."

1787, May 28. "To John Winslow, esq. of Dunstable; for £200, towards a perpetual fund."


1792, May 31. "To a gentleman, name unknown, through Rev. Dr. Barnard, ten dollars."


1795, May 25. Do. do. £100.

1795, May 25. "To Joseph Barrell, esquire, for one share in the National Bank, £400.

1801, May 25. "To an unknown friend, by the hands of Rev. Dr. Barnard, for £20.

1802, May 24. "To Samuel Eliot, esquire, for his benevolent and unwearied exertions to procure subscriptions for increasing the funds of this society; which exertions were successful in obtaining more than £4000: and also to the gentlemen who have subscribed so liberally, in the course of the past year, to the fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of deceased ministers."

1807. 25 May. "To an unknown friend, through the Rev. Dr. Barnard, for $33.

1808. 25 May. Do. do. $20.


1810. 28 May. "To the Hon. Samuel Dexter, sen. esquire, for $200.

1811. 27 May. "To Edward Aug. Holyoke, esquire, M. D. for a donation through Rev. Dr. John Lowell, esquire, sole acting executor of the last will and testament of Anna Cabot Lowell, being authorized thereto by a resolve of the legislature, "transferred to the society, in trust, ten shares in the Massachusetts Bank, or $5000, and a private bond of $1375, which property, with some other afterwards to be paid," the testatrix had bequeathed, (after certain annuities shall be paid, during the lives of several persons named in her last will and testament,) to wit, "to the botanical institution of Harvard University $500; and the income of all the residue to be applied to charitable uses, and especially to the relief of poor single women, aged or infirm."

1812. Aug. 3. "To Edward A. Holyoke, M. D. received through Rev. Dr. Eliot, $15, do. $25


"For this instance of the liberality, and for the various virtues of the deceased, his memory will long be cherished."

1814. May 23. "For a donation from Edward A. Holyoke, esquire, M. D. $30
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

CONVENTION

OF THE

CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS

IN

MASSACHUSETTS;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS FUNDS;

ITS CONNEXION WITH THE

MASSACHUSETTS CONGREGATIONAL CHARITABLE SOCIETY;

AND ITS

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

MDCCCXXI.

Printed for the Convention.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY HILLIARD AND METCALF.
1821.
IN CONVENTION 1st of JUNE, 1820.

The Rev. Dr. Porter of Roxbury, Rev. Dr. Holmes, Rev. John Pierce, and the Scribe were chosen a Committee to prepare for publication and to cause to be published, in such manner as they may think proper, a concise history of this Convention, embracing some account of its origin, its objects, the state of its funds, the rules to which the members are subject, the nature of the connexion between this Convention and the Congregational Charitable Society, and such other articles of information, as, in their judgment, may be instructive and profitable.

JOHN CODMAN, Scribe of Convention.
Of the origin of the Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts the notices are very imperfect. The silence of the early historians on this subject, especially of Winthrop and Hubbard, is presumptive evidence, that there was no organized Convention before the year 1680. It does appear, however, that the ministers were early accustomed to meet together at the time and place of the annual election. The patriarchal character of the government, and the intimate connexion of the church with the state, may, perhaps, account for this early usage. From the first settlement of Massachusetts, there was a confidential intercourse between the magistrates and the ministers, who mutually gave and received counsel, as the circumstances of the churches or of the community required. It was intended to settle and maintain a Christian commonwealth; and their cooperation to that great object was considered as a right and a duty. While the magistrates were expected and asked to give their advice in some cases, and to exercise their power in others, for the well founding of churches, and for preserving their order and peace; the ministers were expected and asked to give their opinions and counsel in the exigences of the state. Disputes between the principal officers, and the different branches, of the government were, at an early period, referred to the arbitration of the ministers; who were also called upon to assist in settling the principles and rules of government.
As early as the year 1634, "the ministers and other the most prudent of the inhabitants" were consulted "about a body of laws, suited to the state of the colony, and about an uniform order of discipline in the churches." When the first laws of the colony were framed, the approbation of the ministers was a condition of their validity. In 1635, Governor Winthrop observed: "The deputies having conceived great danger to our state, in regard that our magistrates, for want of positive laws, in many cases, might proceed according to their discretions, it was agreed that some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance of a Magna Charta, which, being allowed by some of the ministers and the General Court, should be received for fundamental laws." "Mr. Cotton was at first requested by the General Court with some other ministers, to assist some of the magistrates" in that work; and afterwards the General Court appointed a committee of some magistrates, some ministers and some others to perform that service: "Also the elders [ministers] who had been requested to deliver their judgment concerning the law of adultery, returned their answer with the reasons thereof." The compilation of laws was at last referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Ward, each of whom "framed a model, which, in 1639, were presented to the General Court, and by them committed to the governor and deputy and some others to consider of, and so prepare it for the court," at another session. "At length to satisfy the people it proceeded; and the two models were digested with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviated and sent to every town to be considered of, first by the magistrates and elders, and then to be published by the constables to all the people, that if any should think fit that any thing therein ought to be
altered, he might acquaint some of the deputies therewith against the next court."*

The early fathers of New England, with all protestant divines of their day, "allowed a power in the civil magistrate, for the preservation of the church in cases temporal, so far as belongeth to the outward preservation, not to the personal administration of them;" and held, that "the ordinary helps and external means, for the upholding and maintaining of peace and truth in the churches, in way of a civil power, is only a pious and Christian magistracy, where a nation is blessed with it, so as by the help of the ecclesiastical and the civil power, acting in a way of subordination each unto other, all differences arising may easily be composed."† The early custom of an Election Sermon is confirmatory of these principles, and of the influence of the ministers in the state. On these occasions, the rulers were publicly and solemnly reminded of what was believed to be their duty and their right, in religious concerns. "The eye of the Civil Magistrate," said one of the preachers, "is to be the securing of the way of God that is duly established: and if any where this be the duty and concern of rulers, it is most of all so in New England, which is originally a Plantation, not for Trade, but for Religion."‡

We perceive, then, in the genius and character of our primitive institutions, why the ministers, from the first, would be induced to meet at the time of the sitting of the general court; but of any proceedings, in the name and character of a Convention, during the first half century, we have no evidence.

‡ President Oakes's Election Sermon, May, 1673.
The first Sermon before the ministers in Convention, that has come to our knowledge, was preached by Rev. John Sherman of Watertown, in 1682. During the succeeding years of calamity, until the deposition of Andros, and the Revolution in England, in 1689, there is no account of Convention. Whether that Revolution, and the acts of the provincial legislature, passed soon afterwards, affecting ministers and churches, influenced the ministers to a more formal organization of a Convention, or to a more stated attendance at the annual meeting, or whatever were the cause, this appears to be the epoch of a regular Convention.

From the beginning of the government under the charter of 1692, the congregational ministers of Massachusetts "practised the holding of a convention in Boston, on the next day after the general election of counsellors."* In Mather's Magnalia, 1698, there is a distinct reference to the Convention. The Rev. Mr. Hooker, towards the close of his life, had advised to the constant meetings of ministers. "According to the advice of Mr. Hooker," says Dr. Mather, "it has been the care of the ministers, in the several vicinages throughout the most part of the country, to establish constant meetings, whereat they have informed one another of their various exercises, and assisted one another in the work of our Lord: besides a general appearance of all the ministers in each colony, once a year, at the town, and the time of the General Court for Elections of Magistrates in the colonies."† In a later work of the same author the Convention is expressly mentioned, with the time of its meeting, its leading objects, and the custom of an annual Sermon: "How often Provincial Synods were held in Firmilian's time, is evident from that

* Appendix to Dr. Thacher's Sermon before the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society.
† Magnalia, Book v. p. 58.
Report of his, *Per singulos annos in unum conveniunt*. The churches of New England can have no such thing reported of them. They have no provincial synods, and their occasional synods, on special emergencies, and of smaller dimensions, are but as the occasions happen for them. The thing among them that is the nearest thereunto, is a *General Convention* of ministers (which, perhaps, are not above half) belonging to the Province, at the time of the Anniversary Solemnity, when the General Assembly of the Province meets, on the last Wednesday in the month of May, to elect their Counsellors for the year ensuing. Then the Ministers, chusing a Moderator, do propose matters of public importance, referring to the interest of Religion in the churches; and though they assume no *decisive* power, yet the advice which they give to the people of God has proved of great use unto the country. There is now taken up the custom for (*Concio ad Clerum,* a Sermon to be preached unto the Convention of Ministers, on the day after the Election, by one of their number, chosen to it by their votes, at their meeting in the preceding year. At this Convention, every pastor, that meets with singular difficulties, has opportunity to bring them under consideration. But the question most usually now considered, is of this importance, *What may be further proposed, for the preserving and promoting of true piety in the land?* Excellent things have been here concerted and concluded for the propagation of religion, and collections produced for that purpose in all the churches. And motions have been hence made unto the General Assembly, for such Acts and Laws as the morals of the people have called for.”* The Governor of the Province, and such

counsellors as lived in Boston, together with the representatives of the town, and the Speaker, were invited to dine with the ministers on the day after the Election—"some small resemblance," says Dr. Mather, "of what is called The Feast of Moses and Aaron, in the Netherlands."

The Convention has been accustomed to address the civil rulers, and to use its influence for the encouragement of learning, and the conservation of the public liberties. It has presented addresses to the King, to the Governors, to the Provincial Congress, and to the President of the United States; and memorials to the Congress of the United States. After addressing the late king at his accession, the Convention voted thanks to governor Bernard "for the kind care he was pleased to take of their address to his Majesty; as also, for the regard which he has shown to the interest of learning in the Province—and humbly to desire the continuance of his Excellency's favour to Harvard College in Cambridge."

The Convention has maintained a friendly and Christian correspondence with other associated ministers, of the Protestant Reformed churches, at home and abroad. In 1750, "the Convention being sensible of the great importance of cultivating a stricter union with our brethren of the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations in England, and particularly their deputation at London," voted to choose annually a committee in their behalf, "to manage and cultivate said union and correspondences, and annually report their proceedings to the Convention, and receive their directions from time to time." On the reception of a letter from delegates from the Associated pastors in Connecticut and a committee of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, inviting them to join with them in a proposed convention at New Haven in 1767, the Convention voted: "That although we are not pre-
pared to send delegates to the proposed Convention, yet we take this occasion to declare our sincere affection to our brethren, and our fellowship with them in the gospel, and our readiness to unite our counsels and endeavours with them for the spreading of the Gospel, and defending the religious liberties of these Churches; for cultivating love and harmony among ourselves and with our friends abroad, and for promoting the kingdom of our common Redeemer.” A committee of correspondence was chosen; and instructed also, to write to the committee of deputation of Dissenters in England, “to thank them for the concern they have expressed for our Religious Liberties; and to desire that they would give us their assistance, and use their influence for the preservation of the same, and, in particular, that a bishop may not be sent among us.” In 1668, the thanks of Convention were voted to Rev. Dr. Chauncy, “for his just and seasonable Remarks on a late Sermon of the bishop of Landaff, preached before the Society for propagating the Gospel; as also for his learned and judicious Reply to Dr. Chandler’s Appeal in favour of an American Episcopate;” and, in 1770, “for his learned and judicious Reply to Dr. Chandler’s Vindication of his Appeal.”

In 1771, the Convention chose a committee, “to maintain a correspondence with our brethren in the Southern Governments; and, in 1792, a committee, to consider the proposal of forming a correspondence with the General Presbytery of the Southern States, and General Association of Congregational Ministers in Connecticut.” In 1793, a committee of correspondence was chosen, with instructions to write to those two bodies, “proposing to them not to receive or countenance any candidate from us, who does not bring credentials from a regular body among us known to them, and assuring them that we will
observe the same rule with respect to candidates from them; and informing them that we shall be glad to hear from them upon all subjects which relate to the interests of our common Christianity, and to communicate every information upon such subjects as may tend to promote the interests of Religion."

The Convention has occasionally called the attention of ministers and churches to the principles of their Platform, and given cautions and admonitions against prevalent errors. In 1702, it published "A Seasonable Testimony to the glorious doctrines of grace, at this day many ways undermined in the world." In 1704, "to serve the great intentions of religion, lamentably decaying in the country," it was proposed by Convention: "That the pastors of the churches personally discourse with the young people in their flocks, and with all possible prudence and goodness endeavour to win their consent to the Covenant of grace; that, to this end, they adopt the practice of making their personal visits to all the families that belong to their Congregations;" that, as far as practicable, they thus induce their people "publicly and solemnly to recognise the Covenant of God, and come into such a degree of the Church state, as they shall be willing to take their station in, but not to leave off, till they shall be qualified for, and persuaded to, communion with the Church in all special ordinances; that for such as have submitted to the government of Christ in any of his churches, no pastors of any other churches, any way go to shelter them under their wing, from the discipline of those from whom they have not been fairly recommended; that they who have not actually recognised their subjection to the discipline of Christ in his church, yet should, either upon their obstinate refusal of such a subjection, or their falling into other scandals, be faithfully treated with proper admoni-
tions—about the method of managing which, the pastors with their several churches will be left to the exercise of their own discretion.” The desire and intention were also expressed, “That at the General Convention of Ministers, there may be given in an account of their success” in the proposed undertaking; “that the Lord may have the glory of his grace, and the condition of religion may be better known and served among us.” In subserviency to these intentions, it was proposed, “That the Associations of the ministers in the several parts of the country may be strengthened; and that they may hold more free communications with one another.”* In 1756, on receiving a letter with papers from a number of aggrieved brethren of a Church, relating to the installation of a minister, the Convention voted it as their opinion, “that all such proceedings as these are represented to be, are very irregular, against which they think themselves obliged to bear their testimony, as having a manifest tendency to destroy these churches, if not seasonably discountenanced.” In 1757, it was “recommended by the Convention to the ministers and people throughout the Province, to give themselves to more solemn and devout prayer, and reformation of manners, in this very important crisis of our public affairs.” The same year, the Convention directed a letter to be written to a distant people, that had received their charities, “expostulating with them upon their doing so little towards the support of the gospel, and ordinances of religion among them; and representing to them, that if they persist in such a conduct, the Convention must withdraw the large assistance they have so long afforded them for this purpose.” In 1773, it was voted, that the state of the churches in this Province, with respect to church order and discipline, is such as to require the attention of this Convention. A committee was chosen, to make dili-

* Ratio Disciplinae, 177—179.
gent inquiry into the sense and meaning of the Platform of Church Discipline, and the general practice of our Fathers and of the Churches in this land from their days, with respect to church order. The Report of this committee was directed to be printed and published.

Before the institution of Bible Societies, which have so wonderfully contributed to the diffusion of the holy Scriptures in our time, the Convention paid particular attention to this most important subject. On receiving an Address from the North Association in Hampshire county, in 1782, representing the great want of Bibles in that part of the country, and praying the Convention to use their influence by petitioning the General Court to grant assistance and encouragement for printing the Bible in this country; and several similar representations from other parts of the country; the Convention chose a committee, to take the subject under serious consideration, and use such means as should to them appear most promising, “to put it in the power of those who are destitute of Bibles, to purchase them in the most cheap and expeditious manner.”

An Address, in 1789, from the Association of ministers in and about Cambridge, relative to licensing, encouraging, or employing candidates for the ministry, induced the printing and publishing of “A Recommendation from the Convention of the Congregational Ministers at Boston, May 26, 1790.” After a preamble, stating the grounds of the recommendation, the Convention,

1. Recommend it to all young gentlemen, who design to devote themselves to the work of the ministry, to spend that portion of time in the study of divinity, previously to appearing in the pulpit, which improved and judicious advisers shall think necessary to qualify them for public teachers.

2. They earnestly recommend it to Congregational Ministers and People, not to encourage or employ any
one as a candidate for the ministry, except he show by written testimonials, that he has been carefully examined respecting his acquaintance with the principles of natural and revealed religion, and other things necessary to qualify him for the work of the ministry; and that he is properly recommended to it, as a man of knowledge and good character, by some regular Congregational Association or Presbytery.

3. To ministers not associated, they suggest the importance of their commencing members of regular Associations, as soon as opportunity present; for, say they, "we are all members of the same body, and are called by the Gospel of Christ to cooperate with each other, in promoting the interest of a learned, judicious and religious ministry."

In 1799, the Convention unanimously voted an Address to their brethren of the respective Associations, and the unassociated ministers in this Commonwealth, "recommending to them seriously to consider the alarming prevalence of infidelity and immorality; and exhorting them to vigilance and activity in their several stations, in resisting the progress of those principles, and reviving and promoting the spirit of true Christianity, by those means which they may think most expedient."

In 1802, the Convention published an Address, expressing their sentiments "on the propriety and importance of using the Scriptures in Schools; calling the attention of their brethren, of the people at large, and especially of those who are by law appointed the visitors of our schools, to this interesting subject."

In 1804, a motion was made in Convention, to address the Associations of Congregational Ministers on the subject of forming a Convention "for the purpose of agreeing upon a plan of friendly ministerial union, and for estab-
a committee to consider and report upon the Proposition;
instructing them to transmit it to the several Associations
of Congregational Ministers in the Commonwealth, re­
questing them to take the subject into their serious con­
sideration, and to offer their sentiments upon it to Con­
vention through their committee previously to the meeting
of the Convention in May, 1805." At that meeting, the
committee reported the returns they had received; and,
on the whole, concluded their Report in favour of the
Proposition. After a discussion of the Report, and
mature deliberation, the question of acceptance was deter­
mined in the negative.

On certain questions relating to church order, proposed
to the Convention by an Association in 1813, the Con­
vention, learning "that a particular case exists, which
gave rise to the questions, and to which the opinion of
Convention, if pronounced, would in all probability be
applied," declined giving a distinct answer; but earnestly
recommended, "that, in any case of difficulty existing be­
tween churches, means should be employed in the proper
ecclesiastical way, and with the spirit of Christian meek­
ness and charity, to bring it to an amicable adjustment, or
a regular decision."

Where the Convention was accustomed to assemble,
in early times, does not appear. After the American revo­
lution, the meetings were held in the old Courthouse,
until the erection of the new one; since which time the
Convention has been indulged with the use of that con­
venient edifice for its annual meetings. About a century
since, as we learn from Dr. Mather, a dinner was gener­
ously provided for the Convention by the deacons of the
united churches in Boston; and the governor and prin­
cipal gentlemen in the government were invited with the
ministers on that occasion. How long this usage continued is not known. In 1769, the Convention voted thanks to Dr. Sewall, then in the decline of life, "for his kindness and hospitality in accommodating the Convention for so many years at his house." For several years, the ministers of Boston were accustomed to invite the members of Convention to dine at their tables. In 1806, a dinner was provided by a subscription of sundry gentlemen in Boston; and the surplus of the money, thus generously subscribed, was to be given to the Congregational Charitable Society. The thanks of the Convention were voted to those gentlemen for their attention and liberality—which have since been often experienced. More recently, the congregational societies in Boston have provided a liberal entertainment for the Convention, under direction of the deacons of their churches; of which a grateful sense has been testified by their votes.

**Objects of Convention.**

From the transactions of the Convention it appears, that its design has been, to promote brotherly love and religious improvement; to give advice to ministers in difficult cases; to consider the best means for preserving and promoting piety; to concert measures for the propagation of religion, and to promote collections for that purpose; to act in concert, as far as suitable to the ministerial character, in all matters of general concern, respecting the interests of religion, and the order, peace, liberties, and prosperity of the Congregational Churches; to hold correspondences with other associated pastors and churches, relative to the interests of the church and of religion; to aid poor parishes in supporting their ministers; to assist indigent ministers, their widows and orphan children; to provide
funds for the relief of widows and orphans of ministers, and direct the distribution of this charity; to bear testimony against prevailing errors in doctrine, discipline, or manners; to remonstrate to delinquent churches and people concerning neglect to support the gospel; and to recommend whatever may be of general use to ministers and churches, or to the commonwealth and country. It also appears, that the proceedings, relative to objects and persons external to the Convention, have always been by way of counsel, recommendation, advice, or congratulation; and not on the ground of assumed or delegated authority.

**Origin and state of the Fund.**

The Convention appears to have kept no records until 1748. It was then voted, at the annual meeting, to have a blank Book, in which should be entered the minutes of the Convention, with the votes and accounts. Minutes, it is evident, had been previously kept; for, at the same meeting, “the minutes of the transactions of the last Convention were read.” The collections, too, it appears, had already been such as to require a treasurer; for the accounts of the last year were presented and accepted; the thanks of Convention were given to Dr. Sewall, the treasurer, for his care and fidelity; and he was requested to continue in the office the ensuing year. By an application from a society in Rhode Island, requesting “assistance towards the maintenance of a minister,” and by other evidences, it appears, that the Convention had already “dispersed abroad” its alms. A measure was now adopted for the establishment of a Fund. It was voted, “that the Convention recommend it to the ministers through the Province, that they endeavour that there may
be a Collection in their several Congregations towards a Fund for the propagation of the Christian religion.”

The monies, collected by the Convention, appear to have been distributed among indigent ministers until the year 1762. A question was then proposed, “Whether the Convention will choose a committee to consider what may be done to render their annual contribution more extensively useful and beneficial; and in order hereto, whether a part of it should be applied to the use of ministers’ widows and children, who might need the same, as well as to indigent ministers.” It was voted in the affirmative; and a committee was accordingly chosen.

Of the Collection that year, four pounds ten shillings were appropriated to the proposed Fund for ministers’ widows and children. This was the commencement of the Convention’s Fund.*

At the annual meeting, 30 May, 1765, the Convention voted, that the unappropriated part of the Collection this day be added to the sum already in the treasury, to lie as a Fund towards the support of ministers’ widows and children that are indigent, agreeable to some plan that may hereafter be agreed upon by the Convention; and a committee was chosen to prepare and offer a plan accord-

* The Collection was 270l. 6s. 3d. (old tenor.) l. s. d.
Of which, appropriated to 6 ministers ........ 80 4 0
“ “ to 1 widow ........ 3 17 6
“ “ to poor ministers’ widows 2 5 0
“ “ to proposed Fund ........ 4 10 0

90 16 6

Of the unappropriated money were voted,
To Providence, to support preaching ........ 50 0 0
Rev. O. Campbell, (Tiverton) ........ 79 9 9
Rev. Mr. Torry, (S. Kingston) ........ 50 0 0

179 9 9
ingly. In 1766, the committee not reporting a plan, another committee was chosen to prosecute the design; and a vote was passed, “That the money already in hand, and what may this year be devoted for a Fund for the relief of poor ministers’ widows and children, be put into the hands of the Rev. Dr. Sewall, Dr. Chauncy, and Mr. Cooper, to be by them improved at interest for the use aforesaid.” A committee was thus appointed annually, to act as trustees, until the incorporation of a Society for the care and management of the Fund.

In this “day of small things,” a valuable legacy was bequeathed to the benevolent object, which had long been occupying the thoughts and care of the Convention. Mr. Judah Monis, a Jew by birth, who had embraced the Christian religion and been baptized at Cambridge, where he lived many years as a Hebrew instructor, died in 1764, leaving most of his estate to this pious charity. How it was to be managed and applied, appears by the Will: “I also will that all my real estate be sold by my Executors and that the proceeds of such sale be deposited in the hands of the Rev. Messrs. Nathaniel Appleton, minister of the first Parish in Cambridge, Ebenezer Gay of Hingham, minister of the first Parish there, John Martin minister of the second Parish in Westborough [now Northborough], Andrew Eliot of Boston, minister of a Church of Christ there, and Thomas Barnard of Salem, minister of a Church of Christ there, or their respective successors in said office, for the relief of the poor widows of the ministers of Christ in the Province....in this form, namely, the principal sum to be let out on lawful interest by the said ministers, and their said successors in the office aforesaid forever, and the interest thereof distributed by them or the major part of them, as they, with the advice of the Convention of the Ministers of the Congregational persuasion,
at their Anniversary Meeting, shall judge proper forever.” Mr. Monis also gave, for the same purpose, such part of his personal estate, as should not, after his decease, be found disposed of to other persons or uses. On the settlement of the estate, the sum ordered by the Judge of Probate to be paid to the Trustees, 23 May, 1766, was one hundred and eleven pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence.* The Convention, thus encouraged to pursue their object, voted, that year, “That the sum of one hundred pounds of the unappropriated money, collected this day, be added to the sum already collected towards a Fund for the relief of Indigent Widows and poor orphan Children of Ministers, to be improved at interest, agreeable to a vote of the Convention passed this day.”†

In 1767, the committee, chosen to prepare and offer a plan for a Fund, reported, that the Convention empower a number from themselves to apply in their name to the General Court for an act of incorporation, “in order to the more effectual management of the Fund to be raised for the relief of their Widows and orphan Children;” pointed out means to raise this Fund, and to direct as to its application; and recommended, “as it will be some

* The Monis Fund is now £400; the interest of which the Trustees annually divide among four widows, with the concurrence of Convention, to which they make an annual Report.
† On the Record of this year is entered the following “Account of the several sums already devoted to the proposed Fund for the relief of the Widows and orphan Children of poor Ministers.”

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<tr>
<th>Appropriated in the Collection, May 27, 1762</th>
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<td>Voted the whole unappropriated coll. May 29, 1765</td>
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<td>Appropriated in the Collection May 29, 1766</td>
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<td>Voted of the unappropriated coll. May 29, 1766</td>
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375 18 9
time before a corporation can be constituted and the con-
stitution receive the royal assent, that, in the mean time,
the money collected at the annual Convention, except
what may be appropriated, be put into the hands of a
number of the Convention to be by them, as Trustees, put
out at interest, and that the interest be disposed of annu-
ally, by the Convention, on the forenoon preceding the
public Exercises and Collection, to such Widows and
orphan Children of Ministers of the Massachusetts Pro-
vince, as they shall think fit.” The Convention accepted
the Report, and voted, “that it be forthwith carried into
execution.” A vote was also passed, That the proposed
Incorporate Society do consist of an equal number of min-
isters and of lay-gentlemen; and that the whole number
should be thirty. Fifteen laymen, of distinguished character
in the state, and the same number of ministers, were then
“nominated and voted to be first members of the proposed
Incorporate Society.” At the head of the former appears
the name of “His Honour Thomas Hutchinson, Lieut.
Governour.” The commotions, soon after excited in the
Province by the Stamp Act; the dissatisfaction with the
gubernatorial administration; and the revolutionary war,
which convulsed the country, and put “all the founda-
tions out of course,” sufficiently account for a delay of the
execution of the plan of Convention for several years.
After the successful termination of a long war, and the
tranquil settlement of the commonwealth as an Indepen-
dent State, the plan was auspiciously resumed.

In the mean time, the Fund of the Convention received
a considerable addition from the estate of the Hon. John
Alford, Esq. of Charlestown, lately deceased, who had
given a discretionary power to his Executors for appro-
priations to certain charitable and literary objects. At
a meeting of the Convention in 1775, a letter was com-
municated from Richard Cary, Esq. informing the Convention, that the Executors had agreed to give fifty pounds sterling to the Fund for the relief of the Widows and orphan Children of poor Ministers out of the estate of Col. Alford. It was stated, at the same time, that this sum had been received by the Treasurer of the Convention. The particular acknowledgments and thanks of the Convention were presented to the Executors of the Will of Col. Alford, "for this kind and liberal donation, wherein they have not only evidenced a generous pity to a distressed and very helpless part of the community, but have discovered a friendly regard to the Ministry of this Province." The Convention embraced this opportunity "to testify their grateful sense of the noble benevolence of the Honourable and worthy Testator; and to express their pleasing expectation, that his munificent bequest, so wisely distributed, by his Executors, to this and other extensively useful institutions, will serve to transmit the memory of Col. Alford with honour to the latest posterity."

In 1783, the Convention voted, That the Trustees now living be desired to continue; and chose a committee "to prepare a plan for a Fund to be established in this Commonwealth for the relief of the Widows and orphan Children of poor Ministers, and for other purposes which may be mentioned in said plan;" and to lay the plan before the General Court of this Commonwealth, and to use their influence to obtain a Charter. In 1784, the committee reported a plan, and the form of a Bill for an Act of Incorporation; and after some emendation, a committee was chosen, to fill up the blanks, and perfect the Bill for a Society to be incorporated, and, when completed, to use their best endeavours to obtain a Charter of the General Court. In 1785, the Convention voted to renew their application to the General Court for the same purpose.
Connexion between the Convention and the Congregational Charitable Society.

An Act of Incorporation was at length obtained. At the annual meeting of the Convention in 1786, a committee on the subject made report; and the act was read. It was passed 24 March, 1786, and was signed, as approved, by governor Bowdoin. The preamble states its origin and object: "Whereas a number of congregational ministers within this Commonwealth have petitioned, and it appears to the General Court expedient, that a number of persons be incorporated into a Society for the humane and benevolent purposes of affording relief and support to the widows and children of deceased ministers and other persons therein mentioned: Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court," &c. The names of twenty persons are inserted in the Act; ten of whom were laymen, and ten ministers. The Act incorporates them into a Society by the name of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; and ordains, "that they and such others as shall be duly elected into the said corporation, shall be and remain a body politic and corporate, by the same name, style and title forever." One article of the Act requires, that all grants, donations, devises and bequests, made to the Society, shall be used and improved to the best advantage; and that the annual income shall be applied to the support of such widows and children of deceased congregational ministers, as have been or shall be settled within this Commonwealth, and of widows and children of the president and professors of the University in Cambridge, as, in the opinion of said corporation, shall be proper objects of the said charity." The Act requires the Society to meet some time in the month of May annually; and gives
power to elect by ballot any other person or persons as members of it: "Provided always, that the said Society shall not at any time consist of more than thirty members; provided, also, that the same proportion be observed in the said elections, between the clergy and the laity, which is observed in this act." A meeting was called and holden in the Senate chamber in Boston, 24 May, 1786, and the Society was organized by the choice and qualification of the several officers named in the Act of Incorporation.

After the reading of the Act in Convention, a committee was chosen to confer with a committee of the Society, on such measures as should appear to be most conducive to the purposes of the institution; and the next morning, the committee made the following Report:

"It appears to your Committee, that the Society, lately incorporated by the name of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, is so constituted as to answer the general purposes for which Convention has so long wished to have a Society incorporated; and your Committee think it advisable, that Convention order the Treasurer to deliver such monies as he may now have, belonging to Convention, into the hands of the Treasurer of said Society, by some vote of the following kind:

"Whereas there is now in the Treasury of Convention the sum of five hundred and seventy one pounds one shilling and seven pence, in public and private securities, which sum has been given by divers persons, the interest of which is to be used for the benefit of the poor widows and orphans of deceased Ministers, which monies the Convention wish to have in the hands of a legal Trust; Therefore,

"Voted, That the Treasurer of the Convention be directed to put the above mentioned securities and what
other property he may have belonging to the Convention, into the hands of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, to be improved by said Society in such ways as, in their wisdom, they shall judge most conducive to the benevolent purposes of the Donors; the interest of which securities, and such other property, as the Convention may put into the hands of said Society, to be distributed from time to time, agreeably to the advice of the Convention." The Report was accepted.

The Convention, accordingly, transferred to the Society, in trust, 571l. 1s. 7d. From that time to the present, the funds of Convention have been held and improved in the same manner as the Society's stock; and an annual account is rendered to the Convention of their exact state.*

In reference to the Incorporation of the Society, it has been observed: "This indulgence of our government to the clergy, and the respect so universally paid to religious institutions by the rulers of our state, will continue the encouragement to men of literary talents to settle as ministers; and will give ease to the pained hearts of many, who, after spending the prime of their life in labours to promote the happiness of others, are leaving widows and orphans on the arms of public charity. The act by which this Society is established, independent of pecuniary considerations, has an unfailing influence to render the office of a minister respectable. It is the Commonwealth's smile of approbation upon the office, and will render to

* In 1820, the Fund of Convention, before its appropriations, was - - - - - - $5824 83
Appropriated - - - - - - 300 00

Amount of the Fund $5524 83
the clergy a substantial support in the important duties of it. Perhaps there never was an institution, which was pointed more directly to proper objects of charity, or in the execution of which, the principles of true benevolence could be exerted in a manner more productive of the general good of the country."

The Convention has, of late years, added to the Annual Collection, after the Convention Sermon, for immediate distribution, $300; and the Contribution at the Annual Collection has been from 300 to 600 dollars. The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society have, of late, annually voted $200, to be added to the Collection; and this is distributed by vote of the Convention among a number of widows of deceased ministers. The Society have given, besides, a considerable sum, annually, to those objects of their bounty, whose circumstances were peculiarly necessitous.† "But they have felt it a duty, in the management of their funds, to endeavour to add something to the capital, by reserving annually a portion of the interest; so that in time, it may be hoped, the proceeds may be more adequate than heretofore to the applications continually urged for help and relief. They acknowledge, with pleasure, the liberality of many; and doubt not the continued benefactions of

* "History of the Society," in an Appendix to Dr. Thacher's Sermon in 1795, "By a member who is not a minister." It is ascribed to the late governor Sullivan.

† In 1820, the Congregational Charitable Society voted,

To be added to the Collection - - - $200
" given to indigent widows - - - 1000
The Society has paid from its own Funds,
(Total amount) To widows and orphans - - - 3875
" To Convention - - - 2150
" From Fund of Convention (per order) 3269.31.
the friends of religion, to a charity so important and interesting."*

The Convention embraced all the congregational ministers in the Commonwealth, including the District of Maine, until the formation of Maine into a separate State, in 1820. A committee, chosen the last year by Convention, "to take into consideration the subject of the appropriations of the charity of Convention to widows in Maine," have been officially informed, that a similar Convention has been organized in Maine, since the separation. "A majority of the Associations were in favour of such a measure. Of this public notice was given, and a meeting of congregational ministers requested. On the 18th of January a respectable number of them assembled and formed themselves into a Convention on the same broad basis, on which the Convention in Massachusetts is established." A correspondence and conference have been held with the officers of that Convention, and a satisfactory arrangement, in relation to the Fund, is expected to be made at the


Beside numerous other less, but valuable donations, the Society have recorded the following:

- John Winslow, Esq. of Dunstable, "towards a perpetual fund" £200 = £666.66
- Hon. Thomas Russell 200 = 666.66
- Jonathan Mason, Esq. 200
- Joseph Barrell, Esq. 400
- Miss Anna Cabot Lowell, beside $5000, in trust, for this and other purposes 1000
- Hon. Samuel Dexter, (Sen.) 200
- John Derby, Esq. a legacy 1000
- Subscriptions procured by Samuel Eliot, Esq. upwards of 4000
- Mrs. Lowell, widow of the late Judge Lowell 2400
- Hon. Peter C. Brooks 200
- Samuel Eliot, Esq. a legacy 3000
- Joseph Coolidge, Esq. a legacy 500
next annual meeting of the Massachusetts Convention. The remembrance of our brethren will not be obliterated, nor our sympathies with their widows and orphan children extinguished, by a political division of the Commonwealth. What should be the measure of our charity, upon this change of relations, is for the Convention to determine.

Rules and Regulations of Convention.

I. The Convention is opened on the day of the General Election, at 5 o'clock, P. M.; and on the following day, at 11 o'clock, A. M. a Sermon is delivered in public before the Convention, and a Collection made for the indigent Widows of congregational ministers.

II. Every ordained Congregational Minister, having the care of a particular church within this Commonwealth shall be considered as a member of this Convention; the Presidents and Professors in the Theological departments in any public seminary in this Commonwealth may be admitted by special vote, and no others shall be eligible: yet, congregational ministers, dismissed from their pastoral relation with good recommendations, and continuing to preach, as candidates for settlement, may be honorary members, and have the privilege of sitting and deliberating in the Convention, but not of voting.

III. The person who preaches the annual Convention Sermon shall be considered as Moderator of Convention for that year.

IV. When any person has any subject or question to propose to Convention for their consideration, he shall give it in, before the Convention proceeds to business, to the Scribe of Convention, to be by him put on the list of articles to be acted on by Convention, which list shall be
read before business commences; or, if he be prevented from doing this by necessity, he shall deliver it, stated on paper, to the Scribe, who shall read it to the Convention, that it may be at their disposal; and no person shall be allowed to speak more than twice on the same subject, except by leave of Convention.

V. A Standing Committee of thirty shall be appointed, five of whom shall be chosen centrally, and the remainder in different parts of the State. The five shall act as a Reporting Committee, to receive from the other members of the Committee applications and statements of facts in behalf of persons who may be subjects of the charity of the Convention, and having considered the same, shall judge of the persons to be relieved, and the proportion to be given to each, and make report to Convention on the first day of their meeting, annually.

VI. The indigent widows of congregational ministers, and their orphan children under age, are the proper objects of the charities of Convention.

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When the widow of any congregational minister is considered an object of the charity of the Convention, it is desired, that, by the first of May in each year, answers may be given, by one of the Standing Committee to the Reporting Committee, to the following questions:

1. What is her age?
2. What are the number, the sex, the ages, and the circumstances of her children?
3. What is a fair estimate of her property?
4. What is her ability to help herself?
5. What connexions has she, who are bound to afford her assistance? And in what way do they assist her?
6. What is her income?
7. What peculiar circumstances render her an object of charity; or make it desirable, that she should have aid this year?

The Standing Committee are also desired to give notice to the Scribe, whenever an alteration takes place in the circumstances of the widows, who are objects of charity.

TREASURERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Rev. Joseph Sewall,
Ebenezer Pemberton,
Andrew Eliot,
William Gordon,
Simeon Howard,
Oliver Everett,
Joseph Eckley,
John Eliot,
William E. Channing,
Charles Lowell,
Francis Parkman.
### PREACHERS OF THE CONVENTION SERMON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By whom</th>
<th>Of what place</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. D. Rev.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1682 John Sherman,</td>
<td>Watertown</td>
<td>Rev. ii. 19</td>
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<tr>
<td>1723 * Cotton Mather,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1 Tim. i. 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1723 Nehemiah Walter,</td>
<td>Roxbury</td>
<td>Phil. i. 21 (MS.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1724 Peter Thacher,</td>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>Col. iv. 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1726 William Williams,</td>
<td>Hatfield</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1728 John Williams,</td>
<td>Deerfield</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1738 John Barnard,</td>
<td>Marblehead</td>
<td>Col. i. 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>1739 Nathaniel Eelles,</td>
<td>Scituate</td>
<td>1 Sam. iv. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740 Thomas Prince,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Isa. ix. 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1741 Edward Holyoke,</td>
<td>Pres. of H. Coll.</td>
<td>Matth. xvi. 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1742 Israel Loring,</td>
<td>Sudbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>1743 Nathaniel Appleton,</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>Matth. v. 13, 14</td>
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<td>1744 Charles Chauncy, D. D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Titus ii. 15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1745 Peter Clark,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Romans iii. 1, 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1746 Ebenezer Gay,</td>
<td>Salem Village</td>
<td>John i. 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748 Edward Wigglesworth,</td>
<td>Hingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 John Barnard,</td>
<td>Andover</td>
<td>2 Corinth. iv. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1750 William Welsteed,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1 Tim. iv. 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1751 Samuel Wigglesworth,</td>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td>2 Corinth. xi. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1753 Samuel Phillips,</td>
<td>Andover</td>
<td>Acts x. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754 Stephen Williams,</td>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>Exodus xxv. 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1755 Joseph Parsons,</td>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td>Matth. v. 14, 15, 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>1756 Hull Abbot,</td>
<td>Charlestown</td>
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<tr>
<td>1757 William Rand,</td>
<td>Kingstown</td>
<td>1 Thess. ii. 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1758 Jonathan Townsend,</td>
<td>Needham</td>
<td>1 John. 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1759 Ebenezer Pemberton,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Rom. xi. 13</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760 William Balch,</td>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td>2 Corinth. i. 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1761 Ebenezer Parkman,</td>
<td>Westborough</td>
<td>2 Corinth. v. 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>1762 Samuel Mather,</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>2 Corinth. xi. 28</td>
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<tr>
<td>1763 John Lowell,</td>
<td>Newburyport</td>
<td>2 Corinth. vii. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765 Charles Chauncy, D.D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Acts viii. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766 Thomas Prentice,</td>
<td>Charlestown</td>
<td>1 Corinth. xiv. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1767 Andrew Eliot, D.D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>James v. 19, 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1768 John Tucker,</td>
<td>Newbury</td>
<td>Col. iv. 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1769 Samuel Dunbar,</td>
<td>Stoughton</td>
<td>Gal. i. 8, 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770 Samuel Cooper, D.D.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Rev. xiii. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1771 Robert Breck,</td>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>Heb. xiii. 1</td>
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* Dr. Cotton Mather’s Sermon, in 1689, has been erroneously supposed to have been delivered before the Convention of Ministers. It was “preached to the Convention of the Colony.”

† The Sermons with this mark † are in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A complete series of them would be highly valued by a Society, whose objects are, “the collection and preservation, for the use of the public and posterity, of all documents relating to the history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil, and natural, of our country.”
From an inspection of the subjects it is evident, that the Discourse has always been considered, not as a mere Charity Sermon, but a Concio ad Clerum.
Scribes of the Convention.

1748, Rev. Mather Byles, Boston, 1755
1755, Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, Boston, 1757
1757, Rev. Samuel Cooper, Boston, 1758
1758, Rev. Andrew Eliot, Boston, 1761
1761, Rev. Samuel Mather, Boston, 1762
1762, Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, Chelmsford, 1763
1763, Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Westborough, 1766
1766, Rev. Amos Adams, Roxbury, 1776
1776, Rev. Jacob Cushing, Waltham, 1779
1779, Rev. John Lathrop, Boston, 1787
1787, Rev. John Clarke, Boston, 1792
1792, Rev. John Bradford, Roxbury, 1794
1794, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, Charlestown, 1800
1800, Rev. John T. Kirkland, Boston, 1810
1810, Rev. John Pierce, Brookline, 1820
1820, Rev. John Codman, Dorchester.

Form of a Bequest or Legacy.

Item, I give and bequeath the sum of

to the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, in trust,
to be applied, at their discretion, to the relief and support of the
widows and children of deceased ministers, and other persons
mentioned in the Act of Incorporation.
TWO DISCOURSES,

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN

COHASSET.

DELIVERED DECEMBER 16, 1821; BEING THE FIRST LORD’S DAY AFTER

THE COMPLETION OF A CENTURY

FROM THE GATHERING OF THE CHURCH IN THAT PLACE, AND

THE ORDINATION OF THE FIRST PASTOR.

WITH

A GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF COHASSET.

BY JACOB FLINT.

Minister of that Town.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY MUNROE AND FRANCIS, NO. 4, CORNHILL.

CORNER OF WATER-STREET.

1822.
TO THOSE, BY WHOSE SUBSCRIPTION THE FOLLOWING HISTORY

OF COHASSET IS PUBLISHED,

AND TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY

WHICH IT DESCRIBES,

IT IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED BY

THEIR SINCERE AND OBLIGED FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.
DISCOURSE I.

Jeremiah vi. 16.
Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.

Most of you, my hearers, drew your first breath, tasted your earliest pleasures, and formed the most tender and attractive associations within the limits of what is now called Cohasset. If you have that attachment to the place of your nativity which is said, by a profound statesman and scholar,* to be felt by every virtuous mind, an "attachment tender and sublime, which vibrates in every fibre, and is intermingled with every affection of the heart," you will feel a lively interest in whatever relates to this town, the birth place of your fathers and yourselves, and which has furnished the principal scenes of your labours, pleasures, and hopes.

It has been a laudable practice for serious and grateful minds to commemorate, at remarkable periods, God's goodness and mercies towards them, manifested by his ever-watchful and beneficent Providence. Speaking in the name of the church and people of Israel. I will mention, said the prophet, the loving kindness of the Lord, according to all that he hath bestowed on us.

The fourth day of the last week completed a century, since the first gathering of a Church, and the ordination of a pastor in this place.' I have thought it might afford useful instruction, and gratify a laudable curiosity, to present to your contemplation a concise history of the divine Providence with your fathers and yourselves, from the first settlement of the town to the present time. You are now in the place, where you may see, and ask for the old paths, and learn where is the good way, that you may walk therein and find rest for your souls.

The town of Hingham, which, till 1770, included Cohasset, was settled by the Rev. Peter Hobart, with part of a church and congregation to which he had been pastor, in Hingham, County of Norfolk, in Great Britain. Debarred the free exercise of their civil and religious rights, they, like the pilgrims at Plymouth, fled to the wilderness in New England for the enjoyment of that freedom to which as rational beings they were entitled, and that religious liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. Their arrival was in the year 1635; and having obtained from the natives, deeds of land to form their town; on September 18 the same year they held their first meeting for civil purposes, which they called a town meeting; and their town, from the name of that they had left, they called Hingham.*

Their pastor was respectable for his talents and Christian piety. His descendants have been many, a considerable number of whom have been graduated at Harvard University; and some of them eminent preachers of the Gospel. The Hingham company preserved, generally, a good standing with the natives. And, excepting a dispute on the subject of military election and liberty of conscience, which in 1645, interrupted the harmony of the town, and made some difficulty in the province,† and a violent contest in regard to the placing of a meeting-house, in which the interference of the general court was required; the social order of the inhabitants has been good. The constant and liberal provision, which they made for the support of public worship and schools for the young, with their general attention to the ordinances of religion, for a hundred and seventy years, furnish good evidence that the first settlers were wise and good men, that they educated their children in such principles and habits as rendered them useful and happy citizens and rational Christians.

By the descendants of these men, with others of virtuous character, the town of Cohasset was first settled. The names of seven, viz. Cushing, Lincoln, Tower, Beal, James, and Sutton, found among the first Hingham company, with those of Bates, Pratt, Kent, Orcutt, Stoddard, and Nichols, from other places, were the names of those dauntless and worthy men, who first laboured to subdue the soil in this place, which was then called Conohasset, an Indian name, signifying a fishing promontory.

The parts of the town first improved, were those which have received the names, Rocky-nook, Jerusalem, Mill

* See Manuscript of D. Cushing, 2d T. Clerk, Hing.
† See Hubbard's History of New England, and papers in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.
street, extending to the harbour, the Plain, and Beachwood street. They were, as well as I can learn, settled successively in the order above named. To these parts your progenitors came, the most of them with their families; and their perseverance and success evince that they possessed much christian fortitude, patience of labour, and pious trust in the good providence of God. The greater part of the soil, though of a good quality, was so much interspersed with rocks, many from their size immovable, as to render their prospect rather dreary and forbidding. But having Hingham on their south-west, and Scituate south, adjoining them, which were now flourishing plantations, with their shores abounding with fish of the best kinds, they were not discouraged. They took their stand; and wrought with industry and patience, devoutly looking to God for protection and a blessing on their labours. He gave them his blessing. He gave them, by his providence and his word, health, supplies, and peace of mind, and enabled them to prepare a goodly heritage for their children, unto the third and fourth generation, as it is this day.

How early some few families settled within the limits of this town, I cannot now ascertain with certainty; probably, in the year 1670; for about that time, Conohasset, from being all undivided common land of Hingham, was divided among its proprietors.* All, however, who became residents here, till 1714, (when they obtained liberty to build a house of worship,) considered themselves as belonging to the religious society of Hingham. With that town they acted in all civil and religious matters. Thither, bad and long as the roads were, they repaired to worship on the Lord's day, and there they buried their dead. But in the year last mentioned, their numbers and substance had increased to such a degree, that they felt themselves able to support a minister, and provide instruction for their children. Accordingly, in the year 1714, they petitioned the town of Hingham to remit to them their ministerial and school taxes. But their petition for this object, however just and reasonable, was twice rejected; nor could they obtain the privileges of a parish, till the next year, when for this purpose they made a successful petition to the general court.

Having a house of worship, they probably had preaching in it before they invited the candidate whom they settled as their first pastor. Mr. Nehemiah Hobart came to preach to them in July 13, 1721; and as the custom was, before the forming of a church, he "preached a fast," and continued with them, till December 13, of the same year. when

* See Town Records of Hingham
the church was organized, and the pastoral charge of it, by solemn ordination, was committed to him. On that occasion the services were as follows: Introductory prayer by Rev. Eben. Gay of Hingham: Sermon by Rev. Daniel Lewis of Pembroke: Charge by Rev. Nathaniel Pitcher of Scituate: Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Samuel Whitman of Hull.

After his ordination, the Rev. Mr. Hobart wrote, in his book of records, the following reflections. "O my soul, never dare to forget that day, and the solemn charge I received thereon, but be mindful of 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2, the preacher's text; that at the last I may be able to say as in Acts xx. 26. 27. I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men, for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."

Thus, my hearers, one hundred years ago, the inhabitants of this town took the important character of a distinct Christian church and society. They no longer travelled far, through rough and dreary ways, to worship. In the midst of them they had built a house for God. Their eyes beheld in it their Christian priest clothed with salvation. There was the ark of their strength, and the testimony of their faith and hope, and there we trust, they worshipped the Father, in spirit and truth.

As a new society, they were weak in numbers and wealth. According to their ability their first house of worship was small and without expensive ornaments. It was, I have been told, about 35 feet long and 25 wide, with pulpit, pews, and seats of planed boards, of simple construction. To them, however, it was probably quite as expensive as was the temple of Solomon, to those who built that magnificent edifice.

At the formation of his church, Mr. Hobart drew up a well written instrument, not as a creed, but a covenant, in which are recognized their obligations to God and Jesus Christ, and in which are made their solemn vows to live, by God's aid, in Christian obedience, brotherly love, and mutual assistance. After a preamble, expressive of their belief, that they were called of God to unite together in the bands of Gospel communion and fellowship, it proceeds in the following words. "We do, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the presence of God, and the holy angels, explicitly and expressly covenant and bind ourselves in manner and form following, viz. We do give up ourselves to God, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. To God the Father, as our chief and only good:* and unto our

* It would seem from his words, that he did not consider Jesus Christ equal with the Father, nor the Holy Spirit anything distinct from God's influence.
Lord Jesus Christ, as our prophet, priest, and king; and only Mediator of the covenant of grace; and unto the Spirit of God, as our only sanctifier and comforter. And we do give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, covenaniting and promising to walk together as a church of Christ, in all ways of his own institution, according to the prescriptions of his holy word, promising that with all tenderness and brotherly love, we will with all faithfulness, watch over each other's souls, and that we will freely yield up ourselves to the discipline and power of Christ in his church, and attend whatever ordinances Christ hath appointed and declared in his word; and wherein we fail, and come short of duty, to wait upon him for pardon and remission, beseeching him to make our spirits steadfast in his covenant, and to own us as his church and covenant people forever. Amen." This was subscribed by Nehemiah Hobart, John Orcutt, Stephen Stoddard, Thomas James, John Jacob, Ebenezer Kent, Joseph Bates, and Elijah Vinal jun. Soon after, followed the names of eighteen other persons, who were admitted to their communion.

In the call and settlement of Mr. Hobart, there seems to have been a perfect agreement of the whole society. There is no account, either from record or tradition, of opposition by any one. And this harmony appears to have continued during the nineteen years of his ministry. In him was found an excellent spirit. His character, which I early obtained from aged persons, who knew it, and from some of his writings which I possess, appears to have been that of a truly devout, enlightened, and liberal divine. He had talents as a preacher, and virtues as a christian, which would have rendered him instructive and acceptable, in a learned and more numerous society. His worth was not much known abroad, but was justly and highly appreciated by his early instructor, neighbour, and constant friend, the excellent Gay. Whatever be a preacher's talents and worth, his reputation will depend much on the celebrity of the situation in which he is placed, and of the characters with whom he is connected. The celebrated Cotton, Mathers, and Mayhews were, it is believed, great and good; but they were spurred by the hope of fame, as well as the love of God and their fellow-men. Placed in a populous and distinguished town, they were connected with men eminent in the literary and political world, who assisted to spread their fame. Coohasset, far in the bay, had little connection with societies, or men, who had made much advancement in letters and taste. It was seldom visited by strangers; and its inhabitants, though respectable for their natural powers and christian virtues, had neither leisure nor means to record and publish their preacher's worth.
The Rev. Nehemiah Hobart was born in the first parish of Hingham, and was the son of David Hobart Esq. and grandson of Rev. Peter Hobart of that town. He was graduated at Harvard College in the year 1714. He died in 1740, in the 43rd year of his age. As he had lived beloved, he died much lamented by the people of his charge. He sleeps in the centre burying ground, and has a decent stone to tell where he lies. He was twice married, having seven children by his first wife, and none by his last. Three of his children he buried in their infancy, and left one son and three daughters. These all continued to a good old age, respectable for their understandings, and Christian habits. The son moved to Connecticut, two of his daughters married in Cohasset, and one still survives, at the age of 87, and is wife of the venerable Deacon Kent, now in his 92d year.

During Mr. Hobart's ministry, 77 persons were admitted to the church, 277 children and 87 adults were baptized, and 80 couples were united in marriage. The number of deaths were 116: 70 of this number were children under 8 years of age, 30 of whom died of an inflammatory sore throat.

The first deacon was John Jacob, a man whose memory ought to be dear to the church and society. He was the society's agent in procuring their parochial privileges. The husband of one wife, a worthy woman; without children; with a benevolent mind and considerable property, he seemed to adopt the society as his particular charge. He possessed their confidence, and used it in all respects, for their benefit. His care for his own spiritual improvement, and for the reputation of the church, was manifested by his constant attention to public worship and the sacred ordinances of religion, and by a handsome donation of plate, which he made to the table of communion. I received his character from the late Thomas Lotthrop Esq. whom the deacon educated and made his principal heir; and into whose mind, naturally strong, he early instilled that love of religion, knowledge, and usefulness, which under God, qualified this nephew, to discharge acceptably, in mature years, the duties of every important office in the gift of the town, and to be long known and respected as a legislator and magistrate of this Commonwealth. The memory of the just is blessed.

The second deacon was Joseph Bates, a man of some distinction, from his piety and useful acquirements. He was the first Treasurer and Clerk of the society. The third deacon was Lazarus Beal, a devout man, and of good report among all who knew him. He commanded his children and household after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord. The two deacons, who now officiate in the church, are his grandsons.
The early condition of the society here was, in some respects, preferable to that of the settlers in many other new places. They were generally well inured to the climate, having been born in Hingham, or some place in New England. Most of them, either from patrimony or industry, possessed a competent property, with which to begin their improvements, without the fear of immediate want. Looking above the log-house,* they framed their houses of hewn timber, and covered them decently, making them generally two stories in height. The house of their pastor, now in its hundredth year, built of the firmest oak, is a large and still a handsome, valuable house; and with proper care, may remain so, it is thought, a century to come. The wild men and beasts of prey, had generally retired from their promontory. The inhabitants early built vessels and convenient landing places, by which they availed themselves of the treasures of the sea, and profitably transported to market, in the metropolis, their redundancy of wood. Having roads barely passible, and leading through their own to no place but the bay, they were little connected with elder societies. This led them to draw more closely the bands of their own. Their marriages were generally among themselves; so that a large portion of the members became connected by blood; and continue so, in an uncommon degree, to the present day. Truly neighbours to each other, they had innocent social enjoyments. Places of temptation to excess, were then unknown, as places of common resort. After the labours of the day, uncereemonious visits were frequently made at each others houses, where they would talk of the good providence of God to New England, the ways of promoting the welfare of their church and society, and make common stock of useful or entertaining anecdotes, which any one had acquired. Having the bountiful cow, and the bees tamed from the forest, their dwellings flowed with milk and honey; and they could, with the 'broiled fish and a little honey-comb,' with other materials, which the house afforded, furnish a social repast, far more friendly to health, virtue, and cheerfulness, than can be found in all the luxuries which load the most fashionable boards of modern conviviality. Speaking of the early state of society here, it was remarked to me by an aged member—"They had every thing that heart could wish."

Feeling that public worship, with attention to christian ordinances, was necessary, no less to their social prosperity, than their spiritual improvement and comfort, the church and society lost no time, after the death of Mr. Hobart, before they took measures suitable to fill his place with another.

*A log-house was, I believe, never built in Comobasset.
er well educated and respectable pastor. They employed candidates of good character; but they did not immediately find one in whom they could unite. They heard Mr. Adams, Hancock, Gay, and four others, before they gave their call to Mr. John Fowle, who became their second pastor. In regard to him, indeed, they were not of one mind. To hear many candidates is not well in any parish. It tends to division. They should learn well the character and qualifications of a preacher before they employ him, and then hear with a view to approve and ordain. The opposers of Mr. Fowle, however, after some time, appear to have consented to his ordination, which took place December 31, 1741. On that occasion, Rev. William Smith of Weymouth began with prayer; Rev. Hull Abbot of Charlestown preached; Rev. Nathaniel Eelles of Scituate gave the charge; Rev. Ebenezer Gay of Hingham gave the right hand of fellowship.

After his ordination the Rev. John Fowle wrote in the church records, the following observations. "As for remarks, reflections, and expostulations with my own soul, upon this most solemn occasion, by God's leave, shall enter in my new private journal, the next week, having left the same in Boston; and shall only add, that the providence of God was very wonderful, as to some matters of difference among the people, about my ordination, which were made up and settled, and which, that I may not forget to my dying day, as I can but hope for my benefit while alive and in possession of my reason, shall in said journal note down, &c. Lord Jesus pray the Father that my faith fail not. Amen and Amen. For who is sufficient for these things."

From this fragment it would seem that Mr. Fowle felt a deep sense of responsibility in his office. He was allowed, by good judges to be a man of considerable genius, and handsome acquirements; and for two or three years was a popular preacher. But he was doomed to have a thorn in the flesh, a most irritable nervous temperament, which rendered him unequal in his performances, and at times, quite peevish and irregular. His infirmity increasing, increased the number of his opposers, till it caused the dissolution of his pastoral relation in the fifth year of his ministry. I do not learn that any immoralties were charged upon him; but that he had too little self possession, to be useful in the pastoral office. His failure should be attributed rather to physical, than moral defect, rendering him not an object of reproach, but of commiseration.

While here, he married a wife, and had two children. He recorded the names of 12 persons whom he admitted to the church, of 60 children whom he baptized, and 22 couples whom
he united in marriage. He was born in Charlestown, near Boston, and was graduated at Harvard College, in the year 1732. After his dismissal he returned with his family to the place of his nativity, where, it is expected, the disorder of his mind increased so much as to incapacitate him for usefulness to society. But the manner of his life towards the close, and the time of his death, I have not been able to learn. How grateful to God should all be, who are favoured with what ancient philosophy considered the greatest blessings of life—a sound mind in a sound body.

I have now, my hearers, delivered to you nearly the one half of my history. The remaining part I will, by divine permission, present to you in the afternoon.

DISCOURSE II.

We proceeded in the morning, through the history of Mr. Fowle's ministry. At this period, the numbers and wealth of the church and society had increased so much, that they found their first house of worship too small for their accommodation, and felt themselves able to build another, more commodious as to its size, and more expensive and respectable as to its appearance. Accordingly, I find, by the parish records, they commenced the work near the time of Mr. Fowle's dismissal, and in the course of the ensuing year, erected the house* in which we are now assembled. This house covers an area of 60 feet, by 45. On the northerly end of the roof, was a bellrey. Two flights of stairs, leading to the galleries, were placed on the inside of the house. The large front porch, into which the stairs have been removed, and the steeple in which the bell now hangs, have been since erected.

The disappointment of the church and society in Mr. Fowle, seems not to have lessened their attachment to the Christian religion, nor to the benefits, to be derived from

* The cost, according to the Society's Treas. was £1522, 19s. 9d.
Christian teachers. While engaged in building their new house, they employed candidates of good character with a view to unite in one, who might regularly feed them with knowledge, and break unto them the bread of life. Among them was a Lawrence, Torrey, Mayhew, and Brown; to the last of whom they gave their united call* to become their pastor. He accepted their call, and on September 2, 1747, before their new house was quite completed, was ordained to the pastoral office. The services on that occasion were—Introductory prayer by Rev. William Smith of Weymouth; Sermon by Rev. Ward Cotton, text, “make full proof of thy ministry”; Charge by Rev. Nathaniel Eelles; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Josiah Cotton; concluding prayer by Rev. Shearjashub Bourn of Scituate.

The talents of the Rev. John Brown were considerably more than ordinary. In a stately person he possessed a mind whose perceptions were quick and clear, and his sentiments were generally the result of just reflection. His voice was loud and smooth. He thought for himself; and when he had formed his opinions, he uttered them with fearless freedom. The son of a respectable divine,† he was early well grounded in the rudiments of literature. Acquainted, from a child, with the Holy Scriptures, from them he formed his religious opinions. He believed the Son of God when he said—"The Father is greater than I;" and although he believed that mankind was sinful, yet he did not attribute their sins to his immediate act, who is the Author of all good. His sermons, a number of which I possess, are fraught with striking thoughts, suggested by his subjects; and presented in such a style, as would render them acceptable and impressive even to modern hearers. Till advanced in life, he was fond of social intercourse, and was able always to make society innocently cheerful. He would sometimes, it is said, descend to that jesting, which an Apostle has told us, is not convenient. He was never prone to labour much with his hands, nor to intense application of mind, in abstruse subjects.

A warm friend to the interests of his country, he zealously advocated its civil and religious freedom. By appointment of government, he served one campaign as chaplain to a colonial regiment, at Nova Scotia, and for his acceptable service a tract of land, now Liverpool, in that province, was granted to him by the crown. Taking a lively interest in

* It is said there was one opposer only, whom Mr. Brown reconciled by a stroke of good humour. Calling to see the opposer, he enquired the cause of opposition. I like your person and manners, said the opposer, but your preaching, sir, I disapprove. Then, said Mr. Brown, we are agreed. My preaching I do not like very well myself; but how great the folly for you and I to set up our opinion against that of the whole parish. The opposer felt, or thought he felt, the folly—and was no longer opposed.

† Rev. John Brown of Haverhill.
the American revolution, he encouraged, by example and preaching, his fellow-citizens, at home and abroad, patiently to make those sacrifices which were demanded by the times; predicting at the same time, with the foresight of a prophet, the present unrivalled prosperity of his country.* Although he zealously advocated the cause of freedom, he considered the appropriate duties of his sacred office, paramount to all others. He was constant and careful, till prevented by the infirmities of age, in his preparations for the Lord's day, and regular and acceptable in the discharge of parochial duties. During his long ministry, the people of his charge were generally attentive to his instructions in the house of God, and profited by his administration of the ordinances. He inherited a firm constitution; and although within a few years of his death, he was much enfeebled, from want of exercise in the open air, he still continued to preach, with diminished effect, until the last sabbath of his life. He died in the 67th year of his age, and 45th of his ministry. He sleeps with the first pastor in the centre burial ground. To those who knew his worth, his memory is precious. While here, he buried two wives and two children, and left a widow and one son. The name of his first wife was Jane Doane, that of his second Hepzibah Ames.

He recorded the names of 136 persons whom he admitted to the church, of 221 children and 25 adults whom he baptized, and 225 couples whom he united in marriage. Of deaths I find no record.

The persons elected, during his ministry, to the honourable office of deacon, were Jonathan Beal, Isaac Lincoln 3d, Amos Joy, Abel Kent, Isaac Burr, and Job Cushing. All these, except one, have been released by reason of death or age, from their official duties, and with the thanks of the church for their faithful services. Deacon Kent and his wife, still survive, full of days, and of good fruits, having long been of that class to whom the hoary head is a crown of glory.

Although the society, during Mr. Brown's ministry, made some accession to their numbers, they made little improvement in their modes of agriculture, building, or education. Living so near the sea, no small portion of them thought it easier to plough the deep for bread, than to plough their rugged soil. Many engaged in the fisheries and in foreign voyages. And both in the French war, and that of the Revolution, being more exposed to enemies on the seas, than in

* See his excellent sermon in manuscript, delivered to a company of New England soldiers, under the wide spreading Elm in Hingham. He published a Thanksgiving discourse, in the year of the massacre at Boston, in which that event is ably discussed. He published also a discourse from Jeremiah xvii.9, in which an ingenious comment is given upon the words—

"The heart is deceitful above all things" &c.
most other places, a greater proportion of their young men, here, than elsewhere, bore arms in defence of their country.

When the approaching difficulties, between the American colonies and Great Britain, caused frequent town meetings, and the society here found it burdensome to transact their civil concerns with Hingham; feeling at the same time adequate to perform their own business among themselves, they made application to the government, to be separated from the jurisdiction of that town, and to be incorporated as a town, by the name of Cohasset. Accordingly, in 1770, they became a town, with all the powers and privileges appertaining to such corporations. Since that event, the affairs of the town have been managed with a good degree of harmony and regularity. The revolutionary war, however, greatly embarrassed them, as it did the whole country. But small improvements were made, until after the establishment of the federal government. Since then their improvements have been as great as those of most towns of their age and size.

After the death of Mr. Brown, the church and society immediately directed their attention to that provision for religious instruction, with the administration of the ordinances, without which no society will long experience social order and prosperity. They were supplied six sabbaths, by the pall bearers, at the funeral of their late pastor, and then employed Mr. Josiah C. Shaw, as their first candidate. With him the society were generally pleased, and soon united in giving him a call to settle with them in the ministry. He accepted their call, and was ordained October 3, 1792. On that occasion, Rev. Elijah Leonard of Marshfield, began with prayer: Rev. William Shaw of that town preached: Rev. Simeon Williams of Weymouth made the consecrating prayer: Rev. John Mellen of Hanover gave the Charge: Rev. Daniel Shute, D.D. of Hingham gave the Right Hand of Fellowship: Rev. Henry Ware of that town concluded with prayer.

The Rev. Josiah C. Shaw was a native of Marshfield. His ministry was commenced with fair prospects of tranquility to himself, and usefulness to his flock; but was abruptly terminated June 3, 1796. The church and society, to their great honour, and notwithstanding the unhappy circumstances in which they were placed, soon took the proper steps to supply themselves with another pastor. After hearing a number of candidates, well recommended, they gave a call, without opposition, to their present pastor. With a deliberation due to its solemnity, he accepted the call; and on Jan. 10th 1798, was ordained to the pastoral charge of the church and society in Cohasset.

The services on that solemnity were,—Introductory prayer by Rev. Caleb Prentiss of Reading; Sermon, by Rev.
Elisha Stone of that town: Ordaining prayer by Rev. Daniel Shute, D. D. of Hingham; Charge by Rev. Gad Hitchcock, D. D. of Pembroke; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Henry Ware of Hingham; Concluding prayer by Rev. David Barns, D. D. of Scituate. Your pastor was born in Reading, north Parish, in the county of Middlesex, and was graduated at the University in Cambridge on the Commencement of 1794.

I have been with you, my brethren, twenty-four years. How I have preached and discharged the duties of my sacred office, and how you have heard, and with what fidelity you have improved, ye are witnesses, and God also, who searches the heart, and will, at the day, which he has appointed, impartially award us according to the fidelity with which we have applied and improved the talents and privileges committed to our trust.

Although in the course of my ministry among you, I have, doubtless, been chargeable with many imperfect services and unintentional errors, for it is human to err, yet on review I am not conscious of a single moment, when I have not felt accountable to God for my ministerial fidelity, and when it has not been my hearts' desire, to promote, by my preaching, prayers, and example, the temporal and spiritual welfare of my flock, in whose respectability and interests I have felt my own closely interwoven. And while my success, in your service for Christ's sake, has been far below my wishes, I have, nevertheless, reason to believe, that the state of the church and society, in regard to religious knowledge, and the influence of Christian principles, has been somewhat improved. We have had no ministerial nor ecclesiastical contention.*

Although your pastor may, in some particulars, have reason of complaint, he would take this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt, from the society, of many favours and marks of respect, for which he has always been truly grate-

* There is no account of any church meeting for censure of any of its members, during the ministry of either Mr. Hobart or Mr. Fowle. In Mr. Brown's ministry there were three only holden for the purpose of hearing aggrieved brethren, against others who had offended. At each meeting, charity and harmony were restored, by professions of repentance in the offending, and forgiveness in the aggrieved. There never was, I believe, a member excommunicated from the church in Cohasset. Since my connexion with it there has been no meeting for censure. There may have been, and still may be, members, guilty of conduct which demands repentance and reformation; but from observing the injurious effects of ecclesiastical censures, especially excommunications; from the destructive heat, which has hereby been communicated to the passions, set on fire, not of heaven; I have long thought it the part of wisdom, to let the tares, when we cannot divest them of their bad properties in a private way, grow with the wheat till the harvest. Our Lord, though he reproved his disciples for their faults, never expelled one from his religious school. If we have enemies in the church, let us follow the Apostle's directions, to heap coals of fire on their heads. It may indeed, burn them, but it will be salutary.
In seasons of severe affliction, with which it hath pleased God twice to visit him, he received that sympathy and attention from the society, which have made impressions on his heart too deep for time to efface. Gratitude to benefactors, and forgiveness to enemies, accord with the spirit of Christ, whose spirit, to be his, we must all possess.

Since my ordination 87 persons have been admitted to the church, 78 have owned the covenant, 425 children and 38 adults have been baptized, and 120 couples have been united in marriage. There have been 356 deaths.

The present deacons of the church are Abel Kent, Uriah Lincoln, Thomas Brown, and David Beal. The two first, by reason of age, have been relieved from their official duties, with the unanimous thanks of the church for their able and faithful services. Dea. Lincoln has recently conferred a lasting memorial of his pious regard to the table of the Lord, by a donation of two large, well wrought, silver cups. It is due to the deacons, still officiating, to say, they magnify their office by their discharge of its duties.

Within the century we are considering, the town has educated at Cambridge University, seven of its sons. These are all still living, except one, namely, Benjamin Pratt Esq. who died in 1763. He was son of the first Aaron Pratt of this place; and received the honours of College in 1737. His talents were of the first order. He studied the profession of the law; and after highly distinguishing himself at the courts of justice in this Commonwealth, was promoted to the bench, as chief justice, in the state of New-York. The others of this place, who have been graduated at our University, sustain characters which reflect honour on the place of their nativity, and on this eminently distinguished seminary. All, except one, who is providentially deprived of a sound mind, are now filling, or preparing to fill, stations in which they may be useful to society and benefactors to their country. Eleazer James, in the county of Worcester, is highly respectable as a citizen and attorney at law: Joshua Bates, S.T.D. is president of Middlebury College in the State of Vermont: Isaac Lincoln is an eminent physician in the State of Maine, and member of the medical society: T. Stephenson and J. B. Flint are now engaged in the study of their respective professions.

During the last 25 years, the improvements in this town, in education, building, navigation, roads, and bridges, have been

* Since his connexion with them he has received from them an expensive gown and cassock, and afterwards the value of a handsome suit of apparel. It is not recollected that a year has passed, in which he has not received from individuals some presents highly valued by him, as tokens of affection in those who presented them.

† On occasion of the death of a wife and son.
laudable. More has been done in these particulars, it is be-
lieved, than was done in twice that number of years prece-
ding. This house of worship, built by your fathers, has re-
ceived improvements, as to its appearance and accommoda-
tion. Since my connexion with the society, it has been
painted, and there have been added to it a decent steeple, a
number of pews, and the dress for the pulpit, furnished by
the ladies.* Let it witness an improvement, in which we
are all more deeply interested—the weekly offerings of
spiritual worship by all the members of the society, who are
able to come up hither on the day which the Lord hath made.

With more general and enlightened attention to the great
subject of religion, that firm and only foundation of all that
is true and lovely and of good report; with a due increase
of the church, by the addition of those, whose duty it is to
commemorate the love and goodness of their Saviour; with
renewed restraint on the passions and appetites, and due care
and culture of the minds and manners of the young, few so-
cieties would enjoy more than yours, of the real blessings of
life, or be more eligible in which to spend the few days allot-
ted to men on the earth. Those only who are travelling the
road to heaven make good and happy companions in the
journey of life. The place of our habitation is pleasant for
situation, with many advantages, and a health giving atmos-
phere.

I have now spoken to you, my hearers, as I intended, of the
origin of our church and society, and the course of divine
providence with us, in relation to character and improve-
ments, through the period of a hundred years. You have
seen and heard this day, something of the old paths. It re-
 mains for us to adopt the good way, and walk therein, that
we may find rest for our souls. The old paths, since the
time of Mr. Hobart, have in some respects been forsaken.
In his time, a greater number in proportion to the members
of society walked in the church, in covenant with God, Je-
sus Christ, and each other, than has been the practice of late
times. Under no pastor, since the first, has the increase of
the church been proportionate to the increase of the society.
Whatever be the discharge of moral duties, there can, among
Christians, be no well founded plea for neglect of the author-
ity of Jesus, by which a public profession of faith in him is
required, and commemoration of his benevolent sacrifice for
the welfare of men. It is, therefore, the duty and interest of
the society, to amend their conduct in this particular, that
their precious privileges may not be without avail to them;

* Since this discourse was delivered, the house has received a stove, suitable
sufficiently to warm it.
but walking as true disciples, they may hereafter find their names written in the Lamb’s book of life.

Rest, is that for which the world is toiling and panting. The old paths in this church and society, it is believed, conducted your fathers to it. Their views and practices, in regard to Christian worship and ordinances, with your increase of light and improvements, in the means and style of living, would conduct you thither, in their paths, made far smoother and more pleasant, than when trodden by them. The Christian society, formed here one century ago, should be considered by all the inhabitants of the town, and especially by the descendants of the first settlers, as the parent, under God, of what they are, possess, and enjoy. With lively filial sensibility, to its temporal and spiritual interests and respectability, they should seek to do it good, and pray for those who wish it well. Consider the sensibility of your Saviour, toward his brethren according to the flesh. In view of the calamities coming on them and their capital, where was the temple of their father’s God, in consequence of their depravity, he beheld the city and wept over it. “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often,” said he, “would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.” Matt. xxiii. 57. Similar feelings were expressed by the Psalmist toward the place and temple where his fathers and kindred dwelt and worshipped. “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning, if I prefer not. Jerusalem above my chief joy.” It was a Roman sentiment, dictated by noble feeling, that a good man would possess such patriotism, as would lead him to consider it a duty and honour, even to die for his country. But the distinct community which gave him birth, where his brethren and kindred dwelt, and which has fostered him and them, and his hopes of immortal joys, has, it would seem, prior, if not stronger claims on his love, prayers, and sacrifices for its prosperity. And any one who could indulge in himself, or countenance in others, a conduct tending to divide and degrade the little commonwealth—any one who could with indifference forsake the house and table of the Lord, built by his fathers, and consecrated by their prayers and communions, as a resting place for themselves and descendents, on their way to heaven, might be supposed destitute of all filial piety and gratitude, and ready to violate without remorse the first command with promise.

The changes, ravages, and improvements of a century, are great and affecting. The bounds of the place we inhabit, were fixed a hundred years ago, but where are the hands that fixed them, and the feet that then trod our streets and soil. They, with their bodies have long since crumbled to
dust, and their spirits, we trust, are in the presence and keeping of their God in glory. The greater part of four generations, who have toiled here, and mingled their prayers for themselves and us, have passed off to their account in the world of retribution. Those of the society who were old, when I first knew it, excepting two, have finished their work, and gone to their rest. Another class, who, twenty-four years ago, were in the midst of life, the acting guardians of the community, have departed, or become old, bending toward the tomb, with its blossoms on their heads; and their children's children begin to appear, and become active on the busy stage of life. Your pastor, at that period, comparatively young, has seen more than half a century, and been longer in the ministry than any of his predecessors, except one, having survived, it is believed, the average ministerial life. Admonished, therefore, by the lapse of years, and other circumstances, to be ready to give an account of his stewardship, he solicits the help of your prayers and profiting, that he may finish his work with joy. Of those who built this house,* in which most of you, by their faith in the promises, have been dedicated to the Lord, not one is able this day to tread its sacred courts, and but one survives. And before the years of another century shall have rolled away, we and our children, with many of our children's children, shall have joined the great congregation of the dead; and posterity yet unborn shall stand in our places. As generations arise and pass off, may God dispose and enable the risen, to prepare the rising, for useful and honourable services in society, and for unfading joys in his kingdom, of whose mild and righteous government there shall be no end.

The changes and improvements effected the past century, around you, in this land of promise, are suited to excite gratitude and admiration. See this Commonwealth and New England, a hundred years ago, poor and dependent colonies, with a few scattered plantations in a vast wilderness, feeling and dreading the tomahawk of the savage! now elevated to sovereign states, overspread with splendid towns and villages, adorned with temples dedicated to religion and science, and forming the best part of a mighty, independent nation; its soil subdued as a fruitful field, exchanging productions with all nations of the earth; and its inhabitants, with the light of religion and learning beaming upon them, are permitted to sit under their own vines and fig trees, having none to molest, or make them afraid.

Let the mind, for a moment, survey the world. What changes, of a physical and political nature, and what an increase of intellectual and moral light, does the last century

* It is 74 years old.
present? The millions of human beings, peopling the whole earth, have been swept away, and their places filled with new generations, once, and again. He who balances all worlds by his power, giving to them motion and laws, by terribly shaking the nations, and overturning principalities and dominions, depressing the mighty, and strengthening the powerless, has brought forward on the stage of the world, actors, with dispositions and powers to break the sceptres of tyranny, in church and state; and to temper human governments with a salutary portion of freedom and benevolence. Many features on the face of human society, which, but a few years since, were deformed and frowning, have been made to give place to others of beautiful and benignant expression.

The philosophy of the human mind, but just perceived a century ago, has been developed, and its sublime powers clearly arranged and illustrated. Much of the rubbish of human invention, collected by ignorance or guile about the holy scriptures, obscuring their truth, has been cleared away, and their evidence made convincing, so that their light more clearly marks the path to virtue and heaven; and, that this divine light might be extended, with the extent of the earth, divine providence has so combined and disposed the piety, wisdom, and wealth of Christendom, that its cheering rays have been diffused among men of all nations and languages, from the rising to the setting sun. By the discovery and application of the properties and laws of the elements in which all creatures subsist, what new force has been imparted to the powers and faculties of man? Human vision has been extended to immensely distant, and to men, new worlds, moving in the infinity of space; electricity, that powerful minister of life and death, has been directed in its course; and by the application of steam, numerous machines of great power and utility, have been brought into use, and the waters of the world are navigated without wind or canvass. And what art or science can be named, that has not, within the hundred years past, been advanced in utility and perfection? All this has been, and yet it is a wise enquiry, "What is a century? He that should have lived through all, and look on the world in its present state, would almost feel as if the whole had been effected in a moment, by the wand of enchantment:—the time has fled like a dream. What then will time be to those, who know, as we do, that we have probably but a small part of such a period to live! Oh, that we might learn so to number our days, that we should apply our hearts unto wisdom!"

* Century Discourse by Rev. Henry Ware, jun.
Finally. Viewing yourselves, my brethren, but as a continuation and enlargement of the Christian society, formed here a century ago, your first reflection should be, that you owe to the providence of God, all the blessings relating to the present and the future life which have attended it; that its continuance and improvements press on you and your children, this day, irresistible claims for lively gratitude, unfeigned repentance, and most hearty vows of obedience to your father's God and Redeemer. Extending your views forward a century to come, when you and I shall all have long slept with our fathers, consider what this town, with its society may then be. If its secular and religious prosperity shall duly advance, this house of God shall be proportionably increased in size and be filled with Christian worshippers; and all, of mature years, who worship at its altar, shall worship also at the table of the Lord. Succeeding generations having fulfilled the duties of their day of probation, shall pass off, to join their fathers, and the church of the first born, in regions, where time will not be divided into periods by revolving worlds, but where our existence and joys will be commensurate in duration with God their Author. Amen.
GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

COHASSET.

Cohasset, a post town, in the county of Norfolk, is in extent, from north to south, about four and a half miles; and from east to west, about four. It is bounded on the west, by Hingham and Hull: on the north and north east, by Massachusetts Bay: and on the south east and south, by Scituate.

SURFACE AND SOIL.

The part next to the sea, a few rods above high water mark, and in some places bounding the water, is a chain of rocky hills and precipices, forming a rampart against the invading waves, almost from one end of the town to the other. This chain is in some places broken, leaving spaces for a few small streams to run into the sea; and the sea, flowing at flood tide, into their mouths, covers the low lands, forming a number of salt marshes.

The most northerly division, about a mile in width, including the part already described, abounds with rocks and hills. Little of it is suitable for tillage, some parts are covered with wood, oak, walnut, and upland cedar. A considerable part of it, however, furnishes good pasturage.

A second division, about one mile in width, including the common, on which stands the meeting house, furnishes an excellent soil; and except some places, rather too rocky, is well adapted to all the purposes of agriculture. It is a deep, black soil, sparingly intermingled with gravel. The common is a pleasant plain of about ten acres, dressed, in the season of vegetation, with a garment of deep verdure. In the south easterly part, near the meeting house, is a handsome little pond of fresh water, about eight rods in diameter, round as a basin, and never dry. Through this division, runs the principal road, leading from Hingham to Scituate.

On the south west part of this division, is a fine swell of land and moderate hills, extending the whole length of the town. Its soil may be classed with that of the first quality; producing grass, corn, grain, and vegetables in great abundance. Although it has yielded its increase for a hundred years, its strength still remains. The hills are no where so steep, as to prevent the plough running to their summits. On the south side of this swell, is a fresh pond of ninety acres, abounding with pike and other fish, common to fresh water.

A third division for a mile in width, is wood land, yielding walnut, beach, oak, maple, and pine, and is so loaded in many parts, with ponderous rocks, as forever to baffle the hand of culture. A fourth division, in width about a mile, extending to Scituate line, consists partly of soil similar to
that of the second division, and partly of a light soil of easy tillage. Through this division runs the beachwood street, and through a part of it, flows the principal stream in Cohasset, which is respectable enough to be called a river; but in Hutchinson’s history of New England, is called Conohasset rivulet, forming, anciently, the boundary line between Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies.

AGRICULTURE AND PRODUCE.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of this town, from their situation, depend more on navigation, for their support and wealth, than on agriculture. There are a considerable number, however, bred to husbandry; a number of persons also engaged in other business, have large and well cultivated farms, and almost every householder possesses a portion of land, which he cultivates. In the town, there are, deducting for roads and water, 5633 acres; 141 of which are tillage, producing on an average, 2822 bushels of corn, 457 bushels of rye, and 223 bushels of barley. Of upland mowing ground, there are 466 acres, producing 345 tons of English hay; of fresh meadow, there are 301 acres, producing 211 tons of fresh hay; of salt marsh, there are 62 acres, producing 32 tons of salt hay. The pasturage 2562 acres, is peculiarly sweet and nourishing, enabling the farmers to raise and fatten some of the finest cattle and sheep, that are seen in the market.

NAVIGATION AND FISHERIES.

There are 41 vessels of different tonnage, owned in Cohasset. Of these 1067 tons are employed in the mackerel fishery. They take, in a season, 2420 barrels; 200 tons are employed in the cod fishery; taking 2590 quintals of cod fish.* The fishing vessels employ 223 men and boys. Some of the largest vessels, are employed in foreign trade. After the season for taking fish, a number of the fishing vessels are employed in the coasting trade with various parts of the United States, and some in trade with the West Indies. Cohasset harbour at the east part of the town is formed by a small bay, nearly a mile inland, into which the sea and vessels pass, through a considerable channel. The channel was probably created, and is still kept open, and the harbour made deeper and wider, by the flowing into it, on the south end, of Conohasset river, and into that on the southwest, of another small stream, sometimes called James’ river, from its crossing the street, near the dwelling house of the late Christopher James. The water of the harbour, is not at any time sufficiently deep for vessels of large burthen, when laden; but is very commodious and safe, for those from eighty to a hundred tons.

* The estimate of the fisheries, may not, perhaps, be correct for any one year, but may be considered as an average for a number of years.
To conduct vessels with safety into the harbour, requires the skill of seamen well acquainted with the entrance. About the entrance, extending to the east and west, and some at two miles from the shore, are scattered those deadly enemies to mariners, long and far known by the name of Cohasset rocks. The spaces, now water, between these rocks, were probably, at some very ancient period, filled with earth, softer than that on the present shores, rendering the promontory commensurate with the outermost rock. The attrition of the waters, pouring into, and from the Bay, may have removed the softer earth, till they came to those solid ramparts with which nature has lined the present shores. These, nothing short of Almighty power can remove. They have always said, and will forever prevailingly say to the invading ocean, hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.

A good knowledge of the Cohasset rocks, and the Graves off the shores of Nahant, is requisite to navigate with safety the waters of the Bay. If in the night, or bad weather, the commander or pilot be ignorant of his situation, or sleep at his post, like Palinurus of old, he will be in the utmost danger of shipwreck and death, from a Scylla on the one hand, and Charybdis on the other. The rocks have been so well surveyed and marked, that their situation is sufficiently known. There is one circumstance, however, which I fear has not been sufficiently observed, by mariners, sailing from the southern cape. The flood tide ordinarily sets in toward the rocks, with considerably greater force than that with which it ever sets out. Consequently, if there be not, in running, a correspondent allowance made for leeway, the ship will be in danger of falling on the entering rock, or some rocks above it.

The people of this town have had frequent calls for their compassionate exertions, in behalf of suffering seamen. That they have been prompt to answer these calls, is manifest from the number of medals and other rewards of merit, which they have received, not only from the society whose name* designates its heavenly purposes, but from gratitude expressed in distant countries. Among the many instances of distress by shipwreck, in which the kindest assistance and relief have been given, one only will be here noticed, the circumstances of which do equal credit perhaps to those who gave, and to those who received relief. On February 12, 1793, the ship Gertrude-Maria, of 400 tons, bound from Copenhagen to Boston, with a cargo, estimated at $40,000, and commanded by Hans Peter Clien, was wrecked on a

* Humane.
small island, among Cohasset rocks, called Brush Island.
Having entered the Bay, the commander knew not the
danger of his situation. Clouds obscured the light of the
sun by day, of the moon and stars by night, and no small
tempest with frost and snow lay upon them. In the awful
war of elements, the ship was at the mercy of the fierce
winds and mountainous billows.* These threw her first
upon a small ledge, where she suffered but partial injury;
then on the Island, just named, whose sides are covered
with pointed ledges. On these, the angry surges raised
and depressed her with violence, till they broke her asun­
der. Death now staring every man in the face, trial
was made by two men with a boat. to reach the shore.
The boat was dashed to pieces. One was drowned, the
other left to recover the wreck. At length, by extending a
spar from the stern of the wreck, the survivors all got upon
the Island, where the waves could not reach them. Here
they tarried, in the tempest, chilled with wet and frost, with­
out fire or house to shelter them, till discovered early the
next morning by the inhabitants of the town. Means for
granting relief, were immediately adopted. A boat was
quickly brought to the beach, a mile over land. She was
manned without delay, and plunged into the agitated surf, at
the imminent hazard of the lives of the adventurers. She
reached the Island, and brought off three of the sufferers.
Another attempt was immediately made, but the storm and
the tumult of the sea, increasing, it was frustrated by the
destruction of the boat against the rocks. Two other boats
were soon brought from a distance, and the dauntless exer­
tions of the boatmen were renewed, till the sufferers, twenty
one in number, were all safely landed on the shore. Thence
they were conveyed to the houses of Elisha Doane, esq. and
other gentlemen, where they were carefully warmed, cloth­
ed, and fed, as their frozen and perishing condition requir­
ed. At these houses they remained, imbibing the wine and
the oil, ministered by the hand of compassion, till their
wounds were healed, and health restored. In the mean time,
due attention was paid to their property, now the sport of
the waters. An account of articles of the smallest, as well
as of greater value, was given to the master of the ship: inso­
much, that when all was collected, that could be saved, and
sold at auction, its amount was 12,000 dollars. When the
Capt. and his men, (all it is said of the royal navy of his
country,) were provided with another vessel, and ready to
leave the town, their hearts were swollen with grateful emo­
tions toward those, who, under God, had delivered and
cherished them in their perils and distress. The Captain, a

* Continuo venti volvent marc magnaque surgunt,
Æquora : dispersi jactamur gurgite vasto.
man of much respectability, unable to utter his feelings, told his benefactors they should hear from him again. He sailed from Boston, and touching at St. Croix, published there an affecting account of the compassion and hospitality he had experienced from the people of Cohasset. When arrived in Denmark, he gave to the king, such a representation of the people here, as induced his majesty to order the College of Commerce to send in his majesty's name, four large medals of gold, and ten of silver, with the likeness of himself impressed on one side, and with Danish words on the other, importing, Reward of Merit—Noble Deeds.

With the medals of gold came directions—One for Rev. Josiah C. Shaw—One for Elisha Doane, esq.—One for Capt. John Lewis—and one for Capt. Levi Tower. The silver medals were designed for other citizens, who had been most active in giving relief to the sufferers. Honourable notice was likewise taken by the Humane Society, of the commendable humanity, here manifested to strangers in distress, and a pecuniary donation was granted to the deserving agents. The Governor of the Island of St. Croix manifested also, the high sense he entertained of the benevolence of the people here, by his extraordinary kindness, on that account, to a gentleman from Boston. Mr. Daniel Hubbard, a respectable merchant of that town, was taken dangerously sick, on his passage home, from abroad, and put into the harbour of St. Croix, with a view to obtain medical aid and other assistance, which his perilous condition required. At first he was refused admission, prohibited by the laws of the place, lest he should communicate his sickness. But as soon as it was made known to the governor, that he was from Boston, he was removed on shore, and the best medical aid, and every assistance and courtesy granted him, till he was recovered; for which, all compensation was refused—the governor alleging, that he was warranted in his conduct, by the humanity and great kindness Capt. Clien and his crew had experienced, when shipwrecked at Cohasset, near Boston.

The Village stands partly on the common, and partly below it. The street through it runs in a south easterly direction to the end of the common, and then bends to the eastward, till it comes to the harbour. There are 44 houses in the village. Of these, 26 have two stories; one has three. Near the centre is the Meeting-house. A few rods from it is a two story building, erected for an academy. It has a large front porch, two large school rooms on the first floor, with a spacious hall over them, extending the whole length of the building.
CLIMATE AND DISEASES.

Cohasset is in lat. 42° 13' N. about 17 miles south by east from Boston. Its situation is healthful. It has a salubrious atmosphere, excepting at times in March and April, when the north east winds, coming direct from the sea, are very chilling, and trying to lungs, unaccustomed to them. Consumption is the most prevalent disease. No epidemic, proving very mortal, has for many years been experienced.—For deaths, see second division.

MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

A quantity of woollen and cotton cloths are manufactured in almost every family; and with utensils, needful in their several callings, the inhabitants are mostly furnished by their own mechanics. Vessels of good construction are built at the harbour. There are in the town two grist mills, and one saw-mill. At the mouth of the river is a flour manufactory, on a large scale, with complicated machinery, having four pair of imported stones; one pair, however, are used as a grist mill. There are in the town a number of extensive salt works, at which about 5500 bushels of salt are annually made. The trade of Cohasset is considerable. Beside the trading vessels already mentioned, there are five retail stores invested with considerable capitals.

CURIOSITIES.

Near the base of a large mass of solid rock, on Cooper's Island, so called, is a curious excavation, which has the name of the Indian Pot. Its cavity is as round, smooth, and regular as a well formed seething Pot; and will hold about 12 pails full. On the same mass of rock, is another excavation, called the Indian Well. The inside of the well, from the bottom about four feet upward, is a circle, the rest of it, about six feet more, is semi-circular, opening to the east. The pot and well were nearly in their present state, when the Town was first settled. The former, it is conjectured, was made by the Indians for the two fold purpose of pounding their parched corn, and boiling their food. Heat was probably, communicated to water in it, by heated stones, after the manner of the Islanders in the Pacific Ocean. The latter, might serve as a reservoir of fresh water, received from the clouds; as there is no stream very near. In the ground near the well have been found axes and other tools, made and used by the natives, which prove the place to have been once the residence of many of that people.

EDUCATION.

In 1797 a number of gentlemen united and erected a handsome building for an Academy. It had a preceptor and was sufficiently supplied with scholars for a number of years;
but having no permanent funds, it is not now in a flourishing state. There are in the town, four district schools, taught in the winter by male instructors, and in the summer, by well educated females. Beside these, there are, generally, private schools, in one or more of which are taught English grammar, composition, geography, and the languages. In the village is a social library, of about 200 volumes of valuable books.

Houses and Population.

Cohasset contains 160 dwelling houses. Those in the village, generally, and many in other parts of the town have two stories. A considerable number are built after the best modern style, and are handsomely painted. Whittington's Hotel, now owned by Mr. John J. Lathrop, jun. is a large roomy house, situated at Sandy Cove. Its situation commands some of the finest water prospects, and much of very pleasant rural scenery. It has been, in the hot seasons, a favourite resort for gentlemen and ladies from the metropolis. In the town are 1100 inhabitants.

Roads and Bridges.

The town was originally laid out, as near as might be, in squares, whose sides should be one mile. It was divided into four parts, called divisions, by lines running nearly east and west, the whole length of the town, each division being a mile in width. These divisions were separated into parts or squares, by lines one mile from each other, running at right angles with the lines of divisions. It was intended by the proprietors of Cohasset, that roads, if possible, should run with the lines which marked the divisions and squares, and spaces of land for that purpose were accordingly left. But when the roads were really made, it was found necessary to vary much from the original design, owing to the immoveable rocks and other obstructions, falling in the way. The roads in every part of the town, have, within a few years, been generally much improved. When the valuable new road, mostly made the last year, through the swamp and plain, shall be completed, the road will be good and pretty straight from Hingham to Cohasset harbour. To facilitate the communication with Scituate and the country below, two valuable bridges, were the last season, thrown over Cohasset river, one of stone at Lincoln's mill, and one of timber well constructed, near the flour factory.
TWO

DISCOURSES

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LD NORTH AND NEW BRICK CHURCHES.

UNITED AS THE

SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON,

DELIVERED MAY 20, 1821.

AT THE

COMPLETION OF A CENTURY

FROM THE

EDICATION OF THE PRESENT MEETING-HOUSE IN MIDDLE STREET.

BY HENRY WARE,

MINISTER OF THE SECOND CHURCH AND SOCIETY.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY JAMES W. BURDITT, NO. 94, COURT STREET.

Sewell Phelps, Printer.

1821.
HAGGAI II. 3.

Who is left among you that saw this House in her first glory?

The house, my brethren, in which we assemble to worship, has been occupied a hundred years. It was dedicated to that holy service to which it has always been sacred, on the tenth day of May, 1721;—a century from which date, allowing for the difference of style, is this very day completed. An epoch so interesting, so fitted to recall the remembrance of past years, and to excite to salutary contemplation on the vicissitudes of a transitory world, and the dispensations of an unchanging God; I am not willing to pass without explicit and large notice. It has been customary in our churches, on such an occasion, to review the way through which God has led them, and recount the history of his providence to their fathers. It is a good custom. And I doubt not, brethren, that you will be interested to go back with me, and trace the story of this church, and the character and doings of its ministers and people. To this object I purpose to devote the discourses of this day; and though none are left that saw the first glory of this house, we may thus all learn what it was, may find that it has at no period been withdrawn, and is not, even now, wholly departed.
We are not confined, however, in this survey, to the history of the last hundred years, but are led back through the seventy years previous. It is well known to many of you, though probably not to all, that the church in this place is formed by the union of two churches. When the Old North meeting-house, which stood at the head of North Square, had been destroyed by the British troops at the commencement of the revolutionary war, the minister and people united with the minister and people worshipping in this house, and became one church and congregation with them. The late venerable Dr. Lathrop, who so long ministered here, was ordained not over the church in this place, but over the church in North Square, and became pastor of the church in this place by the transfer of his relation after his own meeting-house had been destroyed. We are therefore equally interested in the history of the Old North, as of the New Brick* church, for it was equally the home of our ancestors. It is a history, too, that deserves our attention; for it was the second religious establishment in this important place, and numbers amongst its ministers some of the remarkable names of New England. To this, therefore, I ask your first attention.

The town of Boston having been settled in 1630, ten years after the landing at Plymouth, the first building for publick worship was erected in 1632. This was sufficient for the accommodation of the inhabitants for nearly twenty years. The population had then so increased as to render another building necessary; and accordingly the people in the north part of the town, which was most populous, built the second meeting-house, at the head of North Square, in

* The present building retains its original name of the New Brick. The church is known by the style of the Second Church, as it was a minister of the Second Church under whom the union was made. The name of the Old North is dropt.
The church was gathered there on the fifth day of June the next year, and consisted at first of seven members. (1.) A sermon was preached on the occasion by Samuel Mather,—a native of England, but educated at Harvard College,—who was earnestly solicited to remain as pastor of the church; but for reasons of which we know nothing he went to England, and was for twenty-one years minister in various places, an eminent and respected man. (2.) Afterward Mr. Norton, minister of Ipswich, who two years after became minister of the first church in this town; and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, who seventeen years after also became minister of the first church—both of them among the distinguished men of that period; and "sundry others who were officers in other churches, but likely to remove from the places where they were;"† were invited, unsuccessfully, to take charge of this infant church. For a few years, therefore, one of the brethren, Michael Powell, conducted the worship of God's house, and to such satisfaction that he would have been ordained Teacher, had it not been for the interference of the General Court, who "would not suffer one, that was illiterate as to academical education, to be called to the teaching office in such a place as Boston;"‡—a circumstance which is well worth noticing, as it exemplifies the jealous care with which our fathers guarded the dignity and character of the public institutions of religion. After four years passed in this state, Mr. John Mayo, who on account of some "difficulties and discouragements" had left his church at Nosset in Plymouth colony, was called to the pastoral office here, and ordained the 9th of November, 1655. At the same time, Mr. Powell was ordained as Ruling

* I do not find any account of the Dedication, and cannot tell whether the meeting-house was first occupied in 1649 or 1650.

(1.) The figures refer to the notes at the end of the sermons.

† Church Records.
Elder of the church. Mr. Powell was soon after incapacitated for all labour by a paralytick affection, and his office became vacant.* I do not find that it was ever again filled.

About this time,† Increase Mather, brother of him before mentioned, returned to this country, and was soon invited to the office of teacher in the Second Church. After two years’ hesitation he accepted on certain conditions, and was ordained the 27th day of May, 1664.

The pastor and teacher‡ continued labouring together until the year 1670; when Mr. Mayo’s increasing infirmities made it necessary for his ministry to cease. Three years afterward he removed to Barnstable, and there spent the remainder of his days with his daughter. He died at Yarmouth in May, 1676, advanced in years, but at what precise age is not known. We have no means of acquainting ourselves with his history or character beyond what is here stated. (3.)

After the removal of Mr. Mayo, Dr. Mather held his office alone, until his son, Cotton Mather, was ordained as a colleague, May 13, 1684. During these years the church appears to have been prosperous, growing with the growth of the town. A great misfortune however befell them in the burning of the meeting-house in 1676. (4.) It was rebuilt the next year, and then stood for a century. The prosperity of the church after this event may be inferred from the circumstance, that within six years it became necessary to

* He died January 28, 1672—3. † September, 1661.

‡ In the early records of the church these titles are applied alternately to the ministers as they were settled, evidently without any difference in the nature, tenure, or duties of the office. Cotton Mather says, (Rat. Disc. p. 42.) that when the churches had more than one pastor, “one of them formerly was distinguished by the name of teacher; though in regard of their work and their power among these churches, it has been so much distinctio sine differentia, that more lately the distinction is less regarded.”
build a gallery for the better accommodation of the hearers. (5.)

Indeed the character and reputation of Increase Mather were such, that we should expect to find a crowded attendance on his ministrations. He was one of the eminent men of his times, and few possessed and wielded a wider influence. And although there were those, as there always will be around an elevated man, especially if he take a leading part in political transactions, who were inimical to his authority; yet in church and state, in religious and in civil affairs, he was looked up to as a leader, equally active, distinguished and trusted. This was partly owing to the peculiar state of society amongst the early puritan settlers, who in their design of forming a "Christian Commonwealth," naturally placed much of the power of government in the hands of the rulers of the church: and the authority, which was in the first years exercised by the holy and able ministers who led the feeble colonists,* and by their energy and prayers sustained them in their dark days of fear and danger; continued to abide to the last with Increase Mather. We must not, however, attribute too much to the character of the age; much, doubtless, was owing to the rare qualities of the man. For three generations (6.) that family was distinguished by extraordinary gifts. There were many men amongst them on whom nature had bestowed the power to be great, and they evidenced that power in the influence with which they swayed their fellow men. Increase Mather had his full share of these qualities. Ardent, bold, enterprising, and perhaps ambitious; conscious of his own power, religiously sensible of his obligations to exercise it

* No instance of this authority is more remarkable than that of Cotton, minister of the first church. "Whatever," says Hubbard, "Mr. Cotton delivered was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."
usefully; born and trained in a young colony struggling with hardships, and forcing its way through peril and fear; his mind fashioned by a father, who for conscience' sake had quitted all and settled in this hopeless land, and who had all the zeal and firmness which characterized the puritans of that age, a race eminently formed "to do and to dare;"—thus gifted and educated, he became peculiarly fit, and no wonder it was felt that he was fit, to have an ascendency and exercise a control. He had received the best education of his own country, he had completed it abroad, he had been driven from place to place, suffering for his religion, and presented with strong temptations to abandon it, thus acting a hurried and various part in the most trying times in the mother country—and after this discipline, so calculated to give firmness and character, he returned to labour in the service of this infant state. (7.) Nothing can be conceived more likely to prepare a man to act well his part in so peculiar a scene. He soon became eminent. Talents, learning, and virtue are always commanding. In that age a religious spirit was indispensable to honour and power. Mather had all. He was conspicuous for rigid piety where all were rigid, and eminent for talents and knowledge, where many had been eminent before him. It therefore is not strange that he acquired a control to which few are equal, and received and held honours which would not now be bestowed upon ministers.

We find proofs of his ascendency in several remarkable transactions. When King Charles II. in 1683, demanded from the colonies an unqualified resignation of their charters, it was principally by the authority and influence of Increase Mather that the people refused to make the surrender. He not only wrote upon the subject, but went to them in publick meeting, and exhorted them not with open eyes to rush upon their ruin, but to do their duty and trust the event
to God.* The example of Boston decided the question throughout the country; and this is one of the early instances in which the lead was taken by this town in those spirited measures of opposition to arbitrary oppression, for which the descendants of the puritans have been always distinguished. The charter, however, was forfeited; and a governor was sent over† with unlimited authority to make and administer what laws he might please. This authority he exercised in a most oppressive manner; which at length so excited the indignation of the people, that it was resolved to send an agent to England to represent their grievances to the king. (8.) No one was found so fitted to this important labour as Dr. Mather, who accordingly sailed for England in April, 1688. During that year the English revolution took place, and it was not until four years after that he accomplished his commission and returned home. Upon his arrival‡ with a new governor and another charter, the General Court appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving, with honourable mention of his exertions in behalf of the state. But the satisfaction which it yielded him was not unmixed. Many were dissatisfied with the result of his negotiations,|| and parties were formed. Some of his old friends forsook him, and he found, like others before him, that the troubles and anxieties of political eminence are very insufficiently compensated by its honours.

* "The clergy," says Hutchinson, "turned the scale for the last time. The balance which they had held from the beginning, they were allowed to retain no longer."

† By James, in 1686.

‡ May 14, 1692.

|| His task was undoubtedly a very difficult one, and he was himself far from being altogether satisfied with the terms he was able to obtain. This he acknowledges in the pamphlet which he published on the subject: but complains of the unreasonableness of those, who accused him of having done nothing, because he had not accomplished all that was desirable.
But his peculiar distinctions and happiness were in the church. He was eminently fitted for the work of the ministry, and held high rank as a writer and a preacher. His manner is represented to have been grave, dignified, and impressive. He never carried his notes into the pulpit, generally committing his sermons to memory, and oftentimes preaching extempore,—especially during the years in which he was president of the college, when he had little leisure for writing: for so devoted to him were his flock, that they would consent to his holding that office only on the condition that he continued their minister; and when it was made necessary for the president to reside in Cambridge, he resigned the office for his people's sake. (9.) His sermons are written in a manly and forcible style, less marked than might be expected by the peculiar faults of the age, and contain passages of the most powerful eloquence. His favourite topicks appear to have been those of practical religion, which he inculcated in all the severe strictness and occasional superstition of that age, and with great energy and warmth. Few sermons present a stronger image of the entire sincerity of the writer, and the anxious workings of his own feelings. They are remarkable for their copious historical illustrations,* which appear to have presented themselves spontaneously to his mind; and not less so for their frequent lamentations over the degeneracy and departing glory of New England. He bewailed in most pathetick strains the rapid decline, which he witnessed, from the strictness of the first settlers, and was often sounding the alarm of an exemplary vengeance to overtake that evil and perverse generation. "The interest of New England," he says, "is changed from a religious to a worldly interest." "Such sins as formerly were not known in New England, have now be-

* This is true as a general remark, though particularly so of his occasional sermons.
come common, such as swearing, sinful gaming, &c.; yea, the present generation, as to the body of it, is an unconverted generation." He elsewhere adds to this catalogue of sins, drunkenness, tavern hunting, even on Saturday evening, and neglect of the sabbath, the ordinances, and family worship. He cries out also against the lax discipline of the church, and the common substitution of a merely historical belief, for the rigid saving faith, which was once regarded as essential. (10.) These complaints sound strangely in our ears, who have been taught to believe that the manners of that age were universally pure, and to regard them with veneration as presenting a model for imitation. But such complaints are made in every age. There are always those that imagine the world is going backward, because it is not guided by their own rule, and does not resemble the picture their fancy has drawn of times that are past. And we should be comforted amidst the lamentations of present degeneracy, that they were equally loud a hundred and thirty years ago, and on account too of the same sins, which are said to be our peculiar curse. No doubt changes were perpetually occurring; and those who had known the country when it consisted, as we may say, of but one little family, would readily imagine every departure from the simplicity and strictness of family discipline and order to be evil; and yet it might be not only unavoidable, but upon the whole advantageous. The anxiety of Mather upon this head is a most honourable proof of his devotion to the welfare of religion and of his country; it was the spirit of genuine piety and patriotism. But it evinced also how much he was governed by the impressions of education, and the circumstances of the times in which he lived.

And these had made such impression on his mind, that he looked as fearfully on the growing charity, as on the growing vices of the age. He does not appear to have been bigoted or uncandid in his own private feelings. While in
London, he tells us, “he did his utmost to promote a union between the Presbyterian and Congregational churches;” and in a neighbouring town he assisted to ordain a minister of the Baptist denomination, and spoke with satisfaction of the part he had taken in it. And yet he could declaim loudly against toleration, and pronounce it to be fraught with the deadliest evils. “Toleration,” he says, “of all religions and persuasions is the way to have no religion at all left.” “I do believe that Antichrist hath not in this day a more probable way to advance the kingdom of darkness.”* (11.)

This alarm in regard to the state and prospects of the country was mingled with that superstition of the age, which likened the Commonwealth to the commonwealth of Israel, and which accordingly expected perpetual interpositions of providence in favour or judgment. Every calamity—storm, fire, and sickness—he represented as special visitations of God for the sins of the people, and endeavoured with all the energy of his eloquence to rouse them to a sense of their sins, that they might by repentance avert the wrath.† On the appearance of the comets in 1680 and 1682, which he verily believed to be the forerunners of calamity, and published a considerable treatise in support of the opinion (12.)—he came forward with loud exhortations to repentance and reformation, denouncing the irritated anger of heaven, and confidently predicting a heavy day of vengeance and darkness.

It is not at all strange, when we consider the character of the times in which he lived, that his ardent and devout mind, which had been trained to “see God in every thing and every thing in God,” should be thus affected with superstitious notions of the government of the world and the appearances of the heavens. The strongest and best minds

* Election Sermon.
† His sermons on such occasions were principally preached at the Thursday Lecture, and appear to have made an impression, as I find some of them passed through two editions, and some through a third.
are as liable as others to submit to the prevalent opinions of the age, and their doing so is no proof of deficiency in talents or in judgment. The character of this eminent man stands upon other grounds; and while it can be sustained upon them, it is but a small thing that in some points it partakes of the infirmities of the world in which he moved.

Such was the man by the light of whose instruction and example our church was blessed for more than sixty-two years, and who for sixty-six years was a preacher of the gospel. He died August 23, 1723, in the eighty-fifth year of his age;—undoubtedly one of the most distinguished men of the day; "one who was indeed a great man while yet but a young man, and a notable preacher of Christ in some of the greatest churches of England and Ireland, before he had been twenty years in the world. A great man, and one adorned with great endowments of knowledge and learning and prudence, which qualified him for stations and actions and even an agency for his country, wherein the most eminent persons in the nation, and three crowned heads took a kind notice of him." Indeed, whether you consider the extraordinary honours that attended him while living, or the general sentiment which has followed his memory, or consult the writings which he has left behind him; you will pronounce him a man richly endowed by nature, richly furnished by education, and deservedly numbered with the most pious, learned, and useful men of New England. The day of his death was a day of general mourning. An honourable funeral was given him, such as few citizens had been known to receive before, and every testimony of affection and veneration accompanied him to the tomb. The feelings of that day have passed away; the eyes that knew him and wept for him have long been sealed in death; and other generations have risen and gone by and been forgotten. But the name of Increase Mather still lives; and when hundreds of generations shall have sunk to irrecoverable oblivion, he
shall still be hailed, as one of the early worthies of New England.

The most important event relating to these churches, which occurred in the latter part of his ministry, was the division of his church, and the establishment of two new congregations. With the increase of the town, the Old North had become excessively crowded, and inconvenient for the worshippers. A secession accordingly took place, and the New North was built in 1714. In 1721 a difficulty arose among that people about the settlement of a minister, which issued in a separation and the building of the New Brick. In this difficulty the pastors of the Old North took an almost paternal interest, and the ordination of the first minister of the New Brick was the last which Increase Mather attended. Of these events I shall speak further in another place.

Cotton Mather, who had been colleague with his father for thirty-nine years, survived him but four years and a half. He died, after an illness of five weeks, February 13, 1728, the day after he had completed his sixty-fifth year, having been minister forty-four years. He was a man of equal fame with his father; and although I have already detained you so long, it is impossible to proceed without dwelling at some length on the character of the son.

His original powers of mind were doubtless equal to those of his father, and his industry and learning far superior; but he was deficient in judgment and good taste, and therefore, with all his attainments, became rather an extraordinary than a great man. His character was a very mixed one. You would regard him with wonder and admiration, but hardly with a feeling of entire confidence. His religious sense was as strong as his father's, but it was mingled with more superstition, and was perpetually bordering on fanaticism, and running into the unprofitable observances of the ascetics. The desire of being useful was clearly one of his powerful ruling principles, and few men have formed so ex-
tensive systematick designs of active usefulness; yet he in­
jured this by talking too much about it, and by a little too
much parade in it. It is not easy to arrive at satisfactory
views of his character. There was a mixture in it of so many
qualities apparently inconsistent, some exciting your vene­
ration and some your pity, that it is difficult to arrange them
in one view so as to form a connected whole. While you
look with astonishment at his labours, and acknowledge his
praiseworthy zeal, you are mortified and vexed to find the
most excellent designs frustrated, and the most indefatigable
exertions wasted, through the mere want of a discriminating
judgment. It makes you melancholy to observe, that after
a life of almost incredible industry, after publishing three
hundred and eighty-two books, large and small, and leaving
others of vast labour behind him;* after years spent in un­
wearying efforts to do good, to extend knowledge, and pro­
mote religion, which, if well judged, might have placed him
in the foremost rank of great men;—his name and works are
viewed by posterity rather as phenomena to be talked about,
than as substantial blessings.

His principal work, the Magnalia, has been much sought
after as a curiosity; and that it has been so regarded is
proof sufficient that its merit is quite equivocal. As a store­
house of documents and facts relating to the early history of
the country, it may be consulted with advantage;† but it is

* The principal of these is his favourite work, about which he was oc­
cupied for many years, Biblia Americana; a learned illustration of the
scriptures of the Old and New Testament. It was proposed after his
death to publish it in three volumes folio, but the design was dropped for
want of sufficient encouragement. It is now in the library of the Histor­
ical Society.

† "He knew more of the history of this country," says Dr. Chauncy,
"from the beginning to this day, than any man in it; and could he have
conveyed his knowledge with proportionable judgment, and the omission
of a vain show of much learning, he would have given the best history of
it."
so strangely written as to become heavy in the reader's hands, and so mingled with the credulity and puerility of the author's own mind, that even Neal, a cotemporary writer and correspondent, hardly ventured to cite him as an authority. Indeed, he was credulous to a deplorable degree of weakness, giving easy credit to all tales of supernatural appearances, providential interposition, and diabolical agency; relating them as matters of sober history; and by his authority and influence feeding the flame of superstition and persecution in which so many unhappy wretches perished on the accusation of witchcraft in 1692. That he not only fell in with this popular delusion, but rather fostered and excited it,* I am afraid is too plain to be doubted. He set his seal to all that was believed and done, to the shame of himself and his country, by publishing on the subject what aided the fury of the times, and will witness against him to the latest generation.

* I confess I have not been able to see so clearly into this matter as I could desire. The whole history of that delusion it appears to me lies very much in the dark. In regard to the agency of Cotton Mather, I presume it will not be questioned, though it may not be easy to decide precisely what was its nature or extent. Neal makes it evident that he favoured the delusion; and Watts, in a letter to Mather, tells him, Mr. Neal "hopes you will forgive him that he has not fallen into your sentiments exactly." Hist. of N. E. vol. i. Hist. Coll. vol. v. But there is no necessity of going so far for testimony, while we have his "Wonders of the Invisible World,"—the work to which I have alluded above. Mr. Brattle of Cambridge, in a letter published in the Historical Collections, says that Increase Mather "did utterly condemn" the proceedings of this period; and that "the Rev. Elders throughout the country, except three, are very much dissatisfied." Cotton Mather is not named as one of the three, and therefore probably when this letter was written had changed his opinion. For he did finally acknowledge in writing that things had been urged too far. Yet, in the life of his father, written thirty-two years after the delusion was at its height, he expressed his firm belief, that all was to be attributed to supernatural agency. I wish it were clear that he did not do more than any one in urging this belief to its fatal consequences.
As a preacher, he differed much from his father; having less strength, and more rhapsody, less dignity, and more declamation. The quaintness and singularity of his style was not well suited to the gravity of the pulpit, and appears to have been a subject of complaint even during his lifetime.* And yet there was so much warmth and zeal, so much earnestness and sincerity, so evident and pious longing to do good, "his spirits were so raised and all on fire," to use the expression of one who knew him well,† that his faults seem to have disappeared in his excellencies, and his preaching was impressive and effective. He seems to have been fond of dwelling on doctrinal subjects. "He was a vigorous defender," says his colleague, "of the reformed doctrines of grace, and of the mysteries of revealed religion, which he ever regarded as the excelling glory of the Christian dispensation." In other words, he was a zealous Calvinist, and it is certain that he was quite thorough in its creed. He did not forbear to state its tenets in their most contradictory and revolting form;—as if he gloried in being able to set them before him in full array, and thought to magnify the merit of that faith, which could receive them notwithstanding their intrinsick difficulties.‡

He was as zealous in his adherence to the Congregational mode of church discipline, as to the articles of his creed. This was a matter of great interest at the early periods of

* Neal complains, in a letter to Dr. Colman, of "the puns and jingles that attend all his writings;" and Mr. Prince, in his funeral sermon, says that "in his style he was somewhat singular, and not so agreeable to the gust of the age."

† Funeral sermon by Mr. Prince.

‡ This remark will be found principally exemplified in a sermon on Election and Reprobation, and his "Address" on Quakerism, entitled Little Flocks guarded against grievous Wolves. Also, in the complaints which he makes in the Magnalia of Baxter's departing in some respects from the strictness of the Calvinistic faith.
our history, when all remembered it freshly as the cause in which their fathers were driven from their homes, and were exceeding jealous of any attempt to innovate in matters of discipline, or to introduce, under any pretence, the burdens of the Episcopal church. "No church upon earth," he says, "so notably makes the terms of communion run parallel with the terms of salvation."* It was through this watchful and suspicious fear of innovation, that the church was induced, in 1697, to send a letter of admonition to the church in Charlestown "for betraying the liberties of the churches by putting into the hands of the whole inhabitants the choice of a minister." (13.)

The sentiments which he expressed concerning toleration were much more just and rational than those which I have quoted from his father, and mark the growing liberalism of the age. "Persecution," he says, "for conscientious dissents in religion is the abomination of desolation; a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, Cursed be its anger, for it is fierce, and its wrath, for it is cruel."† He says elsewhere, that he "abhors it; has preached against it, and writ against it; he would have the Quakers treated with all imaginable civility, and not have the civil magistrate inflict the damage of a farthing for their consciences." With an inconsistency, however, perhaps not very rare, he refrained from all "civility" in his own treatment of them, and took every occasion to abuse them and make them odious.‡ He is not, however, the only man, who has imagined nothing short of imprisonment and the stake to be persecution. There are many, who with the utmost virulence have gone on destroying reputation and influence, while they were sedately talking

* Letter to Lord Barrington.
† Right Hand of Fellowship at the ordination of Mr. Prince, 1718.
‡ See divers passages in the Magnalia, and his Address, or Quakerism Displayed, which abounds with something like scurrility.
of toleration and the rights of conscience;—as if they thought, with some theorists on government, that life, liberty and property are the only good of man, and that influence and a good name, which make life liberty and property worth having, may be wantonly taken away without injustice.

In the contrast which I have mentioned, between what is to be admired and what is to be deplored, it would not be strange if we erred in our estimate of his character. His foibles thrust themselves upon our notice, and will not be hidden—while to learn what should redeem them, we must be acquainted with all the history and habits of the man. That there was something in these to redeem them, is clear from the great influence he sustained both in church and state, notwithstanding his palpable imperfections. He was more than once instrumental of great good to the state by this influence in times of excitement and confusion; and in the church he was certainly an object of great respect, and in spite of his assuming, to say the least, all the consequence that belonged to him, yet he was able to retain that consequence. Still it is clear, on the other hand, that it was then felt that something was wanting to complete the man; for in two vacancies* in the presidency of the college, when his unquestioned learning and talents and age gave him a clear claim to the office, and the people, who regarded him as a prodigy, called aloud for his election, yet the place was denied him, and given to men his inferiours in every respect, except judgment. This failing was palpable, and universally admitted, and this prevented him from being one of the greatest of men.

From his very childhood he had been distinguished by his attachment to religion and to books. He was graduated

* In 1706, when President Leverett was chosen, and in 1726, when Dr. Colman, Dr. Sewall, and Mr. Wadsworth were successively elected.
at the age of sixteen, the next year joined his father's church, and began to preach when eighteen, having by great pains cured himself of a stammering in his speech, which once threatened to forbid him the profession. His ministerial gifts were at once appreciated, and having been for some time assistant to his father, he was ordained as his colleague May 13, 1684. (14.) In this situation, the arduous duties of which he was far from slighting or neglecting, he was able to read and write more than any man probably ever did in America. "There were scarcely any books written," says Dr. Chauncy, "but he had some how or other got a sight of them. He was the greatest redeemer of time I ever knew." This was the opinion expressed by all who knew him, and it gained for him many honours, and an extensive correspondence among distinguished men abroad.

In the duties of the ministerial office he appears to have been eminently faithful and successful. He was much in the habit of private admonition and instruction, endeavouring, in his own peculiar way, to start some advice or reproof from every occurrence, and perpetually inventing new devices for doing good. "To do all the good he could to all," says one who knew him intimately, "was his maxim, his study, his labour, his pleasure."—He was full of private labours to this end, and he favoured and assisted many publick institutions for this object. It was he that, in spite of obloquy, insults and threats, introduced the practice of inoculation for the small pox as a bar to the fatal ravages of that disease; and with the same ardour and disinterestedness, gave his time to other purposes of publick good, civil, as well as moral and religious. A book, which he wrote upon this subject of doing good,† is perhaps his most valuable work. Dr. Franklin attributed to it all his usefulness and eminence in life; and I

* Mr. Prince.

† "Essays to do good." It has been republished within a few years at Boston.
think no one could read it without receiving enlarged notions of his capacity and obligation to do good, and being stimulated to better attempts. With these active works of religion, he united an austerity of private discipline, that would have honoured a monastery. He kept frequent days of fasting, and nights of watching, sometimes for two and even three days together—regularly once a month, and occasionally once a week.

But it is impossible to proceed in particulars. I have gone far enough to shew what I intended, that, notwithstanding his great defects, which strike you at first view, and cannot be concealed, he absolutely was, as he was always acknowledged to be, a most wonderful man. It is barely doing him justice to say, in the language of his colleague,* that "the capacity of his mind, the readiness of his wit, the vastness of his reading, the strength of his memory, the variety and treasures of his learning, in printed works and in manuscripts, which contained a much greater share, the splendour of virtue, which, through the abundant grace of God, shone out in the constant tenour of a most entertaining and profitable conversation; his uncommon activity, his unwearied application, his extensive zeal, and numberless projects of doing good; these things, as they were united in him, proclaimed him to be truly an extraordinary person." When he died it was felt as a publick loss, and he was honoured with a funeral of uncommon splendour. He was mourned, according to Dr. Colman’s expression, "as the first minister in the town—the first in age, in gifts, and in grace—the first in all the provinces of New England for universal literature and extensive services." (15.)

Cotton Mather was alone in the care of the church only four months during his whole ministry, Joshua Gee being ordained colleague with him soon after the death of his father.

* Mr. Gee’s Sermon on his death.
Mr. Gee is represented on all hands as having been a very superiour man—not possessing popular talents, but of great profoundness and learning, excelling in argument, and capable of rising to any height of excellence; but unhappily of an indolent habit, which prevented his making that use of his advantages, which would have secured to him the ascendancy for which he seems to have been formed. His character was particularly marked with zeal and fervour. He was somewhat bigoted to high Calvinism, and somewhat bitter in controversy.—He was an earnest promoter of the religious excitement, which prevailed throughout the country after Whitfield's first visit; and refused to open his eyes to the evils which attended it, even after many of its friends had become convinced of their existence. And when the Convention, in 1745, felt it a duty to bear testimony against certain errors in doctrine and practice, which prevailed to the great confusion of the churches,—he warmly and rather passionately opposed them; and was the occasion of a separate Convention in the following September, which issued a counter testimony. (16.) With all his great qualities, he was, as this transaction proves, rash and over-ardent; so that Dr. Chauncy, who knew him well, said, "it was happy Mr. Gee had an indolent turn; for with such fiery zeal and such talents, he would have made continual confusion in the churches."

His ministry in this church continued for twenty-five years. He had been an invalid for many years, and died, after a lingering illness, May 22, 1748, in the fifty-first year of his age. (17.)

He enjoyed the society of his venerable colleague but four years. When at his death the people looked round for one to succeed him, their choice fell upon his son, Samuel Mather, who was ordained over them June 21, 1732, about four years after his father's death. (18.) He was recommended to them, not only by their respect for the ancient family, but by his own character for diligence, zeal and learning, of
which he certainly possessed an uncommon share. He had already made himself known by several publications, especially by his Life of his father. He continued in the ministry but nine years, when, on account of some dissatisfaction with his preaching, which was thought by some to be not sufficiently explicit upon certain points of doctrine, together with some other grounds of uneasiness, a division took place in the church, and he with one party withdrew and erected a separate place of worship. This was in 1740 and 41, and possibly had some connexion with the religious excitements of that period, about which his colleague, Mr. Gee, was so zealous. He continued to be the minister of a separate congregation until his death, at the advanced age of seventy-nine years.* By his own directions he received a private funeral. Most of those who at that time were worshipping with him, returned to this church; and some are with us still.

After the removal of Mr. Mather, Gee remained sole pastor, until, in his declining health, Samuel Checkley was united with him the year before his death. (19.) He was the son of an eminent minister of the New South church, and is said to have been distinguished for a peculiar sort of eloquence, and an uncommon felicity in the devotional service of publick worship. He published nothing, except one sermon on the death of Mrs. Lydia Hutchinson, and left the records of the church so imperfect, that little can be learned from them of its state and fortunes during his connexion with it. He died, after a ministry of twenty-one years, on the 19th of March, 1768.

He was succeeded in the ministry by the late Dr. Lathrop, (20.) whom you well knew, and whom all that knew honoured. During his ministry the Old North meeting-house was de-

* June 27, 1785.
stroyed, and the church and congregation formed a union with those worshipping in this house.

Having thus brought down the account of the ancient church to the period of the union, I leave it for the present, that I may resume it in the afternoon, when I shall first have followed the history of the New Brick to the same period.
THE NEW BRICK CHURCH.

I this morning spoke to you of the origin, establishment, and history of the Old North church, and of the lives and characters of its ministers, until its union with the New Brick at the close of the revolutionary war. I now go on to a similar account of the New Brick church. It originated in circumstances not very honourable or happy. It had its birth, not from the regular overflow of increasing population, nor was it a separation of brethren in the spirit of Christian love, but it was the offspring of heated passions and violent dissenion. The circumstances, as far as can be positively ascertained, or are important to be known, appear to have been the following.

The New North church was established in 1714. It was regularly and peaceably gathered in the necessary course of a growing population. They had ordained one minister, the Rev. John Webb, and, agreeably to the custom of the times, were desirous of settling another in connexion with him. In consequence of some irregularities in the proceedings of those who were most active in the affair, "they fell," as their records express it, "into unhappy and divided circumstances." The principal ground of division was in regard to inviting a minister already settled. Many desired
to call to this place Mr. Peter Thacher, then over the church in Weymouth, a preacher of great popularity. Others esteemed it contrary to Congregational usage and principles; and in this dispute, fermented probably by private and local circumstances, of which we have little account, their passions became heated, and they approached at last, in a state of exasperation which gave little promise of unanimity, to the choice of a minister. The choice fell upon Mr. Thacher, which was ratified in the congregation by a majority of one, and that, it is said, was obtained by the casting vote of the minister. A great storm of trouble ensued. The ministers of the town, who unanimously agreed in disapproving the measures of the majority, interfered, and advised a reference of their difficulties to a council. This not being done, they gave the church to understand that they wished not to be invited to attend at the ordination.—The ordaining council was composed of only two ministers, one of whom came with the consent of his church, accompanied by delegates; and the other alone, in opposition to the vote of his church. The most violent attempts were made to prevent their proceeding, and it was only by being conducted by a private passage, that the council obtained possession of the meeting-house. Here a scene of the most outrageous and disgraceful tumult occurred. It is difficult to give credit to all the stories of the indecencies which were acted there; it is certain, however, that after one more ineffectual attempt at a mutual council, the ordination proceeded in the midst of a disorder little inferior to the uproar in the theatre at Ephesus. The discontented members separated themselves, to the number of forty, and in the course of the next year erected the building in which we now worship. (1.)

This house was dedicated on the 10th of May, 1721. A day of prayer and fasting was kept on the occasion, and two discourses were delivered, one by Cotton Mather, many of whose congregation were engaged in the new design, and the
other by Mr. Wadsworth, minister of the first church, and afterward president of Harvard College. The house 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 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 to the Lord. But what will it signify," he added, "if the beauty of holiness be wanting." A church was gathered amongst the worshippers, May 22 of the next year, consisting of ten persons, six of whom were from the New North, and three of them had been original members of that church. (2.) One of the deacons chosen at this time, Thomas Lee, lived to be ninety years old, and died in 1769, having survived all the original members of this church and congregation.

On the same day, William Waldron was ordained the first pastor. (3.) His ministry was short, being only of five years' continuance, when he died at the age of thirty. The interests of the church appear to have flourished beneath his care. If we may judge by the representations of those who knew him, he was a man of uncommon promise. In the many sermons which were published on occasion of his death,* he is spoken of, not in the language of common-place eulogy, but in the genuine accents of unaffected lamentation, and sincere respect and love. There appears to have been a mixture of the severity and simplicity of an apostle, with affability and urbanity, which secured to him respect as a minister and warm attachment as a friend. Ministerial courage was an eminent trait of his character, and this was united, as you might expect to find it, with great activity in the service of the gospel. His death appears to have excited

*I have in my possession a volume containing sermons on the occasion by C. Mather, Webb, Foxcroft, (with a dedication by Cooper,) and Wadsworth. Sam. Mather also published a sermon.
a very unusual sympathy, not solely, it would seem, on account of his own distinguished worth, but as "he was the youngest minister by fourteen or fifteen years that had yet died in Boston," and because there had been, for several preceding years, a succession of deaths among the younger ministers almost as remarkable as that, which has desolated our churches for the last twenty years.∗ These circumstances doubtless contributed, together with the rapidity of his disease, to produce the deep and general feeling with which he was lamented.†

After an interval of about six months, William Welsteed, who had been for some time a respected tutor at the college, was invited to fill the place vacated by the death of Mr. Waldron, and was ordained on the 27th day of May, 1728. He preached his own ordination sermon. He continued to hold the office of pastor singly for a little more than ten years, when Mr. Ellis Gray was united with him as a colleague; in which relation they remained together fifteen years. (4.)

During this period of time, I am unable to say particularly what was the state of the congregation. I cannot learn that it was remarkably flourishing or remarkably otherwise,

∗ "We have seen within these few years many other sorrowful instances of early death among those of the ministerial order, and many more among Christians of a private character. I could reckon up above a dozen in the ministry, that have in a few years past been removed by mortality in their youth, or in the meridian of their days, who were all useful in their places and some of them eminently so." Foxcroft's Sermon.

He gives in a note a list of twenty-one who had lately died within the state, of whom "several were under thirty, and the most not above forty." Within what period of time, it is not stated. Mr. Cooper, referring to the same mortality, says, "the removal of valuable and excellent persons is, alas, no uncommon thing in this land of dying." C. Mather, in the preface to his sermon, speaks in a similar strain.

† Foxcroft says, "I find his death as much regretted amongst us as almost any I have known," and Cotton Mather speaks of the "sorrow, yea, a general, a very uncommon sorrow."
but it probably enjoyed about the ordinary share of prosperity. The two pastors were not among the most distinguished in town, though faithful and highly respectable men. During the great religious excitement of this period, they appear to have fallen in with the current. I find, however, from a well written, serious, animated sermon, delivered in 1742, at an ordination, by Mr. Gray, that he was fully aware of the dangers and evils of that period, and did not hesitate to speak of the "discord, division, bitterness, clamour, wrath, evil speaking, groundless surmises and jealousies," which prevailed in the churches. Neither of the ministers, however, were among the leaders on either side, though possibly it was to his opinion on this subject that Welsteed alluded, when he said, in his last illness, "I have in some things thought differently from my brethren, but I thank God I have constantly meant well."

It was at this period, that our evening lecture before the communion was established;* and at the same time the season of the communion was changed from every fourth week, to the first sabbath of every month. After two months, however, the vote was reconsidered, and the old term of rotation restored, which continues unchanged to the present time. It was during this period, the year after the ordination of Mr. Welsteed,† that the custom was dropped of singing by the separate reading of each line. In 1735, after much debate, it was determined to have two Ruling Elders in the church; an office which had become almost obsolete, and which, after this attempt to revive it, sunk forever.‡ In 1751, [July 10.] Watts' Psalms and Hymns were introduced in the worship of the sabbath, and continued in use until superseded by Bel-

* March 15, 1741.
† July 31, 1729.
‡ This matter of the Ruling Elders was debated at numerous church meetings from March 17, 1735, to November 11, 1736;—at which time only one person (Deacon James Halsy) had been found to accept the office, and the church at last voted not to choose another.
knap's Collection in 1817, [Nov. 9,]—a period of sixty-six years.

The circumstances attending the death of these two ministers were remarkable and melancholy. Gray died suddenly on Lord's day, January 7, 1753, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and fifteenth of his ministry. We have little means of knowing intimately his character, but he is represented to us as a man much respected, of early and uniform piety, remarkably given to hospitality, and directing his life, says Samuel Mather,* as if he had perpetually in view Paul's description of his own conversation;—"that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not by fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, he had his conversation in the world." If we might judge of his gifts in preaching by the two sermons which I have seen, we should assign him quite a respectable rank as a writer, and as a man of talents and piety.

His colleague, Welsteed, survived him not quite four months. He died on the 29th of April, having been struck with palsy the preceding Sunday, just after the commencement of the morning service, 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, on the communion sabbath, at the same time of day; each having preached for the last time to his own people, and the last sermon preached by both being on the same subject—"redeeming the time, because the days are evil."*

Welsteed is characterized as a man of eminent sincerity and integrity, "good natured, contented, patient, and always ready to every good office of morality and religion, and conscientiously diligent in his ministerial labours, especially

* Sermon after the death of Welsteed and Gray.
in his preparation for the pulpit.” In preaching, it was remarked of him, that “he was careful not to insist on those points, about which wise and good Protestants have different sentiments;” but confined himself to “those doctrines of religion, which are not disputed amongst sound Protestants, and the impressive duties of repentance, faith, love and universal and constant obedience.” This sufficiently expresses to us the nature of his views of religion, and it is corroborated by the circumstance, that he derived particular support in his last days, “from his upright walk before the Lord, and his consciousness of it.” This fact is mentioned by the preacher on his death with great emphasis, as if to mark the character of his faith.*

After the death of Gray and Welsteed, the pastoral office was vacant eleven months, and was then filled by the installment of Ebenezer Pemberton, previously minister of a Presbyterian church in New York, and a preacher of uncommon popularity, who attracted crowds by his captivating manner. In the earlier part of his life, he had been chaplain at Castle William, and in 1727† had been ordained minister of a Presbyterian church in New York. The ordination took place in the Old South church, and Dr. Colman preached. After a ministry in that city of twenty-two years, he, together with his colleague, Alexander Cumming, were obliged to relinquish their places on account of dissensions in the congregation, although it is said they took no part in the disputes. This was during the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Welsteed, and he was soon invited to succeed him. The installation took place the 6th of March, 1754, and his ministry lasted twenty-three years. (5.)

It was during his ministry that the Old North meeting-house was destroyed; and when the inhabitants returned to their homes, after the evacuation of the town, this meeting-

* S. Mather’s sermon. 
† August 9.
house being sufficiently large to accommodate both congregations, they worshipped together for three years, and then a junction was formed which has proved perpetual. (6.) Dr. Pemberton died before this event at the advanced age of seventy-two.* During the last years of his life, he had lost that extraordinary popularity, which followed him at first, and his manner was thought to be even so disagreeable, that the congregation in consequence became extremely thin. He was esteemed however as a faithful minister, and is stated to have been particularly remarkable for a "fervid kind" of piety. "He vehemently aspired after the spirit of the gospel, and had the consolations of it during a long and trying sickness."† He was a strict Calvinist, the last minister of that faith in this church, in his earlier days exceeding zealous against heretics, though in later life he grew more candid. In these particulars he resembled Whitfield, of whom he was a warm admirer and adherent, and whose eulogy he pronounced at his death. He was not a man of remarkable powers of mind, but well acquainted with books, and had the command of a style not only correct, but elegant and oftentimes beautiful. He published a volume of sermons a few years before his death, on salvation by grace, which, besides the ordinary views of that subject, which you might expect from one of his faith, contain many appeals and exhortations that are not wanting in pathos and power.

When Dr. Lathrop took charge of these churches, after their union, he had been ordained over the Old North eleven years; and he afterward accomplished a faithful and honourable ministry of thirty-nine years. Of his life, character and labours, you do not need, brethren, that I should speak to you; for they are familiar to your memories. Many of you have grown up from childhood under his minis-

* September 15, 1777.
† Dr. Eliot, Biog. Dictionary.
try, and retain for him a filial and affectionate respect; and all can remember his venerable and serene old age, when for years he presented the only hoary head that appeared in our pulpits, was the father amidst a numerous clergy much younger than himself, and became an object of increasing interest and value as he drew nearer his home. No one, who ever knew him at all, can forget the benignity of his appearance, the apostolical simplicity of his character, his gentleness and affectionateness of disposition, and his devotion to the best interests of his country and of man. After a long life, in which he gave himself much to publick cares, and was the faithful patron of many of our best institutions, he passed to his reward on the 4th day of January, 1816, at the age of seventy-six years.

His successor was ordained on the first day of the next year. (7.) The history of the remaining time I need not repeat. It has been a season of tranquillity and prosperity, for which we should be devoutly thankful. And I congratulate you, my brethren, that the century, which began in discord and strife, we have seen close in perfect harmony; that the congregations, which separated from each other with hostile feelings and enkindled passions, we see walking together in love, and minding the things that make for peace, and uniting as sister churches in the nearest offices of Christian fellowship. Long, long may this continue; never may it be interrupted; may no greetings, but those of love, ever pass between them;—but when, century after century, to the end of time, this day shall come round, may they be still found striving together only in love and good works—with one faith, one Lord, one baptism, one God and Father of all.

We have thus looked back upon the history of this united church through a series of one hundred and seventy years. We have traced its ancient branch from that time, when there was but one other in the town, and when the whole neighbouring country, instead of a flourishing land of
civilized inhabitants, presented to view only an uncultivated desert, trodden by savages, with here and there a few settlements, which had been reared as cities of refuge for persecuted puritans—who tilled the fields with their armour girded on, and kept their sabbaths and their fasts with muskets by their sides; from that perilous and romantick period we have traced it, step by step, seeing it grow under the abundant blessing of Heaven, and the toils of celebrated men, till it has sent off one after another company to erect new altars to the Most High, and at length blended itself with a younger church, which it had favoured in a day of weakness and fear, and then received again to its bosom the remnant of those, who had once gone from it in the day of division. We have traced the other branch from its birth, precisely a century ago, and followed it through the various discipline of God's judgment and mercy; till at length it was reconciled to its sister, and received beneath its roof its venerable ancestor: and now, to-day, we rejoice together in the way through which God has led us these forty years of our union. We notice the vicissitudes of the world, the flight of time, the providence of God toward our land, and gather lessons of wisdom from a consideration of the past. We look up to Him who planted and watered this vine, and has caused successive generations to see its beauty and partake of its fruit, and exclaim with the pious king of Israel, The Lord our God be with us as he was with our fathers; let him not leave us nor forsake us!

In the period which we have been thus surveying, two changes have taken place of such magnitude and importance, that they cannot escape our observation. The first is in regard to the observance of the ordinances of our faith. In the days of our fathers, the number of those, who felt so far bound to their religion as to observe its peculiar rites, was much larger than amongst ourselves. During the ministry of the Mathers, the average number of those annually ad-
mitted to the communion of the church, was twenty; in several years rising above fifty, and in that preceding the death of Cotton Mather, amounting to seventy-one. The number during his ministry was eight hundred and forty-eight; more than the whole number of communicants for the last seventy years. With respect to the other ordinance, the difference is quite as remarkable. The number of baptisms during the last thirty-nine years of the period just mentioned, was three thousand three hundred and eighty-four; being a yearly average of eighty-six, and rising in several instances to more than one hundred and thirty. This shows the difference of Christian fidelity in regard to the positive appointments of religion. Not that there is probably less real Christianity. There is no reason to believe, that the general mass of the community is worse in faith or in practice than at that time; in many respects it is certainly better. But in those days there was a strict adherence to all the forms and external observances of the gospel, on which it was the character of their faith to lay peculiar stress; whilst we are too much satisfied with a very general regard to what we call the spirit of religion, and are prone to undervalue its positive institutions. So that, while our places of publick worship are as fully and seriously attended, and the purposes of Christianity in ordinary life as well accomplished, the table of the Lord witnesses a thinner attendance,* and more of our children grow up without baptism. It is undoubtedly a better understanding of the nature of our Lord's kingdom, which elevates the spirit above the form. But why will not men learn, that they may avoid one extreme without rushing to

* Though I speak here in general terms, I refer particularly to this church; for I am not able to decide how far it may be warranted as a general remark. I know myself of many exceptions. To take for example the church in West Boston; it appears from a sermon lately published by the pastor, that the admissions to that church for the last sixteen years have been twenty on an average; which is equal to the best days of the Mathers.
the other? When will they feel the force of that admonition of our blessed Lord—*These ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone*?

The other change, to which I alluded, is that which has taken place in the views of religious faith, which have been here presented and professed. This is a most important and happy change. The church was established on those doctrines, into which men settled when they first broke from the Romish domination, which had been confirmed amidst the passion and excitements of contention with the English hierarchy, and were finally set in an authorized form during the violent storms of a civil and religious war. These doctrines our ancestors held, and the founders of this church received them as they were fashioned and exhibited by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. One of the eminent puritans, the minister of the first company of pilgrims, had warned our fathers not to bind themselves to the faith as then established. His great mind perceived that the reformation was not yet accomplished. He was assured, he said, that God had still more light to break forth from his holy word; and he exhorted them not to stick where Calvin and Luther had left them, for they saw not all things. And yet, for a long time there they did stick. But at length the light he had predicted broke forth, and the eyes of one church after another were opened. For nearly fifty years, the doctrines of Calvin have not been heard within these walls; but a milder, happier faith has won sinners to heaven, and comforted the hearts that tremble at God's word. Brethren, I congratulate you on the change. I rejoice with you, that we are not bound down to any form of words of human device, nor enslaved by the fear of man to any set of opinions published to the world by pope, council, or assembly. I joy with you, that we can say to-day, *the Bible only is our creed*; we drink from none but this fountain of living waters; we have not committed, and we will not commit, either of the
two evils, the forsaking this, or the going to other cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.—You cannot value your privilege too highly. If there be any loud call for your gratitude to-day, it is for this blessing, in which it has pleased God to distinguish you beyond your fathers. And I entreat you, consider, if they, less favoured in the rights of conscience and the inestimable blessing of religious liberty, were yet so devoted and zealous men, of whom the world was not worthy,—consider what manner of persons you ought to be in all holy conversation and godliness. Put not from you their love of the scriptures, their faithful attendance on the publick and private worship of God, their eminent and firm attachment to principle, their fidelity in the religious education of their children. Let it never be said, that with increasing privileges there is a decreasing religion. But, as you hope at last to join them in that world, where your errours and their errours shall be alike removed, and all shall see with one eye, let it not be then found, that with your better knowledge you have fallen short in the race, while their higher attainments rise up to your shame and condemnation.

The occasion reminds us what a changing and dying world we live in. This house has stood for a hundred years—and who is there left among you that saw it in its first glory! Every one of the crowd that thronged it then has long since departed to his eternal home. Five successive ministers have laboured here, and gone to their account. Even in the memory of many present, every seat has changed its occupant. You seek the friends whom you once met here, and they are gone. Time has more than once swept clean these seats; and how soon will it be done again! The celebration of a day like this, no man can hope to see twice. When Xerxes looked upon his immense army, and thought that in a hundred years not one of that multitude would be living, he was overcome by the reflection, and wept aloud. I would not
have you weep, brethren, as the same thought passes your mind in looking round you now;—for the Christian in his church should regard time and death with other views, than the heathen at his army's head;—but I would to God you would pause and consider. The time is short. A century! What is a century? Ask the man of eighty, who has almost seen that term, and he will tell you it is as yesterday when it is past; it is but as a day and a night, and he that has survived it, does not feel that he has lived longer than when he had lived but twenty years. Yet in that space what changes occur! The strong men and women, and the very children of this assembly, shall in that time be no more numbered among the living; the youngest child here, yea, the very infant that we have this day offered in baptism, shall have witnessed all the fortunes of life, and perhaps worn a grey head for years, and perchance grown weary of a helpless and burdensome old age, and then slumbered for years in the mighty congregation of the dead, before a century shall close. In a century, cities flourish and decay, the boundaries of nations are broken up, and the earth changes all its inhabitants again and again. Observe what has taken place just around you during that which has now past. Instead of eleven churches in this town, you find twenty-eight, and all have been built or rebuilt within that time excepting two.* You find a flourishing city instead of a small town, a sovereign state for a dependent colony, a mighty nation for a few scattered provinces. And who can number the changes in the old eastern world!—the improvements, that have carried the sciences and arts to an unequalled perfection, and the convulsions and revolutions, that have removed again and again the landmarks of empire, and elevated the low and depressed the high amongst the nations, like the heaving of the earth in the throes of an earthquake! All this has been; and yet

* The New Brick and the Old South.
What is a century? He that should have lived through all, and look on the world in its present state, would almost feel as if the whole had been effected in a moment, by the wand of enchantment:—the time has fled like a dream. What then will time be to those, who know, as we do, that we have probably a small part of such a period to live! Oh, that we might learn so to number our days, that we should apply our hearts unto wisdom!

Finally, brethren, permit me to congratulate you on the prosperous condition in which this day finds you. These walls have stood a hundred years,—and they still stand firm. Whilst you have seen most of your sister churches compelled to destroy the ancient temples, in which they and their fathers had worshipped, lest they should fall upon them in ruins, and burdened with the costly labour of rearing other places of worship; you have the privilege of still assembling in this house of your ancestors, consecrated by age, and by the devout breathings of great and pious men of the times that are gone by; where the word of life has been preached to four successive generations, where every spot is hallowed as your appropriate religious home, and the very ground on which you stand is holy. There is something solemnly pleasing in the thought, that the walls which are echoing back the voice of your preacher and the songs of your praise, have resounded with those of venerable men, whose praise is in all the churches, that have long been sleeping in the dust, and are strangers to all themes but those of religion. And there is something delightful in the hope, that our children and children's children shall sit where we have been sitting, and seek the inspiration of Heaven on the same spot where we have found it. This hope, my friends, is yours. God, it is true, may commission his elements, and they shall shake this house to its foundations at once. The earthquake and storm have hitherto assailed it in vain, and it has thrice been rescued from devour-
ing flames.* Another visitation may destroy it without remedy. But in the ordinary course of providence it may see this day return,—and listen to the devout thanksgivings of those who shall assemble here—without one of us amongst them—to celebrate the mercy of Him, who, in the midst of change and death, is forever the same. And when that day shall come, oh, may it find our children wiser and purer and worthier that we. If God have any more light to break forth from his word, may it be theirs to see it and rejoice in it. And we too will rejoice in it,—as we doubt not the spirits of the good men that came up here to dedicate this house, are rejoicing in the greater light which God has poured upon us. May that day find all the darkness of error and superstition which clouds our faith removed, and all the sins which defile our lives banished, and as many surrounding the table of their Lord, as worship at the altar of their God. Happy they that shall see that day! Thrice happy they that shall walk in that light! Yea, happy even these venerable walls, that shall have witnessed the gathering knowledge and growing virtue of many generations, and shall then hear prayers of warmer devotion, and the out-pouring of hearts lifted nearer to heaven, and shall learn something of that purer and more perfect worship, which is to be the employment and glory of the temple above! In that temple there shall be no change of day and night, and no revolution of time; a thousand years shall be but as one uninterrupted day; and no returning century shall warn us that life is drawing nearer to its close—for that life shall have no close. In that glorious temple, in that unchanging day, may it be our happiness to meet those venerable saints, who have crowded these courts before us, and the multitude of our posterity,

* A memorandum of Deacon Tudor in 1779 informs us, that “the sudden judgments of an earthquake, terrible storm, and fire have all three done damage to the meeting-house within his remembrance;” and records three instances in which it was in imminent danger of being consumed by fire.
who shall have received the beginning of that life on this spot, where their fathers worshipped. This is our heart's desire and prayer, that the power of the gospel may always be exhibited here in preparing men for salvation.

And in that great decisive day,
When God the nations shall survey,
May it before the world appear,
Thousands were born to glory here.
NOTES TO SERMON I.

(1.) p. 5. THE names of those first gathered in the church were, Michael Powell, James Ashwood, Christopher Gibson, John Philips, George Davis, Michael Wills, John Farnham. The original covenant is an instrument of some length, not at all in the manner of articles of faith, but simply an expression of unworthiness, of dependance on Jesus Christ, and of resolutions to walk agreeably to the gospel. The form, which was adopted and used in the reception of members afterward, was in these words:

"You do in this solemn presence, give up yourself, even your whole self, you and yours, 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, endeavouring your spiritual edification in Christ Jesus our Lord."

(2.) p. 5. SAMUEL MATHER was the son of Richard Mather, who came from England for conscience' sake in 1635, and was for many years a worthy minister in Dorchester. He was nine years old when he accompanied his father to New England, and was in the second class that was graduated at Harvard College. He was so much beloved as an instructor afterward, that, on his quitting the place, the students "put on tokens of mourning in their very garments for it." He went to England in 1650, to the disappointment of more than one church which had greatly desired his settlement. After five years spent in England and Scotland, he went to Dublin, and became senior fellow of Trinity College. Here, upon the king's restoration, he preached two sermons against the revival of the ceremonies of the English church, which were full of power and spirit, for
which he was silenced.* He then returned to England, and preached with
great reputation until the act of conformity in 1662, under which he was
one of the two thousand sufferers. He then returned to his church in Dub­
lin, and preached to them without molestation in a private house the re­
mainder of his life. He died October 29, 1671, aged 45—greatly respected
and of extensive reputation as a preacher. During his last residence in
Dublin, he had a pressing invitation from one of the churches in this town,
according to Dr. Calamy, to become their minister.

(3.) p. 6. There is little known of Mr. Mayo, excepting what is con­
tained in the records of the church in the handwriting of Increase Mather.
I copy it here, because it has often been said, that nothing is known of him
except that he was minister of the Second Church; and the records have
been so carelessly examined, that in the Collections of the Historical Soci­
ety (III. 258.) it is asserted, that "neither the time of his ordination nor
decease is to be found in the records of the church."

"In the beginning of which year, [1672,] Mr. Mayo, the Pastor, like­
wise grew very infirm, inasmuch as the congregation was not able to hear
and be edified; wherefore the Brethren (the Pastor manifesting his concur­
rence) desired the Teacher to take care for a supply of the congregation,
that the worship of God may be upheld amongst us, which was for the pre­
sent by him consented to, as Christ should enable him.

"On the 15th day of the 2d month, 1673, Mr. Mayo removed his per­
son and goods also from Boston to reside with his daughter in Barnstable,
where (and at Yarmouth) since he hath lived a private life; as not being
able (through the infirmities of old age) to attend the work of the ministry.
The ——— day of third month, [May,] 1676, he departed this life at Yar­
mouth, and was there buried."

I will add here, that through the kindness of the Rev. E. Q. Sewall,
who examined at my request the church and town records of Barnstable, I
have learned that Mr. Mayo was one of the original settlers of that town,
but from what place he came does not appear. The Hon. John Davis has
also favoured me with the sight of a passage in the records of the Plymouth
church, which informs us that Mr. Mayo was Teacher in the church at
Barnstable, while the Rev. John Lothropp was Pastor there, and was thence
removed to Eastham [Nauset] upon the gathering of a church in that place,
and was afterward settled in Boston. The Rev. Mr. Shaw of Eastham in­
forms me, that he cannot find that such a person ever was minister in that
place; that previous to his own settlement, there had been but three min­

* These sermons I met with in the Boston Athenæum, and found in
them passages in the finest style of that peculiar puritan eloquence, which
is so happily imitated in Walter Scott's Romances.
isters, Mr. Treat, Mr. Webb and Mr. Cheever, with the exception of Mr. Osborn, who removed to another part of the town now called Orleans. He thinks, therefore, that Mr. Mayo's residence must have been only occasional in the town.—That nothing of Mr. Mayo's ministry appears on the church records of Eastham, does not, I think, argue any thing against his having been minister there; for he left no records at all of his ministry in Boston, and, if it were not for the testimony of other men, would not be known to have resided here.

(4.) p. 6. This fire broke out at five o'clock in the morning, November 27. It burnt forty-five dwelling houses, and several warehouses, besides the meeting-house. Its progress was stopped by a heavy rain. The following vote is all the notice contained in the records of this event. It would appear from the last clause, that it was customary at that time for some of the pews to be entered by a door through the side of the house.

"At a church meeting at our Deacon Philips his house, 3 of 10 month, 1676.

"Voted and agreed, that Mr. Richards, Brother Collicot, Brother Philips, Brother Tyril, Brother Hudson, be appointed as a committee, in order to the rebuilding of a meeting-house, for the comfortable attending the publick worship of God—and that Mr. K———, Mr. W. Taylor, Mr. Middlecott, and Mr. Anthony Checkley, be desired to join with the committee, in order to the transacting this affair. It was also agreed, that in case any that built pews in the meeting-house should see cause afterwards to leave them, the pews should be disposed of, not by them, but as the church should see cause. And that no pews should be made with a door into the street."

(5.) p. 7. This was in 1682. Whether there were no gallery before, or whether this were an additional gallery, is not absolutely certain. The records of the church only say, "it was agreed that a gallery should be built for the boys to sit in, and that the place where they at present sit should be improved for pews." The probability is, that this was the gallery which, as I have been told, run along behind the pulpit.

(6.) p. 7. The first was Richard Mather, born in 1596, who, having suffered for non-conformity, came to New England in 1635, and was ordained pastor of the church in Dorchester, August 23, 1636. He was "a distinguished ornament of the churches," very useful in the several synods of that century, an able writer in their defence, and a solid, judicious preacher. Mr. Higginson of Salem, speaking of his reply to Mr. Davenport, said that "he was a pattern to all the answerers in the world." He died April 22, 1669, while moderator of a council in Boston,—which occasioned the following epitaph: Vixerat in synodis, moritur moderator in illis.—He
left four sons: Samuel, the first, was mentioned in a former note. The second, Nathaniel, born in England, March 20, 1630, and graduated at Harvard College, 1647. He was minister for some years in England, and being ejected among the two thousand in 1662, went to Holland and settled at Rotterdam, succeeded his oldest brother at Dublin in 1671, afterward took charge of a church in London, and died July, 1697, aged 67. “There is upon his tomb-stone a long Latin inscription by Dr. Watts, which ascribes to him a high character for genius, learning, piety, and ministerial fidelity.”

The third son, Eleazar, was born May 13, 1637, and graduated at Harvard College in 1656; was ordained first minister at Northampton in 1661, and died July 24, 1669, aged 32. He appears not to have been inferior to either of his brothers. The fourth son was Increase,—born June 21, 1639, graduated 1656.

(7.) p. 3. Increase Mather began to preach the year after leaving college, and upon invitation from his brother in Dublin, sailed for England July 3, 1657. He proceeded master of arts in Trinity College, Dublin, the next year, “performing the usual exercise with great applause,”* and was chosen fellow; but not being able to remain on account of ill health, went to England, and for some time preached at Torrington; then went to the Island of Guernsey as preacher, on invitation of the governour; from thence, at the solicitation of his friends, removed to Gloucester, and again, after some time, returned to Guernsey, where he was at the time of the restoration. It was then required, that he should conform to the established church, or give up his living, and he accordingly returned to England. Here “he was offered a living of several hundreds a year, if he would forsake his principles; but he chose rather to trust God’s providence, than violate the tranquillity of his own mind;”** and therefore he returned to New England after an absence of four years. In a memorandum now before me, written with his own hand, he says, “Providence so ordered, that, the Bishops and Ceremonies prevailing in England, I was constrained (that so I might keep my conscience pure) to leave that land; and being strangely disappointed and released as to an engagement I was under to go for Holland, I was returned to New England in September, 1661.” He was the next week after his arrival invited to preach at the North Church, and continued preaching until ordained, May 27, 1664. His father gave him the charge.

I have said in the sermon that his settlement was conditional. The conditions were, “if hereafter the Lord should call me to greater service elsewhere, or in case of personal persecutions, wherein not they but I shall be aimed at, or of want of health, or if I should find that a competent mainte-
nance for me and mine should not be offered,—then (my relation to them notwithstanding) I would be at liberty to return to England, or to remove elsewhere." From the account of his son in the *Remarkables*, it seems that he was far from having a comfortable maintenance during many years, and was even distressed with poverty.

(8.) p. 9. **This** is according to the representation of Hutchinson and others. The following minutes in the church records would seem to give a little different complexion to the affair.

"October 30, 1687. After the sermon and service of the afternoon ended, I desired the brethren of the church to stay in the meeting-house, and proposed to them, that their officers might in their name draw up an address of thanks to the king for his declaration, wherein he does promise us the free exercise of our religion, and that he will maintain us in the enjoyment of our rights and possessions. I told the brethren I would take their silence for consent. All were silent. Neminem contradicente.

"December 11, 1687. I desired the brethren to stay, and acquainted them, that it was thought needful that some one should be sent with an address of thanks to the king, for his gracious declaration; and that it had been proposed to me that I should go on the service. I told them, if they said to me, go, I would cast myself on the providence of God, and go in his name; but if they said to me, stay, I would not stir.

"Major Richards and -- Way declared their willingness and free consent that I should go. I said to the brethren, if any of them were otherwise minded, I desired they would express themselves. Also, I would take their silence for consent. They were then all silent, and so did unanimously consent."

The account in the *Remarkables* agrees with this:—"The superiour gentlemen thought, that a well qualified person going over with the addresses of the churches to the king, might obtain some relief to the growing distresses of the country." The voting of addresses was strenuously opposed by many, who thought they discovered popery at the bottom. Hutchinson quotes a letter from President Danforth to Mather, dated November 8 of this year, in which he expresses his apprehensions very strongly.

(9.) p. 10. **He** was twice chosen president of the college; first in 1681, when he declined the office because his church refused to part with him; and again in 1684, when he accepted it on the condition of still retaining his relation to his church. He relinquished the place in September, 1701, on account of an act of the General Court requiring the president to live at Cambridge. In the *Remarkables* of his life it is intimated, that this vote was aimed against him, personally, and was a measure which his enemies carried for the very purpose of removing him. Dr. Eliot, in his
Biographical Dictionary, attributes his resignation to the pressure of age and infirmities. I find only the following vote of his church on this subject:

"The Brethren of the church being assembled at the desire of the Governor and the General Assembly, and messengers from both houses in the General Assembly coming to them with a motion, that they would consent unto the removal of their Teacher's residence to the College in Cambridge—the ensuing vote was passed:—Being under the sense of the great benefit, we have long enjoyed, by the labour of our Reverend Pastor, Mr. Increase Mather, among us, it must needs be unreasonable and impossible for us to consent that his relation to us, and our enjoyment of him and them should cease.

"Nevertheless, the respect we have to the desire and welfare of the publick, does compel us to consent, that our good Pastor may so remove his personal residence to the College at Cambridge, as may be consistent with the continuance of his relation to us, and his visits of us with his publick administrations, as often as his health and strength may allow it."

(10.) p. 11. The expressions quoted in this place are from his Election Sermon, 1677. Sentiments and passages of a similar character may be found in his two sermons on the Comets, 1680 and 1682, in his volume of sermons on Providence, 1688, and in his series of discourses on the Beatitudes, 1717.

When I made this reference, I intended to quote here a few remarkable passages of some length; but my notes are swelling to such a size, that I am forced to omit them.

(11.) p. 12. It was not till after the sermons were in the press, that I was able to procure the Remarkables, or I should have modified the statement in this paragraph. In the thirteenth article of that book, we have an account of his change of sentiments on the subject of toleration; by which it appears, that the expressions I have quoted represent him only as he was in the earlier part of his life. This article is by far the best and most eloquently written passage, which I have met with in all Cotton Mather's works. Probably much of the illustration, and even the language, is taken from his father.

(12.) p. 12. The Treatise here referred to was published in 1683, and gives "an historical account of all the comets which have appeared from the beginning of the world," together with "the remarkable events which have followed them," and, as he supposed, were predicted by them. It is a work of considerable labour, showing an extensive acquaintance with history, and written in a very good style. The credulity of the age peeps out in some curious stories,—which I intended to copy when I referred to this place, but am compelled to omit for want of room.
This day the church voted a letter of admonition to the church in Charlestown, for betraying the liberties of the churches in their late putting into the hands of the whole inhabitants the choice of a minister."

I have noticed this vote particularly, because it is sometimes attempted to make us believe, that the choice of ministers by the people, instead of the church, is a modern innovation, opposed to the uniform usage in times past. Here is an example to the contrary of as long ago as one hundred and twenty-four years; and the example and opinion of the church in Charlestown are as valuable in settling the question of usage, as those of any other church. It satisfies us that usage is not invariable, and that the principle, so far from being settled, was actually contested from the first. Accordingly, Cotton Mather acknowledges, "Many people would not allow the church any privilege to go before them in the choice of a pastor." *Ratio Disciplina*, p. 16. And from the following passage *(Rat. Disc. p. 17.*) it is evident that the congregation had not only, in some instances, claimed and exercised the right against the church, but that the church had often found it necessary, in order to preserve the appearance of a control, which they felt they could not exercise, to resort to so numerous a nomination, as to leave none for the people to choose whom they had not chosen.—"The churches do, sometimes, by their vote, make a nomination of three or four candidates, for whom the majority of the brethren have so voted, that whosoever of these the choice falls upon, it may still be said,—the church has chosen him." So that, even at that time, the principle was so far acknowledged unsound, as to be satisfied with a mere form and show.

Cotton Mather was invited to assist his father in preaching, once a fortnight, September 27, 1680, (having been graduated two years.) The following February he was requested to do it "once every Lord's day." In December, 1682, the church expressed their great satisfaction, and desired that his labours might still be continued with a view to his settlement. In January, 1683, they gave him a unanimous call, and another impatient one in August, 1684. There is an error in the sermon respecting the date of the ordination. It was in 1685—as will be seen by the following extract from the church records:

"2d month, [April,] 5th day, 1685. The brethren stayed in the meeting-house and unanimously consented, that the 13th day of May should be the day for my son Cotton's ordination as their pastor; and that letters should be sent to the two churches in Boston, to Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Dorchester, to desire them to send their messengers to give us the right hand of fellowship; that Mr. Allen and Mr. Willard should be desired to join with myself in imposing hands."
The ministry of the two Mathers continued during sixty-four years, besides nearly three years that passed before the ordination of Increase. The record of church members during this period is very careful and complete, there being no less than three separate catalogues. The whole number is eleven hundred and four. The record of baptisms is complete only after the year 1689, from which time to 1728, (thirty-nine years) the whole number recorded is three thousand three hundred and eighty-four.

The first instance of any one being received to baptism by the half-way covenant, as it is called, appears to have been January 15, 1693; when I find the following minute:—"Received into covenant Mary Sunderland; and her son John baptised. They being the first so admitted, in pursuance of the church's addresses unto me for that purpose and practice." The half-way covenant has been laid aside since April, 1786.

Collections for charitable and religious purposes were frequent during this period, and I have been surprised at the amount of them. £62 for redeeming captives from the Indians; £53 for redeeming two persons from Turkish captivity; £30 for relieving three young men from the same; £44 for the relief of the poor inhabitants of frontier towns in the east; £53 at fast for the poor, and £60 the same year at thanksgiving for propagation of the gospel; and in 1726 a large contribution was distributed, partly for the support of the ministry in destitute places, and partly for the distribution of Bibles and other pious books. The church had an "Evangelical Treasury," for the purpose of promoting religious objects, and distributing Bibles, from which considerable sums were frequently appropriated. This was not very different from a Bible society.

It may gratify some to see in this connexion, a copy of a memorandum, which I found amongst Deacon Tudor's papers, of the collections in the different churches "for the sufferers in the great fire, March 20, 1760, on and round Oliver's Dock, part of King Street, &c." It may serve as another link between the charity of Boston at the present day, and the year 1698—when C. Mather said in a sermon, "For charity, I may indeed speak it without flattery, this town has not many equals on the face of the earth."


The pamphlet published by the Convention was entitled, "The Testimony of the pastors of the churches in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, at their annual Convention in Boston, May 25, 1743, against several errours in doctrine, and disorders in practice, which have of late obtained in various parts of the land, &c." Mr. Gee
published "A Letter to the Rev. Nathaniel Eells, Moderator of the late Convention, &c. containing some remarks on their printed Testimony."

In this he complains that the title of the pamphlet was calculated to mislead; that the pamphlet itself was adapted to give false impressions abroad and at home of the state of the churches; that owing to the thinness of the Convention, the real opinion of the ministers of the province was not represented; and that no testimony was suffered to be brought forward in favour of the revivals in the land; and in order to attain these objects, he publishes the design of another meeting of ministers, to be held the day after commencement, [July 7.] The result of this meeting was "The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of pastors of churches in New England, &c." which, at the same time that it spoke favourably of the great religious work, acknowledged that it was accompanied with evils and dangers, and warned against them. It was signed by fifty-three ministers, and by fifteen others, who added a stronger protest against itinerancy, and the intruding into parishes without consent of their ministers. Besides these, separate testimonies to about the same purport from absent ministers, were added in an appendix, and increased the whole number of names to one hundred and eleven.

Gee's attack upon the Convention was answered very satisfactorily by Mr. Prescott of Salem, and Mr. Hancock of Braintree, who make it evident that he wrote in great hastiness of temper, and under the influence of what he regarded a personal affront. They prove several of his statements to be incorrect, and completely defend the doings of the Convention. Dr. Chauncy, who had been personally assailed by Mr. Gee, defended himself in a letter published in the Boston Evening Post of June 24th, and Mr. Gee, according to Mr. Hancock, retracted.

Another meeting of the "Assembly" was held in September, 1745, when a further defence was attempted of the religious excitements of the country. This second "Testimony" was signed by Prince, Webb and Gee, of Boston, and twenty-one others.

There were also published, in this feverish season, two "Testimonies" of laymen against the prevalent evils of the churches.

(17.) p. 22. Mr. Gee's parents were members of this church, to which they were admitted by dismission from the old church, May 2, 1697. He was himself admitted to the church May 13, 1716; was graduated at Harvard College, 1717; called by the church, October 22, 1723; ordained December 18. [He had been a candidate at the New Brick with Mr. Waldron in 1721; and had a call to settle in Portsmouth in 1723.] The council consisted of "the six churches of the united brethren in this town, and the church in Roxbury." C. Mather gave the charge. On the 19th day of the next February, I find the following record of C. Mather: — "The first baptism administered by Mr. Gee; and indeed the first that has been
administered by any hands but those of Mather (father and son) in the Old North church for more than half a hundred years together."

It would seem, from the records of the church, that Mr. Gee was a great promoter of prayer meetings for the revival of religion, which were frequently held during his ministry. The church is also indebted to him for the establishment of a library for the use of its pastors, to which he made large donations of valuable books. The church originally exercised a constant superintendence over its concerns by a committee, and provided occasionally for its increase. For a long time, however, this has been neglected, and many of the books have been lost. There are now about a hundred volumes, principally old folios, and many of them very valuable.

It was during the ministry of Mr. Gee, in 1733, that the celebrated difficulties in the first church in Salem occurred, which occasioned its exclusion for some time from the communion of many of the churches of the state. The Old North church, as appears from the records, which are full and minute upon this subject, took an active and leading part in this work of inquiry and discipline. After writing to and visiting the church and minister in Salem, it summoned an ecclesiastical council to proceed in the business, and "join with us in taking the second step of the third way of communion, wherein we have been visiting the first church of Christ in Salem." The minister and church refused to be disciplined, and were in consequence shut out from Christian fellowship for many years. It is not until October, 1745, that I find a letter of penitent acknowledgment, entreaty to be restored to communion, was received and acted upon by the Old North church, who took off the sentence of non-communion, with the express exception of the late minister.

(18.) p. 22. Mr. Mather was chosen, January 28, 1732, by sixty-nine votes out of one hundred and twelve. The council at his ordination was composed of the churches of Boston, Roxbury, Charlestown and Cambridge. Dr. Colman gave the charge.

The number of the church that withdrew with him were thirty men and sixty-three women; the number that remained were eighty men and one hundred and eighty-three women. The date of their dismission is December 21, 1741. The house which they built [at the corner of North Bennet Street] is now occupied by a society of Universalists.

(19.) p. 23. Mr. Checkley was ordained September 3, 1747. The churches invited to the council were, the First Church, the New South, the Old South, Brattle Street, New North, New Brick, and the church in Charlestown. The church in Hollis Street was afterward added. Mr. Gee being at this time confined by sickness, the father of the candidate was requested to give the charge.
The conjunction of church and society in the management of their temporal concerns, first took place in May, 1760; at which time it was agreed, that the committee, chosen annually on the first Tuesday of May, should consist of the deacons, together with five members of the church, and four of the congregation.

(20.) p. 23. The preliminary steps to the choice of Dr. Lathrop, were taken by the church and society, March 10, 1768. It was intended to ordain him as colleague to Mr. Checkley, who had been for a long time dangerously ill, and died on the 19th day of the same month. The election was made by a unanimous vote, both of church and congregation; the number of the former being twenty-five, and of the latter sixty-seven. The ordination took place May 18, 1768. The council was composed of the churches of Norwich and Lebanon, Connecticut; the Old South, the New Brick, the New North, and the churches in Hollis Street and Brattle Street. Dr. Sewall was moderator. Dr. Eliot introduced the service with prayer; the pastor elect preached from Philip. i. 17—knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel; Dr. Pemberton prayed and gave the charge; Dr. Sewall then prayed; and Mr. Byles gave the right hand of fellowship.

The practice of reading the lines of the psalms separately, was abolished May 26, 1771.

In January, 1773, a monthly church meeting was established for encouragement and assistance in matters of religion.

April 16, 1786. After several meetings, the church renewed their covenant engagements, with a new "declaration of faith and form of confederacy." At the same time a system of discipline and order in regard to Baptism and the Lord's Supper was drawn up and established. The chief design of this was to remove the obstacles which prevented the access of Christians to the table, to abolish the half-way covenant, and provide for the baptism of the children of every baptised parent,—receiving no publick confession of faith, except from those who design to keep all the ordinances of the Lord. Upon this system the church has ever since acted.
NOTES TO SERMON II.

(1.) p. 26. I BELIEVE that I have fairly stated the controversy at this time, which has not, even yet, lost all its interest. Some small circumstances I have gathered from tradition, but principally from the pamphlets published on this occasion, which I found in the Boston Athenæum,—to which copious repository of choice and rare publications relating to the history of this country, I am under many obligations. The first is, "An Account of the reasons why a considerable number (about fifty, whereof ten are members in full communion) belonging to the New North church in Boston, could not consent to Mr. Peter Thacher's ordination." It has this motto: "Ministers shall not be vagrants, nor intrude themselves of their own authority into any place which best pleaseth them." It is a pamphlet of sixty' pages, being a collection of documents interwoven with an angry history of the whole matter. In reply, there is "A Vindication of the New North church from several falsehoods spread in a pamphlet lately published, &c.; by several members of that church," to which are added, two postscripts by Mr. Webb and Mr. Thacher. Then was advertised, but I do not know whether it was published, "An Answer to a scandalous and lying pamphlet, intituled, a Vindication, &c." 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, and wrote with great heat and passion.

There was also published, "A brief Declaration of Mr. P. Thacher and Mr. J. Webb, in behalf of themselves and their church." This was in reply to a pamphlet of Increase Mather, entitled "A Testimony to the good order of the churches:" blaming the proceedings of the New North as Anti-congregational, and threatening them with ecclesiastical discipline and censure. Webb and Thacher declared their intention to conduct regularly, according to Congregational discipline, and defended their doings as such.
The two Mathers sent a letter to the dissatisfied party the day preceding the ordination, earnestly entreating them to be quiet, and do nothing disorderly. It appears to have had no effect.

"July 19, 1722. 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."*

(2.) p. 27. The names of those gathered into a church state at this time were, Alexander Sears, Solomon Townsend, William Lee, Nathaniel Loring, Moses Pierse, Daniel Pecker, Josiah Baker, Henry Wheeler, John Waldo, James Tilestone. S. Townsend and W. Lee were chosen the first deacons.

The original covenant is not a profession of faith, except so far as a belief in the Christian religion, and in the doctrine of the trinity, is asserted; but is rather an engagement to walk strictly in the commandments and ordinances of the gospel. It being the custom of many churches at that time to require a relation of the religious experiences of those who offered themselves for admission, a vote was passed, (August 9, 1722,) "that we would receive them with, and encourage their making of relations according to the usage of many of our New England churches; but will not impose them on such as we shall find averse to them. But upon having our charity satisfied any other way, we will look upon them meet for our fellowship, and admit them to it."

The persons who commenced the building were in number twenty-four, whose names are recorded in the proprietors' books. The number increased to forty before the work was completed. The building committee (chosen December 12, 1720) consisted of John Frisel, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Montfort, Alexander Sears, James Tileston, James Pecker, and Edward Pell. This last named gentleman drew the plan of the house.—The choice of pews was made May 8, 1721, the first choice being given to John Frisel and William Clark, "for their good will and great benefactions to said work;"—then to the building committee;—and then to the other proprietors in an order determined by lot.

At the dedication, Dr. Increase Mather was first desired to preach, but excused himself on account of his great age. He commenced the morning service with prayer, which was closed with prayer by Mr. Cooper. The afternoon service commenced with prayer by Dr. Colman, and was closed by Mr. Prince.

A time-piece was presented to the church by Mr. Barret Dyre in June of this year. It kept its place in the meeting-house until 1820, when it was removed, and its place supplied with a new one at the expense of Samuel Parkman, Esq.
There was no cellar under the house until the year 1762. It was completed at the cost of a thousand pounds, and, after some difficulties, paid for by subscription.

In front of the pulpit were originally two pews, the one for the Elder's seat, the other for the Deacon's seat. They were thrown into one in 1766, "as has been lately done at the Old North, and at Mr. Cooper's;" (Brattle Street.)

A second gallery was originally built only at the west end, and never, I believe, on either of the other sides. This was closed up and converted into a hall for a singing school and other purposes, in 1808. A vote passed in January, 1751, "to build an upper gallery for the women at the east end of the meeting-house, if the money can be raised by subscription." This however was not accomplished.—There was no access to the gallery originally, except by stairs within the meeting-house, of which there were three flights; at the north-west, south-west, and south-east corners. The stairs in the north-west corner were removed in ——. The south porch was so altered as to contain stairs for the accommodation of the singers in 1801. In 1821 it was taken down, rebuilt of a larger size, so as to contain stairs of an easy access, and those which remained in the south-east and south-west corners were removed. At the same time all the remaining square pews were taken down, and long pews erected in their room.

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 recast 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 church bell cast in Boston, 1792, by P. Revere."

(3.) p. 27. MR. WALDRON was chosen minister, September 26, 1721, by a vote of the proprietors, fifty out of sixty-three. The other votes were for Mr. Gee. At his ordination, Mr. Sewall commenced with prayer; Dr. Cotton Mather preached from 1 John, iv. 7; Dr. Increase Mather gave the charge; Mr. Wadsworth the right hand of fellowship; and Mr. Waldron closed with prayer.

"August 23, 1725. Voted, that Mr. Waldron be supplied with constant help for six months ensuing from this day."—A vote of this nature was frequently passed in both churches, while there was but one minister; it being thought that the strength of one was inadequate to the whole duty.

Mr. Waldron died September 11, 1727.

(4.) p. 28. JANUARY 16, 1727. MR. WELSTEED was chosen by a vote of fifty-four out of sixty-four. At his ordination, Mr. Sewall and Mr. Coop-
er prayed; Dr. Colman gave the charge; and Mr. Walter the right hand of fellowship. "One of the first acts of the church after this ordination was to reconsider and renew the vote about relations, passed August 9, 1722.—A truly Christian act."

The reading of the scriptures, as part of the publick service, commenced in 1729, as appears by a vote of April 14,—"that the Bible Capt. Henry Deering has made an offer of to the church, in order for Mr. Welsteed's reading and expounding, be accepted."

December 22, 1736. Mr. William Hooper received a unanimous call to settle as colleague with Mr. Welsteed. He, however, on the third day of the next month, received a unanimous call from the West Church, on that day gathered, over which he was ordained May 18th, 1737. He afterward received Episcopal ordination, and was rector of Trinity Church.

In January, 1731, fifty pounds were collected at a contribution for the relief of the inhabitants of Marblehead, distressed by the small pox.

Mr. Gray was elected by a unanimous vote, April 3, 1738. The council at the ordination consisted of "the united churches in Boston, the churches of Rumny Marsh, (Chelsea,) Roxbury, Cambridge, and Charlestown." The pastor elect preached, from Isaiah vi. 5–8; Mr. Welsteed and Mr. Webb prayed; Dr. Colman gave the charge; and Dr. Sewall the right hand of fellowship.—The part taken by Mr. Webb is the earliest notice we have of a reconciliation with the New North church.

"August 22, 1739. Unanimously voted, to desire Mr. James Halsy to take his proper place in the Elder's seat.

"Voted, to leave the affair of making a stairway in the westernmost porch with the committee." This was never done.

(5.) p. 31. DR. PEMBERTON was chosen, December 31, 1753, by a vote of fifty-four out of fifty-six, two persons not voting. The vote of the church was unanimous. He had resigned his charge at New York, by advice of the Synod, on the 18th of November, and was at that time in correspondence with this church, who had expressed their strong desire to receive him as their minister. Part of this correspondence appears on the pages of the proprietors' records; as also a copy of the doings of the Synod, by which he was dismissed with honour, and recommended as "a regular minister, of an exemplary, pious conversation, who has to an uncommon degree maintained the dignity of the ministerial character;—eminently endowed with ministerial abilities, whose labours have been acceptable and highly esteemed throughout these churches."

The council at the installation, March 6, 1754, consisted of the First, the Old South, and the New North churches. By whom the several parts were performed, I cannot learn. No entry is made upon the church book of records during Dr. Pemberton's ministry, except the names of a few bap-
tised and admitted to communion. The catalogue of church members, from the beginning, is exceedingly imperfect, so that no estimate at all can be made of the number.

It was during his ministry, [August, 1757,] that taxes were first laid for the support of the gospel in this society. Dependance had been previously had upon voluntary contributions collected every Sunday; but this mode had been found the occasion of so much confusion, embarrassment and debt, that it was now abolished. For many years, the income was insufficient to pay Dr. Pemberton's salary, and he every year generously relinquished his claim to the deficiency.

"October 7, 1762. Voted, that the singers sound the base at the end of the lines, whenever they think proper." I copy this vote simply because I do not know what it means.

In 1763, an attempt was made to settle a colleague with Dr. Pemberton, and Mr. Tennant was the man intended for the place. Circumstances, however, prevented the design from being accomplished.

In May, 1771, the first Baptist church requested that the use of the New Brick meeting-house might be allowed them for worship, during the time that they should be building; and accordingly, from June 23 to December 3, the two congregations worshipped together, their ministers preaching alternately the half of each sabbath. Dr. Stillman's first sermon was preached from Psalm cxxxiii. 1, and his last from 2 Corinthians, xiii. 11. In this place also it may be mentioned, that in June, 1802, when the New North society were about rebuilding their meeting-house, an invitation was given them to attend worship with this church, and the two congregations united in the services of the sabbath, until the completion of the new meeting-house in May, 1804.

(6.) p. 32. The British troops, during the blockade of Boston, treated the churches with particular disrespect. The steeple of the West Church they destroyed, because they supposed it had been used as a signal staff; the Old South they turned into a circus, or riding school; the Old North they took down for the sake of the fuel, of which its massy timber afforded abundance; " although there were then large quantities of coal and wood in the town. The house, which was built in 1677, was in very good repair, and might have stood many years longer, had not those sons of violence, with wicked hands, razed it to the foundation." Church Records.

The two societies worshipped together from the 31st of March, 1776; but the plan of perpetual union was not proposed until May 6th, 1779. On that day, which was the day of the state fast, a vote was passed, " that the two said churches should be united as one body," and a committee was appointed, of three from each society, with the deacons, to take the necessary measures toward accomplishing the affair. The committee on the part of
the Old North were, Samuel Austin, Col. Proctor, and Joseph Kittel; of
The deacons were three; John Tudor, —— Brown, and —— Greenough.
The committee reported on the 27th of June, and the union took place
without one dissenting voice, in the most amicable manner, and under the
most auspicious circumstances. The whole proceedings are recorded by
Deacon Tudor with great minuteness.

In January, 1780, Dr. Lathrop's salary was raised from one hundred to
two hundred dollars a week; in May to four hundred; in September to
eight hundred. In December, £2000 were raised to purchase his winter's
wood.

The large Bible, which was used in the Old North church, was presented,
by the committee, in behalf of the society, to the second church in New­
ton, at the time of Mr. Greenough's settlement there, in 1781.

In 1781 I find record of a baptism by immersion of a child about ten
years old, at the particular request of the mother, "a bathing tub being
prepared for that purpose in the meeting-house."

(7.) p. 33. On this occasion, the Rev. President Kirkland introduced
the religious service with prayer; Dr. Ware preached from Philip, iv. 17,
I desire fruit that may abound to your account; Rev. Mr. Fiske of West
Cambridge made the ordaining prayer; Dr. Allyn of Duxbury gave the
charge; Rev. Mr. Parkman presented the right hand of fellowship; Dr.
Holmes of Cambridge made the concluding prayer.

I have said nothing in the sermon of the Synods in which Increase
Mather was engaged. At the time of his arrival from England in 1662, the
country was much excited and divided about the result of the Synod which
had set in the spring of that year, and which had published certain proposi­
tions relating to church membership. The fifth of these, which provided,
that the children of all who have been baptised in infancy, and are not scanda­
lous in life, and make publick profession of faith, are entitled to baptism,
— was the occasion of warm discussion. Mr. Mather, though but a young
man, distinguished himself in the opposition to the Synod, who appointed
Mr. Mitchel of Cambridge, so much praised by Baxter, to answer him.
Mather was convinced by the arguments of Mitchel, and afterward publish­
ed in defence of the proposition he had opposed.— The other writers in the
controversy were Dr. Chauncy, president of the college, against the Synod,
who was answered by Mr. Allin, of Dedham; — and Mr. Davenport of New
Haven, who was answered by Mr. Mather the elder, father of Increase.

He was also an important member of the Synod of 1679, by which he was
appointed one of the preachers, and moderator at its second session in 1680.
This was the Reforming Synod, called together to consider "What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England; and what is to be done that so those evils may be reformed?" Mr. Emerson, in his History of the First Church, informs us, that this was occasioned by the long continued controversy between the First and Old South churches, and that the inquiry was in fact aimed against the Old South.

ERRATA.

Page 20, for 1684, read 1685.
— 22, for 1745, read 1743.
— — for September, read July.
A SERMON

PREACHED TO THE

CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE,

IN TWO PARTS,

JULY 18, 1824.

BY JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M.
PASTOR OF THAT CHURCH.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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1825.
This publication has been delayed by hindrances, which it is unnecessary to particularize. From the circumstances, under which it is now made, it is not impossible that some inaccuracies may have escaped notice.

June 28, 1825.
SERMON.

1 KINGS, VIII. 57.

THE LORD OUR GOD BE WITH US, AS HE WAS WITH OUR FATHERS; 
LET HIM NOT LEAVE US, NOR FORSAKE US.

It is with even greater satisfaction than at the time of our separation I anticipated, that I welcome your return, my friends, to this consecrated place. To many of us our temporary absence has shown more sensibly than ever the strength of the ties that attach us to it. We have become indebted to the Christian hospitality of our brethren for all which was in the power of hospitality; and we have been privileged to hear from other pulpits impressive lessons of duty, which may cause this separation from the accustomed scene of our solemnities to be blessed to many of our souls. But we could not forget, that to be a subject of the kindest hospitality is to be absent from one's home; and, in circumstances otherwise the most favourable to devotion, we have missed the familiar objects with which the services of publick devotion had been associated in our minds. The free spirit of Christian worship, it is true, does not confine itself to places any more than to forms; but yet it is natural, that it should glow with a warmer ardour, and mount with a more vigorous flight, where prayer has been wont to be made. It is natural and right, that the place should be endeared to a pious mind, where its humble
supplications have been offered, its generous desires excited, its virtuous purposes inspired. Attachment to God's word and ordinances is nearly allied with attachment to his house; and the sentiment is greatly strengthened, if the scene of our social devotions has been the scene of events honourable to a religious institution, and betokening the smiles of Heaven. This peculiar reason for attachment to the place of our worship, it is only necessary to look into its history to see that we possess; and it is so desirable for the religious institution, with which we are connected, to have a hold on our affections, that I should do wrong to lose the opportunity to prove the reasonableness, and, if it may be, secure the permanency of the emotions excited in many minds this day, by showing, from a retrospect of the fortunes of this Church, how graciously the Lord our God hath been in times past with our fathers.

We trace this Church of our fathers to an honourable origin. Its establishment was not owing, like that of too many others, to dissension among fellow worshippers, nor even to so unimportant a cause as preference for the services of a popular individual. It was gathered in the spirit of conscientious adherence to truly enlightened views of Christian order. At the period when its founders associated themselves, there were three churches in this town, besides one congregation of the Baptist sect, and one of the Episcopalian. (1.) In these churches the early customs and prejudices of New England still maintained their ascendancy. Calvinism was preached in its primitive rigour. The communicants exercised a distinct and original jurisdiction in church affairs. Candidates for admission to the Lord's supper were required to recount in publick their religious experiences; and the well-founded feeling of dislike to the Church of England was carried to such a length, that the reading of the Scriptures, and the use of the Lord's prayer
were banished from the publick services, because they were embraced in the prelatical forms.

The spirit of the age, however, had insensibly moderated from that of a half century before; and when non-conformity was partially rescued from its discredit at the accession of King William, it lost at once something of its pertinacity. A few enlightened men, who perceived the opportunity and importance of adopting some publick measures in correspondence with the more mild and liberal views, which had begun to prevail, associated themselves together for the establishment of this Church. The deed by which they became possessed of a piece of land for the erection of a place of worship, is dated January 10, 1698. "In consideration of the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds," and "for other good causes and considerations thereunto moving" him, it conveys from Thomas Brattle to twenty persons associated with himself, a piece of land, called Brattle's Close, which has since been extended on two sides by purchases of the Society, and at different times considerably abridged upon one for the convenience of the town. (2.) Upon this land they proceeded to erect a house for worship, which they completed in the autumn of the following year.

Some of the undertakers, as they style themselves, of this Church, were gentlemen in publick office, and all appear to have been persons of character and weight in society. Their plan of order and worship, however, was so novel as to subject them to much jealousy from the neighbouring churches; and they found it necessary to explain themselves in a paper, entitled, A Manifesto or Declaration set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church, now erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17, 1699. In this paper, while they declare, that they "approve and subscribe the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster;" that they "design only the true and pure
worship of God, according to the rules appearing plainly to them 'in his Word;' that they sincerely desire and intend 'to hold communion with the churches here as true churches, and openly protest against all suspicion and jealousy to the contrary, as most injurious' to them;—they go on to say, that they 'judge it most suitable and convenient,' that, in 'the publick worship, some part of the Holy Scripture be read by the minister at his discretion.' They profess, that they 'dare not refuse' baptism 'to any child offered by any professed Christian, upon his engagement to see it educated, if God give life and ability, in the Christian religion. But this being a ministerial act,' they 'think it the pastor's province to receive such professions and engagements.' 'We judge it fitting and expedient,' they say, 'that whoever would be admitted to partake with us in the Holy Sacrament, be accountable to the pastor, to whom it belongs to inquire into their knowledge and spiritual state, and to require the renewal of their baptismal covenant. But we assume not to ourselves to impose upon any a publick relation of their experiences; however, if any one think himself bound in conscience to make such a relation, let him do it. For we conceive it sufficient, if the pastor publickly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our communion, and seasonably propound him.' 'Finally, we cannot confine the right of choosing a minister to the communicants alone; but we think that every baptized adult person, who contributes to the maintenance, should have a vote in electing.' (3.)

At this distance of time, it appears to us extraordinary, that such views as these should have brought great odium on their assertors; but the acrimonious spirit of dissension about the lesser matters of the law, which is not yet at rest, wrought at that period far more busily. To some persons the scheme seemed to savour strongly of Presbyterianism, while others apprehended it to be little better than Episcopacy in disguise. A work of President Mather on the
Order of the Gospel, soon appeared, which was understood
to have reference to the new Church, and was followed by
an able anonymous reply. Higginson and Hubbard are
also understood to refer to this controversy in their Testi­
mony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New
England, published in 1701. (4.)

The associates had, meantime, been making arrange­
ments for a permanent ministry; and in the summer of
1699, had sent a call to Mr. Benjamin Colman, then in
London. Mr. Colman was a native of this town, and ed­
ucated at the neighbouring University. He had been absent
four years in England, where he had preached in different
places to great acceptance, and been distinguished by the
friendship of Bates, Calamy, Howe, and other eminent
dissenting ministers. His friends, apprehending difficulty in
obtaining ordination for him at home, on account of the
odium under which they laboured, advised him to ask it
in England, and the solemnity accordingly took place in
London, August 4, 1699. (5.) In the following November
he arrived among his people, and the next month began to
preach in what he calls their 'pleasant new-built house.'
No other minister assisted him, as was usual on such
occasions; but, influenced either by their better feelings, by
the established character of the associates, or by the cer­
tainty that the enterprise was no longer at a stage to be
discouraged, the ministers of the town soon after acceded to
the request of this Church, to keep a day of prayer with it
'for publick imploring the presence of God, his pardon and
blessing.' December 12, fourteen brethren, 'after solemn
calling upon God, declared their consent and agreement to
walk together in all the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ.'
The ordinance of the Lord's supper was first administered
February 4, 1700, and fifteen other communicants were that
day added. (6.)
The Church, thus established, grew rapidly in numbers, and, there is reason to believe, no less so in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The principles on which it was founded were such, as could scarcely fail to make their way with the better order of minds; the associates were men, with whom it was natural to desire to be connected in the relation of fellow-worshippers; and probably, too, the less obtrusive orthodoxy of Colman was not without its charm to those who had been used to the stern mysticism of Willard, or the pedantick puerilities of Cotton Mather. Dr. Colman wanted no qualification to be an attractive and profitable preacher. He was a man liberally endowed by nature, and his preparation for the pulpit had been laborious and thorough. He had ardent feelings, and they were heartily engaged in his work. In addition to these more important qualifications, his taste in composition was so far in advance of that of his cotemporaries, that he is considered as having introduced a new style in the preaching of the Massachusetts clergy. And to all these recommendations, was added a manner in the pulpit of uncommon dignity, persuasiveness and grace.

In little more than two years after the settlement of their first pastor, the Society proposed to furnish him with permanent assistance; and, with this view, turned their attention to Mr. Eliphalet Adams, a gentleman graduated at the University in 1694. The project led to some 'uncomfortable church meetings,' as they are called in the records, without a detailed account of them. Mr. Adams withdrew after preaching here two years and a half, and was afterwards settled in New London, Connecticut. This is the only dis­sension in this Church, which its annals record, during the century and a quarter of its existence. (7.)

I find no other attempt recorded (8.) to obtain stated assistance for Dr. Colman, till the year 1715, when Mr. William Cooper was invited to settle as his colleague, and
accepted the call on the condition,—which was allowed,—that he should be excused from engaging presently in a constant course of preaching, it being a very early day with him.’ After officiating with the Society once a fortnight for nearly a year, he was ordained May 23, 1716. (9.) Within five years after, though at what precise period does not appear, the number of worshippers had increased so much as to require additional accommodations; and these were provided by erecting an additional building, containing pews on the floor and a gallery, behind the pulpit.

The colleagues continued to labour with great harmony, fidelity, and success, till December 14, 1743, when Cooper was suddenly taken to his reward. (10.) It was now the chief earthly wish of the surviving pastor, already sinking beneath the infirmities of threescore years and ten, that the flock he had gathered, and so long guided, should not be left as sheep without a shepherd. In another year his wish was answered, by the election of Mr. Samuel Cooper into his late father’s office. (11.) Dr. Colman had now finished the work given him to do, and was called home, August 29, 1747, in his seventy-fourth year. (12.)

Among the worthies of the Massachusetts clergy, we can perhaps select no character, which we may regard with more thorough esteem, than that of Dr. Colman; and not much more may be said of any man. If his mind was not of that class, by which great revolutions are produced in the intellectual or social world, it was still one of uncommon comprehensiveness, penetration, wisdom, and activity; and it had been cultivated by an enlarged acquaintance with books and men. His writings, besides giving token to a liberal spirit, a well disciplined understanding, various knowledge, and a warm heart, show, for the period in which they were produced, a remarkable acquaintance with the true beauties of composition. To nature and to opportunity he was probably alike indebted for a manly and winning
address. Yet, formed as he was for the admiration of a community like this, by a union of accomplishments separately possessed by very few, he rose above the ambition of being eminent to the ambition of being useful. With all his powers to impress and attract, he was not a man to be content with the notoriety, which consists in being followed by the tasteful, and applauded by the talkative. Like every other man, who thinks it better to be serviceable than to be flattered, he gave himself much to occupations, of which fame takes no cognizance. He was industrious, as every man needs to be, who would make himself felt while he lives, and remembered when he dies. He possessed a truly kind heart, as is shown by his generous treatment of Mather, (13.) a man, whose character, intellectual and moral, has been sometimes astonishingly overrated; by his constant affection for his colleague, whose views were sometimes different from his own, and who was not a person very easy to differ from without estranging; (14.) and by the truly parental attachment, which, after his colleague's death, he transferred to his son.—He was a man of liberal publick spirit, and of active and enlarged benevolence. The poor of his charge always found in him a brotherly attention to their wants. The town was his debtor for improvements, which he hazarded his popularity to effect. (15.) The College, besides owing, in great part, to his influence the brilliant presidency of Leverett, and the bounty of the Hollises and Holdens, (16.) was indebted to him through a course of years for various services, not more honourable and important than laborious.—He was animated by the distinguishing spirit of Christian philanthropy, and desired to do extensive good to the souls of men. It was at his instance, that this Church, and others of the town, voted to make a contribution, twice in each year, to form what was called an Evangelical Treasury, (17.) devoted to the extension of the knowledge and influence of religion.—He was
a man, finally, of true piety, proved in a series of domestick trials, some of a kind the hardest to be borne; (18.) in the zealous services of a successful ministry, and by the uniform tenour of a sober, righteous, and godly life. Dr. Chauncy remarked of him, in a private letter,* that 'his character would have been greater, could it have been said of him, that he excelled as much in strength of reason and firmness of mind, as in many other good qualities.' But I am fain to attribute this remark to that stern, not to say morose, judgment of character, for which its author was so noted. Dr. Colman certainly did many things, which men without energy, and resources too, are not apt to accomplish or attempt; and I can find nothing which gives a colour to this stricture, unless it be his conduct in relation to the excitement produced in this neighbourhood, during his ministry, by Whitefield and the Methodists. His course, on this occasion, certainly does not seem to have been in perfect accordance with his usual penetrating good sense; and if, as I suspect, he suffered his better judgment to be overruled in this instance by the more sanguine temperamen- ment of his colleague, the weakness would have been likely to give peculiar offence to Dr. Chauncy, who was himself the chief antagonist of the fanaticks.

With all his excellencies and publick services, however, Dr. Colman was not so fortunate as to be a universal favourite. Whether it was that he was thought to affect too much the society of the great, or merely that the odium excited by the innovations of his Church upon the established ecclesiastical order never wholly subsided during his life, or less generous aspirants had poisoned the publick ear against him, it is certain that there were, from time to time, manifestations of a popular sentiment respecting him, such as we should little expect to discover. Whether or not the

* Historical Collections, X. First Series. 157.
argument of the resident members of the College in 1722, that none but residents were eligible to the corporation, was sustained by the representatives in the General Court from motives of personal dislike to Dr. Colman, no other account is to be given of their refusing to vote his salary when he was chosen president in 1724, and thus compelling him to decline the office. (19.) What he did not receive from favour, however, he always secured by wise conduct, or resigned with equanimity; and though desirous, like all good men, of the esteem of others, he does not appear to have been particularly solicitous for the partial regard of any but his people.

His first colleague was a man, in some respects, of a different stamp. Dr. Colman was attached to the Genevan doctrine, as, with his parentage and subsequent connexions, it would have been wonderful, if he had not been. But he seemed to have outstripped his age, and to have risen almost to the ground of that venerable race of men, now nearly extinct, which, within the last half century, have borne the name of moderate Calvinists. William Cooper, on the other hand, loved Calvinism in all its austerity, extravagance and tumult. In the writings of Colman, the orthodox doctrines are all along implied, and, as occasion required, explicitly stated. But, in those of Cooper, they are introduced on system and with relish; in all their intricacy and all their repulsiveness; in season and out of season; in the dedication, the preface, the private letter, and the funeral sermon. He had less copiousness of thought than his colleague, less skill in the use of language, and far less felicity of illustration and allusion. But he wrote with method, propriety, fervour and force, and, without any extraordinary qualifications for a popular preacher, was always listened to with interest; for he was familiar with the religious technicks of his school, he knew how to exhibit them with strength and all the clearness which they allowed,
and he made it apparent that his heart was in his work. He was a laborious and devoted minister. No one of the clergy was more engaged in defending and keeping up what was called the awakening of 1741—1742; (20.) and he was happy in not living to be undeceived, by seeing in this Church, as in others, the season of extraordinary excitement followed by a season of as extraordinary deadness. But, in cases where his judgment was not misled by his theories, he was a wise as well as sincere and zealous man. If he ever seemed to love power, it appears to have been not so much for any selfish end, as because he persuaded himself, that he needed it for the furtherance of religion. He resembled his colleague only in his ministerial character, and did not, like him, engage in other occupations than such as had the most immediate bearing upon the religious interests of his people and the church at large. He declined the presidency of the College rather than be separated from his charge; and their demonstrations of mourning at his death show the truest attachment and grief. (21.)

The ministry of Samuel Cooper had but just begun, when he lost the friendship and counsel of his and his father’s venerable associate. (22.) He was a young man of great promise, which his subsequent life in no degree discredited. He had been known to the Society from his childhood. He had had the advantage of the prayers, instructions and example of a most pious and watchful parent. He had come from College with a blameless character and a high literary reputation, and he had inherited his father’s place in the heart of the venerable shepherd of the flock. He had not begun to preach when the Society turned their attention to a supply of the vacant office; but partly, as it seems, through the influence of Dr. Colman, he was invited to officiate here as soon as his studies should be completed. December 31, 1744, he was elected colleague pastor; and having made a request similar
to his father's on the like occasion, was ordained, and entered on the active duties of his cure in the second following year, May 21, 1746. (23.)

The life of Dr. Cooper was one of various and conspicuous usefulness. His education, from the first, had been a suitable preparation for eminence; nor were his advantages wasted on an unpromising subject. Nature had marked him out for a leading man. Acuteness, vivacity, versatility, decision, and the capacity of severe application, were prominent characteristicks of his mind. In addition to a person uncommonly dignified and engaging, and a most melodious voice, he possessed in remarkable perfection what seemed a natural fluency and grace, and he had cultivated the arts of writing and speaking with laborious assiduity. If not enjoying the reputation of being extensively learned, he was, however, familiar with the best writers, and was always found in possession of the information which the exigency required. To less uncommon endowments, he joined an address, and what is called a talent for affairs, which, if he had not been the leading divine, would perhaps have distinguished him as the most accomplished gentleman and adroit statesman of his country and time. He filled the clerical office at a period when it had not ceased to be understood to give the right and opportunity to exert an important influence in publick affairs; and, in the revolutionary movements of this quarter, he had an agency scarcely second to any man's. He was the confidential friend of Adams, Hancock, and other leading spirits of the time. It was to him that the famous letters of Hutchinson were transmitted, which kindled such a flame against the English ministry and their government here; and among the writings which alternately stimulated and checked the publick mind in that season of stormy excitement, there were perhaps none of greater efficiency.
than those of Dr. Cooper. If other hands launched the lightning, his guided the cloud. (24.)

But it is chiefly of his ministerial character that I ought here to speak. With such gifts as those of Dr. Cooper, it was impossible that a good man should not be eminently useful in his chosen and peculiar sphere of labour. Unhappily the Church records do not furnish materials for estimating the success of his ministry, having been almost entirely neglected by him in the midst of his various cares. It is certain, however, that his preaching was attended with as great interest, to say the least, as that of any of his cotemporaries; and that his Society was numerous, and comprehended a large number of distinguished citizens. His published sermons,—methodical, elaborate, animated, and impressive,—would certainly be ranked, in this better day of pulpit eloquence, as productions of unusual merit. It has perhaps been sometimes taken for granted, by persons not particularly acquainted with his habits, that the active part, which he took in political concerns, must have interfered with the punctual discharge of his pastoral duties. But of this, no doubt, his parishioners were best able to judge; and I do not find that such an impression concerning him exists in the minds of the small remnant of them, who survive. On the contrary, I find strong traces of the respect and affection, with which his parochial services inspired them; and, while his name appears to the publick view prominent upon the records of patriotism, in the memory of his religious associates it is embalmed no less in the odour of sanctity. (25.)

Dr. Cooper, like his predecessors, died suddenly; December 29, 1783. It was about ten years before his death, when the house, in which we are now worshipping, was erected. In the progress of more than seventy years, the old church, which was of wood, having 'fallen,' as it is expressed, 'into a ruinous and decayed state,' several opu-
lent individuals of the Society made liberal offers of aid in rebuilding it. The old house was occupied for the last time May 10, 1772, (26.) when Dr. Cooper preached from Psalms cii. 14, *Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.* The Society was indebted to the First Church for accommodation in publick worship, till July 25, 1773, when this house was opened. Dr. Cooper preached in the morning, from Genesis xxviii. 17, *This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven;* and Dr. Chauncy in the afternoon, from Psalms xxvi. 8, *I have loved the habitation of thine house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.* (27.)

I have brought down the history of this Church to a period within the recollection of some of my hearers, and shall resume it in the afternoon.

The account, which I attempted this morning, of the Church in this place, brought down its history to the death of its third pastor. Subsequent events are within the personal acquaintance of several who hear me. To others, however, they are less known, and to none of us is it an uninteresting employment to revive the recollections associated with this sacred place.

With a view to fill the office vacated by the death of Dr. Cooper, the attention of the Society was turned to Rev. Mr. Thacher of Malden. The preference created by Mr. Thacher's established professional reputation and peculiar eloquence, might not improbably be strengthened by regard to the earnest part he had taken in the late revolutionary struggle, and possibly, even, by partiality for a
name, than which there is none more illustrious in the annals of the New England ministry. Mr. Thacher had no sooner been introduced to the sacred office at Malden, which was so early as his nineteenth year, than he acquired a popularity so great, that it is recorded of him, that "no young man ever preached to such crowded assemblies."* From his childhood he had devoted himself to the ministry of religion; and his whole mind, as it was expanded, had formed itself to this work. To rapid and clear conceptions, a temper equally affectionate and frank, a lively imagination, and a nice sensibility, he added the recommendations of a commanding presence, and a voice of extraordinary melody and compass. His preaching was direct, practical and earnest; and, like each of his predecessors in this place, he is represented to have possessed, in singular excellence, the gift of prayer. "Whitefield called him the young Elijah."* His fame had been extended by the circulation of some sermons, and a few other occasional works, which he had published; but he is said to have owed his remarkable popularity not more to his evident piety and zeal, and the power of his mind and style, than to the graces of a most captivating elocution. The negotiations which, on the part of this Society, were entered into with the parish in Malden, and which, though intended to be conducted with the most guarded delicacy, did not wholly fail to excite dissatisfaction, (28.) terminated in the amicable dissolution of Mr. Thacher's connexion with his church, and he was installed here January 12, 1785. (29.) His faithful and acceptable services, through a period of nearly twenty years, many of you, my brethren, remember with affectionate and grateful interest. Though never inattentive to the numerous more publick demands upon his talents and time, he made his spiritual charge the chief scene of his labours, and was

* Historical Collections, VIII. First Series. 280.
peculiarly useful and valued in the private duties of the pastoral care. Though, in the earlier part of his course, a resolute champion for the harsher doctrines of orthodoxy, his maturer years reformed his youthful judgments. He stood, in the latter part of his life, on ground like that of the late Dr. Osgood and Dr. Lathrop; and his ministry here was no doubt overruled to favour that happy change in religious sentiment, which has since taken place. This Church, always prosperous, has scarcely ever been more so than while under his care. We shall perceive that this is saying much, when we remember that a great part of his ministry was passed in that most depressed and perilous period, which religion in New England ever witnessed,—the period of the French revolutions; and his memory is most gratefully to be honoured, who, having access, at such a season, to minds which controlled the publick opinion, engaged and secured their influence in favour of all that is most valuable to men.

Dr. Thacher died, December 16, 1802, at Savannah in Georgia, whither he had gone in ineffectual search of relief from a lingering pulmonary consumption. (30.) His successor was the late Mr. Buckminster, who was ordained January 30, 1805, and died suddenly, June 9, 1812. (31.) In the sentiments of love and veneration, with which his memory is cherished, I can more entirely sympathize. Of other wise and good men, who have ministered in this place, I have only read and been informed. Him I have heard and known; and who, that has heard him, has not thenceforward found religion invested in his mind with a beauty unknown before? He was in truth a singularly gifted man; of a judgment discriminating, independent and exact; of a fancy profuse of images of the grand and lovely; of a various and accurate learning; of a sensibility keenly alive to the importance of truth, and the dangers and obligations of men; of a pure and fervid zeal; of a
truly heavenly spirit. He was formed to interest men in religion; to win them and attach them to it. No one could look on his intellectual beauty,—no one could hear the softest tone of his rich voice,—without loving the spirit that dwelt in the expression of them both. He spoke to solemnize the levity of the young, and inform the wisdom of age; to shake the sinner’s purpose, and bind up in the softest balm of consolation the wounds of the Christian’s heart. Those of us, who have heard him, with a force and feeling all his own, plead the claims of our religion, describe its value, and disclose its hopes, may not expect, while we live, to witness any thing approaching nearer to what we imagine of a prophet’s or an angel’s inspiration. He was one of those, who seem appointed to the high and needful office of conciliating to religion the minds of intellectual and tasteful men. God does not abandon them in the mazes of their reasoning pride, nor leave them to lay the flattering unction to their souls, that ignorance is the parent of devotion; but, from time to time, prepares for them splendid proof, such as this was, that

‘Piety hath found
Friends in the friends of learning, and true pray’r
Hath flow’d from lips wet with Castalian dews.’

Such a combination as is presented in the character of a man eminent at once in Christian graces and in human accomplishments, has a vast efficacy to make religion understood and prized. Religion sanctifies the latter, and shows their proper uses; and, in turn, is itself nobly recommended, by being exhibited in this imposing and attractive union. Nor in regard alone to the services directly rendered by him to religion, was this lamented man a publick benefactor. His mind was one of those, which leave a broad impress on the character of the times. The weight of his influence, and the more powerful attraction of his example, gave an impulse to the cause of good learning, of which we are daily
witnessing more and more brilliant consequences. But these were not the cares the nearest to his heart. Though followed by an admiration too enthusiastick for a man of less singleness of mind to bear without being led astray from his appropriate work, here was the scene of his favourite labours, and here he reaped their most desired reward. Every thing here reminds us of him. The thought of this place of our solemnities never recurs, without bringing with it the revered and beloved idea of him, in whose light for so happy, though so brief a season, it rejoiced. At the table of Christian fellowship, I meet the disciples, whom he led to that feast, and his presence almost seems to be with us there. Already I find encouragement and friendship in those, whose earliest remembered impressions of religion are associated with the pathos of his melting tones, and the glory of his speaking eye. I stand by death-beds cheered by happy hopes of immortality, which he taught to glow, and witness the Christian patience of mourners, to whom he was the minister of that lasting peace, which the world can neither give nor take away. Happy servant of his God! who can leave such enduring memorials of so short a life; who, long after the first burst of general distress at his early departure has been hushed, survives in the virtuous purposes of manhood, and the calm meditations of age. Happy, whose epitaph is recorded in the religious dedication of so many grateful hearts! There is no other distinction but is mean compared with such a glory. There is no work, no praise, to be coveted like his, who has been thus instrumental in turning many to righteousness. They pay him, while they live, that most honourable tribute of giving him a place among their most spiritual thoughts, their holiest affections. They transmit his influence in the events, which they control, and the minds, which they form. And when, at last, he meets them above, can any thing be wanting to the worth of his crown of rejoicing, when they remember together, that it was by his agency, that God made them associates for angels?
It would lead me into unbecoming panegyrick of the living, if I should attempt to say how splendid was the promise of the short ministry which succeeded, and with what disappointment you saw it terminated. Mr. Everett, who was ordained over this Church February 9, 1814, having been dismissed, at his request, March 5, 1815, in consequence of his appointment to a professorship at the College, (32.) the vacant office was again filled June 17, 1818. Since that period the Society has enjoyed its characteristick harmony, and, it is hoped, has not been remarkably deficient in attendance upon the word and ordinances, or shown other discouraging symptoms of decline. (33.)

In the retrospect, which has engaged us, we have seen, my friends, how graciously God has been, in time past, with our fathers. We perceive what signal tokens of his favour we are imploring, when we entreat him to be equally with us. His presence was with our fathers, because they were true to themselves and to him; and it is well for us to think, that this is the condition, on which we may hope and pray for his continued presence. I trust that the recollections of this day have not been without effect in making the weight of our responsibilities felt by each of us. They were, in their day and generation, no unprofitable servants, into whose places we have succeeded. It is no mean character, which the duty is devolved on us to sustain.—As long as this Church has existed, it has been a Church faithful to the principles of Christian liberty. Its founders were not men studious of novelties; but, on the other hand, they did not suppose that dissent must needs be error. They were the hereticks of their time, whom all felt entitled to pity or revile; but, content to stand or fall to their own Master, they scrupled not to follow their light in renouncing what it showed them to be delusion. Amidst much to embarrass and much to deter, they stood fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free; and while, in their calm confidence in the final triumph of a good cause, they ceased not
to follow the things which make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another,—to the invasions of the violent, or the jealousies of the apprehensive, they gave place for subjection, no, not for an hour. And now, look to the churches which opposed them, to see the event of their stedfastness, and judge what the event of Christian stedfastness will, sooner or later, always be. The three obnoxious peculiarities of their practice have been almost universally admitted; and, if the one peculiarity of their plan of church order has in theory not been extensively allowed, the ancient rule infringed by it is now little more than a dead letter, or an immaterial form.—Having its origin in so resolute an assertion of Protestant principles, it is no wonder that this has been an enlightened Church. It is restraints, legal or conventional, on the right of private judgment, that have kept Christians in darkness; and, where the avenues of religious truth to the mind have not been suffered to be closed by human barriers, truth has not been slow to profit by its opportunity, and hold on its way. Of the four first pastors of this Church,—not to speak of what is more recent,—three were among the liberal Christians of their respective times; and, if an exception needs to be made for the other, there is evidence that his elder associate had little sympathy with him in this particular, and that a large and respectable portion of his Church, though they esteemed him personally, and were unwilling to sacrifice the unity of the spirit, were little satisfied with the part, which he took in the religious controversies and transactions of those days. (34.)—It has been a Church distinguished in the observance of Christian ordinances. It was the boast of one of my predecessors,* that 'he did not know an unbaptized child among the families of his charge;' and the table of Christian fellowship has never witnessed any other than a full attendance. (35.)—It is a Church always accessible to the claims of charity, whose character it belongs to us not to

* Dr. Thacher. Emerson's Funeral Sermon.
forfeit. Not only have principles established here given many eminent benefactors to the publick, and the needy among ourselves always had their relation promptly allowed, and their claims carefully remembered and liberally met,—but it would be a yet unprecedented event in your annals, if a worthy occasion for beneficence should be presented here, and find a parsimonious acknowledgment. (36.)—It has been a singularly united community. *The multitude of them that have here believed, have been, with remarkable constancy, of one heart and of one soul.* The single instance of disunion, which the history of this Church records, occurred more than a century ago, and was not sufficient to obstruct its prosperity, or permanently disturb its quiet. In the revolution of succeeding years, there have not been wanting occasions of difference of opinion; but it has always been wisely considered the due and becoming course, even to the mutual sacrifice of minor interests, to secure the great interest of *letting brotherly love continue.*—It is with such graces, that God has enriched, in former times, this Church of our fathers. It is by such characteristicks, that it is given us in charge, to see that it continue to be known. And if we should begin a new period in its history; if we should receive *for doctrine the commandments of men,* and in our fear of them forget our accountableness to God; if we should be the first here to *darken counsel by words without knowledge*; if God's word and ordinances, so long devoutly reverenced and prized here, should first experience a neglect from us, and the house of prayer witness desertion or unconcern; if the obligations of Christian benevolence, long and liberally allowed, should first be disowned by our sordidness, and the bonds of Christian fraternity, so closely knit and honourably worn, be severed by our divisions; what an array of venerable men must we look to see *rise up in judgment with the men of this degenerate generation,* and condemn them!

While we pray then, that God will be with us, even as he was with our fathers; that he will never leave nor forsake
we; we should think, my hearers, how it is, that we must invite his presence. We should feel, that we have a great concern in charge. A religious society is not an association for providing a place, where, two or three hours in every week, we may be furnished with unexciting occupation. It is a combination, which creates a vast influence, whether for good or evil. It may be made an instrument for impairing,—it may, alas! be converted into an agent for removing from the mind, the mighty force of religious sanctions. It may be the birthplace of idle extravagancies, estranging follies, or pernicious doubts. It is bad enough, when the vital spirit of piety is lulled to sleep within its walls. When heartless profession and worldly policy take hold upon the skirts of Religion, Religion is exhibited to the publick view in company where she ought never to be found, and the association discredits and wrongs her. But a religious society, which deserves the name, is an institution, which does no less than combine many earnest minds and devoted hearts for the furtherance of the highest interests of men;—their only interests, which are of permanent account;—interests, which angels estimate, and God estimates more highly than themselves, because they understand their importance better. The Christian sanctuary is a full fountain of life-giving waters, accessible to every passenger; salutary for every sick, and refreshing to every weary soul. If the pulse of the community beats with a healthy flow, it is here that it finds its nourishment. If the mind is in vigour, if the spirit is self-collected to do or to bear, it is here that they have nerved themselves for conflict and toil. It is here that the young form themselves for action, and the aged dispose themselves for death. The house of social worship is the appropriate dwelling of Religion. We may drive her from our homes; we may banish her from our hearts; but we must have estranged her indeed, if she never meets us for a moment there. Can we do too much, my friends, to secure the continued presence of such a
guest? Are they mean blessings, which throng around her steps? Would it be a great dishonour and a grievous sin to be the first to exile her from a favoured and familiar home?

If we think so, the occasion has another lesson for us; to do what we may with **all diligence, redeeming the time**; to date from this day a stedfast adherence to whatever principles and practices have hitherto illustrated this place, if we would be sure not to have it hereafter for our shame, that they were defrauded of their due tribute from us. **How little is that time, in which so many have been faithful to them! How short is that time, in which we must maintain or disown them! It seems, and it is, no long period since this place first began to echo the praises of the Most High. And yet, within this narrow space, no small portion of the business of living and dying has been transacted; and the history of this Church is already matter of curious antiquarian research,—so few remain, who have even seen aged men, who could tell them of its early fortunes. Since its establishment, four complete generations, according to the common estimate, have followed one another into the gates of the narrow house. Of the first and second ministry, the fruits have been thoroughly gleaned and gathered to heaven. One individual, who in his youth had seen the last survivor of our two first pastors, has been seen by us in this house, the solitary link, that connected us with a departed world; but when his venerable form appeared among us, he was gazed at as a singular example of extreme longevity. (37.) The half century since this modern edifice was reared,—for with the conclusion of our worship this day, divine service will have been solemnized here through the sabbaths of fifty-one years,—appears to us a little time indeed; and the names and characters of the projectors of the work are familiar. Yet of those, who **saw this house in its first glory**, how few have met in it this day! Death came in with the throng of worshippers, and bade them sing a requiem almost as soon as their first thanksgiving
had been sung. Five times, within the little period which has since elapsed, has been missed from its accustomed place here the august form, that had been invested with the supreme authority of the state. Three times these walls have been clothed with funereal pomp for him, who was brought hither to give his last lesson from his bier; and many times in each year they have heard the consolations of religion implored for those, who mourned the illustrious and the beloved,—till at last we only see, here and there, a few survivors of the crowded assembly, that came first into these courts with thanksgiving, and into these gates with praise. But why speak of the revolutions of years, when weeks or hours are so ample for the work of desolation? It seems but yesterday, since we last met in this house; and yet places, which were left that day without the apprehension of a final parting, are to know their occupants no more forever. Death seems sometimes to labour long at his work; but it is not because the shortest time will not suffice him. He seems to seek advantages; but it is not because he requires their aid. He has been commissioned to seize almost the moment of our re-union, to teach us, by a most lamented visitation, how transient it may be. Among the multitude of them that keep holy day, who would have brought hither a more devout spirit, than the friend, whose place we have scarcely ever till now seen empty? Who could have been taken from an important sphere of duty better filled? Whom would it have been harder to resign; and yet who was more ripe for a higher worship and a nobler society? We mourn over the dissolution of near relations most exemplarily sustained; over the removal of a pious spirit, which found its happiness and resources in devotion, and its exercise in duty. But we bless God for the now extinguished light of an excellent example; and we own the momentous importance of that lesson of human frailty and exposure, which needs to be taught, even at such a cost. (38.)
So rapidly, my friends, we are following one another away. So soon must we give over our work to other hands. So soon are the fortunes and character of this Church,—such as, while in our trust, we made them,—to be added to the history, which we have this day recounted. Shall it be the continuation of this yet unfinished history, that God first left and forsook this Church in our times, because we first forgot and forsook him? or shall it be said, that he was still with us as he had been with our fathers; for we loved the habitation of his house, we loved his worship, and reverenced his word, and prized his ordinances; we were jealous for his honour with a godly jealousy; we searched for his will with a lively interest, and did it with a holy zeal; were followers of his Son, and benefactors of his creatures;—that in our time the men resorted here, who loved him with heart, mind, soul, and strength, and laboured that his name might be hallowed, and his kingdom come; who, living a life of faith and prayer, in all holy conversation and godliness, were strenuous in duty and unmoved in trial, and abounding in that pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keep themselves unspotted from the world; that the families met here, in whose homes dwelt devotion, peace and love; that the youthful piety was learned here, which bore in maturer life the fruits of exemplary worth, of domestick usefulness, and disinterested publick services? Oh, may God be thus gracious to us, as he has been to our fathers! May his spirit never leave nor forsake us; but prepare for itself meet dwellings in our hearts, and subdue them wholly to its excellent sway!

Meanwhile, we see this day no little cause for grateful joy and animating hopes. To those of us, for whom many interesting recollections connect themselves with this house of prayer, it is no unimportant event to see it set in its state and strengthened, and no little anxiety has
been relieved in many minds by the knowledge, that a temple of religion, so honoured by time, and so graced by piety, is not to be removed from our view, like the common structures, which our convenience or our fancy adorns or levels; that the very soil, which has borne so favoured a church of Christ, is to be burdened with no meaner weight. It is matter of satisfaction, to think, that, in the ordinary course of providence, as long as we shall need a temple made with hands, this may stand to shelter our devotions. It is soothing to consider, that it may be in this familiar place of our solemnities, that God will be entreated to sustain us in our mortal sickness, and comfort them by whom we may be mourned. It is a thought not without interest, that the sabbath steps of our children still may tread in the path, where we first led them; and we almost find ourselves less apprehensive in committing them to the chances of the world, when we think of bequeathing to them the strengthening and guiding influences of this consecrated place, and the divine care and favour, that have never failed to distinguish it. God grant that they and their children, through all succeeding time, may find it the house of God, the open gate of heaven! Here may he vouchsafe his presence, and disclose his perfections, and give power to his word, and pour out his spirit! Here may truth shine forth as the light, and righteousness as the noon day! The Lord our God be with us and our children, as he was with our fathers! Let him not leave us nor forsake us; that he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, to make our hearts perfect with the Lord our God, to walk in his statutes, and keep his commandments!
NOTES.

(1.) p. 6. THE First Church was founded in 1630; the Second in 1649; and the Old South in 1669. At the time of the establishment of the Church in Brattle Square, Allen and Wadsworth were pastors of the First Church, which then met upon the spot now occupied by Cornhill Square; Increase and Cotton Mather of the Second, in North Square; and Willard of the Old South. The First Baptist Church, in Back Street, was founded in 1679; and the First Episcopalian, (King’s Chapel,) in 1683.

(2.) p. 7. The grantees were Thomas Clark, John Mico, Thomas Bun­nister, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Walker, Benjamin Davis, Timothy Clark, Stephen Minot, William Keen, Richard Draper, William Harris, Abraham Blush, Zechariah Tuthill, Thomas Palmer, John Colman, James Meers, Joseph Allen, Elkanah Pembroke, John Kilby, and Addington Davenport. The land measured 107 feet on the south and west bounda­ries, 97 on the north, and 120 on the east, extending to within 17 feet of the present south line of Brattle Street, and on the east and north sides from 3 to 13 feet beyond the walls of the present church. Brattle Street, and a way leading from the Town Dock to it, are mentioned in the deed. October 17th, 1700, a new avenue to the church was obtained by the purchase, jointly with others, of a passage, ten feet wide, through the land of John Dasset, since called Dasset’s Alley, where a post, to secure it for foot passengers, is still maintained, according to the terms of the purchase.

(3.) p. 8. As some of the Society, who have never met with this document, may be curious to see it, I insert it entire. It would evidently be so contrary to the spirit of the whole, to regard any part of it as a creed, which the founders of our Church meant to impose on their suc­cessors,—that it is, perhaps, superfluous to remark, that its sole design is stated to be to prevent ‘all misapprehensions and jealousies.’ I have not been able to find an original copy of it. That from which I reprint is
taken from a copy, made by Judge Thacher, in 1807, from an original, which was then on the parish files. He informs me, that it was printed on two sides of a half sheet in the folio form, not unlike a handbill of the present day.

"A Manifesto or Declaration, set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church now erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17th, 1699.

A Manifesto or Declaration, set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church now erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17th, 1699.

Inasmuch as God hath put it into our hearts to undertake the building a new meeting-house in this town for his publick worship; and whereas, through the gracious smiles of Divine Providence on this our undertaking, we now see the same erected, and near finished;—we think it convenient, for preventing all misapprehensions and jealousies, to publish our aims and designs herein, together with those principles and rules we intend, by God’s grace, to adhere unto.

We do therefore, as in the presence of God, our Judge, and with all the sincerity and seriousness, which the nature of our present engagement commands from us, profess and declare both to one another and to all the world, as follows:

1st.—First of all, we approve and subscribe the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

2d.—We design only the true and pure worship of God, according to the rules appearing plainly to us in his word, conformably to the known practice of many of the churches of the United Brethren in London, and throughout all England.

3d.—It is our sincere desire and intention to hold communion with the churches here, as true churches; and we openly protest against all suspicion and jealousy to the contrary, as most injurious to us.

4th.—And although, in some circumstances, we may vary from many of them; yet we jointly profess to maintain such order and rules of discipline, as may preserve, as far as in us lies, evangelical purity and holiness in our communion.

5th.—In pursuance whereof, we further declare, that we allow of baptism to those only, who profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him, and to the children of such; yet we dare not refuse it to any
child offered to us by any professed Christian, upon his engagement to see it educated, if God give life and ability, in the Christian religion.

'But this being a ministerial act, we think it the pastor's province to receive such professions and engagements; in whose prudence and conscience we acquiesce.

'6th.—As to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, we believe, that, as the ordinance is holy, so the partakers in it (that it may not be visibly profaned) must be persons of visible sanctity.

'7th.—We judge it, therefore, fitting and expedient, that whoever would be admitted to partake with us in this holy sacrament, be accountable to the pastor, to whom it belongs to inquire into their knowledge and spiritual state, and to require the renewal of their baptismal covenant.

'8th.—But we assume not to ourselves to impose upon any a publick relation of their experiences; however, if any one think himself bound in conscience to make such a relation, let him do it. For we conceive it sufficient, if the pastor publickly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our communion, and seasonably propound him.

'9th.—We also think ourselves obliged, in faithfulness to God, our own souls, and theirs who seek our communion, to inquire into the life and conversation of those who are so propounded; and if we have just matter of objection, to prefer it against them.

'10th.—But if no objection be made, before the time of their standing propounded is expired, it shall be esteemed a sufficient consent and concurrence of the brethren, and the person propounded shall be received to our communion.

'11th.—If ever any of our communion should be so unhappy as to fall into any scandalous sin, (which God by his grace prevent,) we profess all dutiful submission to those censures, which the scripture directs, and the churches here practice.

'12th.—Forasmuch as the same power that admits, should also exclude, we judge it reasonable, that the pastor, in suspending or excommunicating an offender, have the consent and concurrence of the brethren.

'13th.—We apprehend, that a particular church, as such, is a society of Christians by mutual agreement, usually meeting together for publick worship in the same place, and under the same ministry, attending on the ordinances of God there.

'14th.—In every such society, the law of nature dictates to us, that there is implied a mutual promise and engagement of being faithful to the relations they bear to each other, whether as private Christians, or as pastor and flock, so long as the providence of God continues them in those relations.
15th.—We, moreover, declare ourselves for communion of churches, freely allowing our members, occasionally, to communicate with other churches of Christ, and receiving theirs, occasionally, to the table of the Lord with us. And in extraordinary cases, when the providence of God makes it needful, we conceive that any authorized minister of Christ may, upon our request, administer the sacraments unto us.

16th.—Finally, we cannot confine the right of choosing a minister to the communicants alone; but we think that every baptized adult person, who contributes to the maintenance, should have a vote in electing. Yet it seems but just, that persons of the greatest piety, gravity, wisdom, authority, or other endowments, should be leading and influential to the Society in that affair.

These are the principles we profess, and the rules we purpose, through the grace of God, to govern ourselves by; and in some of these particulars only, and in no other, do we see cause to depart from what is ordinarily professed and practiced by the churches of Christ here in New England.

(4.) p. 9. President Mather's Order of the Gospel is dated January, 1700. The principles of the Manifesto are stated in the Epistle Dedicatory, which prefaces the work, and controverted with some others in elaborate answers to seventeen questions. This treatise is by no means wanting in ingenuity or learning. Its arguments will be variously estimated at this time, as they were at the time when it was written, according to the different views, which are taken of the doctrines discussed. Among the questions raised, is one, applying to Dr. Colman's case;—May a man be ordained a pastor except to a particular church, and in the presence of that church? which is solved in the negative, with a reservation for extreme cases, as to the latter clause.

Gospel Order Revived, being an Answer to a Book lately set forth by the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, &c. by sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New England, was printed the same year. It is a reply to Order of the Gospel, in a disquisition upon the questions proposed in that work. Apart from the good sense of the argument in Gospel Order Revived, it is worthy of attention for the enlarged views, which it discovers of religious liberty. 'If we appear less rigid,' say the writers, 'than others of the Reverend Author's severity, we are reflected on as casting dishonour on our parents, and their pious design in the first settlement of this land. No! we reverence our ancestors, and the memory of their divine zeal and constancy, and would derive it as a truth sacred to our posterity, that it was a religious interest, which carried them through all the amazing difficulties and discouragements in that undertaking. But yet the particular design, or end, has been somewhat differently conveyed unto us.'—'Some would make the design of our first
planters to consist in some little rites, modes or circumstances of church discipline, and those such as the word of God nowhere requires. These are the men who dishonour their fathers’ memory, by making their great design to lie in so small matters.‘—‘Again; some have made this the great design, to be freed from the Impositions of Men in the Worship of God, wherewith they were sometime burdened; and as they sought freedom for themselves, we cannot suppose they designed to impose upon others. In this we are risen up to make good their grounds.‘—‘Whether arbitrary impositions are insufferable in themselves or not, yet certainly they are bold and insolent in New England, where the greatest outcry is made against them in others.’

‘Tis possible,’ they say, ‘that some good people may blame us, for carrying on the contention, wherein, as one saith, though there be but little truth gained, yet a great deal of charity may be lost. We hope the best as to both these.’—‘We must do justice also to those, who have first openly asserted and practised those truths among us. They deserve well of the churches of Christ; and, though at present decried as apostates and backsliders, the generations to come will bless them.’

This book has no advertisement of the printer’s name or place of residence. It is prefaced with a notice, that ‘the press in Boston is so much under the aw of the Reverend Author, whom we answer, and his friends, that we could not obtain of the printer there to print the following sheets.’ The printer here referred to, was Bartholomew Green, a man much respected, and then, or afterwards, a deacon of the Old South Church. There being no newspaper in Boston till four years after, he published his vindication in a handbill, dated December 21, 1700; in which he affirms, that when the work was brought to him, he agreed to print it, until he was told that it must be done with secrecy; and then he declined, unless he should be allowed first to consult the Lieut. Governour, (Stoughton,) which condition was rejected. To this statement are appended a few vituperative periods, without an author’s name, but charged upon Cotton Mather. This publication was answered by another, from the office of John Allen, containing two depositions, the first by Thomas Brattle and Zechariah Tuthill, relating to an interview between them and Green, at which, they say, he agreed to print the work; the second, by John Mico and Tuthill, giving an account of a conversation between him and them a few days later, in which he expressed his fear of displeasing some of his friends; and made the condition mentioned above. These are followed by some remarks of Brattle, in no placid strain, upon Green’s handbill and appendix. Green rejoined, in a second publication, on the 10th of January following, in which he represents his scruples about the pamphlet to have arisen from reflecting on the trouble, which had been occasioned by the publication of
the Manifesto, which had been printed by him at Tuthill's request. The papers are to be found in Thomas' History of Printing, II. 458.

The following year appeared A Collection of some of the many Offensive Matters contained in a Pamphlet, entitled, The Order of the Gospel Revived, attributed to Cotton Mather, with a preface of severe invective signed by his father. This tract, the declared purpose of which is to point out 'some of the scandalous violations of the third, fifth and ninth commandments' in the preceding work, is a specimen of the least tolerable style of controversy. The vocabulary, so long consecrated to assaults upon reformers, of 'gross immorality,' 'impudence,' 'deep apostasy,' 'open impiety,' 'profaneness,' and, finally, tendency to 'atheism,' is most liberally used. It appears from several allusions, that the authors supposed Colman to be the principal writer of Gospel Order Revived, though they do not name him. He had been a member of their church, and is accordingly rebuked for 'vilifying his superiors, unto whom he owes a special reverence.' The President calls him a 'little thing,' 'a raw and unstudied youth, but also of a very unsanctified temper and spirit.' He also speaks of 'one that is of the same spirit with him, viz. T. B.—who likewise in print, scornfully styles his President a reverend scribbler.—A moral heathen would not have done as he has done.' These initials can denote no other than Thomas Brattle, who showed this disrespect to his President, being at that time Treasurer of the College.

Dr. Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary, (Art. Solomon Stoddard,) attributes Gospel Order Revived to that gentleman, apparently through misapprehension of a passage in the deposition above-named of Mico and Tuthill. 'These deponents,' they say, 'asked said printer whether he had his Honour's leave to print the Gospel Order. He said, he had not. They then asked him if he would print this, if young Mr. Mather would be impri­matur to it? He readily said, he would. Then they told him, it was a shame so worthy a minister as Mr. Stoddard should send so far as England to have his book printed, when young Mr. Mather had the press at his pleasure. To which he replied, he hoped Mr. Mather was another guess man than Mr. Stoddard.'

'There passed,' says Green, in his deposition, 'some discourse con­cerning Mr. Increase Mather's book, the Order of the Gospel, and of Mr. Stoddard's book of Instituted Churches, as I understood. Mr. Mico asked me if it were not pity, or a shame, that such a man as Mr. Stoddard should send so far as England to have his book printed. The answer to which I do not justly remember, nor for what reason he spake it to me, for Mr. Stoddard's book was never offered me to print by himself or any other person.'

Unless I have made some error in taking a memorandum, Cotton Mather published, in 1702, Advice to the Churches of the Faithful, a work
which, perhaps, belongs to this controversy, but which I have not been able to find. In a sermon printed in that year, called *Ichabod, or a Discourse shewing what Cause there is to fear that the Glory of the Lord is departing from New England*, the President recurs to the subject, though incidentally, and more covertly. 'Some scandalous practices,' he says, 'which not only the Waldenses, but the reformed churches in France and in Holland have, in their discipline, declared to be censurable evils, are now indulged in some churches in New England;' which hint is explained, when he comes to speak of 'ministers, not like their predecessors, not principled, nor spirited as they were,' who 'have in print mocked and scoffed at holy practices, which have been the glory of these churches of the Lord;' who 'despise that glory, which their fathers had such a value for,' and 'will part with truth and holiness; and yet, at the same time, by new notions and practices, make divisions.'

In their *Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England, left in the Hands of the Churches by the two most aged Ministers of the Gospel yet surviving in the Country*, Higginson and Hubbard allude to this controversy in terms expressive of a lively concern. The former had also, in 1699, written, jointly with Mr. Noyes, the other Salem minister, a letter of admonition and reproof to the Undertakers, which is preserved in MS. Vol. Ha. 19 of the Historical Society's library. It is severe, without being unkind or disrespectful; and while, in point of argument, it does not compare favourably with the writings of the Mathers, has greatly the advantage of them in its spirit.

Some of the points in this dispute are touched in 'famous Solomon Stoddard's' *Doctrine of Instituted Churches*, published in London, in 1700. *A soft Answer* to this work was furnished by President Mather, but I have searched for it ineffectually. Stoddard rejoined in his *Appeal to the Learned*, in 1709.

From a private journal kept at this time, in Marblehead, by Josiah Cotton, an extract from which has been furnished me by Judge Davis, it appears, that the Church 'was for a while, in contempt, called the Manifesto Church,' and that *Gospel Order Revived* was commonly reputed to be the joint work of the ministers Colman, Bradstreet of Charlestown, and Woodbridge. Mr. Cotton inserted two pieces of doggerel verse, written, one by an assailant, and the other by a champion of the Church, which contain some wretched puns upon the names of those gentlemen. The lines are too insipid to print. I gather from them only that the Church was thought to affect gentility, and that Dr. Colman wore powder. The journalist well subjoins, 'Thus the quarrels about religion give occasion to scoffing wits; and therefore a small matter should not set us together by the ears; for a victory won't countervail the damage, and it is well that that controversy is since comfortably composed.'
More acceptable it was,' writes Dr. Colman, in the record of his call, 'by reason of the kind and encouraging letters, which accompanied it, from my excellent friends, the Hon. Mr. John Leverett, the Rev. William Brattle, Ebenezer Pemberton, Simon Bradstreet, and others. Being arrived at London, August 1, 1699, I asked ordination of the presbytery there, and on the 4th day of said month the solemnity was attended, after a publick lecture, at the meeting-house of the Rev. Mr. Christopher Taylor, to whom I succeeded at Bath. I was ordained by prayer, with the imposition of the hands of the Rev. Richard Stratton, John Spademam, Robert Fleming, and Christopher Taylor. Mr. Stratton prayed, Mr. Spademam made the exhortation.'

The letters of encouragement above referred to are preserved in the MS. volume of the Historical Society's library, to which I have before referred. I copy that of Leverett, as an agreeable specimen of the courtesy of the time:

'Cambridge, May 25th, 1699.

'Rev. Sr,

'I have wrote several letters to you, but have not been sure of your receiving any more than One of them; However, I hope they have been so happy as to kiss your hands, and to testify to you my regards. This I trust will get safe to you, since it waits upon those that send their Invitations to you to come over to do service in your Own Country. The Gent. that solicit your return Informe me of their doing so, and I hope their hopes of obtaining what they send for will not be frustrate, nor long deferred. I believe, Sr, you have as Advantageous a prospect, as any our countrey can offer. The Gent. Engaged in that affair are Able, Vigourous and Sincere. They are men of honour, and can't, in an Ordinary way, fail a Reasonable Expectation. The Work they have begun had its Rise from a Zeal that is not Common, and the progress of it is Orderly and Steady. I am heartily pleased with the motion they have made towards yourself, because I shal Exceedingly rejoice at your return into your Countrey. We want Psons of your Character. You will, I doubt not, let the Name of your Countrey have a Weight in the ballance of your Consideration. The Affaire offered to you is great, and of Great moment. I pray Almighty God to be your director in it. It is he that thrusts Labours into his harvest, and bounds the habitations of the Sons of Adam. that yours (if it may be for your advantage) may be where you have this Invitation, is heartily desired by all that I have heard speak of it; but it can't be more Agreeable to any body than it is to,

Sr,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

JOHN LEVERETT.'
(6.) p. 9. The first record was made December 12. December 20, the proprietors voted, 'that the Psalms in our publick worship be sung without reading line by line.' The first day of publick worship was December 24, when Dr. Colman preached from 2 Chron. vi. 18. 'I omit, on purpose,' he writes, under that date, 'the differences and troubles we had with any neighbours about our proceedings; only am obliged to leave this acknowledgment of our great obligation to the Hon. William Stoughton, Esq. Lieut. Gov. of the Province, the Rev. Mr. William Brattle of Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Clark of Chelmsford, and Mr. Danforth of Dorchester, for their good and kind endeavours for our peaceable settlement.' The 'day of prayer' was kept January 31. In the morning Mr. Allen prayed and Dr. Colman preached. In the afternoon, Mr. Willard began with prayer, Increase Mather preached, and Cotton Mather concluded. What led to this accommodation, I have failed to ascertain. In a note from Allen and the Mathers, dated only a month before, they refuse to take part in this solemnity, 'lest,' say they, 'our joining with you in such an action be interpreted as an approbation of the miscarriages, which, both before and since the publication of the said Manifesto, it seems to us that you are fallen into.'

The fourteen brethren who first formed the Church were Brattle, Thomas Clark, Cooper, Walker, Davis, Keen, Draper, Harris, Tuthill, Colman, Allen, and Kilby, of the undertakers, with John and Oliver Noyes. The brethren who joined it on the first communion day were Bannister and Pembroke, of the undertakers, with Nathaniel Oliver, John George, William Pain, John Chip, and John Kilby, sen.; and the sisters, Mary Tuthill, Rebecca Taffin, Mary Mico, Mehitabell Cooper, Lydia George, Sarah Bannister, Jane Pembroke, and Elizabeth Royall. The pastor of the Old South Church, who has kindly searched his books for me, informs me that Davis, Walker, Kilby, Oliver Noyes, Oliver, John and Lydia George, and Mehitabell Cooper, were from that church, and Brattle from that congregation, where he owned the baptismal covenant in 1680. Pembroke was a member of the First Church. Besides these, all the first female communicants, and Draper, Bannister, and Chip, among the male, are marked as having been before church members, but I have not been able to find their names on the register of any church in the town,—a circumstance for which I am at a loss to account. John Colman was probably from the Second Church. The names of Draper, Royall, and Tuthill, occur in the records of the First, and those of Clark, Davenport, Harris, Keen, and Palmer, in those of the Second.

Clark, whose daughter Dr. Colman married, is called, in the dedication to his sermon preached on a day of prayer in behalf of the children of the Church, its 'first benefactor.'—In the fifth volume of the Historical Collections is preserved a 'Full and Candid Account of the Delusion called
Witchcraft, which prevailed in New England; and of the Judicial Trials and Executions at Salem in the County of Essex for that pretended Crime, in 1692. Written by Thomas Brattle, F. R. S. It is a composition highly honourable to the writer,—manly, sensible, and humane, besides being exceedingly well written. The undertakers are called by Pemberton, in his letter above-mentioned, 'men of repute and figure.' In a letter of Oliver Noyes to Colman, he says, 'their methods (in my own private thoughts) have been regular, having first applied themselves to the governor and council, and assembly, and selectmen of Boston, with their unanimous approbation, as also acquainting the ministers at their meeting after lecture; and, though they did not apply themselves to any particular minister for advice, as some few have resented harsh—yet, to my thoughts, they had some reason, being about to depart from some customs that some of them pretend to be fond of; and for that reason, perhaps, they denied to join with them in a fast they had appointed to implore peace, love and success in their design.'

(7.) p. 10. Mr. Adams was first engaged for a year, by an unanimous vote, in June, 1701. He was settled in New London in 1709, and lived till 1753. He published several sermons.

(8.) p. 10. According to Allen, that eminent man Dr. Barnard of Marblehead 'was employed for some time as an assistant to Dr. Colman.' This does not appear from the records.

(9.) p. 11. Mr. Cooper was invited to the pastoral care August 16, 1715, preliminary votes having been passed at the first publick meeting of the whole congregation the month before. 66 votes were given, of which 60 were in his favour. Having represented, 'that he feared, if he should immediately engage in a course of constant preaching, it might hinder him too much in his preparatory studies,' he continued to preach but once a fortnight for some months. At his ordination, Dr. Colman preached the sermon, from 2 Tim. ii. 1. 'It has been usual,' he says, in the preface, 'for the person who is to be ordained himself to preach. This practice has, of late years, been much complained of by our young ministers, as a great impropriety imposed on them. In which opinion I concur, and was therefore willing to relieve Mr. Cooper, and to assign him a more proper part and service, which he also chose. This, also, is new with us. But we had the satisfaction to see it highly approved,' &c. This 'more proper part and service,' which was introduced between the sermon and the consecrating prayer, and afterwards published with the former, was a detailed exposition, by the candidate, of his views of the Christian system.
and the pastoral office, in answers to four questions propounded to him by Dr. Colman.

The sermon contains a hint, from which some judgment may be formed concerning the amount of parochial duty, considered reputable in those days. 'I have already led you through the greatest part of the congregation, but am sensible we have missed many, some of whom we know not where their habitations are, and should be glad to know them, that we may do our duty to them also.' Dr. Colman also extols Cooper, in his funeral sermon, as knowing 'where to find the poor and sick of the flock, when they sent their notes.' At the present day it would sound strangely for a minister to speak of missing many of his congregation, from not knowing where they lived, or to name it as for the credit of another, that he knew where to find the poor and sick. Cotton Mather is, in like manner, commended by his biographer, for thinking it his duty to visit the families belonging to his church; taking one, and sometimes two afternoons in a week for that purpose. Nor was it the length of his visits that prevented their greater frequency; for 'he could seldom despatch more than four or five families in an afternoon, and looked on this work as laborious as any in all his ministry.' Life, by Samuel Mather, pp. 35, 37.

(10.) p. 11. **The date in the text is an error. Mr. Cooper died December 12, of apoplexy.** He had been unwell a week before, but not alarmingly ill till the second day previous to his decease. The Lord's day after the funeral Dr. Sewall preached in Brattle Square from 1 Thess. iv. 14, and Dr. Colman from John xi. 35. The next Lord's day Mr. Prince preached from 2 Tim. iv. 7, and 'the rest of the ministers followed, in their course, preaching with great affection.'

(11.) p. 11. **September 4, 1744, three gentlemen were requested to preach as candidates, besides Mr. Cooper, whom the pastor, at his discretion, was permitted to invite by a vote of 52 to 13. At a meeting, held December 31, 'a very full meeting of no less than 138 in number,' Mr. Cooper was chosen to the pastoral office by 116 votes.

(12.) p. 11. **Dr. Colman began to preach the year after he took his bachelor's degree, and resided, for the most part, at Cambridge till he went abroad, two years after, 'having a strong desire to see England, and make improvement by what he could see and learn there.'** The vessel, in which he took passage, was taken by a French privateer, and he was carried to France, where, as well as afterwards in England, he met with various adventures, which are narrated at tedious length by his biographer. In

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* Turell's Life of Colman.
England he formed friendships with many persons of note; among others with Elizabeth Singer, afterwards Mrs. Rowe, with whom he continued to correspond till her death.

During Dr. Colman's sole ministry in Brattle Square, 245 persons were received to full communion with the Church, viz. before the ordination of William Cooper, 97 men and 123 women; and in the interval between his death and the ordination of his son, 8 men and 17 women. From the first, the ordinance of the Lord's supper has been administered on the first Sunday of each month. In the first term of Dr. Colman's sole ministry 682 persons were baptized, and in the second, 148.

His salary was at first forty shillings a week. It was raised, the second year, to fifty, and, in 1703, to three pounds.

'On October the 12th, 1711, the old church being burnt down with a great part of the town,' the First Church was invited to worship with the Church in Brattle Square; and continued so to do till May 4, 1713.

'July 24, 1713, the Rev. Mr. William Brattle, pastor of the church in Cambridge, signified, by a letter, the legacy of his brother, Thomas Brattle, Esq. lately deceased, of a pair of organs, which he dedicated and devoted to the praise and glory of God with us, if we should accept thereof, and, within a year after his decease, procure a sober person, skilful to play thereon. The Church, with all possible respect to the memory of our deceased Friend and Benefactor, voted, that they did not think it proper to use the same in the publick worship of God.'

'July 4, 1715, Dr. Noyes proposed our using some better version of the Psalms; and Capt. Clark proposed that there might be a constant exposition of the Scriptures, after the reading of them every Lord's day. Both which matters, after some discourse of them, were left to further consideration, if need were.'

Dr. Colman was, from youth to age, a diligent student. He had, for the time, a good library, part of which he bequeathed to the Church. Though he modestly speaks, when chosen president, of his 'long disuse of academical studies,' he in fact never wholly renounced his classical pursuits. His Latin letters are written in a beautiful style, and he read Horace not long before his death. He composed with uncommon rapidity. One sermon, which is in print, and which took him an hour to pronounce, is stated by his biographer to have been written in a forenoon. He published upwards of eighty works, chiefly sermons, a catalogue of which is given in the Appendix to his life. At a time when such honours were very scantily distributed, and not at all by our own colleges, he received a diploma as doctor in divinity from the University of Glasgow. In what esteem he was held by his own college, may be gathered from the notice taken of him by President Holyoke, on the day of Commencement after his death, in which it is curious that the President has occasion to allude to him in
connexion with Mr. Gee, as Dr. Chauncy had done in the letter to which I allude in the text,—but with a quite different result. The President names Mr. Gee with other clergymen deceased during the year, and goes on to say, quibus omnibus, egregiō licet ornatis, virum vere reverendum Benjamin Colman longe præcellere, nemo non facile confitebitur.

Dr. Barnard of Marblehead, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, dated 16th October, 1767, (Hist. Coll. X. 169,) calls Colman 'a most gentlemanly man, of polite aspect and conversation, very extensive erudition, great devotion of spirit and behaviour, a charming and admired preacher, extensively serviceable to the college and country, whose works breathe his exalted, oratorical, devout, and benign spirit; an excellent man in spirit, in faith, in holiness and charity.'

Of his manner as a publick speaker, his colleague says, in an unpublished funeral discourse, 'he never delivered a sermon but we saw how perfectly he understood the decorum of the pulpit; and the gravity and sweetness at once expressed in his countenance, the music of his voice, the propriety of his accent, and the decency of his gesture, showed him one of the most graceful speakers of the age.'

'He was a good master of address, and carried all the politeness of a court about him. And, as he treated mankind of various degrees and ranks with a civility, courtesy, affability, complaisance and candour scarce to be equalled,—so all but the base and mean showed him a high degree of respect and reverence, love and affection. Particularly men of figure and parts of our own nation and foreigners, whom he failed not to visit upon their coming among us, greatly valued and admired him.—It has been said, perhaps not without some seeming grounds for it, that he sometimes went too far in complimentary strains, both in word and writing; but, if he did, such flights took their rise from an exuberance or excrescence of the before-mentioned homiletical virtues. He took a sincere pleasure in the gifts of others, and had a natural proneness to think favourably of all men, and construed every thing in the most candid sense.'* 'He loved and honoured good men of every denomination, how much soever they differed from him in some peculiar sentiments, circumstantial and modalities.'

'To his relations by consanguinity and affinity, he was singularly affectionate and kind.' 'He was also a sincere and useful friend to all such as he professed any friendship to, and extended his benevolence and beneficence to their friends.'† 'He was an example of patience, and instead of revenging injuries, (when it was in his power,) he laid himself out to do all he kindnesses he could to his adversaries.' Yet 'his natural temper was quick and hasty; and he had the infirmities as well as sanctity of an Elijah.'‡

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His services were much sought by individuals and churches in the office of a peacemaker. Several letters, written and received by him on such occasions, remain, and show the confidence which was placed in his moderation and wisdom.—In 1740, some apprehension, it seems, was felt, of a breach among the ministers and in the lecture, occasioned by two sermons, one preached by Mr. Hooper of the West Church, the other, probably, by Dr. Chauncy. Dr. Colman, as usual, was employed to heal the schism. There is a note from him to Dr. Chauncy, requesting, for himself and the three other senior ministers, an interview with that gentleman 'for a free brotherly discourse.' No answer is preserved, and it does not appear what reception the proposition met. From an amicable correspondence, which took place, at the same time, between Dr. Colman and Mr. Hooper, it appears, that the matter of suspicion was some views, which had been advanced concerning the justice and mercy of God,—very probably the rudiments of the system, which Dr. Chauncy afterwards expounded at length.—Mr. Hooper, in 1746, left his society and became rector of Trinity Church. Dr. Colman records the baptism by him of two children at Mr. Hooper's, on his desertion.

Besides his numerous letters on publick concerns, he maintained an extensive correspondence of friendship with eminent individuals at home and abroad, among whom were Dr. Hoadly, Dr. Watts, and Dr. Kennett, bishop of Peterborough. A complimentary letter from him to Bishop Hoadly, then of Bangor, occasioned by the publication of his Common Rights of Subjects, is preserved in the MS. volume, to which I have referred, as also a letter from London, in which Gov. Belcher informs him of the circumstances of his appointment to the chair of the commonwealth. I have been told, that a manuscript volume, containing letters which passed between him and Dr. Watts, was missing from the library of the Historical Society, at the time of the controversy occasioned by the election of Dr. Ware to the divinity chair in 1805, and has never been recovered.

'If any should inquire concerning the person of Dr. Colman'—'his form was spare and slender, but of a stature tall and erect above the common height; his complexion fair and delicate, his aspect and mien benign and graceful; and his whole appearance amiable and venerable. There was a peculiar flame and dignity in his eye, which he could soften and manage with all the beauty and force of oratory, but still natural, and without the least affectation.—And his neat and clean manner of dress, and genteel, complaisant behaviour, politeness and elegance in conversation, set off his person to the best advantage.'*

'He was of a tender constitution from his birth,'† and 'when he

* Ibid. p. 231.
† Ibid. p. 1.
pronounced the publick oration in taking his master's degree, his thin and slender appearance, his soft and delicate voice, and the red spots in his cheeks, caused the audience in general to conclude him bordering on a consumption, and to be designed but for a few weeks of life.* His tender constitution and often infirmities, together with many sudden and threatening shocks on his health by acute diseases, were earnest and quickening mementos to him of his frailty and mortality.† By strict regularity of living, however, he retained sufficient health for his life and labours to cease together. He preached the Lord's day previous to, and rose as usual on the morning of his death.

His family is extinct. John Dennie, whom Turell calls, in his biography, the only lamp the doctor left burning in his house at his decease, died childless. The late Mrs. Ward, wife of Rev. Ephraim Ward of Brookfield, was a granddaughter of John Colman, brother of the doctor.

(13.) p. 12. To say as much as this of Cotton Mather, is certainly to do him no injustice. That he had great application and a wonderful memory, there is of course no disputing; but I apprehend that he cannot be said to have possessed any faculty besides that of memory in remarkable strength. Like most other persons of such comprehensive pretensions, he was extremely inaccurate. No one, probably, now relies on his historical writings as authority, when they are unsupported by other evidence. His estimation of his own importance was also altogether unreasonable. At two different vacancies in the presidency of the college, he kept fasts to seek direction in the course which he should pursue when appointed to that office. Many of the representatives favoured his claim; but the corporation four times passed him by, and chose more competent men. While Leverett was president, the Mathers seldom attended the overseers' meetings, and Cotton Mather was never of the corporation.

We have seen how the ministerial intercourse between Cotton Mather and Dr. Colman began. The dispute does not appear to have left any permanent resentment in the mind of the latter. His funeral sermon, from Gen. v. 24, not only breathes a most affectionate and noble spirit, but one is inclined to think, that its panegyrick would have been more qualified, had not the author feared, that their former relation might bias him to do Mather less than justice.

(14.) p. 12. In his funeral sermon upon William Cooper, than which nothing can be more affectionate, he says, * if in any particular point I could not act with him, yet he evidently appeared to me to act, as he professed, as of sincerity, in the sight of God, and as his conscience com-

* Ibid. p. 3. † Ibid. p. 224.
manded him.' Good men are apt to think the times in which they live degenerate. Colman says, in his sermon just quoted, 'It is a time of decay.

Let us, therefore, the rather be strengthening the things that remain and are ready to die;' and, in his address in that sermon to candidates for the ministry, 'Your times are like to be harder than ours, more loose and careless, more evil and trying.' And again, in his sermon on the general fast, March 22, 1716: 'We are sadly on the decay as to serious piety and vital religion. We have lost our first love, life, and zeal. Our fathers, where are they,—their spirit of devotion, their sobriety and temperance, their godliness and honesty? Sensuality, worldliness and pride are grown up in the place of these,—profaneness, lukewarmness and hypocrisy, selfishness and unrighteousness.'

(15.) p. 12. Dr. Colman was frequently employed by the general court in draughting letters and addresses, and held extensive correspondence, upon the affairs of the colony, with the governors and agents, and with dissenting gentlemen in England. He also wrote several addresses to the king and ministry, in behalf of the clergy of Massachusetts. He was, it seems, 'blamed by some for interfering at all with civil and secular matters. But,' asks his biographer, 'must a person, who knows well the interest of his country, and is capable of serving it, and saving it too, when sinking, be silent only because he is a minister? Is he nothing else? Is he not a subject of his prince, and a member of the commonwealth?'

He was very active in introducing the practice of inoculation for the small pox. 'Of 5889, who took it in Boston' in the year 1721, '844 died. Inoculation was introduced upon this occasion, contrary to the minds of the inhabitants in general, and not without hazard to the lives of those who promoted it, from the rage of the people.'* Professional and religious bigotry combined to oppose it. A bill to prohibit it passed the house of representatives, and was only stopped in the council. The practice was however persevered in by Dr. Boylston, who was manfully defended by Mather and Colman. The latter published, in 1721, Some Observations on the New Method of receiving the Small Pox by ingrafting, or inoculating, dedicated to President Leverett. There is a curious example of the spirit, which this dispute elicited, in a sermon preached in London by Mr. Mussey in 1722, and reprinted in Boston. The text is Job ii. 7, and the doctrine, that Satan was the first inoculator.

Dr. Colman published a pamphlet in 1719 in favour of the erection of a market-house, a measure which, at that time, and until several years after, when one market-house was destroyed, and the two others injured by a mob, occasioned much excitement among the citizens.

* Hutchinson's History, II. 247.
I suppose the college is not more indebted to any other
man than to Dr. Colman. While a fellow, he appears to have been
chiefly relied upon for the performance of the most important of the duties
incident to that trust. 'The most remote step,' says he, 'to sap and un­
dermine our college, I would carefully observe, and instantly and openly
oppose, and have made it the business of my life to do so, with caution and
courage.' No opportunity to promote its welfare, by means of his influence
with others, was lost. Samuel Holden, governour of the bank of England,
was son of Mrs. Parkhurst, in whose family Colman was a guest while in
that country. In his funeral sermon, delivered before the government, at
the Thursday lecture, he says, that he received from Holden, at different
times, near £5000, New England currency, for charitable uses. After
Holden's death, his daughters built the chapel at Cambridge, which bears
their name. The benefactions received by Dr. Colman for the college, from
Thomas Hollis, were reckoned by him at £5400. Besides a supply of
Greek and Hebrew types, and valuable additions to the library, he founded
ten scholarships, and the professorships of divinity and natural philosophy,
and furnished an apparatus for the use of the latter.

In a letter to the bishop of Peterborough, soon after declining the office
of president, Dr. Colman says, 'I am not well in the opinion of our house of
representatives of late years, on whom the president depends for his subsis­
tence; and they could not have pinched me without the chair's suffering
with me, which I could by no means consent it should do for my sake. As
for the catholick spirit, which makes your lordship wish to see me in that
honourable station,—it is the very spirit of our college, and has been so
these forty years past; and if I have ever shone in your lordship's eyes on
that account, here I learned it thirty years since; and when I visited the
famous universities and private academies in England, I was proud of my
own humble education here in our Cambridge, because of the catholick air I
had there breathed in.'

He also procured many valuable books for the library of Yale Col­
lege. When that society received the Dean's bounty, he was alarmed
lest the benefaction should be coupled with conditions adverse to the purity
of the churches, and wrote letters to the rector and some of the trustees,
cautioning them to beware of making concessions to Episcopacy. In
one of these letters, he inquires concerning the truth of a report, that Armi­
nianism had gained ground in that college.

The proposal for this contribution, directed to 'the
ministers and churches of Christ, through this and the neighbouring pro­
vinces,' was found among his papers, labelled My own. The plan was,
for 'every particular church' to provide, from collections at the annual fast
and thanksgiving, and from 'private communications,' a constant and
ready fund for uses of piety and charity, as they may see occasion.' This fund was to be lodged in the hands of the deacons of each of the churches where it is gathered, or whomsoever the church shall appoint to that trust, and the 'first and main intention of it to be the propagation of religion in ungsopelized places; and the dispersing bibles, catechisms, and other instruments of piety among the poor.'

(18.) p. 13. The second of Dr. Colman's three marriages was with the widow of Pres. Leverett. His biographer is as reserved concerning this connexion, as he is warm in his eulogies of the other two. None of Dr. Colman's children survived him. His only son died in infancy, and his oldest daughter, to whom he was tenderly attached, twelve years before himself. The misconduct of another daughter was the great affliction of his life.

(19.) p. 14. The overseers approved the election of Dr. Colman for president by a unanimous vote. The reference in the vote of the representatives to 'this being a matter of great weight and importance, especially to the establishment of the churches in this province, as well as to the college,' seems to point to Dr. Colman's heterodox views of church order as the cause of their opposition. In the course of the debate he was however declared to be 'a man of no learning compared with Dr. Mather,' who was the popular candidate.

(20.) p. 15. In 1741, eighty-five persons became communicants with the Church in Brattle Square, and in 1742, forty-two. An anonymous writer of the time says, in reference to Cooper's preaching, 'that pulpit, which had been consecrated by the first sermon of the glorious itinerant, has echoed nothing ever since but his praise and the glory of his work.' If this was accurate, the first sermon must have been preached at a lecture, as Whitefield says, in one of his letters to Dr. Chauncy: 'I was but three Lord's days in Boston. The first I heard the Rev. Dr. Colman in the forenoon, notwithstanding he asked me to preach after he was up in the pulpit, and had finished the first prayer. I would also have been an auditor in the afternoon, had not Mr. Foxcroft pressed me to preach for him.' Mr. Ashley, against whom Cooper wrote for preaching a sermon in the latter's desk reflecting on the disorders of the times, after referring in his reply to the alleged dissatisfaction of some of his hearers, adds, 'these are not half the number of those who heard me and gave me thanks.' That Dr. Colman was believed to be of their mind, is hinted by the anonymous writer above referred to, in another pamphlet. Mr. Cooper, he says, gives no account of his colleague's 'opinion of this sermon, though he was present at the delivery of it. But the reason of this may be easily guessed; for the doctor has given too many proofs
of his good sense and fine taste, to leave room for the world to doubt of his sentiments in this matter." Dr. Colman wrote, in a letter to Mr. Williams of Lebanon, "It is, at this day, enough to make the heart of a sober and considerate Christian bleed within him, to hear of the sore rents and divisions made by Mr. Davenport and others in a great number of towns and churches throughout our provinces. Almost all on Long Island are thus broken to pieces, and so are many in Connecticut, and with us of the Massachusetts to a sorrowful degree." And, in his sermon at the ordination of S. Cooper, he expresses his wish before God and in his fear, that those among ourselves, who have of late years taken upon them to go about exhorting and preaching, grossly unfurnished with ministerial gifts and knowledge, would suffer those words of the Lord, [Jeremiah xxiii. 31, 32,] to sink deep into their hearts, to check them in their bold career, and blind censures of many faithful pastors, into whose folds they are daily breaking, and because of the mildness of our spirits towards them, seem to grow the more bold and fierce. And it were greatly to be wished, that people would beware of such straggling, illiterate teachers, and avoid them, in whatever appearances of sheep's clothing they may come." Cooper's feeling on the subject appears from the following extract of a preface written by him for a sermon by Jonathan Edwards, about a year after the revival began: "If any are resolutely set to disbelieve this work, to reproach and oppose it, they must be left to the free, sovereign power and mercy of God to enlighten and rescue them. These, if they have had opportunity to be rightly informed, I am ready to think, would have been disbelievers and opposers of the miracles and mission of our Saviour, had they lived in his day. The malignity, which some of them have discovered, to me approaches near to the unpardonable sin; and they had need beware, lest they indeed sin the sin which is unto death.'

(21.) p. 15. Mr. Cooper was a native of Boston. His father died when he was very young. His mother was called by Colman, in his sermon upon her death, "the woman that one would have wished to be born of." He was graduated in 1712, and chosen president in 1737. The following extract from the overseers' records relates to his election:

At an overseers' meeting at the college, 4th May, 1737,

The forenoon was spent in prayer.

P. M. The overseers, having given their advice to the corporation by a Latin speech made by the governour about the general qualifications of a president, the corporation withdrew.

The corporation, returning to the overseers' board, informed them, that they had endeavoured to come to the choice of a president, but could not then come to a decisive vote, and therefore thought it needful to take some further time to deliberate on that affair, and hoped, the honourable and reverend overseers would agree with them in that their thought; and they
the corporation withdrew. And, after some time, the overseers sent for
the corporation, and told them, that they expected the corporation would
present their choice of a president to them at their next meeting, which
would be the 26th instant.

'At an overseers' meeting, at the council chamber, Boston, 26th May,
1737,

'Two votes of the corporation, respecting the choice of the Rev. William
Cooper to the office of president of Harvard College, were read at the
board.

'Whereupon immediately there was read a letter from Mr. Cooper to
the overseers, in which he said, that "having been informed by a message
from the reverend corporation of the college of his election to be presi­
dent of that society, and that the said election was this day to be presented
to the board of overseers, and being unwilling that the honourable and
reverend board should have any needless trouble given them, or the settle­
ment of the college be at all delayed on his account, he took this first op­
portunity wholly to excuse himself from that honour and trust." President
Holyoke was soon after elected.

'I am a witness,' says Colman, in his sermon at Cooper's funeral, "to his
careful, serious and steady inclinations to serve God and his generation, by his
holy will, in the work of the ministry; and that in his childhood he was in this a
Timothy, that he knew the holy Scripture and studied his Bible, that he might
be made wise to salvation."

"On the day that he heard the first sermon that
was preached in this house, being then but seven years old, he set himself to
read like me as soon as he came home; and I ought to thank God if I have
served any way to the forming him for his since eminent pulpit-services, and
in particular his method of preaching Christ and Scripture: So a torch may
be light at a farthing candle."

"His profiting at school and college was remark­
able, like his diligent study."

"He came out at once, to a very great degree,
a perfect preacher, when he first appeared in the pulpit at Cambridge, as Mr.
President Leverett at the time observed to me."

"With what light and power
(by the help of God) he has since continued to preach the doctrines of grace,
with the laws and motives of the gospel, is known to you all."

"His sermons were well studied, smelt of the lamp, and told us how well his head and heart
had been labouring for us from week to week; and how intent his mind
and desire was, so to speak to us in the name of God, and from his oracles,
as might best inform our minds, strike our affections, and enter into our con­
sciences. But when he led us in prayers and supplication, praises and
thanksgivings to God, in one administration and another, more especially of
the sacraments of the New Testament, baptism and the Lord's supper; then
his eminence appeared, in such a flow, propriety and fulness, as could not
but often surprize the intelligent worshipper, and bear away the spiritual and
truly devout, as on angels' wings, toward heaven. He came near to the throne,
and filled his mouth with arguments." 'In the pulpit and out of it, he was, like Phinehas, zealous for his God, a faithful reprover of sin, and earnest to make atonement for it.' "He neither sought glory of men, nor feared the faces of a multitude, nor did the contempt of families terrify him: He was endowed and formed to lead, advise and execute; and indeed was not easily turned. He thought, judged and fixed, and then it was hard to move him. God pleased greatly to own his ministry, publick and private, for saving good to souls, and gave him many seals of it, more especially (as he judged) of late yeares, in whom he had much joy, and they a vast honour and reverence for him." 'He is gone from us in the prime of life and usefulness, while his strength was firm, promising many more years of service.' 'I can truly say, (as I said in tears over the tear remains on the day of its interment,) that, had I the like confidence of my own actual readiness to be offered, I had much rather, for your sake and his churches' through the land, have chosen to die in his stead, might he have lived to my years, and served on to the glory of God.'

In the letter quoted page 13, Dr. Chauncy characterized Mr. Cooper as a good preacher, emminently gifted in prayer, and a man of good understanding, though not endowed with a great deal of learning, or an uncommon strength in any of his powers.

Mr. Cooper published, in 1721, a very spirited and judicious pamphlet in a controversy respecting inoculation for the small pox.

The following is the most complete list I have been able to make of his her publications:

A sermon on the incomprehensibleness of God. 17—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>shewing how and why young people should cleanse their way.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>addressed to young people on a day of prayer, March 5, 1723.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>on the death of John Corey.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>Blessedness of the tried saint.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>A sermon on early piety.</td>
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<td>1732</td>
<td>on the reality, extremity and absolute certainty of hell torments.</td>
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<td>1732</td>
<td>on the death of Lieut. Gov. Tailer.</td>
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<td>1734</td>
<td>on the death of Moses Abbot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>at the ordination of Robert Breck at Springfield.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>on winter. Concio Hyemalis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>on the death of the Rev. Peter Thacher.</td>
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The doctrine of predestination into life explained and vindicated, in four sermons. 1740. Reprinted in London, 1765, and in Boston, 1804.
A sermon delivered on the day of general election. 1740.

Two sermons preached at Portsmouth, N. H. 1741.

Mr. Cooper was moderator of the council when he preached the ordination sermon at Springfield. The occasion was attended with great excitement. Mr. Breck was obnoxious to the Hampshire Association, being accused, among other things, of denying the authenticity of 1 John, v. 7, and of maintaining, "that God might, consistent with his justice, forgive sin without any satisfaction;" "that, upon supposition that the decrees of God were absolute or unchangeable, he saw no encouragement to duty, seeing then, let men do what they could, or neglect, it could not alter their condition;" "that it was unjust for God to punish men for not doing what was not now in their power;" and "that the heathen that lived up to the light of nature, should not be damned for want of faith in Christ." He however satisfied the Boston ministers of his orthodoxy on these points, and three of them, Messrs. Cooper, Welsteed, and Samuel Mather, with Mr. Cooke of Sudbury, and three ministers of Hampshire, composed the council for his ordination, which met October 7, 1735. While they were hearing the charges against Mr. Breck, three justices came from Northampton, and, at the instance of the disaffected in Springfield, and their advisers, signed a warrant "to apprehend that part of the council, that did not belong to the county of Hampshire." In consequence of the misgivings of one of them, it was not served; but Mr. Breck was apprehended while before the council, and taken to Connecticut "to answer to such things as should be objected to him." He was released the following day. The council, after reading, on the next Sunday, a result, "advising the first church in Springfield to continue their regards to him," adjourned to meet in Boston ten days after. The business came into the general court, upon the complaint of the parish, and, it having been decreed by the representatives, after a long hearing, that the council was regularly constituted, the ordination proceeded January 26.

The dispute led to a Narrative of the Proceedings of those Ministers of the County of Hampshire, &c. written by themselves, which was followed, the same year, by a pamphlet of nearly a hundred pages, entitled an Examination of, and some Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled a Narrative, &c. and this, in 1737, was answered in a Letter to the Author of the Pamphlet, called an Answer to the Hampshire Narrative. The Examination, &c. is assumed in the Letter to be written by Mr. Cooper. If he wrote it, he did few things more honourable to him. It well expounds the true doctrine concerning the rights of churches, the constitution of councils, and the impropriety of interference on the part of associations. It speaks of the
Hampshire ministers as Presbyterian ministers. 'They were inquired of,' it is said of the Springfield church, 'whether they had, by any vote, obliged themselves to refer their concerns only to the ministers and churches of that Association. And they declared, No; that, though such a vote had once been projected in the Association, and offered to the churches, and some of the churches had been brought into it, yet, that this church of Springfield, and some others in the county, had refused it.' The authors of the Letter say: 'Though now, possibly, your heat of spirit, and contempt of us, may forbid any self-reflections, yet will it always be a comfort to you to think, that you have obtained the victory, and got your will in this case, and have been the instrument of rending the religious state of this country, that before always flourished in an undisturbed and happy union, our religious affairs being, with peace and love, and general consent, managed within ourselves? Will you always be glad, that you have broken up that order, that has hitherto been maintained among the ministers of the county, for the preservation of the purity of doctrine among us, and have laid us under an incapacity for defending ourselves any more from encroaching error, by opening a door, that candidates for the ministry amongst us may go where they will for their judges and approvers?'

During the joint ministry of Colman and W. Cooper, baptism was administered to 1721 persons. The greater part of these were infants, who were generally baptized a few days, and often a few hours after their birth, but very rarely in private. During the first years, several adults were baptized, among whom I observe the name of one of the undertakers of the church, and another person, named Peregrine White, who was eighty-four years old. The habit of the colleagues was to alternate by months in the administration of this ordinance, till March, 1738, when Dr. Colman records, 'Henceforward I take the forenoon exercise, and leave the baptisms (as at times of late I have done) to Mr. Cooper.' Baptism was sometimes administered by a neighbouring minister.—Within the same period, 668 persons were received to full communion, viz. 222 men, and 446 women. The period of most rapid increase, was in the year 1728, 'after the earthquake,' as is particularly recorded. In January of that year 27 joined the Church, in February 16, and in March 17. The excitement was extensive. Hutchinson says, Hist. II. 327, 'There was a very general apprehension of danger, of destruction, and death; and many, who had very little sense of religion before, appeared to be very serious and devout penitents; but, too generally, as the fears of another earthquake went off, the religious impressions went with them, and they, who had been the subjects of both, returned to their former course of life.'

March 8, 1718, it was voted, to appropriate to the poor one half of the sums contributed monthly by communicants, provided this half did not
exceed ten pounds annually; the other to be applied to the further supply of the communion table with plate.

In 1720 was instituted a monthly lecture to be held in the afternoon of every Friday before the administration of the Lord’s supper, and supplied by the pastors of the First Church, and of the Church in Brattle Square. March 4, Dr. Colman preached the first sermon at this lecture, from Exodus xxiv. 9, 10, 11. It has been maintained to the present time.

February 10, 1723. The Church voted the keeping of a day of prayer for the effusion of the spirit of grace upon the children of the flock, and the first Tuesday in March was fixed on for the time. The sermons of both pastors on that occasion were printed.

December 26, 1736. The Church were informed of the desires of Joseph Rix, Samuel Sprague, John Pierce, to be dismissed from their relation to us, in order to their embodying with brethren from other churches, for the worship of God in New Boston, and their prayer was granted, and the next day the pastors gave them letters of dismission. This is the only instance, which I find recorded by either of my predecessors, of such a vote being passed by the Church.

A weekly Tuesday evening lecture was set up October 21, 1740. In his sermon on that occasion, from Isaiah lx. 8, Dr. Colman is lavish in his praise of Whitefield. No notice is taken of this lecture in the records, except that Dr. Colman incidentally mentions, that Cooper was present at it the Tuesday before his death. It was kept up as late as January 30, 1750, as there is a published sermon of Foxcroft, which was preached there at that time. It has not been maintained within the memory of any of the Society, with whom I have conversed.

September 10, 1739. A committee appointed, the preceding year, to consider of a change of version of the Psalms, made their report in the negative, that at present they could not advise to any new version. Soon after, the committee met, and applied to our good brethren, Mr. Macom and Mr. Johnson, and prevailed with them to sit together, and lead us in the ordinance of singing.

For several years the ‘prudentials’ of the Society were managed by the undertakers. July 4, 1715, was the first publick meeting of the whole congregation, the object of which was to take measures towards obtaining a colleague pastor. In 1721, in the time of distress by the small pox, and upon the removal of many out of the town, there was a deficiency in the voluntary weekly collections, which were made for the support of the ministry. A committee was accordingly appointed to treat with the proprietors of the house, about applying part of the money in their hands. This the proprietors reluctantly consented to do, conceiving it better, as they said, that the aforesaid money be kept in bank for the defraying of all contingent charges, that will necessarily and frequently arise on the house; and that, upon every occasion, we may not be put to the trouble of
calling the congregation together to raise the money, in a method yet to be
contrived and agreed upon; that while the grass grows, the steed starves,
From this time, a committee, consisting of a treasurer, and from four to six
others, was annually chosen for the managing the affairs of the house,
pews, &c.

When Mr. Cooper was about to marry, the Society voted, that his
salary be three pounds five shillings a week; that his firewood be allowed
him, and that he be allowed a house to dwell in. In 1725, the salaries
of the colleagues were fixed at four pounds a week each, and the congrega-
gation were pleased also to vote Mr. Colman thirty pounds this year for
house-rent; being the first house-rent ever allowed to him, at the end of
twenty-six years. In 1730, the salaries were raised to six pounds, and, in
1742, to eight pounds a week, besides wood and house-rent as in the years
past. Considering the fall of money and the dearness of provisions,
extraordinary contributions were also made, from time to time, for the
pastors.

The contributions for the poor, customary with us upon the days of
annual thanksgiving and fast, began to be taken in 1726. For several
years they were directed, from time to time, by a special vote, and the sums
collected were sometimes appropriated to meeting the expenses of the So-
ciety. These were still defrayed by voluntary contributions on the Lord's
day, which often fell short. In 1732, a vote passed to inform the pew-
holders, that it is expected, that every one, that has a pew below, con-
tribute, at least, half a crown every sabbath, and they that have pews in
the gallery, each one, at least, eighteen pence. The evil still remaining,
it was voted, four years after, that, for time to come, a subscription be
made by every contributor, what he will annually give towards the support
of the worship of God among us, to prevent any future annual deficiencies.

(22.) p. 15. During the joint ministry of Dr. Colman and S. Cooper,
70 persons were baptized, and 11 became communicants, viz. 3 men
and 8 women. In 1744, the salary of Dr. Colman was raised to £9 a
week. In 1746, £10 a week was voted to each of the ministers, and £80
a year for house-rent. The collection for the poor on thanksgiving day,
1745, amounted to £172, and on fast day, 1746, to £132.

In the records, thus far, there is observable a great nicety in the appli-
cation of titles. In the list of marriages, the appellations Mr. and Mrs.
always correspond to one another. They are very sparingly used, and, as
if justice had been at first withholden, through this extreme caution, they
are, in some instances, inserted by a caret. In one place is found the singu-
lar combination of The Rev. Jo. Leverett, Esq.

(23.) p. 16. There was, perhaps, an intimation of Dr. Colman's
wishes in a sermon preached soon after the death of his first colleague, in
which he said, ‘God forbid that I should cease to pray for you, that another Cooper (I mean one like the deceased) be set over you in the Lord; a man of learning, parts, and powers, such as this place so much wants and calls for.’ Mr. Cooper preached once a fortnight, from the time of his invitation till he was ordained. ‘April 1st, 1746, he gave, in a sermon, a confession of his faith, to the general satisfaction of the audience.’ The ordaining council consisted of the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Mr. Webb prayed, Dr. Colman preached from Isaiah vi. 8, Dr. Sewall gave the Charge, and Mr. Prince the Right Hand of Fellowship. A discretion, which has since been understood to belong to the council, was on this occasion exercised by the congregation, who voted, at the request of the reverend pastor, Dr. Colman, that, in case he find himself disabled by the infirmities of age, or bodily weakness, to preside in the proposed ordination, pray, and give the charge, with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, then that he be desired to request the Rev. Dr. Sewall, in the name of the Church, to preside and lead in that part of the solemnity.’ Mr. Prince, however, spoke in his part of the service, of being directed by the reverend pastors and other messengers of the several churches, in council here convened.3

(24.) p. 17. As early as 1754, Dr. Cooper published the Crisis, a spirited and well written pamphlet, against the project of an excise, which was favoured by many of his friends, the Whigs, and, after being adopted by the representatives, met, for a time, an unexpected obstacle in the governor. Before and during the revolutionary struggle, Dr. Cooper contributed largely to the Boston Gazette and the Independent Ledger. He was in constant correspondence with our ambassadors, and other persons of note, in France, and on terms of confidential intimacy with the French officers in this country. In calling him, in the paragraph to which this note refers, ‘the leading divine of his country and time,’ it was not intended to claim for him a place above such men as Dr. Chauney and Dr. Mayhew. But the peculiar character of the former, and the prejudices, which existed against the latter on the score of doctrine, prevented them from taking that place among the clergy, which was conceded to Dr. Cooper.

(25.) p. 17. Dr. Cooper was born March 28, 1725; baptized April 4th, following; and graduated in 1743, the year of his father’s death. He lived at different times in a house on the south side of Cambridge Street, at the entrance of Bowdoin Square, now occupied by Dr. Spooner; in a house at the N. W. corner of Dassett’s Alley, into which Dr. Colman had moved from State Street in 1715, and which, in 1769, was bought of Stephen Deblois by the Society for a parsonage, for £566.13.4; in the house in Brattle Square, opposite to the church, now occupied by Mrs.
Turell; and in the parsonage, in Court Street, where James Otis had be­fore had his dwelling and office. A week or two before the battle of
Lexington, he removed to Waltham or Weston, and remained in one or
both of these places, often making visits to the camp at Cambridge, till
the British evacuated the town. Though his death was at last sudden,
he had been sick for some weeks. At his funeral, which took place on the
afternoon of a monthly lecture, Dr. Clark preached from Acts xx. 38.
The following paragraphs are extracted from the sermon:

"Justly should I incur the censure of his friends, and greatly should I
injure the memory of Dr. Cooper, should I not say, he was a peculiar orna­
ment to this religious Society. His talents as a minister were conspicuous
to all; and they have met with universal applause. You know with what
plainness, and, at the same time, with what elegance, he displayed the
grace of the gospel. You know with what brilliancy of style he adorned
the moral virtues; and how powerfully he recommended them to univer­
sal practice. When the joys of a better world employed his discourse, can
you ever forget the elevated strains in which he described them? And his
prayers,—surely they must be remembered, when his qualifications for the
other duties of his office, and his many shining accomplishments are for­
gotten! If those, who constantly attended upon his ministry are not
warmed with the love of virtue; if they are not charmed with the beauty
of holiness; if they are not transported with the grace of the gospel; must
they not blame their own insensibility? Remember, therefore, how you
have seen, and heard, and hold fast, and repent.

"But the place, in which I now stand, was not the only theatre, on
which he appeared with such applause. In private, also, he displayed his
talents for the office he sustained. With peculiar facility could he enter
into the feelings of others, and adjust his conversation to the particular
tate of their minds. He could raise the bowed down, and encourage
the feeble hearted. In the house of mourning, he could light up joy. He
could inspire those, who were approaching the shades of death, with
Christian fortitude. And, by expatiating on the mercy of God, and the
merits of a Saviour, he could revive those, who were ready to despair.
Thus various and accomplished his character, how justly are you affected
in this occasion!

"However, the people of his charge are not the only persons, who
nour this event. The death of their honourable pastor is a general ca­
amity. It is severely felt by all our societies; and by that, in a particular
manner, which has been so long united with this Church in a stated lec­
ture. It is felt by this town, which gloried in him no less as a citizen,
han a minister of the gospel. It is felt by the University, to whose honour
md interests he was passionately devoted. Thc governors of that learn­
d society will testify, how ardently he laboured to raise it to supeiriur
eminence; and how he encouraged those sciences, the sweets of which he had so early, and so liberally tasted. His death will be lamented by this commonwealth; and most sincerely by some of the first characters in it; for with them he was intimately connected, and they distinguished him by every publick token of respect.

In one word, his death will be a common loss to these American states; for, as a patriot, he was no less celebrated, than as a divine. Well acquainted with the interests of his country, he constantly and ardently pursued them. But while, as a statesman, he discerned what would tend to our glory and happiness, as a minister of religion he prayed it might not be hid from our eyes. And you can tell with what fervour he offered up his supplications.

I might now descend to the more ornamental parts of his character. I might display him as the familiar friend, and the entertaining companion. I might remind you of his correct and elegant taste; and that most engaging politeness, which rendered him so agreeable in every private circle. But why should I aggravate a wound, which already bleeds too much? Why should I call up the pleasing image of a person, whom you shall see no more?

In an obituary notice, appended to the sermon, which was first published in the Continental Journal, and ascribed to the pen of the late Gov. Sullivan, it is said, 'The nature of his illness, which, from the first, he apprehended would be his last, was such as rendered him some part of the time, incapable of conversation.—He had, however, intervals of recollection. At these times he informed his friends, that he was perfectly reconciled to whatever Heaven should appoint; willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord; that his hopes and consolations sprang from a belief of those evangelical truths, which he had preached to others; that he wished not to be detained any longer from that higher state of perfection and happiness, which the gospel had opened to his view.

He declared his great satisfaction in seeing his country in peace, and possessed of freedom and independence; and his hopes, that, by their virtue and publick spirit, they would shew the world, that they were not unworthy those inestimable blessings.

The following are some lines from a Monody, which appeared in the Independent Chronicle of January 8, 1784:

'Tis done! from earth th' illustrious prophet flies,
Cooper, the all-accomplish'd Cooper, dies!
That bosom, where benevolence abode;
That form, where nature every grace bestow'd;
That eye, where soft persuasion sweetly smil'd,
Illum'd the heart, and every care beguil'd;
That tongue, which long, in virtue's cause, combin'd
Reason and truth, and eloquence refin'd,
Finished and fraught with all the sacred lore,—
Is cold—is lifeless—and must charm no more!
While the pure spirit, which the whole inform'd,
Glowed in the bosom, and the features warm'd,
Flown upward, free of elemental clay,
Explores new mansions in the fields of day."

"Enlighten'd wisdom crown'd thy youthful head,
Fair science nurs'd thee, and the muses bred;
And taste, enamour'd, woo'd to vernal bowers,
And wreath'd, a favourite, with her choicest flowers;
While, pleas'd, religion to thy care consign'd
Her noblest aim, the bliss of human kind.
Yon hallow'd temple and thy flock forlorn
Now vainly seek thee on th' accustom'd morn;
The sacred morn, that usher'd holy days
All dedicate to pious prayer and praise.
When on those lips whole auditories hung,
And truths divine came brilliant from thy tongue,
Then did devotion beautifully climb,
In glowing pathos, and the truth sublime;
Extend to future worlds our wond'ring sight,
And ravish with ineffable delight.
Form'd to excel in each ennobled part
That burnish'd life, or humaniz'd the heart,
How did thy bright example recommend
The parent, partner, citizen and friend!
Warm in affection, wise with finished ease,
"Intent to reason, or polite to please,"
In private paths, in every publick line,
The best associate, statesman and divine!"

Dr. Cooper maintained an extensive correspondence in America and Europe. He was an active member of the Society for propagating the gospel, and was one of the projectors, and the first vice-president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The University of Edinburgh sent him a diploma of doctor of divinity. He was a useful friend to the college. When the library was burned in 1764, he was very active in securing means to repair the loss, and was a fellow from 1767 till his death. The following extract from the minutes of the overseers, relates to an election to the presidency:
At a meeting of the overseers, 10 February, 1774, Dr. Eliot presented the following vote of the corporation:

"At a meeting of the corporation, 7 February, 1774, Dr. Winthrop having declined accepting the office of president, the corporation proceeded to bring in their written votes for a president, and it appeared, that the Rev. Dr. Cooper of Boston was chosen."

The question being put, the said election was approved. Before the meeting was dissolved, a letter was sent from Dr. C. in which he wholly excused himself from engaging in the duties of the station, to which he had been invited.

He published sermons:

On the artillery election day, 1751;
Before the Society for encouraging Industry, 1753;
At the general election, 1756;
On the reduction of Quebec, 1759;
At the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Jackson, 1760;
On the death of George II. 1761;
At the Dudleian lecture in Harvard College, 1775;
On the commencement of the new constitution of Massachusetts, October 25, 1780.

They are all compositions of very uncommon force and finish. The sermon on the commencement of the new constitution, may, perhaps, be reckoned the best, and the Dudleian lecture the most indifferent. In all of them, I remember but one or two expressions, which a minister of the class now called liberal might not have written. These occur in a compendious sketch of the Christian system, in the excellent discourse at the ordination of Mr. Jackson, and they are so general, that I know not whether they should be named as an exception. The peculiarities of orthodoxy are avoided where the subject seems to lead to them, and the only doxology, which I have observed to be used, is that, 1 Tim. i. 17, of which Unitarians are now left in almost unparticipated possession. His religious sentiments, it is said in the obituary notice above quoted, were rational and catholick, being drawn from the gospel of Christ. In them he was ever steady, and, though a friend to the rights of conscience, and a free inquiry, he yet wished to avoid, in his common discourses, those nice and needless distinctions, which had too often proved detrimental to Christian love and union.

Rev. William Cooper was twice married; to Judith Sewall, and Mary Foye, daughter of the town treasurer. Of his latter marriage, there was a posthumous child; a daughter, named Mary. She married Dr. Samuel Gardner of Milton, and had four children; a son, John, who married a
daughter of the late Treasurer Jackson; and three daughters, one of whom is the wife of John Amory, Esq. By his first marriage, William Cooper had three sons; Thomas, who died young; William, and Samuel; and one daughter, Judith. She married Dr. John Seaver, and William Rand of Kingston, and left a daughter, Lucy, and a son, William. Some of her descendants are now living in that place. Rev. William Cooper's son William was town clerk of Boston. He died December, 1809, at the age of eighty-eight. A son of his is living at Machias, Maine. Samuel Cooper married Judith, a sister of the late Dr. Bulfinch. He had two children, Judith and Abigail. The former married Col. Gabriel Johonnot, and died in Boston, leaving one son, Samuel Cooper, who died in Martinique, leaving four children, of whom I learn nothing. The latter, Mrs. Hixon, is now living, a widow, in Concord.

The following, in Dr. Cooper's hand-writing, is on a loose leaf on the files of the Church:

'Oct. 8, 1753. The Church and congregation met, according to adjournment; and the report of the committee, Mr. Dan. Greenleaf moderator, Mr. Lovell, &c. chosen the last meeting to consider if it might be proper to change the version of Psalms we now sing for some other, was read. The report as follows;—but inasmuch as there were but few brethren present, it was voted to defer the consideration of this report to the next meeting, on the first Monday in November; and the brethren present were desired to inform those that were absent of the committee's report; and to confer together upon this stead.

'Nov. 4, Lord's day. I notified the brethren of the Church and congregation of their meeting the next day, according to adjournment; mentioned the affair of the Psalms; and pressed a general attendance upon an affair so important, and that so much concerned every stated worshipper among us.

'Nov. 5. The report of the committee for the Psalms was read, and accepted. It was then motioned, that we did now determine what version to sing; and voted accordingly by a great majority.

'The pastor was then desired to give his opinion. He proposed the version of Tate and Brady, with an addition of Hymns from Dr. Watts and others, to be collected by a committee, which the Church should appoint for that purpose. The brethren, by a written vote, agreed to this. There were present 64 voters. For Tate and Brady's, with an Appendix, 51; for Dr. Watts's Psalms, 5; 8 did not vote.

'The brethren then chose the pastor, with a committee of eight, to prepare the Appendix, viz. Col. Wendell, Mr. D. Greenleaf, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Lovell, Johnson, Bowdoin, Deacon Parker, Wm. Cooper.'

With the exception of five baptisms in 1772, and one without a date, but recorded immediately after those by Dr. Colman, as having been ad-
ministered 'about this time,' all the information, which Dr. Cooper has
left on the records of the Church, is comprised in less than twenty lines.
It relates to the dedication of the new meeting-house, to the reception of a
letter from the church of Bolton, and to Deacon Storer's resignation of his
office. When Dr. Thacher succeeded, he made out such a record of mar­
rriages and baptisms as he was able from Dr. Cooper's interleaved alma­
nacks. Of some years, however, (as 1751, 1764, and the years from 1778
to his death,) no record of either remains. The recorded administrations of
baptism by Dr. Cooper, during his sole ministry, amount to 918.

In 1777, by the will of Lydia Hancock, the Society came into posses­
sion of the house and land in Court Street, since occupied by their ministers.
The condition of the gift, which has of late been considerably canvassed,
is as follows: 'that the minister, or eldest minister of said Church, shall
constantly reside and dwell in said house during such time as he is minister
of said Church; and in case the same is not improved for this use only, I
then declare this bequest to be void and of no force, and order, that said
house and land then revert to my estate, and I give the same to my said
nephew, John Hancock, Esq. and to his heirs forever.' Mrs. Hancock also
gave to the Church £100, the income to be annually appropriated to the
relief of the poor. The Society voted to 'receive these pious, charitable,
and generous bequests, with great respect and gratitude to the memory of
that excellent woman, Madam Lydia Hancock, who was for many years a
member of the Church in Brattle Street, an ornament to the Christian pro­
fession, and an amiable pattern of piety and virtue.'

A separate record of the proceedings of the standing committee has been
kept since Aug. 27, 1763, and of the proceedings of the Society since
Feb. 16, 1755. At the latter date, the necessary authority having been
just given by law, a committee was chosen for the purpose of assessing a
tax upon the pews. The standing committee of that year were 'empower­
ed, to use their discretion in making a demand of the taxes on the pews
belonging to families gone to decay;' and 'desired to make inquiry after
a deed, from Mr. Dassett to this Society, of the privilege of Dassett's Lane,
and, when found, (if said deed gives power,) to set up a post with a lock
in said lane.'

The committee 'to manage the temporal affairs of the Church and con­
gregation' generally consisted of seven, eight, or nine persons, (most
commonly eight,) besides the treasurer. In 1763, they voted to meet
regularly five times in each year.

In 1755, Dr. Cooper's allowance was a provision of rent and fuel, with
£2. 8s. a week, (lawful money, I suppose,) and 13s. 4d. a week, 'to pro­
cure help.' This was raised at different times (in addition to occasional
grants) to £5, lawful money, a week, or an equivalent; which equivalent
amounted, in 1780, to £360 a week in continental paper.
December 3, 1781, it was ‘voted, that the deacons advise with the Rev. Dr. Cooper upon the number of Hymns annexed to Tate and Brady’s Psalms, which may be occasionally used by the Society in Brattle Street in publick worship.’

Among the proceedings of the Society, after the death of Dr. Cooper, was the appointment of a committee, of which the late Gov. Sullivan and Judge Lowell were members, to select a volume from his sermons for the press. They were not, however, found in a condition to admit of it. At the funeral, Rev. President Willard, (who made the prayer,) and Rev. Messrs. Howard, Eliot, Eckley, Clark and Wight, of Boston, supported the pall.

(26.) p. 18. The old church was never painted, within or without. The tower and bell were on the west side, and a door on the south, opposite to the pulpit. The window frames were of iron. Upon the pulpit stood an hour-glass, which is described as having been a foot high, and enclosed in a case, which was either brass or gilt. This was among the articles, which, in the sale of the old house, were ‘reserved for the use of the Society;’ but I do not find, that it was used after the new house was occupied. The old pulpit, bible and bell, were given to Gov. Hancock, on the condition of replacing them with new ones in the new house. Beneath the pulpit were two seats for deacons, which, it seems, were afterwards thrown into one, as, in the record of such an alteration at the New Brick church, it is said to have been made ‘as has been lately done at the Old North, and at Mr. Cooper’s.’ Before it were rows of free seats. The pews were square, and ornamented with the small railing upon the top, which is still seen in many of our churches. The highest number in a list of pews on the floor is 99. In 1766, it was voted, ‘that two new pews shall be made in the meeting-house, on the floor, in the room of the two back long seats.’ There were two galleries, each of them, probably, fitted with pews, as, in 1723, ‘it was recommended to the committee to fill with persons proper the vacant pews in the galleries; that the negroes be directed to leave the back seats of the lower, and go into those of the upper gallery.’ Some place seems to have been appropriated to children, as, at the same time, the committee were desired to ‘dismiss Roger from looking after the boys, and provide some fitter person.’

(27.) p. 18. The building of churches was a less simple operation in those times than the present. This was engaged in as a very serious enterprise. ‘At a meeting of the standing committee at Mr. Bowdoin’s, Feb. 6, 1772, John Hancock, Esq. having put in a letter generously offering to contribute largely towards a new meeting-house,’ the committee voted to call a meeting of the Society to consider the subject. At this meeting it was unanimously voted to take measures for the erection of a new house
of worship, and committees were appointed to procure subscriptions, and estimates of the cost. Subscriptions to the amount of £3200 having been received within a week, a building committee of twelve was appointed. The committee were of opinion, that the land belonging to the Society would not be sufficient to build a commodious house. Gov. Bowdoin accordingly offered to give the Society his lot at the corner of Howard Street and Pemberton's Hill; but the matter being referred to them, it appeared, that there was a considerable majority for building on the old spot in Brattle Street, and the offer was respectfully declined. On the last day of meeting in the old house, a contribution was taken, that those who had not subscribed might have an opportunity of giving towards the new building, if they see cause. The old house was taken down, and the ground cleared, between May 14 and 15. Mr. Copely and Major Dawes presented plans for the new building. The former was rejected on account of the expense. The latter was adopted. June 23, the corner stone was laid by Major Thomas Dawes, the architect, in the foundation at the south-west corner of the house, having this inscription:

June 23d,
1772.
S. Cooper, D. D.
Minister.

The day after laying the corner stone, some of the committee, taking into consideration what was proper to be done with a stone taken out of the south-east corner of the foundation of the original building, having the inscription Benjamin Walker thereon, ordered the figures 1699 to be added thereto, being the year that the first meeting-house in Brattle Street was founded, and then the stone was laid in the foundation of the south-east corner of the new house. The name of the Hon. John Hancock, Esq. was inscribed on one of the rustick quoins [of Connecticut stone] at the south-west corner of the new building.

While the house was erecting, the building committee had their office in the south-east chamber of the house in Brattle Square, then occupied by Mrs. Turell, and now by Deacon Simpkins. By the autumn, they had exhausted their funds, and were largely in debt. A subscription for pews was accordingly opened, each subscriber advancing not less than £30. The house cost £8000. The most valuable pews were appraised at £50. When it was occupied, several remained unsold, and there was still a debt of £750 to the mechanicks, which was not paid off till the ministry of Dr. Thacher. Major Dawes did one half of the masons' work; and William Homer, Benjamin Richardson, and David Bell, the other. One half of the carpenters'
ork was done by Benjamin Eustis and ---- Crafts; one quarter by
benjamin Sumner, jun. and James Sumner; and the other by John Stutson
and Nathaniel Call, on an agreement that these two companies should pro-
portionably admit William Flagg, James Robbins, Benjamin Sumner, Joseph
Eustis and ---- Appleton to a part of the work at the same rate. Capt.
John Gore and Mr. Daniel Rae were the painters.

There were seventy-five free gift subscribers. The most liberal subscrip-
tions were those of Gov. Hancock and Gov. Bowdoin. The latter gave £200.
the former gave £1000, reserving to himself the particular disposition of
the sum, and the beginning and completing a mahogany pulpit, with its full
furniture, a mahogany deacons' seat, and communion table, under his own
erection, and the providing for the accommodation of poor widows and
others, belonging to the Society, who are reputable persons, and unable to
nish themselves with seats, &c.' In addition to this, he gave a bell. A
orary pine pulpit was first erected, that which was engaged by him of
Crafts not being finished when the house was occupied.

Some approximation to an estimate of the size of the Society, at this
giod, may be made from the circumstance, that eighty-one voters are re-
ered by name to have been present at a meeting in 1773, and it is added,
that there were several others.

In part of the years 1775 and 1776, a regiment or two of British troops
were quartered in the church, a sugar-house which stood north of it, and
other houses in the neighbourhood. Dr. Cooper was not seldom a subject
their notice in passing into the church at service time, while they were
ared in the square. Divine service continued to be performed till
April 16, 1775, when, by the cruelty and oppression of an infamous ad-
ministration, the congregation was dispersed, and the house improved as a
rack for the British soldiery, till, by a most remarkable interposition of
dine Providence, the troops were obliged to evacuate the town on the
th March, 1776.' Gen. Gage had his head quarters in the house oppo-
se the church. He told Mr. Turell, he had no fear of the shot from Cam-
bidge, for his troops, while within such walls. The morning on which the
ish left the town, Deacon Newell and Mr. Turell went into the church,
and quenched the fires, which they had left burning. A shot struck the
tower the night before. It was picked up by Mr. Turell, and preserved by
family till the committee for making the late repairs had it fastened in
ower where it had struck.

When the British were about to occupy the church, Deacon Gore and
Deacon Newell were permitted to case up the pulpit and columns, and
move the body pews, which were carried to the paint loft of the former.
The soldiers defaced the inscription of Gov. Hancock's name, mentioned
64, and the stone remains in the condition in which they left it. A
similar inscription, unmutilated, appears on one of the rustick quoins in the south-west corner of the tower. This was probably made after the house was reoccupied, which took place May 19, 1776. A similar inscription, which appears on the north-west corner of the tower, bears the name of Dr. John Greenleaf, who, with Gov. Bowdoin, advanced the money for refitting the church, it having been grossly polluted by being improved as a barrack for the British troops.

The following extracts from a MS. journal kept by Deacon Newell during the siege, I have been kindly permitted to take from a copy among the papers of the late Dr. Belknap:

14 Sept. 1775. Messrs. Auchinclosh, Morrison, and another person came to me, as three Scotchmen had been before. They shewed me a paper, directed to me, setting forth, that the Rev. Mr. ----------- was permitted by his excellency Gen. Gage, to preach, and desired he may have the use of Dr. Cooper's meeting-house: Signed by about thirty Scotchmen and others, viz. -----------, &c. I desired they would leave the paper for my consideration. They did not choose I should keep it, and began to urge their having the house. For answer, I told them, I looked upon it a high insult upon that Society, their proposing it, and turned my back upon them, and so left them.

P. M. Messrs. Black, Dixon and Hunter came and told me his excellency the general had consented they should have our meeting-house, and desired I would deliver them the key. I told them, when I see such an order, I should know how to proceed. One said to me, So, you refuse to deliver the key? I answered, with an emotion of resentment, Yes, I do.

15. As I was attending a funeral, the provost, Mr. Cunningham came to me, and told me, it was his excellency the general's command, I should immediately deliver him the key of Dr. Cooper's meeting-house. I replied, I must see the governour. He told me, he would not see me till I had delivered the key. I told him, I must see the general, and refused to deliver the key. He left me in a great rage, and swore he would immediately go and break open the doors. I left the funeral, and proceeded to the governour's, calling on Capt. Erving to go with me. He excused himself, and so I went alone. The governour received me civilly. I addressed myself to him, and most earnestly entreated him, that he would be pleased to withdraw his order, urging, that Dr. Eliot, in order to accommodate our people, was to preach in said meeting-house the next Sabbath, or the Sabbath after, and that the person they proposed was a man of an infamous character, which, had it been otherwise, I should not oppose it, &c. and I desired his excellency would consider of it. He told me he would, and that I might keep the key, and if he sent for it, he expected I would deliver it. So left him. I had not been, I believe, twenty minutes from him,
before the provost came with a written order to deliver the key immediately, which I did accordingly.

‘When I at first urged the governour to excuse my delivering the key, for the reasons given, he replied, that a number of creditable people had applied to him, and he saw no reason why that house should not be made use of, as any other. Gen. Robinson (when I mentioned the preacher being of an infamous character) said he knew no harm of the man; but this he knew, that he had left a very bad service, and taken up with a good one.

‘The next day the provost came to my shop. I not being there, he left word, that he came for the apparatus of the pulpit, and that he must have the key under the pulpit, supposing the curtain and cushions were there. The provost, the same day, came again. I chose not to be there. He left orders to send him the aforesaid, and swore most bitterly, that if I did not send them, he would split the door open; and accordingly I hear the same was forced open; and that if Dr. Cooper and Dr. Warren were there, he would break their heads; and that he would drag me in the gutter, &c. &c. &c. This being Saturday afternoon, I chose not to be seen. Spent the evening at Major Phillips’s; consulted with a few friends; advised still to be as much out of the way as possible. Dr. Eliot invited me to come very early in the morning (being Lord’s day) and breakfast with him, and also dine; which I did, and returned home after nine at night; found a sergeant with a letter had been twice at our house for me. Thus ends a Sabbath, which, exclusive of the perplexities and insults before mentioned, has been a good day to me.

‘P. S. Capt. Erving and myself being the only persons of the committee remaining in town, I acquainted him of the demand of the general, who advised me, that, if the general insisted on the delivery of the key, to deliver the same. The next week several of our parish thought proper to petition the general. I advised with Foster Hutchinson, Esq. who thought it very proper, and accordingly, at my desire, he drew a petition; but, upon further consideration, and hearing of the opinion of the general, he thought it best not to present it.

‘Oct. 13. Col. Birch, of the light horse dragoons, went to view our meeting-house, which was destined for a riding school for the dragoons. It was designed to clear the floor, to put two feet of tan covered with horse dung to make it elastick. But when it was considered, that the pillars must be taken away, which would bring down the roof, they altered their mind; so that the pillars saved us.

‘27. The spacious Old South meeting-house taken possession of by the 17th regiment of dragoons for this purpose. The pulpit, pews and seats all cut to pieces, and carried off in the most savage manner as can be expressed, and destined for a riding school. The beautiful carved pew,
with the silk furniture of Deacon Hubbard's, was taken down and carried to ———'s house by an officer, and made a hog-stye. The above was effected by the solicitation of Gen. Burgoyne.

4 Nov. 16. The keys of our meeting-house cellars demanded of me by Major Sheriff, by order of Gen. Howe.


Nov. 1780, the Society voted, that the deacons get the house repaired, the bell fixed, and frame painted. 1 Nov. 1781, the committee directed, that screens be put up to secure the belfry against the weather. Stoves were introduced in the winter of 1782—3.

(28.) p. 19. As this transaction is recent, and many of those, whose judgments differed upon it, survive, I do not give a detailed account of it. Some coarse, though not altogether insipid wit, called forth by it, on both sides, and in prose and verse, may be found in the Centinel of December 11, 1784, and January 12 and 15, 1785.

(29.) p. 19. The council consisted of the First, Second, West, New North, New South, Old South, Hollis Street, and Dr. Mather's churches in Boston; the First Church in Roxbury; the churches in Cambridge and Medford, and the Third Church in Dedham. The services of installation took place in the afternoon. Rev. Dr. Osgood preached the Sermon, from Eph. iii. 8. The Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Dr. Clark. Rev. Mr. Thacher of Dedham made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Mr. Hilliard of Cambridge the Prayer of Installation; and Rev. Dr. Eliot the Concluding Prayer.

(30.) p. 20. Dr. Thacher's parents lived in Boston; but, at the time of his birth, they were in Milton, the small pox then raging in the former place. He was born March 21, 1752. At the age of thirteen, he lost his father, who was a man of great and increasing eminence. He was graduated in 1769, kept a school afterwards some months in Chelsea, preached his first sermon in Malden, January 28, 1770, and was ordained there, September 19, 1770, when Rev. Mr. Robbins of Milton delivered the Sermon; Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the Charge; and Dr. Eliot of Boston the Right Hand of Fellowship. During his residence in that town, he took a deep interest and an active part in the measures, which brought and carried on the revolution; and was a member of the convention, which sat in Cambridge and Boston, to form the state constitution. He was opposed in that body to the continuance of the office of governour, and, when this question was decided against
him, still objected to connecting with it the title of Excellency. Some of his political, however, as well as his religious views, he afterwards saw reason to change. He closed the sitting of that convention with prayer. He was dismissed, at his own request, from his pastoral relation to the church in Malden, December 8, 1784.

Dr. Thacher had his degree in divinity from Edinburgh in 1791. He was secretary of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America; a trustee of the Humane Society; a counsellor of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; and a member of the Historical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the seventeen years, that he was settled in town, he was fifteen years chaplain to one or both branches of the general court.

He sailed from Boston November 15, and arrived at Savannah December 3, 1802. His funeral obsequies, like those of his predecessor, were solemnized at the lecture preceding the first communion of the year. His remains were not present, as is erroneously intimated, p. 28. They arrived, and were deposited in the family tomb the Sunday night following. At the funeral service, Rev. Mr. Howard and Rev. Dr. Lathrop prayed, and Rev. Mr. Emerson preached, from John v. 35. 'The ministers, who attended in the place of pall holders were Drs. Howard, Lathrop, Eliot, Morse, Eckley, and the Rev. Mr. Porter.' The following are extracts from the sermon, which was published:

'He was illustrious for his natural powers. His soul was lodged in a person possessing the advantages of a noble stature, a commanding mein, a full and steady eye, a countenance pleasing and expressive, a mouth formed for ready utterance, and a voice of wonderful sweetness, variety, and strength. With these qualities of body, so eminently useful to a publick speaker, the Father of Lights had united a sound understanding, a fancy of uncommon sprightliness, a tenacious memory, and a correct judgment.

'He was illustrious for his early proficiency in learning, in piety, and in the studies and duties of the sacerdotal office. The dawn of his days afforded promise of a brilliant life. Love of knowledge, and of the distinction which it brings, discovered itself among the first passions of his breast, and was conspicuous in every stage of his education. It accelerated his progress through the school, and enabled him, at an earlier age than usual, to receive academical honours. He was even more remarkable for his pious disposition. Faith in God and in Christ was planted in his heart in the morning of life, and increased in strength with the number of his years.'

'He was illustrious as a preacher. The light of his own understanding he communicated to that of his hearers, and enkindled their affections from the warmth of his. In doctrine he was lucid, and in exhortation, fervent. He was considered a disciple of the Calvinistick school:
but he religiously avoided the metaphysical subtleties, with which some adherents to Calvin bewilder themselves and their hearers. On this hand, he neither darkened counsel by words without knowledge, nor, on that, confounded the morality of the Stoicks with the religion of Christ. He aimed to impress the heart with plain, evangelical truths; to touch and alarm the conscience of hardened offenders; to carry conviction and shame to the bosom of the infidel, not so much by a cold concatenation of argument, as by the coruscations of a mind highly charged with the truths of revelation; to strengthen the convert in his conflicts with temptation; to establish the wavering, and edify and adorn the sincere Christian. If there have been preachers, whose discourses were more connected and elaborate than his, there are few, who possess his vivacity of thought, his justness of sentiment, his emphatical and graceful delivery. He remembered, that every assembly contains a portion of the poor, who are always to be with us, and always to be taught the gospel; that it is better to instruct the ignorant, than merely to amuse the learned; to persuade the wise, than delight the witty; and to excite the repentance and faith, the zeal and love of sober Christians, than the empty applause of the gay and ingenious. With all this reverence, however, for the simple and the grave, where is the logician, who has not occasionally been informed by the reasoning, where the critic, who has not been moved by the good sense, where the sparkling genius, who has not been ravished with the oratory, of Dr. Thacher? His pulpit talents have been the boast of our age. In that venerable form, in those accents, in that manner, there was a charm, which infallibly seized the attention of his auditory, fanned the flame of its curiosity, and left upon its mind a savour of religion.

He was illustrious for his gift in extempore prayer. Whenever he engaged in this exercise, his memory supplied a copious and select variety of sentiment from the Scriptures, whilst the most perfect confidence commanded the whole energies of his intellect. It seemed as if the melody of his tones awoke his own devotion, and imparted life to all, who joined him in the sacred duty. No concourse was so numerous, no case so intricate, no occasion so sudden, as to produce apparent confusion in his thoughts, or the smallest hesitation in utterance. This privilege was not the fruit of method, nor, perceptibly, of previous study; though, in fact, he often and closely premeditated. It sprang from a faculty of waving and resuming at pleasure the subject of petition, and of waiting, if I may so speak, for the moment of inspiration to amplify and entreat.

He was illustrious by his example. The pious propensities of his youth were visible in his character through the succeeding scenes and actions of his life. From whatever was profane, whatever was immoral, whatever trifled with the essentials or rituals of religion, his feelings revolted with horror; and he seldom failed to manifest indignation against
tokens of impiety. In his intercourse with mankind, he was distinguished
for strict adherence to truth and equity. Few men had more confidential
friends, and none was a more faithful depositary. He was curious to
discern the signs of the times, and learn the events of the day; but it was
with a view of augmenting his worth as a minister, a citizen, and a man.
Like his Master, he went about doing good; and consumed his life in
things pertaining to the kingdom of God, in promoting the health of the
state, or the comfort of individuals. In sum: His activity, punctuality,
and faithfulness, in discharging his pastoral duties; his reverence of the
Lord's day and the Lord's house, and his forwardness to embrace opportu-
nities for uniting in social worship; his kind attentions to the afflicted;
his labours in the cause of humane institutions; his concern and en-
deavours for the propagation of our holy religion; the interest he took in
furthering the progress of the arts and sciences in general; and his wishes,
his writings, and his prayers, in behalf of the independence, liberties,
peace, and glory of our beloved America, are some of the many proofs of
the worth and brilliance of his example.

'He was, finally, illustrious by his success.' 'In the course of his min-
istry, and especially since his residence in the metropolis, his labours have
been greatly blessed. This is evidenced by the number of communi-
cants in this Church; by his very acceptable visits in the chambers of the
sick and dying; and by his praise, which is in the gospel throughout all
our churches. Many, who hear me, can testify the beneficial effects of his
preaching; and, we hope, many, who, like him, have fallen asleep, will be
his joy and crown of rejoicing in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at
his coming. But his useful services were not confined to the church.
Nothing patriotick, nothing human, was foreign from his feelings. He
successfully pleaded the cause of the poor in the ear of the rich, as well as
before the throne of Almighty compassion. He interested himself in
schemes of private beneficence and publick utility, which his acquaintance
with the wise and powerful enabled him essentially to serve. In the state,
he was the uniform and influential assertor of rational liberty. Equally
the foe of licentiousness and oppression, he employed his talents, as op-
portunity presented, and not without effect, in defeating the machinations
of wicked, and supporting the measures of upright and consistent rulers:
and whilst patriotism lives in our breasts, we shall deplore the early
extinction of this splendid luminary.'

He published,
An oration against standing armies, delivered at Watertown, March 5,
1776;
A sermon on the death of Andrew Eliot, 1778;
Three sermons in proof of the eternity of future punishments, 1782;
Observations on the state of the clergy in New England, with strictures upon the power of dismissing them, usurped by some churches, 1793;
A reply to strictures upon the preceding;
A sermon on the death of Joshua Paine;
At the ordination of Elijah Kellogg, 1788;
At the ordination of William F. Rowland, 1790;
On the death of Gov. Bowdoin, 1791;
At the artillery election;
On the death of Gov. Hancock, 1793;
On the death of Samuel Stillman, jun. ;
At the ordination of his son, Thomas Cushing Thacher, 1794;
Before the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, 1795;
On the death of Thomas Russell;
On the death of Nathaniel Gorham, 1796;
Before a society of freemasons, 1797;
At the interment of Dr. Clark;
On the death of Rebecca Gill, 1798;
On the death of Gov. Sumner;
To the Society in Brattle Street, on the completion of a century from its establishment, 1799;
A discourse on the death of Washington, 1800.

These writings are all in a clear, lively style, exceedingly well corresponding to what is said of his animated manner of delivery. The Observations on the State of the Clergy, &c. and the Reply to Strictures, &c. are strongly marked with his frank and decided character.

He married, October 8, 1770, Mrs. Elizabeth Pool, and had ten children, four of whom, Rev. Thomas Cushing, late minister of Lynn; Hon. Peter Oxenbridge, judge of the Municipal Court of Boston; Charles, and Mary Harvey, survive.

In the interval between Dr. Cooper’s ministry and Dr. Thacher’s, there is a record of 37 administrations of baptism. During the latter, 153 persons, viz. 28 men and 125 women, were received to full communion. Of these, about 20 are still in connexion with this Church. In the same period, 683 persons were baptized. Two communicants (one of them the late Rev. Mr. Bradford of Roxbury) were dismissed, and recommended by votes of the Church; a fact, which had escaped my observation, when the note on p. 54 was written.

August 2, 1792, some proposals were made by the members of the Church to vary its proceedings as to the mode of admission to ordinances;
and the Church voted, that, on this day four weeks, they will take these proposals into consideration.

October 7. The Church met, according to adjournment, and considered and debated upon the propositions laid before them at the last meeting, and voted, that no more explicit confession of sin shall be required of any person, as a term of admission to either of the ordinances, than is expressed in the covenant used in this Church on admission thereto.

2. Voted, that the admission of members to full communion be in future confined to the Church, without their being propounded to the congregation.

The meeting was then adjourned to this day four weeks.

November 4. The Church met, according to adjournment, and took into consideration the following proposition, viz.

That the Church consider those, who have renewed their baptismal covenant, and have made a publick profession of religion, as members of it, subject to their watch and discipline, and that they be admitted to full communion at any time when they desire, without a new profession of their faith, if, on their standing propounded to the Church for one month, no objections shall be offered thereto. And the Church voted, that the further consideration of this proposal subsides.

The First Church worshipped with the Church in Brattle Square, while their meeting-house was undergoing repairs, from Sept. 5, 1784, till March, 1785.

The standing committee, during Dr. Thacher's ministry, consisted of ten, eleven, or twelve persons. They kept no records from April, 1793, to November, 1802.

18 pews, out of 134, appear, from the treasurer's books, to have remained unsold after Dr. Thacher's settlement.

August 13, 1786. The Society were notified, that, in future, any of the Hymns, which are annexed to the version of Psalms by Tate and Brady, to the number of 103, would be occasionally sung, at the discretion of the minister, agreeable to their vote of 3 December, 1781. The Massachusetts convention for deliberating on the adoption of the federal constitution, met in this church the second day of its session, but they found it difficult to hear the debates, and adjourned to the church in Federal Street.

December 19, 1790, it was voted unanimously, that an organ be introduced into this Society as an assistant to the vocal music of psalmody, which is esteemed to be an important part of social worship. The organ was put up the second following year, and was first used June 17. There were great objections made, for years after, to its being played without an accompaniment of psalmody, and to its being played after service, before the congregation had time to retire. It cost about
£500; and an expense of £128 more was incurred in importing and erecting it. To make room for it, the upper front gallery, which formerly projected as far as the lower, was reduced several feet. Two columns, uniform with the rest, were removed, and replaced by others of a smaller size, to support the organ loft. At the same time, the pedestals of all the columns were abridged. The capitals, which, if I am rightly informed, were imported, were not added till nearly that time. A former proposition to this effect, had not met with equal favour:

July 13, 1773, 'it having been suggested, that the pedestals of those pillars that incommode pews, might be liable to alteration by the proprietors of such pews, unless the Society pass some vote to prevent it, and whereas such pews have been set at a less rate, on account of said inconvenience, voted, that no alteration be made in those pillars or pedestals, nor in any other of the pillars and pedestals of the meeting-house, on any pretence whatever.'

May 13, 1795. The committee were 'requested to have a passage staked out large enough for carriages, and also for foot passengers, round the meeting-house.'

In 1796, the pews belonging to the Society had not all been sold, and, four years later, they were still in debt. In 1799, the legacy of Deacon Newell to the poor of the Church was borrowed.

In 1791, a request was made by the executors of the last will and testament of William Erving, Esq., that they might be permitted to place a monument in memory of the said testator and his father, the late Hon. John Erving, Esq. deceased, in some convenient place in the meeting-house in Brattle Street, agreeably to the will of the said William Erving, Esq.' The proposition was declined.

In 1795, the Society bought of Jonathan Merry and Stephen Fales the estate bounding their land on the north and east sides. They sold the greater part of it the next year, reserving a portion of the land next their own limits. The stoves lately removed were erected in 1799.

In 1799, it was voted, that the exercises begin with singing. In 1802, occurs the first vote, which I have observed for compensation to the choir. The standing committee were then 'directed to encourage the singers, by giving them a sum of money not exceeding one hundred dollars.'

(31.) p. 27. The former statements in these notes have been the more particular, as few of those for whom they are prepared, had a personal acquaintance with the events to which they relate. It would be useless to make many respecting the life or character of Mr. Buckminster. He was the son of Rev. Dr. Joseph Buckminster of Portsmouth, N. H.; was born May 26, 1784; received his first degree at Cambridge in 1800; and in Oct.
1804, began to preach in the church in Brattle Square. December 9th, he was chosen its pastor, and was ordained January 30, 1805. The ordaining council consisted of the First, Second, Old South, New South, West, New North, Federal Street and Hollis Street churches in Boston; the North and South churches in Portsmouth; the First, Second and Third churches in Roxbury; the First Church in Dorchester; and the churches in Waltham, Charlestown, Brookline and Chelsea. The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Buckminster of Portsmouth, from Titus, ii. 15. The Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Cushing of Waltham, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Emerson of Boston. Rev. Mr. Porter of Roxbury made the Introductory, Rev. Dr. Lathrop of Boston the Ordaining, and Rev. Dr. Morse of Charlestown the Concluding Prayer. From May, 1806, to September, 1807, Mr. Buckminster was absent on a tour in Europe, which his infirm health had made necessary. He died, after a week’s illness, June 9, 1812. At the funeral, Rev. Dr. Lathrop and Rev. Mr. Lowell prayed; and Rev. President Kirkland preached, from Job, xiv. 19. I have been kindly permitted to make the following extracts from different parts of the sermon:

"Many, who hear me, observed the earliest years of Mr. Buckminster, and most have been informed of the extraordinary features and decided indications of his character in childhood and youth. God gave him a spirit finely touched, which opened early, and shot forth with a rapid expansion, when most are only acquiring the rudiments of instruction. Providence favoured his improvement, by the skilful and zealous culture of the parental hand, which was encouraged and rewarded by the ingenuous disposition and docility of the pupil. His moral qualities seemed to unfold themselves with his intellectual powers. The wavering propensities and undecided feelings, the refractory and untractable dispositions, which generally create anxiety, and exact incessant care and discipline in parents and instructers, seem never to have appeared in any thing offensive in this singular person. There was a cognition and sympathy between his mind and the objects of religion, and a deep tincture of piety in that train of thought, which was discovered in the child. The progress of moral apprehension corresponded to that of the mental powers, and his tenderness of conscience was as remarkable as the energies of his mind. His absolute exemption from all tendency to deceive, and his immediate and ingenuous confession of error, when committed, are established facts in his early history. He listened to the tender demand of his heavenly Father, "My son, give me thy heart," and learning, even in childhood, to relish the pleasures of devotion, he was able to have them in lively and pleasing exercise in his subsequent years.

The promises of his first years were in all respects fulfilled in the following stages of his education. He welcomed, with respectful attention,
the advice of his teachers, and kept sound wisdom and discretion. He gave his time to exertion, and left the university with an unspotted fame, and her highest literary honours, at an age, when most are entering upon collegiate duties. After a time passed in the office of instructor, he gave his exclusive attention to the studies of the profession, to which he had always directed his views, and was persuaded, after much doubt and fear, to accept your invitation to be a candidate for this desk. With united voice you proposed his settlement, and, before he had completed his minority, he was solemnly inducted to the charge of this Church. With what ability, faithfulness and zeal he began and continued his sacred office, you especially, and all the inhabitants of this metropolis, have had opportunity to witness. His ingenious and intelligible explanations of the sacred oracles, his clear and conclusive reasoning upon theological and ethical truths, his original and discursive, pathetick and captivating eloquence, have placed him in the highest rank of pulpit orators. How simple, solemn and affecting were his devotions! How edifying and tender his ministration of the ordinances!—In all his intercourse, you, his people, feel too well, to need it to be impressed, how truly he manifested himself the friend and counsellor of his flock, and with what effect he rendered the private duties of the pastoral office; how much he exerted himself for the improvement and welfare of your children, and entered into your parental solicitude.

Great has been the success of the application of such talents and zeal to the purposes of the ministerial office. Much access did he gain to the understanding and hearts of his hearers. Here ignorance has been removed, and there error corrected. By his influence, the insensible have been affected, the frigid warmed, the prejudiced and prepossessed conciliated. Has not often the truth, presented by him in all its weight and lustre, had power to banish the illusions, and to detect and confound the artifices, of hypocrisy? The sceptick has been convinced, and the scornor shamed; the man of the world turned away from his idols, and the votary of pleasure, and the libertine, raised from the mire of sensuality, in which they were sunk, and washed from their defilement. It was his, by discourses containing all the spirit of the gospel, without the technicks of human system, to do something to soften the unfeeling temper of bigotry. He might be said to have almost found a medicine for the distempered enthusiast, and to have succeeded in bringing the victim of enthusiasm into the benign light of true religion. You are sensible with what effect he often uttered the healing voice of the gospel to the broken-hearted and penitent, assisted the doubtful to find a right way, and nerved the feeble with strength. He has taught the afflicted how to kiss the rod, and to turn it into comfort, by submission and patience; and has often been able to quicken the flame, which waxed dim in the lamp of the languid and declining believer. We
trust, that he was enabled thus to communicate the views and affections of religion, by having received the impression of them deeply on his own heart. His faith was not a mere acquiescence in certain propositions, but a conviction made persuasion, operating on all his active powers. Principle became affection, and duty delight; and he was good from love of rectitude, and faithful from the pleasure he took in carrying the messages of his Master."

"Having resumed his duties, he appeared with augmented lustre in the pulpit, and with a fund of materials to enrich and enliven his conversation, and satisfy the literary and religious inquisitiveness of his friends. His relations to society have since been growing more and more extended and important. He was formed to render every filial office to his literary parent, and she was eager to avail herself of his generous attachment, and to testify her regard to a son, who reflected so much honour on the place of his education."

"I have sketched a few circumstances and facts relating to the early life and publick relations of our friend and your pastor. They, to whom he was allied by nature and affection, need not that I should speak of his private virtues, of the unvarying dutifulness and devotion of the child, of the fond solicitude and delicate kindness of the brother, of the warmth and constancy of the friend; nor of the personal qualities and virtues, which could not fail to strike our attention,—patience, that made him refrain from complaint,—and generosity, that did not ask for participation in his peculiar trials;—courage and elevation, that would not suffer him to take any measure, or to behave to any man under the influence of fear,—and simplicity of intention and purpose, that rejected all artifice in speech and conduct. Nor shall I pretend to enumerate all that gave a grace and effect to his talents and virtues, his literary taste, his advantage of countenance lighted up with intelligence, and bright with the vivacity of genius, and the smiles of kind affection. But God has changed his countenance, and sent him away. The life, for which we were often anxious, which sometimes seemed to be brought down to the sides of the pit and the gates of the grave, but which we saw no cause for apprehending in peculiar danger, after a short conflict with disease, is sunk under the arm of the destroyer. Inexorable death, heedless of our prayers, has fixed his grasp upon the helpless victim, and he has descended to darkness and dust."

Mr. Buckminster was a member of the American Academy, and of the Historical Society. In 1811, he was chosen the first lecturer on Biblical criticism at Cambridge, on the foundation of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter. He published, with his name, in 1809, a sermon on the death of Gov. Sullivan, and an address before the Society of F. B. K.; and in 1811, a sermon on the death of Rev. Mr. Emerson. The invaluable
A volume of sermons, published since his death, and prefaced with a memoir, by the late Rev. Mr. Thacher, was selected from his MS, by Chief Justice Parker, the late Hon. Mr. Dexter, Rev. Dr. Channing, and the author of the memoir.

In 1803, Mr. Channing (since Dr. Channing, of Federal Street) was invited to preach upon probation, with a view to a settlement; but declined on account of his feeble health, and the size of the house and parish.

In the period intervening between the ministries of Dr. Thacher and Mr. Buckminster, 31 persons were baptized, and 6, viz. 3 men and 3 women, became communicants. During the latter ministry, 259 were baptized, (one of them eighty-three years old,) and 89, viz. 48 men and 70 women, became communicants. In 1808, it is recorded, that the Church stopped to vote Mr. Codman (now Rev. Dr. Codman, preparatory to his settlement in Dorchester) the customary certificate of regular standing, and recommendation to be given by the pastor. In 1811, the primitive practice was resumed. Mr. Buckminster records, in giving Mr. Thacher his recommendation to the fellowship of the church, with which he was to be connected, I did not think it necessary to call the Church together, as this is directly contrary to the practice vindicated by the founders of our Church, and is entirely unnecessary.

In 1814, the practice of carrying round boxes in church, to collect the taxes, was discontinued, and it was voted, as the sense of the committee, that in the settlement of a minister, all who statably attend public worship, and contribute to the support of a minister, in the parish of Brattle Street, have a right to vote.

Aug. 4, 1805, in consequence of a communication from the committee of the Old South Society in this town, voted, that our brethren of that society be invited to unite with us in this place, in attendance on divine worship, during the interruption, which may be occasioned by the repairing of the building in which they usually assemble, and that the officers of our Church be desired to present to them this invitation.

April 27, 1808, it was established as a rule, that it was sufficient for admission, that the wish of him, who is about to join, should stand pronounced from one meeting of the Church to another.

November 22, 1807, the often agitated question relating to the Hymn Book, was resumed. The standing committee were requested to take the subject into consideration, and report their opinion, whether it was expedient to change the book used by the Society, or to make any alteration or addition thereto. The committee reported, and the Society determined, that it was expedient to make an addition to the collection now in use. Mr. Buckminster, Dr. Spooner, and Mr. Thacher, were appointed a committee to make the additional collection, which now forms our Second Part.
In the summer of 1807, pews were built in the space before occupied by free seats in the south gallery, and a porch, containing a stair-case, was erected on that side of the house.

In 1808 and 1809, the legislature of the commonwealth attended divine service in this church on the day of the general election, of the anniversary of national independence, and of the funeral of Gov. Sullivan.

In 1809, a new bell, weighing 3469 pounds, was purchased in London for the Society's use. The expense ($2090) was chiefly defrayed by a subscription.

In 1811, the late Hon. Mr. Bowdoin gave to the Society the clock, which is placed against the west gallery.

(32.) p. 23. The council for the ordination of Mr. Everett was composed of the First, Second, Old South, New North, New South, West, Hollis and Federal Street churches in Boston; the First churches in Cambridge, Dorchester and Roxbury; and the church in Medford; with the President of the University, and the Professor of Divinity. The Rev. President preached, from 1 Thess. ii. 4. The Charge was given by Dr. Porter of Roxbury, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Thacher. Rev. Dr. Latrop made the Introductory, Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford the Ordaining, and Rev. Dr. Harris of Dorchester the Concluding Prayer.

During his ministry, Mr. Everett published with his name, a sermon at the funeral of Rev. Mr. Abbot of the First Church, and that learned and valuable work, the Defence of Christianity.

In the period intervening between the ministry of Mr. Buckminster and Mr. Everett, 30 persons were baptized, and 8, viz. 4 men and 4 women, became communicants. During the latter ministry, 36 were baptized, and 13, viz. 4 men and 9 women, became communicants.

(33.) p. 23. The council for the ordination of the present pastor was composed of the First, Second, Old South, New North, New South, West, Hollis, and Federal Street churches in Boston; the First, Second and University churches in Cambridge; First, Second, and Third churches in Roxbury; First and Third churches in Dorchester; the Second Church in Charlestown, and the Third Church in Hingham, and the churches in Medford, Lancaster, Brookline, and Chelsea. Rev. Dr. Porter of Roxbury preached, from Matthew vii. 28, 29. The Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Frothingham. The Rev. Dr. Thayer of Lancaster made the Introductory, the Rev. President of the University the Ordaining, and Rev. Mr. Colman of Hingham the Concluding Prayer.

In the period intervening between the last and the present ministry, 38 persons were baptized, and 2 became communicants. When this
sermon was preached, 142 persons had been baptized by the present pas-
tor, and 64, viz. 14 men and 50 women, received to the communion.

In July, 1815, it was agreed with the First Church, to hold the monthly lecture alternately in Chauncy Place and Brattle Square. In 1818, the old practice of meeting in the latter place was resumed.

The first act of incorporation, which the Society possessed, was signed February 13, 1822. The qualifications of voters are therein specially defined.

In the spring of 1824, the south porch was removed by order of the city government, who subsequently, in accordance with a decision of referees, paid to the Society $3750. It became necessary to provide another entrance to the gallery, in place of that which was discontinued, and a thorough repair of the church was consequently made. The front porch was extended on each side by wings twenty feet in length, making the vestibule to the church more ample, and furnishing an entrance directly to the side aisles on the first floor, and stairs to the galleries. They contain two vestries and cellars for the air stoves, by which the church is warmed. The pews in the galleries were also differently arranged, and the whole newly painted, within and without. The wall on the north side of the church, which had been built a year or two before, was raised, an iron railing erected in the south-west corner, and the staircase of the pulpit carried back to enlarge it.

(34.) p. 24. I wrote this under a strong impression, derived from the anonymous pamphlet, mentioned in note 20. The question there incidentally raised about the place where Whitefield preached his first sermon is answered in his journal, with which I was not acquainted when the note was written. He preached first for Dr. Colman at a lecture.

(25.) p. 24. During one period of twenty-seven years, there were no less than 666 members added to the Church, making an average of 25 in a year.

(36.) p. 25. The contributions for the poor, as early as 1730, were not seldom £100, and £150, a large sum for those days. That part of the contribution to the sufferers by the great fire in 1760, which was furnished by this Church, was £3407. I had made some other memoranda to justify the remark in the text; but they are mislaid.

(37.) p. 27. Jan. 25, 1823, Mr. William Homer, a venerable member of this Church, died, at the age of ninety-six. He remembered Dr. Colman’s person and preaching distinctly. Two of the present members of the Church, Mrs. Bass and Mrs. Copeland, were baptized by Dr. Colman.
Mrs. Elizabeth W. Spooner, the excellent consort of Hon. William Spooner, died July 11, 1824.

The following is the most complete list I have been able to make of the deacons of this Church:

Thomas Brattle, chosen in 1699. 
Benjamin Davis..................1699. 
Richard Draper.....................1699. 
John Kilby.............................1701. 
Benjamin Gibson..................1717. 
Jacob Parker......................1722. 
John Phillips.................1729. 
Daniel Bell.......................... 
Timothy Newell................... 
Isaac Smith......................... 

Ebenezer Storer, chosen in 
John Gore..............................1788. 
Samuel Barrett......................1788. 
James Lanman......................1788. 
Nathaniel Hall......................1793. 
Moses Grant.........................1793. 
Peter O. Thacher..................1804. 
William Andrews..................1808. 
Alden Bradford....................1814. 
Moses Grant.........................1818.
OUTLINES

OF

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

By George Ticknor.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY CUMMINGS, HILLIARD, & CO.

1825.
The following notice of the Life of General Lafayette was originally printed in the forty sixth number of the North American Review. It is now reprinted with a few alterations and a considerable number of additions.
The family of General Lafayette has long been distinguished in the history of France. As early as 1422, the Marshal de Lafayette defeated and killed the Duke of Clarence at Beaugé, and thus saved his country from falling entirely into the power of Henry Fifth, of England. Another of his ancestors, though not in the direct line, Madame de Lafayette, the intimate friend and correspondent of Madame de Sevigné, and one of the most brilliant ornaments of the court of Louis Fourteenth, was the first person who ever wrote a romance, relying for its success on domestic character, and thus became the founder of the most popular department in modern literature. His father fell in the battle of Münden, and therefore survived the birth of his son only two years. These, with many more memorials of his family,
scattered through the different portions of French history for nearly five centuries, are titles to distinction, which it is particularly pleasant to recollect when they fall, as they now do, on one so singularly fitted to receive and increase them.

General Lafayette himself was born in Auvergne, in the south of France, on the 6th of September, 1757. When quite young, he was sent to the College of Du Plessis at Paris, where he received that classical education, of which, when recently at Cambridge, he twice gave remarkable proof in uncommonly happy quotations from Cicero, suited to circumstances that could not have been foreseen. Somewhat later, he was sent to Versailles, where the court constantly resided; and there his education was still further continued, and he was made, in common with most of the young noblemen, an officer in the army. When only between sixteen and seventeen, he was married to the daughter of the Duke d'Ayen, son of the Duke de Noailles, and grandson to the great and good Chancellor d'Aguesseau; and thus his condition in life seemed to be assured to him among the most splendid and powerful in the empire. His fortune, which had been accumulating during a long minority, was vast; his rank was with the first in Europe; his connexions brought him the support of the chief persons in France;
and his individual character, the warm, open, and sincere manners, which have distinguished him ever since, and given him such singular control over the minds of men, made him powerful in the confidence of society wherever he went. It seemed, indeed, as if life had nothing further to offer him, than he could surely obtain by walking in the path that was so bright before him.

It was at this period, however, that his thoughts and feelings were first turned towards these thirteen colonies, then in the darkest and most doubtful passage of their struggle for independence. He made himself acquainted with our agents at Paris, and learned from them the state of our affairs. Nothing could be less tempting to him, whether he sought military reputation or military instruction, for our army, at that moment retreating through New Jersey, and leaving its traces in blood from the naked and torn feet of the soldiery as it hastened onward, was in a state too humble to offer either. Our credit, too, in Europe was entirely gone, so that the commissioners, as they were called, without having any commission, to whom Lafayette still persisted in offering his services, were obliged, at last, to acknowledge that they could not even give him decent means for his conveyance. "Then," said he, "I shall purchase and fit out a vessel for myself." He did so. The vessel was
prepared at Bordeaux, and sent round to one of the nearest ports in Spain, that it might be beyond the reach of the French government. In order more effectually to conceal his purposes, he made, just before his embarkation, a visit of a few weeks in England, the only time he was ever there, and was much sought in English society. On his return to France, he did not stop at all in the capital, even to see his own family, but hastened with all speed and secrecy, to make good his escape from the country. It was not until he was thus on his way to embark, that his romantic undertaking began to be known.

The effect produced in the capital and at court by its publication, was greater than we should now, perhaps, imagine. Lord Stonmont, the English Ambassador, required the French ministry to despatch an order for his arrest not only to Bordeaux, but to the French commanders on the West India station; a requisition with which the ministry readily complied, for they were, at that time, anxious to preserve a good understanding with England, and were seriously angry with a young man, who had thus put in jeopardy the relations of the two countries. In fact, at Passage, on the very borders of France and Spain, a lettre de cachet overtook him, and he was arrested and carried back to Bordeaux. There, of course, his
enterprise was near being finally stopped; but watching his opportunity, and assisted by one or two friends, he disguised himself as a courier, with his face blacked and false hair, and rode on ordering post-horses, for a carriage which he had caused to follow him at a suitable distance for this very purpose, and thus fairly passed the frontiers of the two kingdoms, only three or four hours before his pursuers reached them. He soon arrived at his port, where his vessel was waiting for him. His family, however, still followed him with solicitation to return, which he never received; and the society of the court and capital, according to Madame du Deffand’s account of it, was in no common state of excitement on the occasion.* Something

* De tous les départs présents, celui qui est le plus singulier et le plus étonnant, c’est celui de M. de Lafayette. Il n’a pas vingt ans; il est parti ces jours-ci pour l’Amérique; il emmène avec lui huit ou dix de ses amis; il n’avait confié son projet qu’au Vicomte de Noailles, sous le plus grand secret; il a acheté un vaisseau, l’a équipé, et s’est embarqué à Bordeaux. Sitôt que ses parents en ont eu la nouvelle, ils ont fait courir après lui pour l’arrêter et le ramener; mais on est arrivé trop tard, il y avait trois heures qu’il était embarqué. C’est une folie, sans doute, mais qui ne le déshonore point, et qui au contraire marque du courage et du désir de la gloire. On le loue plus qu’on le blame; mais sa femme, qu’il laisse grosse de quatre mois, son beau-père, sa belle-mère, et toute sa famille en sont fort affligés. Lettre de Mad. du Deffand à H. Walpole, 31 Mars, 1777.
of the same sort happened in London. "We talk chiefly," says Gibbon in a letter dated April 12, 1777, "of the Marquis de Lafayette, who was here a few weeks ago. He is about twenty; with a hundred and thirty thousand livres a year, the nephew of Noailles, who is ambassador here. He has bought the Duke of Kingston's yacht, [a mistake] and is gone to join the Americans. The court appear to be angry with him."

Immediately on arriving the second time at Passage, the wind being fair, he embarked. The usual course for French vessels attempting to trade with our colonies at that period, was, to sail for the West Indies, and then coming up along our coast, enter where they could. But this course would have exposed Lafayette to the naval commanders of his own nation, and he had almost as much reason to dread them, as to dread British cruisers. When, therefore, they were outside of the Canary Islands, Lafayette required his captain to lay their course directly for the United States. The captain refused, alleging, that if they should be taken by a British force and carried into Halifax, the French government would never reclaim them, and they could hope for nothing but a slow death in a dungeon or a prison-ship. This was true, but Lafayette knew it before he made the requisition. He, therefore, insisted un-
til the captain refused in the most positive manner. Lafayette then told him that the ship was his own private property, that he had made his own arrangements concerning it, and that if he, the captain, would not sail directly for the United States, he should be put in irons, and his command given to the next officer. The captain, of course, submitted, and Lafayette gave him a bond for forty thousand francs, in case of any accident. They, therefore, now made sail directly for the southern portion of the United States, and arrived unmolested at Charleston, S. C. on the 25th of April, 1777.

The sensation produced by his appearance in this country was, of course, much greater than that produced in Europe by his departure. It still stands forth, as one of the most prominent and important circumstances in our revolutionary contest; and, as has often been said by one who bore no small part in its trials and success, none but those who were then alive, can believe what an impulse it gave to the hopes of a population almost disheartened by a long series of disasters. And well it might; for it taught us, that in the first rank of the first nobility in Europe, men could still be found, who not only took an interest in our struggle, but were willing to share our sufferings; that our obscure and almost desperate contest for freedom in a
remote quarter of the world, could yet find supporters among those, who were the most natural and powerful allies of a splendid despotism; that we were the objects of a regard and interest throughout the world, which would add to our own resources sufficient strength to carry us safely through to final success.

Immediately after his arrival, Lafayette received the offer of a command in our army, but declined it. Indeed, during the whole of his service with us, he seemed desirous to show, by his conduct, that he had come only to render disinterested assistance to our cause. He began, therefore, by clothing and equipping a body of men at Charleston at his own expense; and then entered, as a volunteer, without pay, into our service. He lived in the family of the Commander in Chief, and won his full affection and confidence. He was appointed a Major General in our service, by a vote of Congress, on the 31st of July, 1777, and in September of the same year, was wounded at Brandywine. He was employed in 1778 in many parts of the country, as a Major General, and as the Head of a separate Division, and after having received the thanks of Congress for his important services, embarked at Boston in January, 1779, for France, thinking he could assist us more effectually, for a time, in Europe than in America.
He arrived at Versailles, then the regular residence of the French court, on the 12th of February, and the same day had a long conference with Maurepas, the Prime Minister. He was not permitted to see the king; and in a letter written at court the next day, we are told, that he received an order to visit none but his relations, as a form of censure for having left France without permission; but this was an order that fell very lightly on him, for he was connected by birth or marriage with almost every body at court, and every body else thronged to see him at his own hotel. The treaty, which was concluded between America and France at just about the same period, was, by Lafayette's personal exertions, made effective in our favor. He labored unremittingly to induce his Government to send us a fleet and troops; and it was not until he had gained this point, and ascertained that he should be speedily followed by Count Rochambeau, that he embarked to return. He reached the Head Quarters of the Army on the 11th of May 1780, and there confidentially communicated the important intelligence to the Commander in Chief. Immediately on his return from his furlough, he resumed his place in our service with the same disinterested zeal he had shown on his first arrival. He received the separate command of a body of infantry, consisting of about two thousand men, and
clothed and equipped it partly at his own expense, rendering it by unwearied exertions, constant sacrifices, and wise discipline, the best corps in the army. What he did for us, while at the head of this division, is known to all, who have read the history of their country. His forced march to Virginia, in December 1780, raising two thousand guineas at Baltimore, on his own credit, to supply the pressing wants of his troops; his rescue of Richmond, which but for his great exertions must have fallen into the enemy's hands; his long trial of generalship with Cornwallis, who foolishly boasted in an intercepted letter, that "the boy could not escape him;" and finally the siege of Yorktown, the storming of the redoubt, and the surrender of the place in October, 1781, are proofs of talent as a military commander, and devotion to the welfare of these states, for which he never has been repaid, and, in some respects, never can be.

He was, however, desirous to make yet greater exertions in our favour, and announced his project of revisiting France for the purpose. Congress had already repeatedly acknowledged his merits and services in formal votes. They now acknowledged them more formally than ever by a resolution of November 23d, in which, besides all other expressions of approbation, they desire the foreign ministers of this government to confer with him in
their negotiations concerning our affairs; a mark of respect and deference, of which we know no
her example.

In France a brilliant reputation had preceded him. The cause of America was already popular here; and his exertions and sacrifices in it, which, from the first, had seemed so chivalrous and romantic, now came reflected back upon him in the strong light of popular enthusiasm. While he was in the United States for the first time, Voltaire made his remarkable visit to Paris, and having met Madame de Lafayette at the Hotel de Choiseuil, he made her a long harangue on the brilliant destinies that awaited her husband as a defender of the great cause of popular freedom; and ended by offering his homage to her on his knees.

Before his return too, the following beautiful verses, from the Gaston et Bayard of Belloy, had been often applauded and their repetition sometimes called for, on the public theatre, and Madame Campan tells us, that she for a long time preserved them in the handwriting of the unfortunate Queen of Louis Sixteenth, who had transcribed them because they had thus been publicly appropriated to the popular favorite of the time.

Eh ! que fait sa jeunesse
Lorsque de l'âge mûr je lui vois la sagesse ?
Profond dans ses desseins, qu'il trace avec froideur,
C'est pour les accomplir, qu'il garde son ardeur.

\[ e \]
Il sait défendre un camp et forcer des murailles,
Comme un jeune soldat désirant les batailles ;
Comme un vieux général il sait les éviter.
Je me plais à le suivre et même à l’imiter.
J’admire sa prudence et j’aime son courage.
Avec ces deux vertus un guerrier n’a point d’âge.

Act. I. Sc. 4.*

It is not remarkable, therefore, with such a state of feeling while he was still absent from the country, that, on his return, he was followed by crowds in the public streets wherever he went; and that in a journey he made to one of his estates in the south of France, the towns through which he passed received him with processions and civic honors; and that in the city of Orleans he

* A similar circumstance happened, or rather in this second instance was prepared, at about the same time by Rochon de Chabannes, who introduced the following portrait of him into his Amour François, acted in 1780.

On est compte pour rien, quand on est inutile;
L’oisiveté, monsieur, est une mort civile....
Voyez ce courtisan à peu près de votre âge;
Il renonce aux douceurs d’un récent mariage,
Aux charmes de la cour, aux plaisirs de Paris,
La gloire seule echauffe, embrase ses esprits,
Il vole la chercher sur un autre hémisphere, etc.

The resemblance was, of course, immediately recognized, and the name of Lafayette, which at first was murmured doubtfully, was, at the conclusion, shouted throughout the theatre in a tumult of applause.
was detained nearly a week by the festivities they had prepared for him.

He did not, however, forget our interests amidst the popular admiration with which he was surrounded. On the contrary, though the negotiations for peace were advancing, he was constantly urging upon the French government the policy of sending more troops to this country, as the surest means of bringing the war to a speedy and favorable termination. He at last succeeded; and Count d'Estaing was ordered to hold himself in readiness to sail for the United States, as soon as Lafayette should join him. When, therefore, he arrived at Cadiz, he found forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men ready to follow him, first for the conquest of Jamaica, and then for our assistance; and they would have been on our coast early in the spring, if peace had not rendered further exertions unnecessary. This great event was first announced to Congress, by a letter from Lafayette, dated in the harbor of Cadiz, Feb. 5, 1783.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, Lafayette

* When Count d'Estaing was one day in conference with Charles III. of Spain, on the arrangements for this expedition, the Count suggested to his Majesty the propriety of leaving Lafayette for a time as Governor of Jamaica, in the event of its subjugation; "God forbid!" said the king, alarmed, "he would immediately make a republic of it."
began to receive pressing invitations to visit the country, whose cause he had so materially assisted. Washington, in particular, was extremely urgent; and yielding not only to these instances, but to an attachment to the United States, of which his whole life has given proof, he embarked again for our shores and landed at New York on the 4th of August 1784. His visit however was short. He went almost immediately to Mount Vernon, where he passed a few days in the family of which he was so long a cherished member, and then visiting Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, and Boston, received everywhere with unmingled enthusiasm and delight, he reembarked for France. But when he was thus about to leave the United States for the third, and, as it then seemed, the last time, Congress in December 1784 appointed a solemn deputation, consisting for its greater dignity, of one member from each state, with instructions to take leave of him on behalf of the whole country, and to assure him, "that these United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him." It was at the same time resolved, that a letter be written to his Most Christian Majesty, expressive of the high sense, which the United
States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his Majesty. We are not aware, that a more complete expression of dignified and respectful homage could have been offered to him.

During the year that followed the arrival of Lafayette in his own country, he found the minds of men more agitated on questions of political right, than they had ever been before. He went, for a short time, in 1785, to Prussia, for the purpose of seeing the troops of Frederick Second, and was received with distinguished kindness and consideration by that remarkable monarch; at whose court, by a singular coincidence of circumstances, he frequently met with Lord Cornwallis, and several other of the officers who had fought against him in the campaign that ended at Yorktown. But the grave and perilous discussions, that were then going on in France, soon called him back from Prussia. Into some of those discussions, he entered at once; on others he waited; but, on all, his opinions were openly and freely known, and on all, he preserved the most perfect consistency. He was for some time ineffectually employed with Malesherbes, the Minister of Louis Sixteenth, in endeavoring to relieve the Protestants of France from political disabilities, and place them on the
same footing with other subjects. He was the first Frenchman, who raised his voice against the slave trade; and it is worth notice, that having devoted considerable sums of money to purchase slaves in one of the colonies, and educate them for emancipation, the faction, which in 1792 proscribed him, as an enemy to freedom, sold these very slaves back to their original servitude. And finally, at about the same time, he attempted with our minister, Mr Jefferson, to form a league of some of the European Powers against the Barbaresque Pirates, which, if it had succeeded, would have done more for their suppression, than has been done by Sir Sidney Smith’s Association, or is likely to follow Lord Exmouth’s victories.

But while he was busied in the interests, to which these discussions gave rise, the materials for great internal changes were collecting together at Paris from all parts of France; and in February 1787, the Assembly of the Notables was opened. Lafayette was, of course, a member, and the tone he held throughout its session contributed essentially to give a marked character to its deliberations. He proposed the suppression of the odious lettres de cachet, of which Mirabeau declared in the National Assembly, that seventeen had been issued against him before he was thirty years old; he proposed the enfranchisement of the protestants,
who, from the time of the abolition of the Edict of Nantz, had been suffering under more degrading disabilities than the Catholics now are in Ireland; and he proposed by a formal motion,—which was the first time that word was ever used in France, and marks an important step towards a regular deliberative assembly,—he made a motion for the convocation of Representatives of the people. "What," said the Count d'Artois, now Charles Tenth, who presided in the assembly of the Notables, "do you ask for the States General?" "Yes," replied Lafayette, "and for something more and better;" an intimation, which, though it can be readily understood by all who have lived under a representative government, was hardly intelligible in France at that time.*

Lafayette was, also, a prominent member of the States General, which met in 1789, and assumed the name of the National Assembly. He proposed in this body a Declaration of Rights not unlike our own, and it was under his influence and while he was, for this very purpose, in the chair, that a decree was passed on the night of the 13th

* No one rose to second this motion; and yet, only two years afterwards, the States General were convoked in obedience to the unanimous call of the nation; so clearly had Lafayette foreseen, what was foreseen by nobody else.
and 14th of July, at the moment the Bastille was falling before the cannon of the populace, which provided for the responsibility of ministers, and thus furnished one of the most important elements of a representative monarchy. Two days afterwards, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, and thus was placed at the head of what was intended to be made, when it should be carried into all the departments, the effective military power of the realm, and what, under his wise management, soon become such.

His great military command, and his still greater personal influence, now brought him constantly in contact with the court and the throne. His position, therefore, was extremely delicate and difficult, especially as the popular party in Paris, of which he was not so much the head, as the idol, was already in a state of perilous excitement, and atrocious violences were beginning to be committed. The abhorrence of the queen was almost universal, and was excessive to a degree of which we can now have no just idea. The circumstance that the court lived at Versailles, sixteen miles from Paris, and that the session of the National Assembly was held there, was another source of jealousy, irritation, and hatred, on the part of the capital. The people of Paris, therefore, as a sign of opposition, had mounted their municipal cockade of blue and
red, whose effects were already becoming alarming. Lafayette, who was anxious about the consequences of such a marked division, and who knew how important are small means of conciliation, added to it, on the 26th of July, the white of the Royal cockade, and as he placed it in his own hat, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, prophesied, that it "would go round the world;" a prediction, which is already more than half accomplished, since the tricolored cockade has been used for the ensign of emancipation in Spain, in Naples, in some parts of South America, and in Greece.

Still, however, the tendency of everything was to confusion and violence. The troubles of the times, too, rather than a positive want of the means of subsistence, had brought on a famine in the capital; and the populace of the Fauxbourgs, the most degraded certainly in France, having assembled and armed themselves, determined to go to Versailles; the greater part with a blind desire for vengeance on the royal family, but others only with the purpose of bringing the king from Versailles, and forcing him to reside in the more ancient but scarcely habitable palace of the ThUILlERIES, in the midst of Paris. The National Guards clamored to accompany this savage multitude; Lafayette opposed their inclination; the municipality of Paris hesitated, but supported it; he resisted near-
ly the whole of the 5th of October, while the road to Versailles was already thronged with an exasperated mob of above an hundred thousand ferocious men and women, until, at last, finding the multitude were armed and even had cannon, he asked and received an order to march, from the competent authority, and set off at four o'clock in the afternoon, as one going to a post of imminent danger, which it had clearly become his duty to occupy.

He arrived at Versailles at ten o'clock at night, after having been on horseback from before daylight in the morning, and having made, during the whole interval, both at Paris and on the road, incredible exertions to control the multitude and calm the soldiers. "The Marquis de Lafayette at last entered the Chateau," says Madame de Staël, "and passing through the apartment where we were, went to the king. We all pressed round him, as if he were the master of events, and yet the popular party was already more powerful than its chief, and principles were yielding to factions, or rather were beginning to serve only as their pretext. M. de Lafayette's manner was perfectly calm; nobody ever saw it otherwise; but his delicacy suffered from the importance of the part he was called to act. He asked for the interior posts of the chateau, in order that he might ensure
their safety. Only the outer posts were granted to him.” This refusal was not disrespectful to him who made the request. It was given, simply because the etiquette of the court reserved the guard of the royal person and family to another body of men. Lafayette, therefore, answered for the National Guards, and for the posts committed to them; but he could answer for no more; * and his pledge was faithfully and desperately redeemed.

Between two and three o'clock, the queen and the royal family went to bed. Lafayette, too, slept after the great fatigues of this fearful day. At half past four, a portion of the populace made their way into the palace by an obscure, interior passage, which had been overlooked, and which was not in that part of the château entrusted to Lafayette. They were evidently led by persons who well knew the secret avenues. Mirabeau’s name was afterwards strangely compromised in it, and the form of the infamous Duke of Orleans was repeatedly recognised on the great staircase, pointing the assassins the way to the queen’s chamber.

* So completely were all persons unsuspicious of any immediate danger, that the guards of the interior posts were nowhere increased; and not the slightest change was made in the customary arrangements, except what was made at the solicitation of Lafayette.
They easily found it. Two of her guards were cut down in an instant; and she made her escape almost naked. Lafayette immediately rushed in with the national troops, protected the guards from the brutal populace, and saved the lives of the royal family, which had so nearly been sacrificed to the etiquette of the monarchy.

The day dawned as this fearful scene of guilt and bloodshed was passing in the magnificent palace, whose construction had exhausted the revenues of Louis Fourteenth, and which, for a century, had been the most splendid residence in Europe. As soon as it was light, the same furious multitude filled the vast space, which, from the rich materials of which it is formed, passes under the name of the court of marble. They called upon the king, in tones not to be mistaken, to go to Paris; and they called for the queen, who had but just escaped from their daggers, to come out upon the balcony. The king, after a short consultation with his ministers, announced his intention to set out for the capital; but Lafayette was afraid to trust the queen in the midst of the bloodthirsty multitude. He went to her, therefore, with respectful hesitation, and asked her if it were her purpose to accompany the king to Paris. "Yes," she replied, "although I am aware of the danger." "Are you positively determined?" "Yes, sir." "Conde-
scend, then, to go out upon the balcony, and suffer me to attend you.” “Without the king?”—she replied, hesitating—“Have you observed the threats?” “Yes, Madam, I have; but dare to trust me.” He led her out upon the balcony. It was a moment of great responsibility and great delicacy; but nothing, he felt assured, could be so dangerous as to permit her to set out for Paris, surrounded by that multitude, unless its feelings could be changed. The agitation, the tumult, the cries of the crowd, rendered it impossible that his voice should be heard. It was necessary, therefore, to address himself to the eye, and turning towards the queen, with that admirable presence of mind, which never yet forsook him, and with that mingled grace and dignity, which were the peculiar inheritance of the ancient court of France, he simply kissed her hand before the vast multitude. An instant of silent astonishment followed, but the whole was immediately interpreted, and the air was rent with cries of “Long live the queen!” “Long live the general!” from the same fickle and cruel populace, that only two hours before had embued their hands in the blood of the guards, who defended the life of this same queen.

The same day, that this scene was passing, the first meeting of the Jacobin club was held. Against this club and its projects Lafayette at once
declared himself. With Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, he organized an opposing club, and the victory between the two parties was doubtful for above a year and a half. The contest, however, which was produced by this state of things, placed Lafayette in a very embarrassing and dangerous position. He was obliged to oppose the unprincipled purposes of the Jacobins, without retreating towards the principles of the ancient despotism; and it is greatly to his honor, that he did it most faithfully and consistently. When therefore, on the 20th of June, 1790, a proposition was suddenly made in the Assembly to abolish all titles of nobility, Lafayette, true to his principles, rose to second it. A short discussion followed. It was objected to the abolition of rank, that, if there were no titles, no such reward could be conferred as was once conferred by Henry Second, when he created an obscure person, according to the terms of his patent, "noble and count, for having saved the country at such a time." "The only difference," replied Lafayette, "will be, that the words, noble and count will be left out, and the patent will simply declare, that on such an occasion, such a man saved the state." From this time Lafayette renounced the title of Marquis, and has never since resumed it. Since the restoration of the Bourbons indeed, and the revival of the ancient nobility,
there has been sometimes an affectation among the Ultra Royalists of calling him by his former title; but he has never recognised it, and is still known in France only by the address of General. At least, if he is sometimes called otherwise there, it is not by his friends.

At length the Constitution of a representative Monarchy, much more popular than that of Great Britain, which Lafayette's exertions had, from the first opening of the Assembly, been consistently devoted to establish, was prepared; and all were desirous that it should be received and recognised by the nation in the most solemn manner. The day chosen, as most appropriate for the ceremony, was the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille; and the open space behind the military school, called the Champ de Mars, from the Campus Martius of the Romans, was the place fixed on for this great national festival and solemnity. By the constant labor of above two hundred thousand persons of both sexes and all ranks, from dukes and duchesses, bishops and deputies, down to the humblest artisans, who all made the occasion like the Saturnalia of the ancients, an amphitheatre of earth four miles in circumference was raised in a few weeks, whose sides were formed of seats destined to receive the French people, and amidst which stood the Throne and the Altar.
On the morning of the day when the whole was to be consummated, the king, the court, the clergy, the National Assembly, a deputation of the military from the eighty-three departments, and a body of people amounting to above four hundred thousand souls were assembled in this magnificent amphitheatre. Mass was first said, and then Lafayette, who that day had the military command of four millions of men, represented by 14,000 elected military deputies, and who held in his hands the power of the monarchy, swore to the Constitution on behalf of the nation, at the altar which had been erected in the midst of the arena. Every eye of that immense mass was turned on him; every hand was raised to join the oath he uttered. It was, no doubt, one of the most magnificent and solemn ceremonies the world ever saw; and, perhaps, no man ever enjoyed the sincere confidence of an entire people more completely than Lafayette did, as he thus bore the most imposing part in these extraordinary solemnities.

The Champ de Mars, however, as Madame de Staël has well observed, was the last movement of a genuine national enthusiasm in France. The Jacobins were constantly gaining power, and the revolution was falling more and more into the hands of the populace. When the king wished to go to St Cloud with his family, in order to pass through the
duties of Easter, under the ministration of a priest, who had not taken certain civil oaths, which in the eyes of many conscientious Catholics desecrated those who received them, the populace and the national guards tumultuously stopped his carriage. Lafayette arrived, at the first suggestion of danger. "If," said he, "this be a matter of conscience with your majesty, we will, if it is necessary, die to maintain it;" and he offered immediately to open a passage by force; but the king hesitated at first, and finally determined to remain in Paris.

Lafayette, indeed, under all circumstances, remained strictly faithful to his oaths; and now defended the freedom of the king, as sincerely as he had ever defended the freedom of the people. His situation, therefore, became every day more dangerous. He might have taken great power to himself, and so have been safe. He might have received the sword of Constable of France, which was worn by the Montmorencies, but he declined it; or he might have been Generalissimo of the National Guards, who owed their existence to him; but he thought it more for the safety of the state that no such power should exist. Having, therefore, organized this last body, according to the project he had originally formed for it, he resigned all command at the dissolution of the Constituant Assembly, with a disinterestedness of which, per-
haps, Washington alone could have been his example; and retired to his estate in the country, followed, as he had been for many years, by crowds wherever he went, and accompanied on his way by every form of popular enthusiasm and admiration.

From the tranquillity to which he now gladly turned, he was soon called by the war with Austria, declared April 20th, 1792, and in which he was, at once, appointed one of the three Generals to command the French armies. His labors, in the beginning of this war, whose declaration he did not approve, were very severe; and the obstacles he surmounted, some of which were purposely thrown in his way by the factions of the capital, were grave and alarming. But the Jacobins at Paris were now a well organized body, and were fast maturing their arrangements to overturn the Constitution. Violences of almost every degree of atrocity were become common, and that public order of which Lafayette had never ceased to speak on all suitable occasions, no longer existed.*

* It is a singular fact, that in all Lafayette's speeches and addresses between 1787 and 1792, he hardly once mentions Freedom, without coupling it with some intimation or injunction to respect and support Public Order. Since that time, the two phrases have been generally united; but they have not always meant as much as they did when used by Lafayette.
der these circumstances, he felt that his silence would be an abandonment of the principles to the support of which he had devoted his life; and with a courage, which few men in any age have been able to show, and with a temperance, which has always kept his conduct on one even line, he wrote a letter to the National Assembly, dated June 16th, in which he plainly denounced the growing faction of Jacobins, and called on the constituted authorities to put a stop to the atrocities this faction was openly promoting. In the course of this letter he dared to say; “Let the royal authority be untouched, for it is guarantied by the constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty; let the king be respected, for he is invested with the majesty of the nation; let him choose a ministry that shall wear the chains of no faction; and if traitors exist, let them perish only under the sword of the law.” There was not another man in France, who would have dared to take such a step, at such a time; and it required all Lafayette’s vast influence to warrant him in expressing such opinions and feelings, or to protect him afterwards.

At first the Jacobins seemed to shrink from a contest with him. He had said to the assembly, “Let the reign of clubs, abolished by you, give place to the reign of the law,” and they almost
doubted whether he had not yet power enough to effect what he counselled. They began, therefore, as soon as the letter had been read, by denying its authenticity; they declared it, in short, to be a forgery. As soon as Lafayette heard of this, he came to Paris, and avowed it at the bar of the Assembly. The 20th of June, however, had overthrown the Constitution before his arrival; and, though he stood with an air of calm command amidst its ruins, and vindicated it as proudly as ever, he was, after all, surrounded by those who had triumphed over it. Still the majority of the Assembly was decidedly with him, and when on the 8th of August, his impeachment was moved, more than two thirds voted in his favor. But things were daily growing worse. On the 9th of August, the Assembly declared itself no longer, and within two days, its number fell to less than one third, and the capital was given up to the terrors of the 10th of August. Lafayette, therefore, could do nothing at Paris, and returned to his army on the borders of the low countries. But the army, too, was now infected. He endeavoured to assure himself of its fidelity, and proposed to the soldiers to swear anew to the Constitution. A very large proportion refused, and it immediately became apparent, from the movements, both at Paris and in the army, that he was no longer safe. His adver-
saries, who for his letter, were determined and interested to ruin him, were his judges; and they belonged to a party, which was never known to devote a victim without consummating the sacrifice. On the 17th of August, therefore, accompanied by three of his general officers, Alexandre Lameth, Latour Maubourg, and Bureaux de Puzy, he left the army, and in a few hours was beyond the limits of France. His general purpose was, to reach the neutral territory of the republic of Holland, which was quite near; and from that point either rally the old constitutional party, or pass to Switzerland or the United States, where he should be joined by his family. That he did not leave France, while any hope remained for him, is certain; since, before his escape was known at Paris, a decree, accusing him of high treason, which was then equivalent to an order for his execution, was carried in what remained of the Assembly by a large majority.

Lafayette and his companions hoped to avoid the enemy's posts, but they did not succeed. They were seized the same night by an Austrian patrol, and soon afterwards recognised. They were not treated as prisoners of war, which was the only quality in which they could have been arrested and detained; but were exposed to disgraceful indignities, because they had been the friends of the Con-
stitution. After being detained a short time by the Austrians, they were given up to the Prussians, who, because their fortresses were nearer, were supposed to be able to receive and guard them more conveniently. At first, they were confined at Wesel on the Rhine, and afterwards in dungeons at Magdeburg. But the Prussians, at last, became unwilling to bear the odium of such unlawful and disgraceful treatment of prisoners of war, entitled to every degree of respect from their rank and character; and especially from the manner in which they had been taken. They, therefore, before they made peace, gave them up again to the Austrians, who finally transferred them to most unhealthy dungeons in the citadel of Olmütz. The sufferings to which Lafayette was here exposed, in the mere spirit of a barbarous revenge, are almost incredible. He was warned, “that he would never again see anything but the four walls of his dungeon; that he would never receive news of events or persons; that his name would be unknown in the citadel, and that in all accounts of him sent to court, he would be designated only by a number; that he would never receive any notice of his family, or of the existence of his fellow prisoners.” At the same time, knives and forks were removed from him, as he was officially in-
formed, that his situation was one which would naturally lead him to suicide.*

His sufferings, indeed, proved almost beyond his strength. The want of air, and the loathsome dampness and filth of his dungeon, brought him more than once to the borders of the grave. His frame was wasted with diseases, of which, for a long period, not the slightest notice was taken; and on one occasion, he was reduced so low, that his hair fell from him entirely by the excess of his sufferings. At the same time, his estates in France were confiscated, his wife cast into prison, and Fayettisme, as adherence to the Constitution was called, was punished with death.

His friends, however, all over Europe, were carefully watching every opportunity to obtain some intelligence which should, at least, render his existence certain. Among those who made the most rigorous and continued exertions to get some hint of his fate, was Count Lally Tolendal, then a

* One principal reason of the vindictive spirit of the Austrian Government towards Lafayette is, no doubt, to be sought in the circumstance, that, as the leader of the early part of the French Revolution, he brought on those events, which led to the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the death of the Queen, who was an Austrian. Lameth was released by Prussia, at the treaty of his family, after the transfer of the three other prisoners to Austria.
refugee from his blood stained country. This nobleman became acquainted in Loudon with Dr Erick Bollmann, a Hanoverian, who, immediately after the massacres of August 10th, 1792, had been employed by Madame de Staël to effect the escape of Count Narbonne, and, by great address and courage, had succeeded in conveying him safely to England. Dr Bollmann’s adventurous spirit easily led him to engage in the affairs of Lafayette. His first expedition to the continent, under the direction of Lafayette’s friends in London, in 1793, was, however, no further successful, than that he learned the determination of the Prussian government to give up Lafayette to Austria, and the probability that he had been already transferred. Where he was, and whether he were even alive, were circumstances Dr Bollmann found it impossible to determine.

But the friends of Lafayette were not discouraged. In June 1794, they again sent Dr Bollmann to Germany to ascertain what had been his fate, and if he were still alive, to endeavor to procure his escape. With great difficulty, he traced the French prisoners to the Prussian frontiers, and there ascertained, that an Austrian escort had received them, and taken the road to Olmutz, a strong fortress in Moravia, one hundred and fifty miles north of Vienna, and near the borders of
Silesia. At Olmiitz, Dr Bollmann ascertained, that several state prisoners were kept in the citadel with a degree of caution and mystery, which must have been not unlike that used towards the half abulous personage in the iron mask. He did not doubt but Lafayette was one of them, and making himself professionally acquainted with the military surgeon of the post, soon became sure of it. By very ingenious means, Dr Bollmann contrived to communicate his projects through this surgeon to Lafayette, and to obtain answers without exciting the surgeon's suspicions; until, at last, after the lapse of several months, during which, to avoid all risk, Dr Bollmann made a long visit at Vienna, it was determined, that an attempt should be made to rescue Lafayette, while on one of the airings, with which he was then regularly indulged on account of his broken health.

As soon as this was arranged, Dr Bollmann returned to Vienna, and communicated his project to a young American, by the name of Francis K. Huger, then accidentally in Austria; son of the person at whose house, near Charleston, Lafayette had been first received on his landing in America; a young man of uncommon talent, decision, and enthusiasm, who at once entered into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution with the most romantic earnestness. These were the only two
persons on the continent, except Lafayette himself, who had the slightest suspicion of these arrangements for his rescue, and neither of these persons knew him by sight. It was therefore concerted between the parties, after the two friends had come to Olmütz in November, that, to avoid all mistakes when the rescue should be attempted, each should take off his hat and wipe his forehead, in sign of recognition; and then, having ascertained a day when Lafayette would ride out, Dr Bollmann and Mr Huger sent their carriage ahead to Hoff, a post town about twenty-five miles on the road they wished to take, with directions to have it waiting for them at a given hour. The rescue they determined to attempt on horseback; and they put no balls into their pistols, and took no other weapons, thinking it would be unjustifiable to commit a murder even to effect their purpose.

Having ascertained that a carriage which they supposed must contain Lafayette, since there was a prisoner and an officer inside and a guard behind, had passed out of the gate of the fortress, they mounted and followed. They rode by it, and then slackening their pace and allowing it again to go ahead, exchanged signals with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high road, and passing into a less frequented track in the midst of an open country, Lafayette
descended to walk for exercise, guarded only by the officer who had been riding with him. This was evidently the moment for their attempt. They therefore rode up at once; and after an inconsiderable struggle with the officer, from which the guard ded to alarm the citadel, the rescue was completed. One of the horses, however, had escaped during the contest, and thus only one remained with which to proceed. Lafayette was immediately mounted on this horse, and Mr Huger told him, in English, to go to Hoff. He mistook what was said to him for a mere general direction to go off—delayed a moment to see if he could not assist them—then went on—then rode back again, and asked once more, if he could be of no service—and finally, urged anew, galloped slowly away.

The horse, that had escaped, was soon recovered, and both Dr Bollmann and Mr Huger mounted him, intending to follow and assist Lafayette. But the animal proved intractable,* threw them and left them, for some time, stunned by their fall. On recovering their horse a second time, Dr Bollmann alone mounted; Mr Huger thinking that, from his own imperfect knowledge of the German, he could not do as much towards effecting their main purpose.

* This was the horse prepared for Lafayette. The other, on which it had been necessary to mount him, had been expressly trained to carry two persons.
These accidents defeated their romantic enterprise. Mr Huger, who could now attempt his escape only on foot, was soon stopped by some peasants, who had witnessed what had passed. Dr Bollmann easily arrived at Hoff; but not finding Lafayette there, lingered about the frontiers till the next night, when he too was arrested and delivered up to the Austrians. And finally Lafayette, having taken a wrong road and pursued it till his horse could proceed no further, was stopped at the village of Jägersdorf, as a suspicious person, and detained there till he was recognised by an officer from Olmütz, two days afterwards. All three of them were brought back to the citadel separately, and were there separately confined without being permitted to know any thing of each other's fate. Mr Huger was chained to the floor, in a small arched dungeon, about six feet by eight, without light and with only bread and water for food; and once in six hours, by day and by night, the guard entered, and, with a lamp, examined each brick in his cell, and each link in his chain. To his earnest request to know something of Dr Bollmann, and to learn whether Lafayette had escaped, he received no answer at all. To his more earnest request to be permitted to send to his mother in America merely the words, "I am alive," signed with his name, he received a rude refusal. Indeed, at first,
every degree of brutal severity was practised towards both of them; but, afterwards, this severity was relaxed. The two prisoners were placed nearer together, where they could communicate; and their trial for what, in Vienna, was magnified into a wide and alarming conspiracy, was begun with all the tedious formalities, that could be prescribed by Austrian fear and caution. How it would have turned, if they had been left entirely unprotected, it is not difficult to conjecture; but at this crisis of their fate, they were secretly assisted by Count Metrowsky, a nobleman living near their prison, whom neither of them had ever seen, and who was interested in them, only for what, in the eyes of his government, constituted their crime. The means he used to influence the tribunal that judged them, may be easily imagined, since they were so far successful, that the prisoners, after having been confined for trial eight months, were sentenced only to a fortnight's imprisonment as their punishment, and then released. A few hours after they had left Olmütz, an order came from Vienna directing a new trial, which under the management of the ministers would of course have ended very differently from the one managed by Count Metrowsky; but the prisoners were already beyond the limits of the Austrian dominions.
Lafayette, in the meanwhile, was thrown back into his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with hardly a hope that they could be terminated, except by his death. During the winter of 1794–5, he was reduced to almost the last extremity by a violent fever; and yet was deprived of proper attendance, of air, of suitable food, and of decent clothes. To increase his misery, he was made to believe, that he was only reserved for a public execution, and that his chivalrous deliverers would perish on the scaffold before his window; while, at the same time, he was not permitted to know whether his family were still alive, or had fallen under the revolutionary axe, of which, during the few days he was out of his dungeon, he had heard such appalling accounts.

Madame de Lafayette, however, was nearer to him than he could imagine to be possible. She had been released from prison, where she, too, had nearly perished;* and, having gained strength sufficient for the undertaking, and sent her eldest son for safety to the care of General Washington, she set out, accompanied by her two young daughters, for Germany, all in disguise, and with American

* Her grandmother, the Duchess de Noailles, her mother, the Duchess d'Ayen, and her sister, the Countess de Noailles, all perished in one day on the scaffold. The same scaffold was destined for Madame de Lafayette; and she was saved only by the death of Robespierre.
passports. They were landed at Altona, and, proceeding immediately to Vienna, obtained an audience of the Emperor, who refused to liberate Lafayette, but, as it now seems probable, against the intentions of his ministers gave them permission to join him in his prison. They went instantly to Olmütz; but before they could enter, they were deprived of whatever they had brought with them to alleviate the miseries of a dungeon, and required, if they should pass its threshold, never again to leave it. Madame de Lafayette’s health soon sunk under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment, and she wrote to Vienna for permission to pass a week in the capital, to breathe purer air and obtain medical assistance. Two months elapsed before any answer was returned; and then she was told, that no objection would be made to her leaving her husband; but that, if she should do so, she must never return to him. She immediately and formally signed her consent and determination “to share his captivity in all its details;” and never afterwards made an effort to leave him. Madame de Stael has well observed, when on this point of the history of the French Revolution;—“antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of General Lafayette, his wife, and his daughters, in the prison of Olmütz.”
One more attempt was made to effect the liberation of Lafayette, and it was made in the place and in the way, that might have been expected. When the Emperor of Austria refused the liberty of her husband to Madame de Lafayette, he told her that "his hands were tied." In this remark, the Emperor could, of course, allude to no law or constitution of his empire, and therefore his hands could be tied only by engagements with his allies in the war against France. England was one of these allies, and General Fitzpatrick, in the House of Commons, made a motion, for an inquiry into the case, in which he was supported by Colonel Tarlton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia. Afterwards, on the 16th of December 1796, General Fitzpatrick renewed his attempt more solemnly, and was supported in it by Wilberforce, by Sheridan, and by Fox, in one of his most powerful and happy speeches; but the motion was lost. One effect, however, unquestionably followed from it:—a solemn and vehement discussion, on Lafayette's imprisonment, in which the Emperor of Austria found no apologist, had been held in the face of all Europe; and all Europe, of course, was informed of his sufferings, in the most solemn and authentic way.

When, therefore, General Clarke was sent from Paris to join Bonaparte in Italy, and negotiate a
eace with the Austrians, it was understood, that
he received orders from the Directory to stipulate
or the deliverance of the prisoners in Olmütz,
since it was impossible for France to consent to
uch an outrage on the rights of citizenship, as
would be implied by their further detention. On
pening the negotiation, an attempt was made on
part of Austria, to compel Lafayette to re-
eive his freedom on conditions prescribed to him;
ut this he distinctly refused; and, in a document
hat has often been published, declared with a firm-
ess, which we can hardly believe would have sur-
ived such sufferings, that he would never accept
is liberation in any way, that should compromise
is rights and duties, either as a Frenchman, or as
n American citizen. Bonaparte often said, that,
f all the difficulties in this protracted nego-
tiation with the Coalition, the greatest was the de-
ivery of Lafayette. He was, however, at last re-
ased with his family on the 25th of August, 1797;
adame de Lafayette and her daughters having
en confined twenty-two months, and Lafayette
imself five years, in a disgraceful spirit of vulgar
ruelty and revenge, of which modern history can
ord, we trust, very few examples.*

* Madame de Lafayette never entirely recovered from it.
er constitution had been crushed by her sufferings; and
France was still too little settled to promise peace or safety to Lafayette and his family. They proceeded first to Hamburg; and then, after causing 

though she lived ten years afterwards, she never had the health with which she entered the dungeon of Olmutz. She died, at last, at La Grange, in December 1807.

During Lafayette's imprisonment, our own government employed such means as were in its power for his release. The American ministers at the European Courts were instructed to use their exertions to this end; and when Washington found that no success was to be hoped from this quarter, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the Emperor of Austria, interceding in behalf of this early friend of American liberty. The letter is introduced in this place, as reflecting honor on the feelings and character of Washington, and as expressing sentiments not more deeply cherished by him, than by a whole nation.

"It will readily occur to your majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

"In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de Lafayette; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes; and endeavor to mitigate the calamities they experience,
heir rights both as French and American citizens to be formally recognised, went to the neighboring neutral territories of Holstein, where they lived in retirement and tranquillity about a year. There they were joined by their eldest son, who came to them from the family of General Washington; here, too, their eldest daughter was married to Labour Maubourg, brother of the person who had shared Lafayette's captivity; and there he first devoted himself with great earnestness to those agricultural pursuits, which have since constituted the occupation and the happiness of his life. From Hol-

mong which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

"I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your majesty's consideration, whether is long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings, which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion to be its organ, and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to his country, on such conditions as your majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

"As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your majesty will do me the justice to believe, that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory."
stein he went at the formal invitation of the Ba-
tavian republic, and established himself for several
months at Utrecht in Holland, where he was treated
with great consideration and kindness, and where
he had the advantage of being nearer to the borders
of his own country. While he was thus living
tranquil and happy, but anxiously watching the
progress of events in France, the revolution of the
18th Brumaire, November 10th, 1799, happen-
ed, and promised for a time to settle the govern-
ment of his country on a safer foundation. He
immediately returned to France, and established
himself at La Grange; a fine old castle, surround-
ed by a moderate estate about forty miles from
Paris, where he has lived ever since.

When, however, Bonaparte, to whom the rev-
olution of the 18th Brumaire had given supreme
control, began to frame his constitution and organ-
ize his government, Lafayette perceived, at once,
that the principles of freedom would not be per-
manently respected. He had several interviews
and political discussions with the Consul, and was
much pressed to accept the place of Senator, with
its accompanying revenues, in the new order of
things; but he refused, determined not to involve
himself in changes, which he already foresaw he
should not approve. In 1802, Bonaparte asked to
be made First Consul for life; Lafayette voted
against it, entered his protest, and sent a letter to Bonaparte himself; and from this moment all intercourse between them ceased. Bonaparte even went so far as to refuse to promote Lafayette's eldest son, and his son-in-law Lasteyrie, though they distinguished themselves repeatedly in the army; and once, when a report of the services of the former in a bulletin was offered him, he erased it with impatience, saying, "These Lafayettes cross my path everywhere." Discouraged, therefore, in every way in which they could be of service to their country, the whole family was at last collected at La Grange, and lived there in the happiest retirement, so long as the despotism of Bonaparte lasted.

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 made no change in Lafayette's relations. He presented himself once at court, and was very kindly received; but the government they established was so different from the representative government, which he had assisted to form, and sworn to support in 1789, that he did not again present himself at the palace. The Bourbons, by neglecting entirely to understand or conciliate the nation, at the end of a year brought back Bonaparte, who landed the first of March, 1815, and reached the capital on the 20th. His appearance in Paris was like a theatrical illusion, and his policy seemed to be to
play all men, of all parties, like the characters of a great drama, around him. Immediately on his arrival upon the soil of France, he endeavored to win the old friends of French freedom; and the same day that he made his irruption into the ancient palace of the Thuilleries, he appointed Carnot his minister of war, and Carnot was weak enough to accept the appointment with the title of Count. In a similar way, he endeavored to obtain the countenance and cooperation of Lafayette. Joseph Bonaparte, to whom Lafayette had been personally known, and for whom he entertained a personal regard, was employed by the Emperor to consult and conciliate him; but Lafayette would hold no communion with the new order of things. He even refused, though most pressingly solicited, to have an interview with the Emperor; and ended, when still further urged, by positively declaring, that he could never meet him, unless it should be as a representative freely chosen by the people.

On the 22d of April, Napoleon offered to the French nation his Acte Additionel, or an addition, as he chose to consider it, to the constitutions of 1799, 1802, and 1804; confirming thereby the principles of his former despotism, but establishing, among other things, an hereditary chamber of peers, and an elective chamber of representatives. This act was accepted, or pretended to be accepted,
by the votes of the French people; but Lafayette entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit with which he had protested against the Consulship for life. The very college of Electors, however, who received his protest, unanimously chose him first to be their President, and afterwards to be their Representative; and the Emperor, determined to obtain his influence, or at least his silence, offered him the first peerage in the new chamber he was forming. Lafayette was as true to his principles, as he had often been before, under more difficult circumstances. He accepted the place of representative, and declined the peerage.

As a representative of the people he saw Bonaparte, for the first time, at the opening of the chambers, on the 7th of June. "It is above twelve years since we have met, General," said Napoleon, with great kindness of manner, when he saw Lafayette; but Lafayette received the Emperor with marked distrust; and all his efforts were directed, as he then happily said they should be, "to make the chamber, of which he was a member, a representation of the French people, and not a Napoleon club." Of three candidates for the presidency of the chamber, on the first ballot, Lafayette and Lanjuinais had the highest number of votes; but finding that the Emperor had declared he would not accept Lanjuinais, if he
should be chosen, Lafayette used great exertions and obtained a majority for him; to which circumstances compelled Napoleon to submit. From this moment, until after the battle of Waterloo, which happened in twelve days, Lafayette did not make himself prominent in the chamber. He voted for all judicious supplies, on the ground that France was invaded, and that it was the duty of all Frenchmen to defend their country; but he in no way implicated himself in Bonaparte's projects or fortunes, with which it was impossible that he could have any thing in common.

At last, on the 21st of June, Bonaparte arrived from Waterloo, a defeated and desperate man. He was already determined to dissolve the representative body, and, assuming the whole dictatorship of the country, play, at least, one deep and bloody game for power and success. Some of his council, and, among the rest, Regnault de St Jean d' Angely, who were opposed to this violent measure, informed Lafayette, that it would be taken instantly, and that in two hours the chamber of representatives would cease to exist. There was, of course, not a moment left for consultation or advice; the Emperor, or the chamber, must fall that morning. As soon, therefore, as the session was opened, Lafayette, with the same clear courage and in the same spirit of self-devotion, with
which he had stood at the bar of the National Assembly in 1792, immediately ascended the Tribune for the first time for twenty years, and said these few words, which assuredly would have been his death warrant, if he had not been supported in them by the assembly he addressed; “When, after an interval of many years, I raise a voice which the friends of free institutions will still recognise, I feel myself called upon to speak to you only of the dangers of the country, which you alone have now the power to save. Sinister intimations have been heard; they are unfortunately confirmed. This, therefore, is the moment for us to gather round the ancient tricolor standard; the standard of ’89; the standard of freedom, of equal rights, and of public order. Permit then, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to offer you a few preparatory resolutions, whose absolute necessity, I trust, you will feel, as I do.” These resolutions declared the chamber to be in permanent session, and all attempts to dissolve it, high treason; and they also called for the four principal ministers to come to the chamber, and explain the state of affairs. Bonaparte is said to have been much agitated, when word was brought him simply that Lafayette was in the tribune; and his fears were certainly not ill founded, for these
resolutions, which were at once adopted, both by the representatives and the peers, substantially divested him of his power, and left him merely a factious and dangerous individual in the midst of a distracted state.

He hesitated during the whole day, as to the course he should pursue; but, at last, hoping that the eloquence of Lucien, which had saved him on the 18th Brumaire, might be found no less effectual now, he sent him with the three other ministers to the chamber, just at the beginning of the evening; having first obtained a vote, that all should pass in secret session. It was certainly a most perilous crisis. Reports were abroad that the populace of the Fauxbourgs had been excited, and were arming themselves. It was believed, too, with no little probability, that Bonaparte would march against the chamber, as he had formerly marched against the council of Five Hundred, and disperse them at the point of the bayonet. At all events, it was a contest for existence, and no man could feel his life safe. At this moment, Lucien rose, and in the doubtful and gloomy light, which two vast torches shed through the hall and over the pale and anxious features of the members, made a partial exposition of the state of affairs, and the projects and hopes he still entertained. A deep and painful silence followed. At length
Ir. Jay, well known above twenty years ago in Boston, under the assumed name of Renaud, as a teacher of the French Language, and an able writer in one of the public newspapers of that city, ascended the Tribune, and, in a long and vehement speech of great eloquence, exposed the dangers of the country, and ended by proposing to send a deputation to the Emperor, demanding hisabdication. Lucien immediately followed. He never showed more power, or a more impassioned eloquence. His purpose was to prove, that France was still devoted to the Emperor, and that its resources were still equal to a contest with the Allies. “It is not Napoleon,” he cried, “that is attacked, it is the French people. And a proposition is now made to this people, to abandon their Emperor; to expose the French nation, before the tribunal of the world, to a severe judgment on its covetousness and inconstancy. No, sir, the honor of his nation shall never be so compromised!” On hearing these words, Lafayette rose. He did not go to the tribune; but spoke, contrary to rule and custom, from his place. His manner was perfectly calm, but marked with the very spirit of reproof; and he addressed himself, not to the President, but directly to Lucien. “The assertion, which has just been uttered, is a calumny. Who shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconstancy?”
stancy to the Emperor Napoleon? That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt and through the wastes of Russia; over fifty fields of battle; in disaster as faithfully as in victory; and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the blood of three millions of Frenchmen.” These few words made an impression on the Assembly, which could not be mistaken or resisted; and, as Lafayette ended, Lucien himself bowed respectfully to him, and, without resuming his speech, sat down.

It was determined to appoint a deputation of five members from each chamber, to meet the grand council of the ministers, and deliberate in committee, on the measures to be taken. This body sat during the night, under the presidency of Cambaceres, Arch Chancellor of the empire. The first thing that was done in this committee was to devise and arrange every possible means of resisting the invasion of the allies and the Bourbons; and Lafayette was foremost in giving the Government, for this purpose, every thing that could be asked. But it was apparent, from the representations of the ministers themselves, that they could carry on the war no longer. Lafayette then moved that a deputation should be sent to Napoleon, demanding his abdication. The Arch Chan-
ellor refused to put the motion; but it was as much decided, as if it had been formally carried. The next morning, June 22d, the Emperor sent in his abdication, and Lafayette was on the committee that went to the Thuilleries to thank him for it, on behalf of the nation.

It had been the intention of a majority of both chambers, from the moment of their convocation, to form a free constitution for the country, and to call the whole people to arms to resist the invasion. In both of these great purposes, they had been constantly opposed by Bonaparte, and in the few hurried and anxious days that preceded the battle of Waterloo, there had been time to do very little. There was now nothing but confusion. A project was arranged to place Lafayette at the head of affairs; because it was known that he could carry with him the confidence of the nation, and especially that of the National Guards, whom he would immediately have called out en masse. But a scene of most unworthy intrigues was immediately begun. A crude, provisional government was established, with the infamous Fouche, as its President, which lasted only a few days, and whose principal measure was the sending of a deputation to the allied powers, of which Lafayette was the head, to endeavor to stop the invasion of France. This of course failed, as had been foreseen; Paris
surrendered on the 3d of July, and what remained of the representative government, which Bonaparte had created for his own purposes, but which Lafayette had turned against him, was soon afterwards dissolved. Its doors were found guarded on the morning of the 8th, but by what authority has never been known; and the members met at Lafayette’s house, entered their formal protest, and went quietly to their own homes.

Lafayette retired immediately to La Grange, from which, in fact, he had been only a month absent, and resumed at once his agricultural employments. There, in the midst of a family of twenty children and grand children, who all look up to him as their patriarchal chief, he lives in a simple and sincere happiness rarely granted to those, who have borne such a leading part in the troubles and sufferings of a great period of political revolution. Since 1817 he has been twice elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and in all his votes has shown himself constant to his ancient principles. When the ministry proposed to establish a censorship of the press, he resisted them in an able speech; but Lafayette was never a factious man, and therefore he has never made any further opposition to the present order of things in France, than his conscience and his official place required. That he does not approve the present constitution
of the monarchy, or the political principles and management of the existing government, his votes as a deputy, and his whole life, plainly show; and that his steady and temperate opposition is matter of serious anxiety to the family now on the throne is apparent, from their conduct towards him during the last nine years, and their management of the public press since he has been in this country. If he chose to make himself a Tribune of the people, he might at any moment become formidable; but he trusts rather to the progress of general intelligence and political wisdom throughout the nation, which he feels sure will, at last, bring his country to the practically free government, he has always been ready to sacrifice his life to purchase for it. To this great result he looks forward, as Madame de Staël has well said of him, with the entire confidence a pious man enjoys in a future life; but, when he feels anxious and impatient to hasten onward to it, he finds a wisdom tempered by long experience stirring within him, which warns him, in the beautiful language of Milton, that "they also serve who only stand and wait."

This is the distinguished personage, who, after an absence of eight and thirty years, is now come to visit the nation, for whose independence and freedom he hazarded whatever is most valued in
human estimation, almost half a century ago. He comes, too, at the express invitation of the entire people; he is literally the "Guest of the Nation," but the guest, it should be remembered, of another generation, than the one he originally came to serve. We rejoice at it. We rejoice, in common with the thousands who through his steps wherever he passes, that we are permitted to offer this tribute of a gratitude and veneration, which cannot be misinterpreted, to one, who suffered with our fathers for our sake; but we rejoice yet more for the moral effect it cannot fail to produce on us, both as individuals and as a people. For it is no common spectacle, which is now placed before each of us for our instruction. We are permitted to see one, who, by the mere force of principle, by plain and resolved integrity, has passed with perfect consistency, through more remarkable extremes of fortune, than any man now alive, or, perhaps, any man on record. We are permitted to see one who has borne a leading and controlling part in two hemispheres, and in the two most important revolutions the world has yet seen, and has come forth from both of them without the touch of dishonor. We are permitted to see that man, who first put in jeopardy his rank and fortune at home, in order to serve as a volunteer in the cause of Free Institutions in America, and after-
wards hazarded his life at the bar of the National Assembly, to arrest the same cause, when it was ending to excess and violence. We are permitted to see the man, who, after three years of unbroken political triumph, stood in the midst of half a million of his countrymen, comprehending whatever was great, wise, and powerful in the nation, with the oriflamme of the monarchy at his feet, and the confidence of all France following his words, as he wore on their behalf to a free constitution; and yet remained undazzled and unseduced by his vast, irresistible popularity. We are permitted to see the man, who, for the sake of the same principles to which he had thus sworn, and in less than three years afterwards, was condemned to such obscure sufferings, that his very existence became doubtful to the world, and the place of his confinement was effectually hidden from the inquiries of his friends, who sent emissaries over half Europe to discover it; and yet remained unshaken and undismayed, constantly refusing all appearance of compromise with his persecutors and oppressors. We are, in short, permitted to see a man, who has professed, amidst glory and suffering, in triumph and in disgrace, the same principles of political freedom on both sides of the Atlantic; who has maintained the same tone, the same air, the same open confidence, amidst the ruins of the
Bastille, in the Champ de Mars, under the despotism of Bonaparte, and in the dungeons of Olmutz.

We rejoice, too, no less in the effect which this visit of General Lafayette is producing upon us as a nation. It is doing much to unite us. It has brought those together, who have been separated by long lives of political animosity. It helps to break down the great boundaries and landmarks of party. It makes a holiday of kind and generous feelings in the hearts of the multitudes that throng his way, as he moves in triumphal procession from city to city. It turns this whole people from the bustle and divisions of our wearisome elections, the contests of the senatehouse, and the troubles and bitterness of our manifold political dissensions; and instead of all this, carries us back to that great period in our history, about which opinions have long been tranquil and settled. It offers to us, as it were, with the very costume and air appropriate to the times, one of the great actors, from this most solemn passage in our national destinies; and thus enables us to transmit yet one generation further onward, a sensible impression of the times of our fathers; since we are not only permitted to witness ourselves one of their foremost leaders and champions, but can show him to our children, and thus leave in their young hearts an impression, which will grow old there with their deepest and
rest feelings. It brings, in fact, our revolution nearer to us, with all the highminded patriotism and selfdenying virtues of our forefathers; and therefore naturally turns our thoughts more towards our posterity, and makes us more anxious to do for them what we are so sensibly reminded was done with such perilous sacrifices for us.

We may be allowed, too, to add, that we rejoice in General Lafayette’s visit on his own account. He enjoys a singular distinction; for it is strange thing in the providence of God, one that never happened before, and will, probably, never happen again, that an individual from a remote quarter of the world, having assisted to lay the foundation of a great nation, should be permitted thus to visit the posterity of those he served, and witness on a scale so vast, the work of his own sacrifices; the result of grand principles in government for which he contended before their practical effect had been tried; the growth and maturity of institutions, which he assisted to establish, when their operation could be calculated only by the widest and most clear-sighted circumspection. We rejoice in it, for it is, we doubt not, the most gratifying and appropriate reward, that could be offered to a spirit like his. In the beautiful phrase which Tacitus has applied to Germanicus, *fruitur famâ*; for we must be aware, that the ocean which rolls be-
tween us and Europe, operates like the grave on all feelings of passion and party, and that the voice of gratitude and admiration, which now rises to greet him, from every city, every village, and every heart, of this wide land, is as pure and sincere as the voice of posterity.
HISTORY

OF THE

BATTLE AT LEXINGTON,

ON THE MORNING OF THE

19TH APRIL, 1775.

BY

ELIAS PHINNEY.

Boston:
PRINTED BY PHELPS AND FARNHAM,
No. 5, Court Street.
1825.
TO THE
SURVIVING,
OFFICERS! AND SOLDIERS
OF THE
LEXINGTON COMPANY OF MILITIA,
WHO RAISED THE FIRST STANDARD OF
OPPOSITION TO BRITISH TYRANNY,
ON THE EVER-MEMORABLE MORNING OF THE
19th of April, 1775,
THIS
HUMBLE, THOUGH SINCERE
TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE
FOR THEIR
HEROICK DEVOTEDNESS TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL LIBERTY,
DISPLAYED ON
THAT TRYING AND MOMENTOUS OCCASION,
Is respectfully Dedicated
BY THE AUTHOR.
No apology, it is presumed, will be deemed necessary for placing before the publick, at this time, the following statement of facts, relative to the affair at Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. Those, who have undertaken to relate the events of that day, have omitted many important facts and circumstances, the tendency of which has been to diminish, in the publick estimation, the importance to the country of the stand made by the militia of Lexington on that morning. The character of the evidence, upon which historians have relied for information on this subject, may, no doubt, be ascribed as the cause of this omission. This consisted, principally, of certain *ex parte* depositions and individual statements, taken and made for particular purposes, immediately after the affair happened. Gen. Gage, and other apologists of British outrage, had asserted, that the people of Lexington commenced the attack upon the king's troops. The records and statements* of the transactions of that morning, which have been generally referred to, were made with a view of contradicting these false accounts,—of giving to the conduct of the British soldiery at Lexington the effect of rousing the just indignation of an oppressed and injured people,—to exonerate Capt. Parker, and the company under his command, from the charge of rashness, or of having done more than was actually necessary in self-defence,—and also to persuade the people of this country and of Great Britain, that the king's troops, in the attack made upon the militia at Lexington, had been guilty of an act of the most deliberate murder.—The question, then, to be decided was, whether the Americans fired first, not whether they fired at all. Besides, the principle of law, that a person was not bound to state any facts in evidence, which might tend to criminate himself, was as well known at that day as at the present. The struggle had just commenced, and the issue was

quite doubtful. It could not have been expected of those, who had taken an active part in the affair at Lexington, that they would voluntarily disclose facts, which might, in all probability, as they then considered, expose themselves or their friends to the British halter.

The inhabitants of Lexington feel it to be particularly incumbent on them to lay this statement of facts before the publick, at this time, on account of some recent publications stating that "At Concord the first blood was shed between the British and the armed Americans;" and also, that the "first forcible resistance" was made at that place.

These statements, coming from very respectable sources, were viewed by the people of Lexington as not only calculated to give an erroneous impression to the world respecting the place, where the revolutionary war commenced; but, more particularly, to deprive the town of Lexington of the honour of having raised the first standard of an armed opposition to the unjust and tyrannical measures of the mother country. The citizens of Lexington consider it also an indispensable duty, which they owe as well to the memory of their fellow townsman, whose blood became the first offering upon the altar of their country's freedom, as to their survivors, who boldly dared to begin the bloody conflict for independence, to endeavour to show, by a simple statement of well authenticated facts, the inaccuracy of these recent publications. If these statements should be received and handed down as correct matter for the historian, the people of Lexington plainly foresaw, that, when the present generation shall have passed away, and the hand of time shall have erased the inscription upon the humble, though imperishable monument, erected in grateful commemoration of their brave and patriotic towns- men, who fell in the first glorious attempt to defend the liberties of the country,—future generations might ask, in vain, to know the cause, for which this monument was raised.—Accordingly, at a publick town meeting, recently called for the purpose, the inhabitants appointed a committee, consisting of the Hon. Nathan Chandler, Rev. Charles Briggs, Elias Pinney, Abijah Harrington, Amos Muzzy, Charles Reed, John Muzzy, Benjamin O. Wellington, and Francis Bowman, Jun. Esquires, to collect and publish a statement of such facts, relative to the affair at Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, '75, as may be supported by undoubted testimony, and which may be calculated to place the transactions of that day before the publick in their true light. In discharging this commission, the committee have strictly aimed at the truth, not assuming any thing for fact which was not proved by satisfactory evidence.
In the beginning of the year 1774, the British Parliament passed an act "for the better regulation of the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The object of this law was to enable the king to take the life of any citizen of this Commonwealth at his pleasure; not, however, without the pretended solemnity of judicial proceedings. The dark and murderous designs upon the lives and liberties of these colonial subjects were to be effected in the following manner: The governour, who held his office by direct appointment from the king, was to appoint the justices of the Supreme Court, and the sheriffs. The jurors were not to be appointed by the freeholders, as had before been the course, but to be summoned by the sheriffs. Constables were required to deliver to the justices, annually, a list of the persons qualified to be jurors, and the justices were to deliver a copy of this list to the sheriffs, with the intent, that the justices and the sheriff should ascertain the political character of those on the list. In default of such list, the sheriff was to summon whom he pleased from among the people. If the list was returned, the selection was to be made from that. Thus the governour was the creature of the king; the justices and sheriffs the creatures of the governour, appointed without consent of the council; and the jurors the creatures of the sheriff. The king therefore, when so disposed, could, by means of this law, despatch any citizen of this Commonwealth obnoxious to him, by merely intimating to the governour, that such was his will and pleasure. But the same Parliament, judg-

* Ancient Charters, page 765.
ing it highly probable, that the people of this colony would resist
the execution of their bloody and tyrannical proceedings, passed
another law, about the same time, providing, that, if any person
should be indicted for murder or other capital offence committed
in aiding magistracy, the governour might send such person to
another colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried.* This was pro-
viding a more summary mode than a publick mock trial, to take
the life of the accused citizen, and subjected him at once to the
British bayonet.—In the first place, it was not probable, that a
grand jury, thus selected by the sheriff, would indict the soldier,
who might be guilty of murdering a citizen; but, if this unex-
pected event of being indicted should happen, the law provided
for him a retreat from danger.

Gen. Gage arrived in Boston the 13th May, 1774. On the
6th September following, the delegates of Suffolk county re-
solved, that no obedience was due to the said acts. Gen. Warren
is supposed to have written these resolves, which were afterward
expressly sanctioned by the Continental Congress. In the same
month, the Provincial Congress resolved to enlist men to turn out
at a minute's warning, and elected three generals, Preble, Ward
and Pomeroy. In November, they resolved to raise twelve
thousand men, and that a fourth part of the militia should be en-
listed as minute men, and notified the neighbouring colonies, and
the ministers of the several towns in the province, of these bold
and patriotick resolutions, and apprized them of the bloody
scenes, which they apprehended to be approaching.

In the same month of November, the king informed his Par-
liament, that he had taken measures to carry these laws into ex-
cution, which the House of Commons, in their answer, approved,
as did also the House of Lords. At this portentous moment,
Lord Chatham, who clearly perceived, that some catastrophe,
awful and tremendous to England, would soon take place in
Massachusetts, suddenly appeared in the House of Peers, and
exercised his utmost eloquence to have the British troops removed
from Boston; but in vain.

On the 9th February, 1775, the Lords and Commons jointly
addressed the king, and requested him to enforce obedience to

* Holmes's Annals, Vol. II. page 308.
these laws, and assured him they would stand by him with their lives and property.*

On the same 9th day of February, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, then in session at Cambridge, resolved, that "Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward, Seth Pomeroy, John Thomas, and William Heath, be, and hereby are appointed general officers, whose business and duty it shall be, with such and so many of the militia of this province as shall be assembled by order of the Committee of Safety, effectually to oppose and resist such attempt or attempts as shall be made for carrying into execution an act of the British Parliament, entitled 'An Act for the better regulation of the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England,' and who shall attempt the carrying into execution by force another act of the British Parliament, entitled 'An Act for the more impartial administration of justice in cases of persons, who shall be questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the Province of Massachusetts Bay,' so long as the said militia shall be retained by the Committee of Safety, and no longer. And the said general officers shall, while in said service, command, lead, and conduct in the said opposition, in the order in which they are above named." Preble declined the service, and, on the 15th February, John Whitcomb was appointed in his place.†

The nature and object of the laws mentioned in this resolve, have been before explained. This resolve, which is, in fact, little short of a declaration of war against an empire, at that time, perhaps, the most powerful in the eastern hemisphere, by one of its provinces, is very remarkable for its calm language, minute details, and great precision. It indicates the great dignity and the exalted patriotism of the Provincial Congress, and, at the same time, is demonstrative of a consciousness, that the justice of their cause did not admit of a doubt. The contrast exhibited by the king's speech, and the Parliamentary proceedings of the same period, is equally remarkable. In them, violent denunciations indicate the tumult and rage of unprincipled men,

* Holmes's Annals, Vol. II.  † Heath's Memoirs.
conscious, that they were exerting a mighty force in a wicked and infamous cause.

The immediate cause, then, of the Battle of Lexington, was the attempt of the British troops to carry into execution these arbitrary and detestable laws, directly, by seizing the persons of some eminent patriots, and indirectly, by destroying the Provincial stores. The issue, for the trial of which the appeal to arms was finally made, was, whether the British king and his soldiers should take the lives of our citizens at their pleasure.

The town of Lexington is about twelve miles north-west of Boston, and six miles south-east of Concord. It was originally a part of Cambridge, and, previous to its separation from that town, was called "Cambridge Farms." The act of incorporation bears date March 20, 1712. The inhabitants consist principally of hardy and independent yeomanry. In 1775, the list of enrolled militia bore the names of over one hundred citizens.

The road leading from Boston divides near the centre of the village in Lexington. The part leading to Concord passes to the left, and that leading to Bedford to the right of the meeting-house, and form two sides of a triangular green or common, on the south corner of which stands the meeting-house, facing directly down the road leading to Boston. The road is perfectly straight for about one hundred rods below the meeting-house, and nearly level. The common is a pleasant, level green, containing about two acres, surrounded by trees, having, on the left, a gently rising knoll, on which stands a monument, of granite, "erected by the town in 1799, under the patronage and at the expense of the Commonwealth," and bears the names of those who "fell the first victims to the sword" of British aggression, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. The meeting-house, which was built in 1794, stands about twenty feet north of the ground, on which the former house stood. At the right of the meeting-house, and separated from it by the road leading to Bedford, stands the tavern house, late Buckman's, now Meriam's. On the north side of the green, in the rear of the meeting-house, at about twenty rods distant, are a number of buildings, standing nearly on a line, which forms the northern boundary of the common. North of these is a tract of low,
swampy ground; behind which the land becomes hilly. The other grounds in the neighbourhood of the village are hilly and broken.

At a very early period of those controversies with the mother country, which preceded the revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Lexington took a firm and decided stand in favour of the rights and liberties of the province. On all questions, which agitated the publick mind, they unanimously acted with promptness and energy. Earnest in their professions of attachment to the common cause, they cheerfully made every sacrifice, which the common good required. Their pastor, the late Rev. Jonas Clark, had been their minister from the year 1755. His alliance, by marriage, to the family of John Hancock* led to an intimacy between them, which subsisted as long as Gov. Hancock lived. To this circumstance may, in some measure, be attributed the early participation, as well as the firm and spirited patriotism manifested by Mr. Clark, on all subjects connected with the liberty and independence of the country. Few men could appeal to the hearts or understandings of their hearers with better effect; and no clergyman did more to strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of his people. To a mind well endowed with practical knowledge, Mr. Clark joined an unusual share of well directed zeal, and an ardency of character, which would have gained him distinction in a sphere much more elevated than the one, in which he was destined to move. His spirited eloquence was employed, on all proper occasions, in rousing his hearers to a sense of the dangers, which threatened their liberties, and in urging them to the adoption of measures, which might either avert, or enable them to meet without dismay the impending crisis.

The records of the town of Lexington furnish ample and honourable testimony of the interest which was felt, and the zeal with which the inhabitants participated in those important

* Mrs. Clark's mother was the sister of Gov. Hancock. The Rev. John Hancock, grandfather of Gov. Hancock, was the immediate predecessor of Mr. Clark, in the ministry, at Lexington. His eldest son, the Rev. John Hancock of Braintree, a highly accomplished preacher, was father of the governour.
publick measures, which resulted in our glorious revolution. In 1765, the inhabitants, in publick town meeting, unanimously expressed their disapprobation of the stamp act. They complained, "that it was unequal, unjust, and imposing a yoke upon them too heavy to be borne,—a direct violation of the rights and privileges secured to them by the charter." At the same time, they instructed their "representative in the Great and General Court not to encourage, aid or assist in the execution of said act; but to endeavour, as far as consistent with allegiance and duty to their rightful sovereign, by all calm and dispassionate, but with firm, explicit and resolute measures, to assert their charter rights and privileges; and to have the same so entered upon record, that the world might see, and future generations know, that the present both knew and valued their rights, and did not tamely resign them for chains and slavery."

At a publick meeting of the inhabitants of the town, in 1768, called for the purpose of taking into consideration the distressing situation of the province, after reciting the charter of William and Mary, by which all the rights and immunities of free and natural subjects, which were enjoyed by those born within the realm of England, were granted to the inhabitants of this province, and that the General Court therein constituted have the sole right to impose all taxes necessary for the support of his majesty's government of the province, and the protection of his subjects therein, it was resolved, "that the attempt of the British Parliament to levy money within this province, in any other manner than is pointed out by the said royal charter, is a violation thereof." They protested against the right of the king or Parliament to tax them, except by their own consent, or by representatives of their own free election; or to maintain standing armies among them in time of peace. At the same time, they made choice of a suitable person "to join such as were, or might be, sent from the several towns in the province, to consult and advise what might be best for the publick good at that critical juncture."

In December, 1772, they earnestly recommended to their representative in "the Great Court of Inquest for the Province," "to use his utmost influence, by all impartial and dispassionate
measures, to effect a radical and lasting redress of their grievances, so that, whether successful or not, succeeding generations might know, that they understood their rights and liberties, and were neither ashamed nor afraid to assert and maintain them; and that they might have the consolation, in their chains, that it was not through their neglect, that the people were enslaved."

In December, 1773, the town unanimously resolved, that they would not, either directly or indirectly, be concerned in buying, selling or using any of the teas sent out by the East India Company, or that should be imported, subject to a duty imposed by an act of Parliament made for the purpose of raising a revenue in America; and that if any head of a family in that town, or any other person, should, from that time forth, or until the duty was taken off, purchase, use or consume any tea in their families, they should be treated with neglect and contempt.

During the year 1774, numerous town meetings were held, at which it was "voted to renew and increase the town's stock of ammunition;" "to encourage military discipline, and to put themselves in a posture of defence against their enemies." It was expected, at this time, that the British Parliament would soon attempt to enforce their arbitrary and tyrannical law, passed as before stated, "for the better regulation of the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay." The "training band" and "alarm list" were desired to meet on the 12th December, 1774, to receive arms and ammunition, which had been provided at the expense of the town; and, on the 28th December, it was voted to supply the "training soldiers" with bayonets.

By these spirited, but cool and dispassionate measures, the town of Lexington manifested their hatred to oppression, and their devotedness to the cause of liberty. Their proceedings in town meetings were succeeded by deliberate preparations to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power; till at length they came to the resolute determination, as their last and only resort, to defend their rights at the point of the bayonet.

The Provincial Congress had been in session for some time at Concord, and were about adjourning, on the 30th March, '75,
when some representations, made by those, who had suffered by
the depredations of the British troops, on their recent excursion
to Jamaica Plains, kept them together until the 2d of April.*
On that day, they received information, by an arrival from Pal-
mouth in England, of the obnoxious proceedings of the king and Parlia-
ment on the 9th of February. This information was com-
municated to the people before the governor had received his
despatches, which were brought by the vessel from Falmouth.
From some intimations, contained in an intercepted letter, by
the same vessel, from a Mr. Manduit in England to Commissary*
Hallowell, it was reported, that some of the leading patriots of
the province were to be seized and tried under the provision
of that wicked and sanguinary law of February, 1774, by which
the lives of our best citizens might be taken in a manner embrac-
ing the form of a trial, but, in fact, a mere judicial mockery. The
people of the province, then, were reduced to the alternative of
open hostilities, or cruel and abject slavery. Freemen, who knew
and valued their privileges, did not hesitate as to the course to
be pursued. They had been exhorted at trainings, and from the
sacred desk, to defend their constitutional rights, and to fight
manfully in the cause of "God and their country."

John Hancock and Samuel Adams were at this time attend-
ing the Provincial Congress. The active and inflexible patriot-
ism of these friends to liberty, had exposed them to the severe
animadversions of men in power. In consequence of the recent
measures of the king and Parliament, they were persuaded by
their friends not to return to Boston immediately after the ter-
mination of the session. They had passed their nights, during
the session, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clark in Lexington;
and they tarried there from the time it closed until the morning
of the 19th of April.

Under a pretence of teaching the grenadiers and light in-
fantry a new mode of exercising, Gen. Gage had detached
about eight hundred of these from the main body of his troops,
and marched them to another part of the town of Boston. The
real object of this movement was, however, suspected by Gen-

* Gordon's Letter.
Warren, and immediately communicated to his friends in the neighbouring country towns. This took place a few days before they marched for Concord.

In the afternoon of the 18th, Gen. Gage sent out a number of his officers, a part of them through Roxbury, and a part over the ferry, through Charlestown, to reconnoitre and watch the movements of the people, and, at a proper time, to seize and detain all persons on the road, whom they might suspect of being engaged in carrying intelligence of the intended march of his troops to Concord. Solomon Brown, of Lexington, who had been to market at Boston on the 18th, returned late in the afternoon, and informed Col. William Munroe, then an orderly sergeant of the militia company, that he had seen nine British officers, dressed in blue great coats, passing leisurely up the road, sometimes before and sometimes behind him, armed, as he had discovered by the occasional blowing aside of their great coats. Munroe, suspecting their intention was to seize Hancock and Adams, immediately collected a guard of eight men, well armed and equipped, and placed them, with himself at their head, at the house of Mr. Clark, which was about a quarter of a mile from the main road leading to Concord. The Committee of Safety, then in session in the westerly part of Cambridge, also sent information to Hancock and Adams of the approach of these officers. They passed through town early in the evening on the road to Concord.

Small parties of British officers, in the spring of that year, had frequently been seen making excursions into the country, early in the day, and returning before evening. But the unusually late hour of their passing up, at this time, excited the attention of the citizens, and drew together, at an early hour of the evening, about thirty of the militia, well armed, and ready for any emergency, to which the critical and alarming state of things might suddenly call them. It had been currently reported, that the British had threatened, that Hancock and Adams should not stay at Lexington; and it was generally believed to be the object of the officers, who had passed up, to return secretly, at a late hour of the night, and seize and carry them to Boston. After some consultation, it was concluded
by the persons present to send three of their number, Saunders Brown, and Loring, toward Concord, to watch the British officers, and endeavour to ascertain and give information of their movements. In the borders of Lincoln, the whole three were taken prisoners by the British officers, who were paraded across the road. During the time they held our men in custody, they took two other prisoners, Col. Paul Revere, and one Allen, a one-handed pedlar. Shortly after they released Allen. They also attempted to stop a young man, by the name of Prescott, belonging to Concord; but, being well mounted, he turned from the road into the field, and, putting spurs to his horse, escaped. Several of the officers pursued, but could not overtake him.

At about ten o’clock in the evening of the 18th, a detachment of British troops, consisting of grenadiers and light infantry, in all about eight hundred, embarked from Boston in boats, and landed at Lechmere’s Point in Cambridge, just as the moon rose. To prevent discovery, they took a by-path leading to the main road, which obliged them to wade through marshy places and water to a considerable depth.

Soon after these troops had left, sentinels were posted at every avenue of the town, to prevent carrying the intelligence of their march into the country. Previously, however, Gen. Warren, ever watchful and active in devising, as he was undaunted in executing, the best measures for the safety of the country, had despatched two messengers, Col. Paul Revere and a Mr. Lincoln, with information to Hancock and Adams. Revere passed over the ferry to Charlestown, procured a horse of the late Deacon Larkin, and rode with all speed to Lexington, where he arrived a little after midnight. The family of Mr. Clark had retired to rest. On the arrival of Revere, he was hailed by the guard, and stopped. He desired to be admitted to the house. Munroe, not knowing him, nor the object of his errand, refused to let him pass, stating, that the family had just retired to rest, and had desired, that they might not be disturbed by any noise about the house. “Noise!” said Revere, “you’ll soon have a noise, that will disturb you all. The British troops are on their march, and will soon be among you.” He passed without further ceremony, and knocked at the door. Mr. Clark immedi-
ateiy opened a window, and inquired who was there. Revere, without replying to the question, said he wished to see Mr. Hancock. Mr. Clark, with his usual deliberation, was going on to observe, that it was a critical time, and he did not like to admit people into his house, at that time of night, without first knowing their business, when Hancock, who had retired to rest, but not to sleep, knew Revere's voice, and cried out, "Come in, Revere; we are not afraid of you." Shortly after, Mr. Lincoln, who had come by the way of Roxbury, arrived. They both brought written communications from Gen. Warren, "That a large body of the king's troops, (supposed to be a brigade of twelve or fifteen hundred,) were embarked in boats from Boston, and gone over to Lechmere's Point in Cambridge, and it was suspected, they were ordered to seize and destroy the stores belonging to the colony, then deposited at Concord."

It was immediately decided to alarm the militia; and a number of the guard were sent off for that purpose. Two of their number went toward Cambridge, to ascertain the movements of the troops. For the better security of the persons of Hancock and Adams, they were advised to retire to the house of a Mr. Reed, at the north part of the town. To this Hancock objected in the strongest terms, declaring, "it never should be said of him, that he had turned his back upon the British." His preservation was urged to be of the utmost importance to the country, and, being destitute of arms, he could do but little in opposing the British troops. He, at length, very reluctantly consented, and Col. Munroe conducted him, in company with Adams, about two miles to the northward of Mr. Clark's. Revere set off for Concord to alarm the people of that town, but was taken prisoner by the British officers, as before stated, near Brooks's in Lincoln. They examined him very closely,—asked many questions, to all of which he gave evasive answers. They detained him, with the other three prisoners from Lexington, till near three o'clock in the morning, when, finding no prospect of escape, Revere, in his turn, attempted to frighten them, by telling them, in a very triumphant tone of voice, "Gentlemen, you have missed your aim. I left Boston after your troops had landed at Lechmere's Point, and if I had not been certain, that
the people, to the distance of fifty miles into the country, had been notified of your movements, I would have risked one shot, before you should have taken me." Another told them, "The bell’s ringing, the country is alarmed, and you are all dead men." This appeared, in some measure, to alarm the officers. After a few moments’ consultation among themselves, they set off on their return to Lexington, keeping possession of their four prisoners, till within a short distance of the meeting-house, when they halted, and ordered their prisoners to dismount, and then, after cutting in pieces the bridles and saddles of the horses, on which the prisoners rode, they abandoned them, and rode off at full gallop toward Boston.

The alarm had spread so rapidly through Lexington, that, by two o’clock in the morning, the militia company had nearly all assembled. Capt. Parker ordered the roll to be called, and every man to charge his gun with powder and ball. After remaining on parade for some time, one of the messengers, who had been sent toward Boston, returned and reported, he could not learn that the regulars were coming. This raised some doubt as to the correctness of the account brought by Revere, and, the weather being cool, the company were dismissed, with orders to appear again at the beat of the drum. Some of them, whose houses were in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of parade, went home; but the greater part of the company went into Buckman’s tavern, near the meeting-house.

The march of the British troops was silent and rapid. One of the messengers, sent by our people to ascertain if they were coming, was surprised before he was aware of their approach, and taken prisoner in Cambridge.* They thus continued their march undiscovered, taking and detaining as prisoners every person they met with on the road, till they had arrived within a mile and a half of Lexington meeting-house. In order to secure persons travelling upon the road, they would send two soldiers at a considerable distance in advance of the main body, with orders to secrete themselves, one on each side of the road, and when any one approached, they would allow him to pass

* Rev. Mr. Clark’s Narrative.
them, so as to get between them and the troops, and then rise and close upon him. In this way they had taken a number of our men, who had been sent to get information of their approach. Thaddeus Bowman, the last one sent on this business, was riding pretty rapidly down the road, and had proceeded about a mile and a half, when his horse became suddenly frightened, stopped, and refused to go forward. In a moment he discovered the cause. Two British soldiers were perceived just ahead, sitting on opposite sides of the way, close to the fence. It was then day-light. While Bowman was unsuccessfully endeavouring, by all the means of whip and spur, to urge his horse forward, not conceiving of their plan to entrap him, he caught a glimpse of the main body of the British troops, then about twenty rods off. He instantly turned his horse, and rode with all possible speed to the meeting-house, and gave Capt. Parker the first certain intelligence of the approach of the king's troops. About the same time that Bowman discovered them, a flanking party made prisoner of Benjamin Wellington, who was within about ten rods of the main road, on his way to join the company at the meeting-house. They took his arms from him, and, on his promise to return home, he was released. Wellington, however, took a cross route to the meeting-house, and reached there soon after Bowman. There was no longer any doubt, that the regulars were coming. Capt. Parker ordered alarm guns to be fired, and the drum beat to arms. The orderly sergeant, William Munroe, was ordered to parade the men in two ranks a few rods north of the meeting-house. Sixty or seventy had joined the ranks. At a little before five o'clock in the morning, the enemy appeared, at the distance of eighty or a hundred rods from our line. Hearing the drum beat to arms, and supposing it to be a challenge, and seeing the militia parading in arms, they were ordered to halt, charge their guns, double their ranks, and then to march at double quick time.

That so small a number of raw and inexperienced militia should have been, in some degree, appalled at the formidable appearance made by eight hundred regular troops, is not surpris-

* Appendix, No. 2.
† Then supposed to be twelve or fifteen hundred.
ing. Some of Capt. Parker's men, seeing the British load their muskets, and noticing their quick movements, showed an inclination to quit the ranks; on which the captain gave orders for every man to stand his ground, and said he would order the first man shot, who should leave his post.

Others expressed their determination "never to run." At the same time, they were strictly ordered by Capt. Parker not to fire, unless they were attacked by the enemy. The British troops came up shouting, and almost upon a run, till within about ten rods of our line. Their commander, Lieut. Col. Smith, advanced a few rods, and exclaimed, "Lay down your arms and disperse, you damned rebels!—Rush on my boys!—Fire!" and fired his own pistol. The order to fire not being instantly obeyed, he again called out, brandishing his sword with great fury, "Fire, G—d damn you! fire!" The first platoon then fired over the heads of our men. Col. Smith repeating his order to "fire," a general discharge from the front ranks was made directly into the American ranks. On receiving the fire of the first platoon, the provincials imagined the regulars had fired nothing but powder, and did not offer to return it; but, on the second discharge, seeing some of their numbers fall, and others wounded, they no longer hesitated as to their right to resist, and some of them immediately returned the fire. Jonas Parker, John Munroe, and Ebenezer Munroe, Jun., and some others, fired, before leaving the line. At the same time, Solomon Brown, who was not enrolled in the militia, was seen to fire from a wall near the left of our line, and another person was seen to fire from the back door of Buckman's house.

These and some others fired, immediately on receiving the second fire from the British. Jonas Parker placed his ammunition in his hat, upon the ground, between his feet. He was wounded and fell on the second fire from the enemy. After this, he discharged his piece, and even attempted to load a second time. He had been frequently heard to say, he "would never run from the British troops." He redeemed his pledge, though with the price of his life. While attempting to load his piece a second time, the British soldiers came up, and run him
through with the bayonet. Ebenezer Munroe, Jun. aimed and fired, after receiving one ball through his arm; another had grazed his cheek, and a third passed between his arm and body, marking his coat. John Munroe, after having fired, retreated a few rods, loaded his piece a second time with two balls, and discharged it at the enemy. One of our men was seen firing from Buckman's front door. The effects of the fire returned at him by the enemy are now visible on the sides of the door. Nathan Munroe, Lieut. Benjamin Tidd, and others, retreated a short distance, and fired. The regulars continued to fire as long as they could see a man of Capt. Parker's company in arms. Jonas Parker, Isaac Muzzy, Jonathan Harrington, and Robert Munroe, were killed on the common, on and near where our line was formed; Samuel Hadley and John Brown, after they had gotten off the common. Asahel Porter, of Woburn, who had been taken prisoner by the British on their march to Lexington, attempted at this time to make his escape, and was shot within a few rods of the common. Caleb Harrington, who, with three others, had gone into the meeting-house for the purpose of replenishing their stock of powder, just before the British troops came up, was killed on attempting to run from the house.*

Joshua Simonds was one of the four, that went into the meeting-house for the above purpose. They had succeeded in getting down two quarter casks of powder from the upper loft into the first gallery, and had taken out the head of one of them, when the troops arrived in front of the house. Harrington and Comie determined to hazard an attempt to escape. The third secreted himself in the opposite gallery. Simonds cocked his gun, and, laying down, placed the muzzle of it on the open cask of powder, determining, as he afterward frequently declared, to blow up the house, in case any of the regulars had come into the gallery.

The British suffered but little from the fire of the Ameri-
cans. One of the tenth regiment of their light troops was wounded by a shot through the leg, and another was wounded in the hand.* When Munroe and others fired from the line, where our militia were drawn up, they could not discern the enemy by reason of the smoke. Solomon Brown and the person seen to fire from Buckman's back door were on the right of the British troops as they came up, and so situated as to have a distinct view of them, after they fired. Brown was seen to take aim, and, probably, gave the wound received by the regular of the tenth regiment, as blood was distinctly seen upon the ground, soon after the battle, a few rods south of the meeting-house, where the main column of the enemy stood when the Americans fired, and in the direction, in which Brown was seen to aim his piece.

Some of our militia retreated up the road leading to Bedford, but most of them across a swamp, to a rising ground north of the common. The buildings and fences, on the north side of the common, afforded shelter, to a few, from the destructive fire of the enemy. As soon as the Lexington company had dispersed, and the firing ceased, the British troops drew up on the common, fired a volley, and gave three huzzas in token of victory. They then marched on for Concord, the next village, about six miles beyond, where they arrived without further opposition. Some of the Americans, who had not withdrawn at a great distance, were on the battle ground immediately after the enemy took up their march for Concord, and made prisoners of six regulars,† who were in the rear of the main body. They were

† Appendix, Nos. 1 and 9.
‡ The king's troops were delayed at Lexington from twenty to thirty minutes. While there, it is supposed, these six of their soldiers, who were taken prisoners, had gone into some of the houses in the village, and were left behind by the main body. They were not in a body when taken, not more than two being taken together. They were all taken within half an hour after the main body of the enemy had left the common. That there were prisoners taken on the morning of the 19th, does not admit of a doubt. The fact, that the number of six were taken, rests upon the affidavit of James Reed of Burlington, an intelligent and
disarmed, and put under guard, and conducted to Woburn Precinct, now Burlington; thence they were taken to Chelmsford.

The Lexington company of militia, assembled on this trying occasion, had little time to deliberate. They had not the advantage of any special order or direction from any superior officer. They knew it would not be right for them to commence the attack upon the British; yet they felt it a duty to be in arms, to resist the execution of those obnoxious and wicked laws, by which they were to be deprived of rights, held dearer than life. Regardless of the event, as to themselves, they thought it was required of them to raise the standard of opposition. Thus situated, the occasion seemed to call them to be offered an unresisting sacrifice for the publick good. History affords few examples of men, called upon by their country to give such a sanguinary proof of unyielding courage and disinterested virtue. Yet these gallant men showed themselves equal to this great trial. Their purpose was accomplished. The "mighty struggle" was begun.*

The report of the bloody transaction at Lexington was spreading in every direction with the rapidity of a whirlwind. The people were seen, in arms, moving swiftly to the scene of action.

The alarm reached Concord about the hour of four in the morning. The time was diligently improved by the inhabitants in removing and concealing the publick stores. When the enemy approached the town, the Americans then collected a respectable farmer, of substantial, correct character, and of unquestionable veracity. See affidavits of John Munroe, Ebenezer Munroe, and James Reed, in the Appendix.

* Gordon, Botta, Lendrum, Holmes, and others, expressly assert, that, at the first attack of the British troops at Lexington, some of the Americans returned their fire. All other historians, within the knowledge of the writer, impliedly assert the fact of there having been firing on the part of the Americans. The writer knows of no historian, who has described the events of that day, except Mr. Bradford, in his late History of Massachusetts, that has asserted, that the Americans, on being "ordered" by the British commander "to disperse, did immediately retire."
across the north bridge to the high ground beyond it, and there waited for reinforcements from the adjacent country.

The enemy halted near the meeting-house, sent parties of troops to various places in the town in search of publick stores, and detached one hundred men to take possession of the bridge, over which the militia had retreated.

Concord River, with a slow current, flows along the north-westerly and northerly side of the village, at a short distance from the houses. The north bridge was about half a mile from the meeting-house to the north. The left bank of the river consists of level, wet ground. From the bridge the road was a causeway, leading westerly over the wet grounds toward Acton. The road from the hills, where the Americans were stationed, ran southerly, till it met the causeway at right angles. This bridge across the river was long since taken away; the abutments and causeway, however, are still to be seen.

The Provincial militia, on the hills, perceiving the British troops attempting to remove the planks from the bridge, were encouraged by the brave Col. Robinson and Maj. Buttrick to advance, with orders not to tire, unless fired upon. They accordingly marched toward the bridge with drums beating, the Acton company, commanded by Capt. Davis, marching at the head of the column, led on by Robinson, Buttrick and Davis. This company exhibited a noble self-devotedness, equal to that, which, on the same morning, had been displayed by the Lexington company, under circumstances peculiarly trying to the bravest men. They had not then received intelligence of the events at Lexington, and, in their apprehension, the state of things required, that, for the publick good, they must expose themselves to the enemy's fire.

The British troops had formed on the right bank of the river, and, when the Americans had advanced sufficiently near, they fired across it, and Capt. Davis and one of his men were instantly killed, and several wounded. The Americans returned the fire with effect, killing two, and wounding several others. They then rushed across the bridge, and drove the enemy back, till they were met by a reinforcement. They then took a posi-
tion on a hill north of the village, where other Provincials were continually joining them.

The king's troops, having effected but in part their object, in the destruction of publick property,* retreated in great haste about noon. As the rear of their column entered on a causeway, leading over a meadow, a little to the eastward of the village, they received a heavy fire from the Reading minute men, under Capt. John Brooks.†

The Americans, who had by this time collected in considerable numbers, pressed upon the British troops with great fury, and kept up a constant and well directed fire from every favourable position. Such positions occurred very frequently, the road from Concord to Lexington being very hilly and crooked, and having, at that time, many forests and thickets near it. The enemy returned the fire of the Americans, but without much effect. In Lincoln they were met by the Lexington company under Capt. Parker, who had collected most of his men, and was proceeding to Concord. Capt. Parker turned aside into the fields, and, as the enemy passed, they were exposed to a most galling and deadly fire from his greatly exasperated men. The pursuers had now mustered in such numbers, and hung so close upon their rear, that the British officers could with difficulty preserve the order of their troops. All was hurry and confusion; and so entirely were they exhausted, they must, no doubt, have soon surrendered to the victorious Americans, had they not been met at Lexington by a reinforcement, consisting of a thousand fresh troops, with two field pieces, under Lord Percy. The retreating troops halted a mile below the meeting-house, and, having taken some refreshment, they proceeded, under cover of

* While at Concord, the enemy disabled two twenty-four pounders, destroying their carriages, wheels and limbers; sixteen wheels for brass three pounders; two carriages, with wheels, for two four pounders; about five hundred weight of balls, which they threw into the river and wells; and stove about sixty barrels of flour, one half of which was afterward saved. Gordon's Account.

† Afterward Gov. Brooks.
their field pieces, to plunder, burn and destroy buildings and property in that part of the town.*

After having dressed their wounded,† the king's troops resumed their retreat toward Boston. No sooner were they in motion, than the Americans again pressed upon them, with still more furious and intrepid attack. The Lexington company, with unabated ardour, joined in the pursuit, and the firing on both sides, with little or no intermission, continued until the enemy ascended Bunker Hill at the close of the day.

* A dwelling house and barn belonging to Deacon Loring, Mrs. Lydia Mulliken's house, and her son's shop, and a house and shop of Mr. Joshua Bond, were laid in ashes. Several other buildings were set on fire, but the flames were fortunately extinguished after the enemy left. Property to a considerable amount, consisting of clothing, furniture, provisions, &c. were wantonly destroyed. Mr. Clark's Narrative.

† William Munroe's affidavit.
The following is a correct List of the Provincials, who were killed, wounded and missing in the Action of the 19th of April, and the towns to which they respectively belonged.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jonas Parker,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Munroe,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Hadley,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jonathan Harrington, Jun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaac Muzzy,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caleb Harrington,</td>
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<td>John Brown,</td>
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<td>Jedidiah Munroe,</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Raymond,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Wyman,</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Robbins,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solomon Pierce,</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Tidd,</td>
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<td>Joseph Comie,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ebenezer Munroe, Jun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Winship,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Farmer,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prince Estabrook,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jedidiah Munroe,</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Brown, wounded in the afternoon.</td>
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</table>

| KILLED IN THE MORNING. | 7 |
| KILLED IN THE AFTERNOON. | 3 |

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<tr>
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<td>William Marcy,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moses Richardson,</td>
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<td>John Hicks,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jason Russell,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jabish Wyman,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jason Winship,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Whittemore,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Frost,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seth Russell,</td>
<td></td>
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| WOUNDED IN THE MORNING. | 9 |
| WOUNDED. | 1 |
| MISSING. | 2 |

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<tr>
<th>CONCORD.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Miles,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nathan Barnet,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Abel Prescott,</td>
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<p>| WOUNDED. | 3 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>NEEDHAM</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieut. John Bourn, Elisha Mills, Amos Mills, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Jonathan Parker, Eleazer Kingsbury, Tolman</td>
<td>Killed. 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUDBURY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Josiah Haynes, Asahel Reed, Joshua Haynes, Jun.</td>
<td>Killed. 2</td>
<td>Wounded. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACTON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Capt. Isaac Davis, Abner Hosmer, James Heywood</td>
<td>Killed. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEDFORD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jonathan Wilson, Job Lane,</td>
<td>Killed. 1</td>
<td>Wounded. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>WOBURN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asahel Porter, Daniel Thompson, George Reed, Jacob Bacon, Johnson</td>
<td>Killed. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEDFORD</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Putnam, William Polly</td>
<td>Killed. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHARLESTOWN</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>James Miller, C. Barber's son</td>
<td>Killed. 2</td>
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* Killed in Lexington, at the house formerly owned by Benjamin Fisk. He was coming to the house, and met a British soldier coming out. They both took aim and fired, and both fell.
<table>
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<td>Daniel Hemenway</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dedham</td>
<td>Elias Haven,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Israel Everett</td>
<td>Wounded</td>
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<td>Stow</td>
<td>Daniel Conant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roxbury</td>
<td>Elijah Seaver</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brookline</td>
<td>Isaac Gardner, Esq.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Billerica</td>
<td>John Nickols</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Timothy Blanchard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chelmsford</td>
<td>Aaron Chamberlain</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Oliver Barron</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Benjamin Pierce</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newton</td>
<td>Noah Wiswall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Danvers</td>
<td>Henry Jacobs</td>
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<td>George Southwick</td>
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<td>Benjamin Daland</td>
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<td>Jotham Webb</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Perley Putnain</td>
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<td>Killed</td>
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Nathan Putnam, Dennis Wallace, Joseph Bell,
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<tr>
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BEVERLY.

Reuben Kenyme, Nathaniel Cleves, Samuel Woodbury, William Dodge, 3d,

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LYNN.

Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, Thomas Hadley, Joshua Felt, Timothy Munroe, Josiah Breed,

<table>
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<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
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The enemy lost 65 killed: 180 were wounded, and 28 taken prisoners. Holmes's Annals.

An English account, published in the Historical Collections, states their loss to have been 73 killed, 174 wounded, and 26 missing.
No. 1.

I, Elijah Sanderson, of Salem, in the county of Essex, cabinet-maker, aged seventy-three years, on oath depose as follows:

In the spring of 1775, I resided at Lexington, and had resided there then more than a year. In the spring of that year, the officers of the British regular troops in Boston were frequently making excursions, in small parties, into the country, and often, in the early part of the day, in pleasant weather, passed through Lexington, and usually were seen returning before evening. I lived then on the main road, about three quarters of a mile east of the meeting-house.

On the evening of the 18th April, 1775, we saw a party of officers pass up from Boston, all dressed in blue wrappers. The unusually late hour of their passing excited the attention of the citizens. I took my gun and cartridge box, and, thinking something must be going on more than common, walked up to John Buckman's tavern, near the meeting-house. After some conversation among the citizens assembled there, an old gentleman advised, that some one should follow those officers, and endeavour to ascertain their object. I then observed, that, if any one would let me have a horse, I would go in pursuit. Thaddeus Harrington told me, I might take his, which was there. I took his, and Solomon Brown proposed to accompany me on his own horse. Jonathan Loring also went with us. We started, probably, about nine o'clock; and we agreed, if we could find the officers, we would return and give information, as the fears were, that their object was, to come back in the night, and seize Hancock and Adams, and carry them into Boston. It had been rumoured, that the British officers had threatened, that Hancock and Adams should not stay at Lexington. They had been boarding some time at Parson Clark's.

We set out in pursuit. Just before we got to Brooks's in Lincoln, while riding along, we were stopped by nine British officers, who were paraded across the road. They were all mounted. One rode up and seized my bridle, and another my arm, and one put his pistol to my breast, and told me, if I resisted, I was a dead man. I asked, what he wanted. He replied, he wanted to detain me a little while. He ordered me to get off my horse. Several of them dismounted and threw down the wall, and led us into the field. They examined and questioned us where we were going, &c. Two of them staid in the road, and the other seven with us, relieving each other from time to time. They detained us in that vicinity till a quarter past two o'clock at night. An officer, who took out his watch, informed me what the time was. It was a bright moon-light after the rising of the moon, and a pleasant evening. During our detention, they put many questions to us, which I evaded. They kept us separately, and treated us very civilly. They particularly inquired where Hancock and Adams were; also about the population. One said, "You've been numbering the inhabitants, hav'n't ye?" I told him how many it was reported there were. One of them spoke up...
and said, "There were not so many men, women and children." They asked as many questions as a Yankee could.

While we were under detention, they took two other prisoners, one Allen, a one-handed pedlar, and Col. Paul Revere; also, they attempted to stop a man on horseback, who, we immediately after understood, was Dr. Prescott's son. He was well mounted, and, after turning from the road into the field toward us, he put spurs to his horse and escaped. Several of the officers pursued him, but could not overtake him.

After they had taken Revere, they brought him within half a rod of me, and I heard him speak up with energy to them, "Gentlemen, you've missed of your aim!" One said, rather hardly, "What of our aim!" Revere replied, "I came out of Boston an hour after your troops had come out of Boston and landed at Lechmere's Point, and if I had not known people had been sent out to give information to the country, and time enough to get fifty miles, I would have ventured one shot from you, before I would have suffered you to have stopped me." Upon this, they went a little aside and conversed together. They then ordered me to untie my horse, (which was tied to a little birch,) and mount. They kept us in the middle of the road, and rode on each side of us. We went toward Lexington. They took all of us, (Revere, Loring, and Brown, and myself.) My horse not being swift, and they riding at considerable speed, one of the officers pressed my horse forward, by striking him with his hanger. When we had arrived within fifty or one hundred rods of the meeting-house, Loring (as he afterwards informed me) told them, "The bell's a ringing, the town's alarmed, and you're all dead men." They then stopped—confered together. One then dismounted, and ordered me to dismount, and said to me, "I must do you an injury." I asked, what he was going to do to me now? He made no reply, but with his hanger cut my bridle and girth, and then mounted, and they rode in a good smart trot on toward Boston. We then turned off to pass through the swamp, through the mud and water, intending to arrive at the meeting-house before they could pass, to give information to our people. Just before they got to the meeting-house, they had halted, which led us to hope, we should get there first; but they soon started off again at full speed, and we saw no more of them.

I went to the tavern. The citizens were coming and going; some went down to find whether the British were coming; some came back, and said there was no truth in it. I went into the tavern, and, after a while, went to sleep in my chair by the fire. In a short time after, the drum beat, and I ran out to the common, where the militia were parading. The captain ordered them to fall in. I then fell in. 'Twas all in the utmost haste. The British troops were then coming on in full sight. I had no musket, having sent it home, the night previous, by my brother, before I started for Concord; and, reflecting I was of no use, I stepped out again from the company about two rods, and was gazing at the British, coming on in full career. Several mounted British officers were forward; I think, five. The commander rode up, with his pistol in his hand, on a canter, the others following, to about eight or ten rods from the company, perhaps nearer, and ordered them to disperse. The words he used were harsh. I cannot remember them exactly. He then said, "Fire!" and he fired his own pistol, and the other officers soon fired, and with that the main body came up and fired, but did not take sight. They loaded again as soon as possible. All was smoke when the foot fired. I heard no particular orders after what the commander first said. I looked, and, seeing nobody fall, thought to be sure they couldn't be firing balls, and I didn't move off. After our militia had dispersed, I saw them firing at one man, (Solomon Brown,) who was stationed behind a wall. I saw the wall smoke with the bullets hitting it. I then knew they were firing balls.
After the affair was over, he told me he fired into a solid column of them, and then retreated. He was in the cow yard. The wall saved him. He begged it just about the time I went away. In a minute or two after, the British music struck up, and their troops paraded, and marched right off for Concord.

I went home after my gun,—found it was gone. My brother had it. I returned to the meeting-house, and saw to the dead. I saw blood where the column of the British had stood when Solomon Brown fired at them. This was several rods from where any of our militia stood; and I then supposed, as well as the rest of us, that that was the blood of the British. I assisted in carrying some of the dead into the meeting-house.

Some days before the battle, I was conversing with Jonas Parker, who was killed, and heard him express his determination never to run from before the British troops.

In the afternoon I saw the reinforcement come up under Lord Percy, who then had no musket, and retired to Estabrook’s Hill, whence I saw the reinforcement meet the troops retreating from Concord. When they met, they halted some time. After this, they set fire to Deacon Loring’s barn; then to his house; then to widow Mulliken’s house; then to the shop of Nathaniel Mulliken, a watch and clock maker; and to the house and shop of Joshua Bond. All these were near the place where the reinforcements took refreshments. They gave fire into several other buildings. It was extinguished after their retreat.

During the day, the women and children had been so scattered and dispersed, that most of them were out of the way when the reinforcements arrived.

I now own the musket, which I then owned, and which my brother had that day, and told me he fired at the British with it.

ELIJAH SANDERSON.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Essex, ss. December 17th, 1824.—Then the above-named Elijah Sanderson, a gentleman of truth and respectability, subscribed and made oath to the above-written affidavit, before
BENJ. MERRILL, Just. Peace and Quorum.

No. 2.

I, WILLIAM MUNROE, of Lexington, on oath do testify, that I acted as orderly sergeant in the company commanded by Capt. John Parker, on the 19th of April, 1775; that, early in the evening of the 18th of the same April, I was informed by Solomon Brown, who had just returned from Boston, that he had seen nine British officers on the road, travelling usually, sometimes before and sometimes behind him; that he had discovered, by the occasional blowing aside of their top coats, that they were armed. On learning this, I supposed they had some design upon Hancock and Adams, who were then at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clark, and immediately assembled a guard of eight men, with their arms, to guard the house. About midnight, Col. Paul Revere rode up and requested admittance. I told him the family had just retired, and had requested, that they might not be disturbed by any noise about the house. "Noise!" said he, "you’ll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out." We then permitted him to pass. Soon after, Mr. Lincoln came. These gentlemen came different routes. Revere came over the ferry to Charlestown, and Lincoln over the neck through Roxbury;
and both brought letters from Dr. Warren in Boston to Hancock and Adams, stating, that a large body of British troops had left Boston, and were on their march to Lexington. On this, it was thought advisable, that Hancock and Adams should withdraw to some distant part of the town. To this Hancock consented with great reluctance, and said, as he went off, “If I had my musket, I would never turn my back upon these troops.” I however conducted them to the north part of the town, and then returned to the meeting-house, where I arrived at about two o'clock on the morning of the 19th. On the arrival of Col. Revere, the alarm had been given, and, on my return, I found Capt. Parker and his militia company paraded on the common, a little in the rear of the meeting-house. About that time, one of our messengers, who had been sent toward Cambridge to get information of the movement of the regulars, returned and reported, that he could not learn, that there were any troops on the road from Boston to Lexington, which raised some doubt as to their coming, and Capt. Parker dismissed his company, with orders to assemble again at the beat of the drum. Between day-light and sunrise, Capt. Thaddeus Bowman rode up and informed, that the regulars were near. The drum was then ordered to be beat, and I was commanded by Capt. Parker to parade the company, which I accordingly did, in two ranks northerly of the meeting-house.

When the British troops had arrived within about a hundred rods of the meeting-house, as I was afterwards told by a prisoner, which we took, “they heard our drum, and supposing it to be a challenge, they were ordered to load their muskets, and to move at double quick time.” They came up almost upon a run. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn rode up some rods in advance of their troops, and within a few rods of our company, and exclaimed, “Lay down your arms, you rebels, and disperse!!!” and immediately fired his pistol. Pitcairn then advanced, and, after a moment’s conversation with Col. Smith, he advanced with his troops, and, finding we did not disperse, they being within four rods of us, he brought his sword down with great force, and said to his men, “Fire, damn you, fire!!!” The front platoon, consisting of eight or nine, then fired, without killing or wounding any of our men. They immediately gave a second fire, when our company began to retreat, and, as I left the field, I saw a person firing at the British troops from Buckman’s back door, which was near our left, where I was parading the men when I retreated. I was afterward told, of the truth of which I have no doubt, that the same person, after firing from the back door, went to the front door of Buckman’s house, and fired there. How many of our company fired before they retreated, I cannot say; but I am confident some of them did. When the British troops came up, I saw Jonas Parker standing in the ranks, with his balls and flints in his hat, on the ground, between his feet, and heard him declare, that he would never run. He was shot down at the second fire of the British, and, when I left, I saw him struggling on the ground, attempting to load his gun, which I have no doubt he had once discharged at the British. As he lay on the ground, they ran him through with the bayonet. In the course of the day, I was on the ground where the British troops were when they first heard our drum beat, which was about one hundred rods below the meeting-house, and saw the ends of a large number, I should judge two hundred, of cartridges, which they had dropped, when they charged their pieces. About noon, I was at the north part of the town, at the house of a Mr. Simonds, where I saw the late Col. Baldwin, who informed me, that he had the custody of some prisoners, that had been put under his charge, and requested to know of me what should be done with them. I gave my opinion, that they should be sent to that part of Woburn, now Burlington, or to Chelmsford. On the return of the British troops from
Concord, they stopped at my tavern house in Lexington, and dressed their wounded. I had left my house in the care of a lame man, by the name of Raymond, who supplied them with whatever the house afforded, and afterward, when he was leaving the house, he was shot by the regulars, and found dead within a few rods of the house.

WILLIAM MUNROE.

Middlesex, 7th March, 1825.—Then personally appeared the aforesaid William Munroe, and made oath to the truth of the aforesaid affidavit, by him subscribed, before me,

AMOS Muzzi, Justice Peace.

No. 3.

I, John Munroe, of Lexington, a collector of tolls for the Middlesex Turnpike, being in the seventy-seventh year of my age, on oath do depose and say, that I was a corporal in the Lexington company of militia, which was commanded by the late Capt. John Parker, in the year 1775; that, for some weeks previous to the 19th of April of that year, the company was frequently called out for exercise, and desired to furnish ourselves with arms and ammunition, and to be in constant readiness for action.

On the morning of the 19th, at about two o'clock, as near as I can recollect, Francis Brown, who was sergeant in the same company, called me out of my bed, and said, the British troops had left Boston, and were on their march to Lexington. I immediately repaired to the place of parade, which was the common, adjoining the meeting-house, where sixty or seventy of the company had assembled in arms. Capt. Parker ordered the roll to be called, and every man to load his piece with powder and ball. After remaining on parade some time, and there being no further accounts of the approach of the regulars, we were dismissed, but ordered to remain within call of the drum. About day-light, Capt. Parker had information, that a regiment of British troops were near, and immediately ordered the drum beat to arms. I took my station on the right. While the company were collecting, Capt. Parker, then on the left, gave orders for every man to stand his ground until he should order them to leave. Many of the company had withdrawn to a considerable distance, and, by the time sixty or seventy of them had collected, the drum still beating to arms, the front ranks of the British troops appeared within twelve or fifteen rods of our line. They continued their march to within about eight rods of us, when an officer on horseback, Lt. Col. Smith, who rode in front of the troops, exclaimed, "Lay down your arms, and disperse, you rebels!" Finding our company kept their ground, Col. Smith ordered his troops to fire. This order not being obeyed, he then said to them, "G—d damn you, fire!" The front platoon then discharged their pieces, and, another order being given to fire, there was a general discharge from the front ranks. After the first fire of the regulars, I thought, and so stated to Ebenezer Munroe, Jun. who stood next to me on the left, that they had fired nothing but powder; but, on the second firing, Munroe said, they had fired something more than powder, for he had received a wound in his arm; and now, said he, to use his own words, "I'll give them the guts of my gun." We then both took aim at the main body of the British troops,—the smoke preventing our seeing any thing but the heads of some of their horses,—and discharged our pieces. After the second fire from the British troops, I distinctly saw Jonas Parker struggling on the ground, with his gun in his hand, apparently attempting to load it. In this situation the British came up, run him through with the bayonet, and killed him on the spot.
After I had fired the first time, I retreated about ten rods, and then loaded my gun a second time, with two balls, and, on firing at the British, the strength of the charge took off about a foot of my gun barrel.

Such was the general confusion, and so much firing on the part of the British, that it was impossible for me to know the number of our men who fired immediately on receiving the second fire from the British troops; but that some of them fired, besides Ebenezer Munroe and myself, I am very confident. The regulars kept up a fire, in all directions, as long as they could see a man of our company in arms. Isaac Murzy, Jonathan Harrington, and my father, Robert Munroe, were found dead near the place where our line was formed. Samuel Hadley and John Brown were killed after they had gotten off the common. Asahel Porter, of Woburn, who had been taken a prisoner by the British on their march to Lexington, attempted to make his escape, and was shot within a few rods of the common. Caleb Harrington was shot down on attempting to leave the meeting-house, where he and some others had gone, before the British soldiers came up, for the purpose of removing a quantity of powder that was stored there.

On the morning of the 19th, two of the British soldiers, who were in the rear of the main body of their troops, were taken prisoners and disarmed by our men, and, a little after sunrise, they were put under the care of Thomas R. Willard and myself, with orders to march them to Woburn Precinct, now Burlington. We conducted them as far as Capt. James Read's, where they were put into the custody of some other persons, but whom I do not now recollect.

John Munroe

Middlesex, ss. December 20th, 1824.—Then the above-named John Munroe made oath to the truth of the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, before me,

Nathan Chandler, Justice of the Peace.

No. 4.

J. Ebenezer Munroe, of Ashburnham, in the county of Worcester and commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the seventy-third year of my age, on oath depose and say, that I was an inhabitant of Lexington in the county of Middlesex in the year 1775; that, during the night of the 18th of April of that year, I was alarmed by one Micah Nagles, who stated, that the British troops were on their march from Boston, and that Lieut. Tidd requested myself and others to meet them. After the regulars had arrived within eighty or one hundred rods, they, hearing our drum beat, halted, charged their guns, and
oubled their ranks, and marched up at quick step. Capt. Parker or-
ered his men to stand their ground, and not to molest the regulars,
less they meddled with us. The British troops came up directly in
our front. The commanding officer advanced within a few rods of us,
and exclaimed, “Disperse, you damned rebels! you dogs, run!—Rush on
my boys!” and fired his pistol. The fire from their front ranks soon
followed. After the first fire, I received a wound in my arm, and then,
as I turned to run, I discharged my gun into the main body of the enemy.
as I fired, my face being toward them, one ball cut off a part of one of
my ear-locks, which was then pinned up. Another ball passed between
my arm and my body, and just marked my clothes. The first fire of the
British was regular; after that, they fired promiscuously. As we retreat-
ed, one of our company, Benjamin Sampson, I believe, who was running
with me, turned his piece and fired. When I fired, I perfectly well recol-
ect of taking aim at the regulars. The smoke, however, prevented my
being able to see many of them. The balls flew so thick, I thought
there was no chance for escape, and that I might as well fire my gun as
stand still and do nothing. I am confident, that it was the determination
of most of our company, in case they were fired upon, to return the fire.
did not hear Capt. Parker give orders to his company to disperse. When
the British came up in front of the meeting-house, Joshua Simonds was
in the upper gallery, an open cask of powder standing near him, and he
afterward told me, that he cocked his gun and placed the muzzle of it
close to the cask of powder, and determined to “touch it off,” in case the
troops had come into the gallery. After our company had all dispersed,
and the British had done firing; they gave three cheers. After they had
marched off for Concord, we took two prisoners, who were considerably
in the rear of the main body. I carried their arms into Buckman’s
tavern, and they were taken by some of our men, who had none of their
own. I believed, at the time, that some of our shots must have done ex-
jecution. I was afterward confirmed in this opinion, by the observations
of some prisoners, whom we took in the afternoon, who stated, that one
of their soldiers was wounded in the thigh, and that another received
a shot through his hand.

EBENEZER MUNROE.

MIDDLESEX, ss. 2d April, 1825.—Then personally appeared the afore-
said Ebenezer Munroe, and made oath to the truth of the aforegoing
statement, before me,

STEPHEN PATCH, Justice Peace.

No. 5.

1, WILLIAM TIDD, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, do
testify and declare, that I was a lieutenant in the company of Lexington
militia, commanded by Capt. John Parker, in the year 1775; that, pre-
vious to the 19th of April of that year, it was expected the British would
soon commence hostilities upon the then Provincials; that said company
frequently met for exercise, the better to be prepared for defence; that,
on the evening previous to the 19th, a number of the militia met at my
house for the above purpose; that, about two o’clock on the morning of
the 19th, I was notified, that, the evening previous, several of the British
officers had been discovered riding up and down the road leading to
Concord; that they had detained and insulted the passing inhabitants;
and that a body of the regulars were then on the march from Boston to-
wards Lexington;—I then immediately repaired to the parade ground of
said company, where, after its assemblage and roll call, we were dis-
missed by Capt. Parker, with orders to assemble at the heat of the
drum;—that, at about five o’clock of said morning, intelligence was re-
received, that the British were within a short distance; and, on the heat to arms, I immediately repaired to where our company were fast assembling; that when about sixty or seventy of them had taken post, the British had arrived within sight, and were advancing on a quick march towards us, when I distinctly heard one of their officers say, "Lay down your arms, and disperse, ye rebels!" They then fired upon us. I then retreated up the north road, and was pursued about thirty rods by an officer on horseback, (supposed to be Maj. Pitcairn,) calling out to me, "Damn you, stop, or you are a dead man!"—I found I could not escape him, unless I left the road. Therefore I sprang over a pair of bars, made a stand, and discharged my gun at him; upon which he immediately returned to the main body, which shortly after took up their march for Concord.

WILLIAM TIDD.

Middlesex, ss. December 29, 1824.—William Tidd, aforementioned, personally made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration, by him subscribed, before

NATHAN CHANDLER, Justice of the Peace.

No. 6.

I, NATHAN MUNROE, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex and state of Massachusetts, do testify and say, that I was enrolled as a soldier in the company commanded by Capt. John Parker of said Lexington, in the year 1775; and, knowing that several British officers went up the road towards Concord in the evening of the 18th of April of said year, I, with Benjamin Tidd, at the request of my captain, went to Bedford in the evening, and notified the inhabitants through the town, to the great road at Merriman's Corner, so called, in Concord, and then returned to Lexington. When arrived at the common, the bell was ringing, and the company collecting. I immediately got my arms and went to the parade. Capt. Parker gave orders to us to load our guns, but not to fire, unless we were fired upon first. About five o'clock in the morning, the British made their appearance at the east end of the meeting-house, near where our men were, and immediately commenced firing on us. I got over the wall into Buckman's land, about six rods from the British, and then turned and fired at them. About the middle of the forenoon, Capt. Parker, having collected part of his company, marched them towards Concord, I being with them. We met the regulars in the bounds of Lincoln, about noon, retreating towards Boston. We fired on them, and continued so to do until they met their reinforcement in Lexington.

NATHAN MUNROE.

Middlesex, ss. Lexington, December 22, 1824.—Then the above-named Nathan Munroe made oath to the above, and subscribed his name to the same, before me,

AMOS MUZZY, Justice of the Peace.

No. 7.

I, AMOS LOCK, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, testify and declare, that, between two and three o'clock on the morning of April the 19th, 1775, I heard the bell ring, which I considered as an alarm, in consequence of a report, that John Hancock and Samuel Adams were at the house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, and that it was expected the British would attempt to take them. Therefore Ebenezer Lock and myself, both being armed, repaired, with all possible speed, to the meeting-house.
On our arrival, we found the militia were collecting; but, shortly after, one person came up the road with a report, that there were not any regulars between Boston and Lexington. Consequently we concluded to return to our families. We had not proceeded far, before we heard a firing; upon which we immediately returned, coming up towards the easterly side of the common, where, under the cover of a wall, about twenty rods distant from the common, where the British then were, we found Asahel Porter, of Woburn, shot through the body; upon which Ebenezer Lock took aim, and discharged his gun at the Britons, who were then but about twenty rods from us. We then fell back a short distance, and the enemy, soon after, commenced their march for Concord.

AMOS LOCK.

Middlesex, ss. December 29, 1824.—Then the above-named Amos Lock personally appeared, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, before me,

NATHAN CHANDLER, Justice of the Peace.

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No. 8.

1, Joseph Underwood, of Lexington, in the seventy-sixth year of my age, on oath do testify, that, on the evening of the 18th April, 1775, in consequence of a report, that some British officers had passed through town toward Concord, about forty of the militia company assembled, early in the evening, at Buckman’s tavern, near the meeting-house, for the purpose of consulting what measures should be adopted. It was concluded to send persons toward Concord to watch the motions of the British officers; and others toward Boston, to ascertain if there were any movements of the British troops. A guard was stationed at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clark, for the purpose of protecting Hancock and Adams, who were then residing at Mr. Clark’s. The first certain information we had of the approach of the British troops, was given by Thaddeus Bowman, between four and five o’clock on the morning of the 19th, when Capt. Parker’s company were summoned by the beat of the drum, and the line formed. When the regulars had arrived within about one hundred rods of our line, they charged their pieces, and then moved toward us at a quick step. Some of our men, on seeing them, proposed to quit the field; but Capt. Parker gave orders for every man to stand his ground, and said he would order the first man shot, that offered to leave his post. I stood very near Capt. Parker, when the regulars came up, and am confident he did not order his men to disperse, till the British troops had fired upon us the second time.

JOSEPH UNDERWOOD.

Middlesex, ss. 7 March, 1825.—Then personally appeared the said Joseph Underwood, and made oath to the within statement, by him subscribed, before me,

AMOS MUZZY, Justice of Peace.

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No. 9.

1, Abijah Harrington, one of the representatives to the General Court from the town of Lexington, on oath do testify, that, in April, 1775, I lived about a mile and a quarter below the meeting-house in Lexington. After hearing the firing, on the morning of the 19th, and not getting any certain information whether the British had killed any of our men, I went up to the meeting-house, soon after the regulars had marched off for
Concord, and, at the distance of about ten or twelve rods below the meeting-house, where I was told the main body of their troops stood, when they were fired upon by our militia, I distinctly saw blood on the ground, in the road, and, the ground being a little descending, the blood had run along the road about six or eight feet. A day or two after the 19th, I was telling Solomon Brown of the circumstance of my having seen blood in the road, and where it was. He then stated to me, that he fired in that direction, and the road was then full of regulars, and he thought he must have hit some of them.

I further testify, that I have heard the late Deacon Benjamin Brown repeatedly say, that he took a British soldier prisoner, on the morning of the 19th, a few rods below the meeting-house, immediately after the regulars left the common for Concord, and took his gun from him.

ABIJAH HARRINGTON.

Middlesex, ss. 4th April, 1825.—Then personally appeared the aforesaid Abijah Harrington, and made oath to the aforesaid affidavit, before me,

AMOS MUZZY, Justice of Peace.

No. 10.

I, JAMES REED, of Burlington, in the county of Middlesex and commonwealth of Massachusetts, do testify and declare, that, soon after the British troops had fired upon the militia at Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, and had taken up their march towards Concord, I arrived at the common, near the meeting-house, where I found several of the militia dead, and others wounded. I also saw a British soldier march up the road, near said meeting-house, and Joshua Reed of Woburn met him, and demanded him to surrender. He then took his arms and equipments from him, and I took charge of him, and took him to my house, then in Woburn Precinct. I also testify, that E. Welsh brought to my house, soon after I returned home with my prisoner, two more of said British troops; and two more were immediately brought, and I suppose, by John Munroe and Thomas R. Willard of Lexington; and I am confident, that one more was brought, but by whom, I don't now recollect. All the above prisoners were taken at Lexington immediately after the main body had left the common, and were conveyed to my house early in the morning; and I took charge of them. In the afternoon five or six more of said British troops, that were taken prisoners in the afternoon, when on the retreat from Concord, were brought to my house and put under my care. Towards evening, it was thought best to remove them from my house. I, with the assistance of some others, marched them to one Johnson's in Woburn Precinct, and there kept a guard over them during the night. The next morning, we marched them to Billerica; but the people were so alarmed, and not willing to have them left there, we then took them to Chelmsford, and there the people were much frightened; but the Committee of Safety consented to have them left, provided, that we would leave a guard. Accordingly, some of our men agreed to stay.

JAMES REED.

Middlesex, ss. January 19, 1825.—Then the within-named James Reed subscribed and swore to the aforesaid statement, before

AMOS MUZZY, Justice of Peace.
A HISTORY

OF THE

FIGHT AT CONCORD,

ON THE

19TH OF APRIL, 1775,

WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS AND INTERESTING EVENTS OF THAT EVER MEMORABLE DAY; SHOWING THAT THEN AND THERE THE FIRST REGULAR AND FORCIBLE RESISTANCE WAS MADE TO THE BRITISH SOLDIERY, AND THE FIRST BRITISH BLOOD WAS SHED BY ARMED AMERICANS, AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR THUS COMMENCED.

BY REV. EZRA RIPLEY, D. D.,
WITH OTHER CITIZENS OF CONCORD.

CONCORD: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ALLEN & ATWILL.
1827.
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, to wit:
District Clerk's Office.

Be it remembered, That on the eighteenth day of August, A. D. 1827, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, Allen & Atwill, of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"A History of the Fight at Concord, on the 19th of April, 1775, with a Particular Account of the Military Operations and Interesting Events of that ever Memorable Day; showing that then and there the First Regular and Forcible Resistance was made to the British Sol­diery, and the first British Blood was shed by armed Americans, and the Revolutionary War thus commenced. By Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D., with other Citizens of Concord."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned" and also to an Act entitled "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical and other Prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.
INTRODUCTION.

It may be thought singular, that, at this late period, a particular account of the Fight at Concord, on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, should now for the first time make its appearance. Some apology may be thought due to the public for neglecting so long a matter of acknowledged importance, which, we apprehend, will be manifest in the following statement.

During nearly half a century, it was, as we supposed, the universal belief that the first regular and forcible resistance to the invading British soldiers was made at Concord North Bridge;—that there the fire of the British was first returned by the Americans;—that there the first British blood was shed; and of course that there commenced the war that terminated in the Independence of the United States. We had no idea that any persons ever would or could seriously entertain a different opinion. We had supposed that public records, numerous historical sketches, and common consent were sufficient to perpetuate material facts and prominent characters. When therefore, the "History of the Battle of Lexington," appeared in 1825, we were surprised. Nothing could have been more unexpected. That pamphlet has made impressions on the minds of many, unfavorable, in some respects, as we believe, to the truth, and to some worthy and patriotic characters. The same causes which originated these errors, have given rise to opinions and publications in Great Britain.
and the United States equally erroneous. A large portion of the people do not possess the means of better information; and those who do, have been unwilling to come forward in a controversy very unpleasant and attended with many difficulties.

A writer, however, over the signature of Middlesex, the last year, took up the subject in the Yeoman's Gazette, and pointed out the fallacy of the statements and claims of that history in respect to the returning of the fire of the British. We thought he fairly settled the question in favor of Concord. Yet nothing like retraction or concession, on the part of the citizens of Lexington, has come to our knowledge. We therefore feel ourselves obligated, and in a measure pledged, to pursue the subject, and to publish the following history.

In the full belief that some of the statements in the history of Maj. Phinney are erroneous and unjust, we deem it expedient, and doing justice to ourselves, to our fathers, and to the community, to appeal to the public, and to set forth a true history of facts, a faithful and minute account of the events of that interesting day, and the conduct of the military companies and volunteer citizens assembled on that trying occasion.

We feel our obligations to the generations yet to come, to transmit to them, as far as possible, a fair and correct statement of facts respecting those events and transactions, the happy or unhappy consequences of which will descend to them and their successors.

While we are desirous of discharging this duty to posterity, we cannot but deeply regret, that in an affair of such magnitude and common interest, as is the commencement of the American revolutionary war, such contradictory opinions and opposite claims should have arisen as cannot be reconciled with the truth of facts, and which, if permitted to continue unrectified, must render the pages of future history doubtful and erroneous.

Unhappy for us that effectual barriers against errors of this kind were not earlier erected. We very much regret that accurate records of the events and transactions of the 19th of April, '75, at Concord, were not made at the time, and carefully preserved. This might have
prevented those errors and misrepresentations of which we now com-
plain. Some minutes indeed were made in after years,—some facts
were noted, and many are remembered by living witnesses. We believe
therefore, it is yet in our power to vindicate and establish the truth on
the subject under consideration.

We have no objections to the historical account given by Major
Phinney of the march of the British troops from Boston to Lexington,
their outrageous behavior while there, &c. except so far as relates to
the returning of the fire of the British. This we mean to controvert,
and to shew by testimony and evidence that cannot be resisted nor
rationally disputed, that the inhabitants of Lexington, very recently,
have made an unjust claim upon the public faith;—that they have
appropriated to themselves facts and honors to which they had no
right, and have thereby attempted to wrest from the inhabitants of
Concord and adjacent towns, the legitimate honors which their brave
and patriotic fathers achieved and bequeathed to them.

Situated as we now are, at this late period, were we only concern-
ed, we might still be silent. But when we consider the importance of
a just representation of facts in a case of this kind,—the interests of
our common country in the matter at issue,—the memory and reputa-
tion of our revered and heroic fathers, we do not feel ourselves at
liberty to be inactive. The blood of our patriotic fathers, and the
voice of our beloved country, seem imperiously to demand of us a fair,
unvarnished statement of facts respecting the fight at Concord. And
this shall be our endeavor without evasion or false coloring.

It may be added, that the nations of the earth are interested in the
American revolution; and they have a right to know from us the time,
place, and circumstances of the actual commencement of a war of such
vast consequences. It is our aim to give them correct information.

Those who may read the following narrative may be desirous of
finding in it a general and correct view of the progress of the British
from the time of their leaving Boston, till they returned to Charles-
town heights; and also of the opposing and pursuing Americans. It
may be desirable also to know some of the previous measures of the
Congress of the then colony of Massachusetts. Such a view we pur-
pose to give, and in doing this we shall avail ourselves of the history
of Maj. Phinney, where we find it correct, gratefully acknowledging
the saving of labor to ourselves, and giving credit for any assistance
that may thereby be afforded.
It is well known that the arbitrary and oppressive acts and measures of the King and Parliament of Great Britain, were the causes which led to the revolutionary war, and to a final separation between the United States and the mother country. There are extant so many records and historical accounts of this matter, which are accessible to all classes of people, that it is deemed unnecessary, in this place, to go into any detail of facts and proceedings of that period, farther than simply to introduce the main objects of this publication.

We begin, therefore, with some account of the Provincial Congress and their proceedings, which will shew somewhat the state of public affairs at that time, and the measures adopted by the Americans and the British immediately preceding the bloody conflict on the 19th of April, '75.

Public affairs wore so alarming an aspect in the year 1774, that before the dissolution of the General Court in the spring, a Congress of Delegates from
the several towns in the province was agreed upon. To this Congress, the town of Concord sent three, the county of Middlesex seventy-four, and the rest of the State, including what is now the state of Maine, two hundred members. The first meeting of the Congress took place at Salem, on the 12th of Oct. 1774, when they chose the Hon. John Hancock, chairman, and Mr. Benjamin Lincoln, clerk; and immediately adjourned to Concord. On the 15th the Congress was organized by choosing the chairman and clerk, President and Secretary. They held their meetings in the church. Two sessions, one at 9 o'clock, A. M. and the other at 3 o'clock, P. M. were held each day. The Rev. Mr. Emerson, then minister of Concord, officiated as Chaplain. The Session was continued a great part of the time in secret, till the 29th of the same month. Their proceedings were marked with great harmony, vigilance, and energy. One of their first acts was, to address the governor on the state of their grievances; but not receiving a satisfactory answer, a committee for the safety and defence of the province, another to prepare a plan for regulating the militia, and another to estimate the munitions of war that were needed by the province, were chosen. The militia was in part organized, and some general officers were appointed. Capt. James Barrett, at that time, was promoted to Colonel. On the 29th, Congress adjourned to the 23d of Nov. following. They met again according

* Col. James Barrett, Mr. Samuel Whitney, and Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr. At the two succeeding Congresses, Col. Barrett only was chosen.
to adjournment, and continued their spirited proceed-
ings till the 10th of December.

During this session, after repeated and fruitless attempts to promote reconciliation, on fair terms with governor Gage, a large quantity of military stores and provisions was ordered to be collected and de-
posited at Concord.

On the 10th of Dec. the first Provincial Congress recommended that a new Congress be chosen, to assemble at Cambridge, on the first of Feb. 1775, and dissolved.

The new Congress, which met at Cambridge on the 1st. of Feb. was not as numerous as the one pre-
vious. There were forty from Middlesex, and from other counties in proportion. They continued in session until the 16th, and on that day adjourned to meet at Concord on the 22d of March.

Congress met at Concord according to adjourn-
ment, and continued a laborious and important ses-
sion till the 15th of April, when they adjourned, to meet at the same place on the 10th of May, unless sooner called together. The Committee of Safety chosen at the first Congress, were in session during the recess, and it was made the duty of the members in Cambridge and vicinity, to call an earlier meeting, if necessary. In consequence of the events of the 19th of April, notice was given by the members in Cambridge, and a meeting of a few members was suddenly called at Concord, on the 22d of April, when Richard Devens Esq. of Charlestown was
chosen chairman, and John Murray, clerk,* and immediately adjourned to Watertown. At this session a committee of nine persons was chosen to take depositions respecting the affair at Lexington on the 19th; of which committee were Col. James Barrett of Concord, and Dea. Jonas Stone of Lexington, who were also members of the Congress. There was also another committee appointed to draw up a narrative of the whole events of that day. Joseph Warren, Esq. occasionally presided in this Congress, the Hon. John Hancock having been previously chosen a representative in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.†

From the foregoing statements the reason is obvious why Concord was selected as a place of deposit for the Provincial military stores, and why the expedition of the British troops to that place was undertaken.

"In the afternoon of the 18th," says the history of Major Phinney, "Gen. Gage sent out a number of his officers, a part of them through Roxbury, and a part over the ferry through Charlestown, to reconnoitre and watch the movements of the people, and, at a proper time, to seize and detain all persons on

* We believe this person to be the Rev. John Murray, a Presbyterian minister of Newburyport, who was sent as a delegate to the Congress.

† The above Congress, continuing in session but a short time, dissolved, and a third and last Congress was chosen, composed principally of the members of the second Congress, and met at Watertown on the 31st of May. Chose Joseph Warren, Esq. President, and Mr. Samuel Freeman, Secretary, and continued the session to the 13th July, when they dissolved. A "General Court," chosen according to the colony charter, assembled in August.
the road whom they might suspect of being engaged in carrying intelligence of the intended march of his troops to Concord. Solomon Brown of Lexington, who had been to market at Boston on the 18th, returned late in the afternoon, and informed Col. Wm. Munroe, then an orderly sergeant of the militia company, that he had seen nine British officers, dressed in blue great coats, passing leisurely up the road, sometimes before and sometimes behind him, armed, as he had discovered by the occasional blowing aside of their great coats. Munroe, suspecting their intention was to seize Hancock and Adams, immediately collected a guard of eight men, well armed and equipped, and placed them, with himself at their head, at the house of Mr. Clark, which was about a quarter of a mile from the main road leading to Concord. The Committee of Safety, then in session in the westerly part of Cambridge, also sent information to Hancock and Adams of the approach of these officers. They passed through town early in the evening on the road to Concord. After some consultation, it was concluded by the persons present, to send three of their number, Saunders, Brown, and Loring toward Concord, to watch the British officers, and endeavor to ascertain and give information of their movements. In the borders of Lincoln, the whole three were taken prisoners by the British officers. During the time they held our men in custody, they took two other prisoners, Col. Paul Revere, and one Allen, a pedlar," whose hands were crippled and distorted. "Shortly after, they released Allen. They also attempted to stop a young man, by the
name of Prescott, belonging to Concord; but, being well mounted, he turned from the road into the field, and putting spurs to his horse, escaped. Several of the officers pursued, but could not overtake him."

"At about 10 o'clock in the evening of the 18th, a detachment of British troops, consisting of grenadiers and light infantry, in all about eight hundred, embarked from Boston in boats, and landed at Lechmere Point in Cambridge, just as the moon rose. To prevent discovery, they took a by-path leading to the main road, which obliged them to wade through marshy places and water to a considerable depth."

Governor Gage, by posting sentinels, endeavored to prevent the carrying intelligence of the embarkation of the troops into the country. But nothing of the kind could escape the notice of the vigilant and active Gen. Warren and his compatriots. Col. Revere and a Mr. Lincoln had been seasonably sent out of Boston, to give information to Hancock and Adams, and to others, of the movement of the British troops, and what might be expected. Revere and Lincoln, one through Charlestown, the other through Roxbury, met at Lexington. "They both brought written communications from Gen. Warren, that a large body of the king's troops (supposed to be a brigade of twelve or fifteen hundred men) had embarked in boats, and gone over to Lechmere point, and it was suspected they were ordered to seize and destroy the stores belonging to the colony, then deposited at Concord. The march of the British troops was silent and rapid." A little before 5 o'clock, A. M. they arrived at Lexington, near the meeting-house.
and in sight of the militia there collected. And there, for the present, we leave them, and the horrid massacre they perpetrated, and pass on to the entrance of the British into Concord and the scenes that followed.

Nothing very interesting occurred in the march of the British from Lexington to Concord. Intelligence had been given by Mr. Samuel Prescott, who had passed the evening at Lexington, and had seen and escaped the British officers on the road, as above mentioned, that the British troops were on the way, and supposed to be destined to this place, for the purpose of destroying public and military stores; which intelligence was confirmed by others who were passing the road, and particularly by Mr. Reuben Brown of Concord, who had been sent to Lexington on purpose to ascertain the truth of the case.

About 1 o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the bell in Concord was rung, which was to be the signal of alarm. The inhabitants of the town hastily collected, and the minute companies and militia, with patriotic ardor, expeditiously formed on the usual parade before the meeting-house. Several men now living, who were then in the military companies, are of opinion that there were two hundred men* in arms that day, belonging to Concord. A considerable number of them were ordered to assist the citizens who were actively engaged in removing and secreting cannon, military stores, and provisions. The cannon were nearly all conveyed to a distance, some

* We have the names of one hundred volunteer minute men who were enrolled that day besides the militia.
to adjacent towns, and some were buried in the ground, and some under heaps of manure.

The minute company of Lincoln commanded by Capt. William Smith and Lieut. Samuel Hoar, long since the Hon. Samuel Hoar; and the militia company commanded by Capt. Samuel Farrar, now living, and many years a deacon, assembled on the common with those of Concord. With others from that town was the late Col. Abijah Pierce, then a Major in a regiment in that section of the county. These companies of Concord and Lincoln marched down the road towards Lexington, till they saw the British advancing within two miles of the centre of the town. Mr. James Baker, then of Lincoln, a minute man, and engaged all day, still lives, and recollects the events and transactions narrated.

One reason for the early assembling of the companies of Lincoln was, they received the first information of the British by Mr. Prescott, who, in escaping the British officers, turned his course through Lincoln. It may not be amiss to observe that, in every town where minute companies were organized, they felt themselves specially obligated to be well armed, and to appear on parade as soon as possible, at the first notice of danger from the British soldiery; being voluntarily and by recommendation of the general Committee of Safety formed into companies and regiments for this purpose. On this account, we find these companies with their officers more forward and conspicuous than the militia. This was their duty; and their being in front, where danger was the
greatest, implies no want of patriotism or zeal in the militia officers or companies.

The officers of the regiment of minute men in and about Concord, now remembered, were Col. James Barrett, Lieut. Col. Ezekiel Howe of Sudbury, Major John Buttrick and Captains David Brown and Charles Miles of Concord, Capt. Isaac Davis and Lieuts. J. Hayward and John Heald of Acton, and Adjutant Joseph Hosmer, late the Hon. Joseph Hosmer, who magnified his office by his activity and zeal, and animated the spirits of his fellow soldiers by his patriotic address. Other officers and private citizens of influence, contributed by their exhortations and example, to invigorate and direct the spirits and courage of the people. Capt. Nathan Barrett, late Colonel, commanded the militia company of Concord, and marched next to the minute companies, when the fight commenced. Several of this company are now living.

When the alarm bell was heard, the Rev. Mr. Emerson, the clergyman of the town, turned out with his people. He was a zealous patriot, and entered warmly into the cause of his country. He encouraged the people collected, and administered counsel and comfort to the distressed and flying women and children. The next year he went chaplain in the northern army, and died of sickness on his way home.

That night was a time of great anxiety and big with doubtful and interesting expectations. The novelty of the scene, the distress of some, the ardor of others, the uncertainty of the events, and the unknown consequences that must follow, all conspired to render those few hours extremely anxious and painful.
Col. James Barrett had the command of the military companies, and also of the superintendence of all the public stores, by the appointment of Congress.* He rode from place to place giving directions to soldiers and citizens as circumstances required. Great confidence was reposed in him, both by his fellow citizens and the Provincial Congress.

The military companies which had marched eastward in sight of the approaching enemy, finding they were in number far inferior to the British, returned, most of them on the hill north of the road. And when they came to the west end by the road leading to the north bridge, Col. Barrett addressed them in a firm, feeling, and serious manner. He reminded them of the danger to which they were exposed, and cautioned them not to be careless, or needlessly expose themselves; but to be cool and firm, and to conduct like considerate and judicious men and patriots. He charged them not to fire, unless the British should first fire on them. Perceiving that the British had entered the village, and were very near them, and that his men were too few to make a stand, he ordered them to march over the north bridge, and take a position on a hill about one mile to the north of the meeting-house, and there to wait for accessions to their numbers, and for further orders. Nor did they wait in vain. Armed men from adjacent towns hastened to this place of general rendezvous. A considerable number of the min-

* Here let it be noted, that in the numbers of Middlesex published last year in the Yeoman's Gazette, there are several errors respecting men and circumstances, which are here rectified. More accurate information having been obtained.
ute and militia companies of Bedford were seasonably on the ground. The former was commanded by Capt. Jonathan Wilson, the latter by Capt. John Moore. Capt. Wilson was killed in Lincoln, by the flank guard of the enemy. Two of the company of Capt. Wilson, who were with him, are now living, viz. Captains Christopher Page and David Reed, and retain a lively remembrance of the novel and tragical scenes of that day. Numbers from Carlisle, Chelmsford, Westford, Littleton, and Acton augmented the military force. A company from Westford had just entered the bounds of Concord when the fight took place. But individuals of that town were present and engaged in the battle, among whom was the brave Col. Robinson. A company from Sudbury commanded by Capt. Nixon, afterwards a General in the continental army, were stopped about half a mile from the south bridge, by a messenger, Mr. Stephen Barrett, son of the colonel, and informed that the south bridge was taken up and guarded by the British, and that they must march round to the north bridge. In this route they had to pass by Col. Barrett's, where the British were then actually destroying public property. The company halted near the British, and Lieut. Col. Howe, anxious to join his regiment, concealed his sword under his coat, and pretending business, obtained leave of the British officer commanding that party, to pass unmolested. He had gone but a little way, when the firing at the bridge was heard, on which he turned back, offering a reason for not proceeding, and receiving an angry threat from the officer, re-
joined the Sudbury company,* and pursued the enemy in their retreat from Concord. Col. Jonathan Rice of Sudbury, now living, then a lieutenant in that company, correctly remembers and relates these things. A Mr. Plimpton of the same town, now alive, is a witness to the same facts. Two companies from Stow, commanded by Capts. Hapgood and Whitcomb, marched for Concord at 12 o'clock, passed the north bridge, and arrived at Cambridge at sunset.

We now advert to the British troops, who entered the centre of the town in two divisions; one in the main road, and the other on the hill north of the road, and from which the armed Americans had just retired. Their first act of violence was to cut down the liberty pole, which afterwards they burnt with the carriages of the cannon and other public property.

Immediately after entering the village, six companies, under captains Parsons and Lowrie, were sent to the north bridge, and a party to the south bridge under Capt. Pole. Their object was, doubtless, to prevent the entrance of people into the town, while they were carrying on the work of destruction which they had hastily commenced. Public stores and implements of war being deposited at Col. Barrett’s, three companies commanded by Capt. Parsons, marched over the bridge, and on to Col. Barrett’s. It is highly probable they meant to take the colonel and carry

* In that company was a Dea. Josiah Haynes, 80 years of age. He was urgent to attack the British at the south bridge, to dislodge them, and march into the village. This is a specimen of the spirit and feelings of the people. He pursued with ardor to Lexington, and there was killed by a musket ball.
him a prisoner to Boston; for he was known by Gov. Gage and the royal party to be a public officer and an influential character in the cause of liberty.

After the military companies had taken a stand on the hill, as above mentioned, Col. Barrett immediately rode home, gave directions to his family, and left them without telling them where he was going. Apprehensive that the British would seize him, if they had an opportunity, he took a back way, and returned to his brethren in arms. By this method he avoided meeting the British, and his family could give them no account of him.

The British troops were very expeditious in destroying all the public stores they could find. A considerable quantity of flour was stored in the malt house of Mr. Ebenezer Hubbard. They beat off the boards of one end of the house, rolled down the barrels, dashed them in pieces, and scattered the flour in the street. At a store house of Capt. Timothy Wheeler, there was also a quantity of flour, which was saved by the following artifice. By the side of the barrels two bags of meal were placed, which were the property of Capt. Wheeler. The British were about to break open the store, but Capt. W. readily produced the key and opened the door. On being sternly interrogated, whether that flour was public property, Capt. Wheeler, standing by the bags, replied, "Gentlemen, I am a miller, and declare to you, that every gill of this is mine," at the same instant striking his hand on the bags of meal. Upon this they left him in quiet possession of the whole quantity of flour. At a grist mill near by, a number of barrels were found,
which they threw into the mill-pond; a part of which was saved afterwards, though considerably damaged. About this time, the British set fire to the courthouse, which was near to a number of buildings, and among them the house of widow Moulton. On seeing the fire, she ran out and remonstrated, and obtained both a hearing and assistance to bring water and extinguish the fire.

While in the village the British seized and abused several persons, aged men, who were not armed. Among them was Dea. Thomas Barrett, brother of the Col. In his buildings there was a gun factory, carried on by his son, Mr. Samuel Barrett, and men employed by him. The Deacon was a man noted for his piety and goodness, and for his mildness of disposition. Not appearing terrified or insulting, he began seriously to remonstrate against their violence, and the unkind treatment of the mother country against her colonies. When they threatened to kill him as a rebel, he calmly said, they would do better to save themselves that trouble, for he was old and should soon die of himself. Upon which they replied, “Well, old dada, you may go in peace.”

By the time the British had collected, burnt, and otherwise destroyed the carriages of cannon, public stores, the liberty pole, and spiked several cannon which they found, and thrown cannon balls into the mill-pond, the firing took place at the north bridge, which immediately drew their anxious attention to that quarter.

The British troops, which went on to Col. Barrett’s, found and burnt a number of carriages for cannon,
and other implements of war. The soldiers were hungry and thirsty; and here, as at other places in town, when disbanded, they requested supplies. The officers very politely offered to pay Mrs. Barrett for victuals and drink, but she refused pay, saying, "we are commanded to feed our enemy, if he hunger." They assured her of good treatment, but said they must search her house and should destroy public stores. Mrs. Barrett had concealed the small articles that belong to cannon, with musket balls, flints, cutlasses, &c. in casks in the garrett, and had put over them a quantity of feathers which prevented discovery. On seeing a son of Col. Barrett, the officers demanded his name. Being answered, Barrett, they called him a rebel, and taking hold of him, said, "you must go to Boston with us." Mrs. Barrett spoke and said, "he is my son, and not the master of the house."—Upon this they released him. Another son was there, viz. the late James Barrett Esq., but being lame and inactive at that time, did not so much attract their attention. They were about to burn the devoted articles, carriages, &c. so near the barn as to endanger it. Observing this, Mrs. Barrett went out to them, and reminded the officers of their promise not to injure private property. They promptly ordered the articles to be carried into the street, where they were consumed.

The party of regulars at the north bridge were, for a little time, dispersed about; and some of them went into the houses that were near, and procured food and drink, which were generally given them from fear, if not from kindness.

In the mean time, the number of armed Americans
was augmented, and they had marched to the high land near the north bridge, at the north west of it. From this station, the centre of the town was in fair view, and the British at the bridge were before their eyes and within gunshot. Here the military companies formed; and when in this position, Capt. Davis of Acton arrived, and brought on his company; and passing by the other companies, took the right of the whole, which placed him nearest to the bridge, and in front, when they marched towards the enemy.

About four hundred and fifty armed men being collected, the military officers then present, with some respectable volunteers and citizens, having confidence in the patriotism and courage of the men in arms, and trusting in Divine Providence, there held a Council of war—a council the most interesting and pregnant with events, perhaps, that was ever held. It was not indeed precisely according to the rules of a regular army;—it was a council composed of military officers, volunteers and citizens, the proprietors of the soil, the substantial yeomanry of the then province. That council, with minds and hearts full of the great occasion of assembling, having directly before them a body of British soldiers, at the bridge, stationed there to oppose their entrance into their own village; knowing that a detachment of regulars had gone over the bridge to Col. Barrett's, where public stores were deposited; not having heard that blood was shed at Lexington, but only that there had been firing; seeing the smoke rising in the centre of the town, and the proud banners of the invading troops of the mother country there waving; the women and children either flying, or in a
state of terror and anguish not easily described; feeling that it was a case of extremity, a question of life or death, of freedom or slavery; and conscious that the halter would follow ineffectual resistance; in that solemn and appalling situation, enough to "try men's souls;" that council of sober, intelligent, high minded patriots consulted, determined, and resolved to live free or die—resolved "to march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt."*—They resolved also, that they would do no violence, unless violently opposed; that not a gun should be fired by an American, unless fired upon by the British.—They acted upon principle, and in the fear of God.—Capt. Miles, afterwards, said to one of us, that "he went to the services of the day with the same seriousness and acknowledgment of God which he carried to church." And we have no doubt, he expressed the sentiments and feelings of many who were engaged in the bloody scenes of that memorable day. Indeed it was a sentiment that pervaded the great body of the people. The happy effects and vast consequences of their high and noble resolution, are beyond all calculation. There the sentiments and feelings of the people were brought to a point,—the point of forcible resistance. Their minds had been long agitated and their feelings insulted. They had marked the oppressive measures of Great Britain, and now saw violence and destruction actually begun by her troops. Forbearance was no longer a virtue. The moment had arrived—the die must be cast—and they came to a glorious

* Major Buttrick and Capt. Davis used this expression, as numbers testify;—an expression which many thought and acted out.
decision. To that result we may trace not only the American revolution, but the existence and progress of civil liberty and national freedom in various parts of the world. Where that great council was held, the spot, the site of ground, appears to us little less than holy, and really consecrated by Heaven to the cause of liberty and the rights of man. And, we trust, it will never cease to remind succeeding generations of what their fathers bravely resolved and achieved, and what the Almighty wonderfully performed for them and their posterity. When the scenes of that day, and the situation of the principal actors are distinctly recollected, we admire and venerate the character and conduct of those patriots, and we delight to honor and perpetuate their memory.

It is impossible, at this period, to do impartial justice to all the officers, soldiers, and citizens at that time assembled. The officers were of course the most known and conspicuous, and their names are transmitted to posterity with honor. But there were subalterns, privates, and volunteer citizens, whose patriotism and bravery, on that day of deep interest and high consideration, covered them with honor, and merit the unceasing gratitude of their country.

It may gratify the reader to know the geography of the field of action before we describe the action itself. From the station of the armed Americans on the high land, the direction of the road was southwardly till it met the road leading over the bridge. At this point, on the left bank of the river, the road to the bridge turned northeasterly, so that the point, or angle of the roads, the bridge, and the high land
form an angle of nearly equal sides. The course of
the river through the town is serpentine. A few rods
above the bridge, the river turns to the north, and
soon again to the east, about one hundred rods below
the bridge.

The Americans being ready and determined to
move on towards the bridge, orders were renewed by
the officers not to fire nor give any needless provoca-
tion, unless fired upon by the British; to which all
assented. Col. Barrett* then gave orders to march,
and directed Maj. John Buttrick to take the com-
mand and to lead the companies. He was accompani-
ied by the heroic Col. Robinson, who was a volunteer
and belonged to a regiment of which the gallant
Prescott of Pepperell was first colonel. Capt. Da-
tis followed them with his company, then Capt.

* The following is the deposition of Col. Barrett, given before the
Committee of the Provincial Congress:

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

"I, James Barrett of Concord, Colonel of a regiment of militia in
the county of Middlesex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morn-
ing last, about day-break, I was informed of the approach of a number
of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some mag-
azines belonging to the province, and where there was assembled some
of the militia of that and the neighboring towns, when I ordered them
to march to the north bridge and pass the same, but not to fire on the
king’s troops unless they were fired upon. We advanced near said
bridge, when the said troops fired upon our militia and killed two men
upon the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing
of guns in the town of Concord. My detachment then returned the
fire, which killed and wounded several of the king’s troops.

JAMES BARRETT."

Sworn to before WILLIAM REED,
JOHN HASTINGS,
DUNCAN INGRAM,

Justices of the Peace

Col. Barrett died suddenly April 11, 1779, aged 69.
David Brown, and Capt. Charles Miles with their companies. Capt. Nathan Barrett next followed with his militia company. The captains from Lincoln and Bedford above named, fell in under the direction of Col. Barrett, who continued on horseback, in the rear, giving directions to the armed men collecting and momentally increasing in number. The precise position of every officer and company, and parts of companies, cannot now be perfectly known. The forward companies became more noticeable.

It may not be amiss to remark, that the situation of Maj. Buttrick, as it was more dangerous and important, has gained him distinguished celebrity and honor. But this ought never to operate as an eclipse upon any other officer on that occasion. There is satisfactory evidence, that on the march to meet the enemy, Maj. Buttrick requested Col. Robinson to act as his superior, he being an older man, and of higher rank in another regiment. But he modestly declined, and consented to march at the right hand and be considered a volunteer. The late Col. John Buttrick, then a fifer, repeatedly affirmed that he was present and heard the conversation between his father and Col. Robinson. This is here particularly mentioned, because there have been entertained erroneous opinions on the subject.

The Americans commenced their march in double file. The British observing their motions, hastily formed on the east side of the river. When the Americans passed the angle near the river, the British began to take up the planks of the bridge; against which Maj. Buttrick remonstrated in an elevated
voice, and ordered a quicker step of his soldiers. On his the British desisted from injury to the bridge, convinced, no doubt, that the Americans were determined and able to pass the bridge. At that moment two or three guns, in quick succession, were fired into the river on the right of the Americans, who considered them as alarm guns, and not aimed at them. In a minute or two, the Americans being in quick motion, and within ten or fifteen rods of the bridge, a single gun was fired by a British soldier, which marked its way, passing under Col. Robinson's arm, slightly wounding the side of Luther Blanchard, a fifer in the Acton company. This gun was instantly followed by a volley, which killed Capt. Davis* and Mr. Hosmer, both of the same company. On seeing this, as quickly as possible, Maj. Buttrick leaped from the ground, and partly turning to his men, exclaimed, "Fire, fellow-soldiers, for God's sake fire." Mr. Tilly Buttrick, a respectable man now living, stood near the Major, and is positive that he distinctly heard the words and saw the motions of the speaker. He was in front of Capt. Brown's company. No sooner were the words uttered, than the word fire ran like electricity through the whole line of the Americans, extending to the high land from whence they had marched; and for a few seconds, the word fire, fire, was heard from hundreds of mouths. The order of Maj. Buttrick was instantly obeyed. Two of the British were killed and several wounded. The firing

* Capt. Davis was 30 years old, and left a wife and five children. His widow has since been twice married, and now lives a widow in Acton!
on each side lasted but a minute or two. The British immediately retreated. When the Americans had fired, most of the forward companies leaped over a wall on their left, and fired from behind it. Military order and regularity of proceeding were soon after broken up. A part of the Americans rushed over the bridge, and pursued the British till they saw a large reinforcement advancing, when they turned to the left, and ascended a hill east of the main road; and a part returned to the high ground, conveying and taking care of the dead.

While the Americans were retreating and scattered on the heights, the British troops which had gone to Col. Barrett's, returned unmolested and joined their main body. When they saw two of their fellow soldiers dead, near the bridge, they appeared to be very much alarmed, and ran with great speed. It was a sight evidently unexpected to them, and led them to anticipate the danger and blood-shed that followed. Their conduct was observed by the Rev. Mr. Emerson and his family, who had witnessed the whole tragical scene from the windows of his house near the battle ground.

A few minutes after the fight at the bridge, a guard of British troops, stationed near the place where they first entered the village, saw a man riding briskly towards them, whom they sharply eyed. This man was Mr. Abel Prescott who had been to give intelligence to the inhabitants of Sudbury, and was returning to his father's, the late Doct. Abel Prescott. Perceiving that he was watched, and that by pressing forward he should be likely to fall into their
bands, he turned his horse about, on which they fired upon him, and wounded him in one arm. He rode directly to the house of Mrs. Heywood, who with her son-in-law, now the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and living witness of this affair, quickly attended to his wound. But observing the British advancing to the house, Mrs. Heywood, an aged lady, and her son-in-law left it, and sought a place of greater safety.—Mr. Prescott ran up stairs and concealed himself in a dark place, behind the chimney and a dry cask. He heard them searching for him and uttering bitter threats, but they did not find him.

While this party of the enemy were at this house, they observed a number of Americans running across lots towards a barn. At these men several guns were fired, but without effect.

Some persons, it is quite possible, may judge these things too trivial to be here recorded. But it appears to us that scarcely any event or circumstance relating to the conduct of the British or Americans, on that day, can be viewed uninteresting. We wish to place the scenes of the day before the present and future generations precisely as they existed.

After the fight the British hastily collected their scattered parties, and commenced their retreat nearly at 12 o'clock. They took a horse and chaise and some blankets from Mr. Reuben Brown, to convey, as is believed, a wounded officer, Lieut. Potter. The horse and chaise were left at West Cambridge, where the officer was left a prisoner, and received kind attentions from a number of American gentlemen.

The bloody conflict at the bridge being over, and
the Americans fatigued and hungry, having had no regular, if any breakfast, many of them improved this interval to take refreshment. Mr. Thaxter went to the house of the Rev. Mr. Emerson. The former gentleman was then a candidate for the ministry, and late the reverend and venerable pastor of a church at Edgerton, Martha’s Vineyard. He was then preaching at Westford, and accompanied Col. Robinson that morning, and was an eye witness of the fight, and of the retreat and pursuit. He was an ardent patriot, and he lived to realize the happy fruits of patriotic zeal and love of liberty.

After a little respite, Col. Barrett and others rallied and encouraged their armed brethren to pursue their retreating enemy.* Being recovered from the shock at first occasioned by the novel and bloody scene, they engaged in this service with ardor and spirits heightenened by the violence and bloody action they had witnessed. Most of the armed Americans took a nearer route across the fields, and overtook the enemy as they passed the road from Bedford. There they met a body of minute men, commanded by Maj. John Brooks, late governor, whose Col. was the late Gen. Ebenezer Bridge of Chelmsford, and who had previously joined the pursuing Americans. Col. William Thompson of Billerica, with a body of militia from that town and vicinity, came up to the contest on the Bedford road, a few minutes after Maj.

* The two British soldiers killed at the bridge were buried near the spot where they fell, both in one grave. Two rough stones mark the spot where they were laid. Their names were unknown. Several others were buried in the middle of the town, by the British.
Brooks, and was brave and efficient in pursuit. About this period and place, the company from East Sudbury and individuals in that quarter, came up to the attack on the south side of the road. A little below the Bedford road, on Merriam's corner, so called, there was a sharp action, and several of the British were killed. The enemy faced about and made a stand, but soon resumed their march of retreat. The late Rev. Edmund Foster of Littleton was a volunteer from Reading, and accompanied Maj. Brooks, and was personally and warmly engaged in the conflicts of the afternoon. His narrative is interesting, and the principal part of it is in the following pages.

After the action above mentioned, little more was done by fighting, until the enemy had reached the high land in Lincoln. At that place there was a large bend in the road towards the north, and a grove of great trees on the west, and high bushes on the east, and stone walls in every direction. The Americans had run singly across the meadows and concealed themselves behind the walls and trees. On the east side of the road there were many in ambush. In this situation the Americans poured a deadly fire upon the British. Near the close of this action, and a little farther on, Capt. Wilson and a number with him, who had taken a stand behind a barn, were killed by the flank guard of the enemy. From this time, there was a general though not entire cessation of firing, until the enemy had entered the bounds of Lexington, when Capt. Parker's company attacked the British from the woods on the south of the road. When the enemy were rising Fiske's hill in the west part of Lexington, they were
very hardly pressed, the Americans having run forward and placed themselves advantageously behind trees and fences. The British faced about, and a very spirited and bloody contest ensued. Here Maj. Pitcairn was wounded and unhorsed: his horse, pistols, &c. were taken.* At this place, a considerable number were killed and wounded on both sides, but chiefly on the side of the British. They were more exposed and more compact; and it is wonderful that a greater number were not killed and wounded. Here we adduce the account of the Rev. Mr. Foster, who was present at the place, and personally engaged. This will confirm the preceding narrative, and substantiate facts in the further retreat of the enemy. In a letter to Col. Daniel Shattuck of Concord, dated, Littleton March 10th 1825, he wrote as follows:

"On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, just at sunrise, Alarm Guns were fired, which were quickly followed by a Post bringing news, that the Regulars as they expressed it, had gone to Concord. I ran directly to Maj. Brooks, late governor—asked if he were going to Concord, and when. Immediately, was the answer. I borrowed accoutrements, and we set off together for Concord. The militia company of Reading marched on at the same time, under the command of Capt. Bachelder. We rendezvoused near the middle of the town of Bedford; left horses, and marched forward in pursuit of the enemy. A little before we came to Merriam's hill, we discovered the enemy's

* The horse was taken to Concord and sold at Auction. Capt. Nathan Barrett bought the pistols, and afterwards offered them to Gen. Washington, but he not accepting them, they were given to Gen. Putnam.
flank guard, of about 80 or 100 men, who, on their re-
treat from Concord, kept that height of land, the main
body in the road. The British troops and the Ameri-
cans,* at that time, were equally distant from Merri-
ham's corner. About twenty rods short of that place,
the Americans made a halt. The British marched
down the hill with very slow, but steady step, without
music, or a word being spoken that could be heard.
Silence reigned on both sides. As soon as the Brit-
ish had gained the main road,† and passed a small
bridge near that corner, they faced about suddenly,
and fired a volley of musketry upon us. They over-
shot; and no one, to my knowledge, was injured by
the fire. The fire was immediately returned by the
Americans, and two British soldiers fell dead at a
little distance from each other, in the road near the
brook. The battle now began, and was carried on with
little or no military discipline and order, on the part
of the Americans, during the remainder of that day.
Each one sought his own place and opportunity to
attack and annoy the enemy from behind trees, rocks,
fences, and buildings, as seemed most convenient.

"The enemy retreated and were followed. We
saw a wood at a distance, which appeared to lie on
or near the road the enemy must pass. Many leaped
over the wall and made for that wood. We arrived
just in time to meet the enemy. There was then, on
the opposite side of the road, a young growth of wood

* Here he must mean those Americans with Maj. Brooks, and
perhaps, Col. Thompson. Those in the fight had scarcely arrived, and
were west of the enemy.
† When the large flank guard had joined the main body in the road.
well filled with Americans. The enemy was now completely between two fires, renewed and briskly kept up. They ordered out a flank guard on the left to dislodge the Americans from their posts behind large trees: but they only became a better mark to be shot at. A short but sharp contest ensued, at which the enemy received more deadly injury, than at any one place from Concord to Charlestown. Eight or more of their number were killed on the spot, and no doubt, many wounded.*

"The enemy soon retreated under a scattering fire, in which one of their musicians fell. About mid-way of the plain in Lincoln, they left in the road one of their soldiers badly wounded. When we had advanced near to Benjamin's tavern, a man rode up on horse back, but unarmed. The enemy were then passing round the hill just below the tavern. They had posted a small body of their troops on the north side of the hill, which fired upon us. The horse and his rider fell instantly to the ground; the horse died immediately, but the man received no injury. We were quickly at the spot, from which we returned the fire. The enemy were then rising and passing over Fiske's hill. An officer, mounted on an elegant horse, and with a drawn sword in his hand, was riding backwards and forwards, commanding and urging on the British troops. A number of Americans behind a pile of rails, raised their guns and fired with deadly effect. The officer fell, and the horse took

* This action took place on the old road north of the school-house below Patch's tavern. Eight of these British soldiers were buried in Lincoln burying ground.
fright, leaped the wall, and ran directly towards those who had killed his rider.* The enemy discharged their musketry in that direction, but their fire took no effect.

"At the next house, a British soldier and an American met each other suddenly face to face. Both presented their guns and fired at the same instant. The fire of both took a deadly effect.† In some old buildings beyond Thaddeus Reed’s, two or three wounded British soldiers were lodged. The fire on the enemy now came from all directions. At the bottom of the next hill, and near the Lexington almshouse, a British soldier was wounded." By Mr. Foster’s account, he saved the life of this soldier, and humanely assisted in conveying him and two other Britons badly wounded, to Buckman’s, now Merriam’s tavern, where proper care was taken of them. "Now lord Percy came up with a reinforcement of one thousand men and two pieces of artillery, united with the troops from Concord, and took post on the high grounds a little distant from Col. Munroe’s. Here for a while was a cessation of arms, excepting that the British occasionally fired their field pieces on us." The Rev. gentleman goes on to mention a number of facts too well known to need repeating; such as the burning of several buildings by the British—the Americans taking refreshment—

* We suppose Maj. Pitcairn was the officer, who was only wounded, having his arm broken.

† The American was Mr. Hayward of Acton. The British had been plundering, and had just left the house as Hayward came upon him.
the manner in which they were supplied by the citizens in the several towns who did not bear arms—the passing of a cannon ball through the Lexington church—the beating to arms again—the renewal of the retreat of the British, and of the pursuit of the Americans, &c. He relates a feat of his, with two others, very much to his credit in taking a prisoner, who was shot through the body, but recovered. He continues: "this transaction put me so far in the rear, that though I pursued, I did not come up with the main body. After the British forces left Lexington, they were met and mostly opposed by men from the lower towns, and some from the county of Essex. The company from Danvers, unacquainted with military movements, was caught, somewhere, in West Cambridge, between the flank guard and the main body of the enemy, and lost eight of their number, and several more were severely wounded. This transaction I did not witness, but was correctly informed of it. At Snows', now Davenport's tavern in Cambridge, one of the enemy lay dead by the road, and directly opposite, one of our best men, Maj. Gardner of Brookline, was killed, and his death much lamented.

"Being now sufficiently weary, I took shelter, (not lodgings, for the furniture was all carried off) in Snow's tavern for the night.

"Though almost half a century has elapsed since these events took place, yet my memory has been refreshed with them as often as I have passed by the places where the deeds were done, and therefore have now as perfect a knowledge of them as though they had been the works of yesterday."
With the most ardent wishes for the prosperity of the American Independence, which I have lived to see established, and for many years have participated in; and with personal respect for yourself, I subscribe, your friend and fellow-citizen, EDMUND FOSTER.

None of the inhabitants of Concord were killed in the pursuit of the enemy, and very few were wounded. Capt. C. Miles was injured in one hand by a musket ball, and Capt. Nathan Barrett slightly wounded.

To substantiate the many facts and circumstances brought to view in this narrative, we might adduce many living witnesses, but we deem it unnecessary. We might also avail ourselves of this publication, to take a conspicuous stand in respect to patriotic spirit, services, and sacrifices; and we doubt not our records would justify our pretensions. But this might appear ostentatious in the view of many persons, and like seeking pre-eminence among equals. All the towns in the county deserved well of their country, and exhibited their patriotism as occasion required. Some old people believe that more hardships were endured, more losses sustained, and more sacrifices made in the revolutionary war, than the present and succeeding generations will ever fully know and appreciate.

But it is time to return to the distressing scene of blood and massacre at Lexington, on the morning of that day, the events of which we have been narrating. The circumstances of that horrid scene will be fully exhibited by numerous testimonies, while we shall
show that the firing of the British troops on the militia company of Lexington was not, that morning, returned by said company; which is one object of this publication.

We have no hesitation in expressing our full belief, that the inhabitants of Lexington, on that morning of alarm and novel excitement, conducted as honorably and bravely as any people would in like circumstances. They enjoyed one singular advantage in a time so trying, viz. the inspiring presence of two of the most distinguished leaders and politicians of that period, the Hon. John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The militia company under Capt. Parker were prompt, patriotic, and courageous to admiration. That a single company should parade, in an opposing attitude, directly in the face of nearly one thousand of the picked troops of Great Britain, places their courage and firmness beyond all controversy. Some may think they were not so wise in council, as fearless in danger—not so prudent in action, as zealous in patriotism. But while we cheerfully give them the highest praise for their courage and love of country and liberty, we deny that they returned the fire of the British at the time. We think it quite possible that the firing on the British in their retreat from Concord, and in the afternoon, in which the Lexington company were active, may have been blended, in the minds of some, with the scenes of the morning. This method and time of returning the fire of the British has been so often narrated, perhaps, without needful distinctions, that the present inhabitants may have connected the two periods, and even been wrought
into the belief that the British fire was actually returned behind the church in the morning.

We will grant that after the British had formed at the western extremity of the parade ground, and actually taken up their march towards Concord, a man, behind the tavern of Mr. Buckman, did actually discharge his gun towards the British. But this was at such a distance as to have no effect, nor even to be heard by the enemy. We will grant further that "some very few" of the militia, being in a state of high excitement and confusion, after the British had gone on their way, did fire off their guns from behind the wall, in the places of their concealment. But in our opinion this is nothing to the purpose, and does not affect the question at issue, though it gives opportunity for perplexing it. In this way we account for the testimonies, on oath, of a number of the inhabitants of Lexington, to a fact which, we believe, never existed. The reasons of our unbelief shall be assigned. To this confused and undefined state of things, we may trace the reports and publications in England and elsewhere, that the militia company of Lexington fired upon the British, on the parade, in the morning. Considering the disposition of the British, and of the Tories at that time, it is not wonderful that such reports should have been circulated, and every advantage seized upon to criminate the Americans. It is well known that Gen. Gage published an official account of the action soon after it occurred. In this account he speaks of the Americans as the aggressors,—as returning the fire, &c. It was soon after published in England, and English historians have receiv-
ed his statements as correct. Many American writers have been mere copyists of the English, and are equally erroneous. No one in this vicinity, not even the most strenuous advocate for the "battle of Lexington," believes his official account, or those taken from it, to be true.*

As to the blood said to have been seen in the street, and adduced as evidence that a Briton was wounded by the fire of an American; if blood were really seen, it is highly probable it was the blood of the dead and wounded of Capt. Parker's company, who were carried over that spot of ground into the meeting-house or tavern immediately after the British troops had marched towards Concord.†

But what trifles these are compared with the great question in dispute! Let us, however, suppose that Capt. Parker had ordered his company to return the British fire, and they had obeyed. Such a fire from nearly forty men, into a compact body of at least eight hundred, must have had great and fatal effect. Happy for Lexington they did not attempt such an unequal combat. Had the British officers supposed that guns were fired at them, there can scarcely be a doubt, the whole village would have been laid in ashes, and many of the inhabitants put to death. At that time they were haughty and self-confident, and did not suppose

* Gov. Gage seems not to believe this official account himself, for he subsequently transmitted a circumstantial account of the affair to Gov. Trumbull, in which it is said "there was no firing of the provincials till they had jumped over the wall." Notwithstanding it was the intention of the British to prove there was firing on the part of the Americans.—Historical Collections.
† See Wood's deposition in the sequel.
the Americans would really fight, as they soon witnessed to their cost and confusion.

We now proceed to adduce the reasons above promised.

The present pretensions and claims of the citizens of Lexington, respecting the *returning of the fire* of the British troops, on the morning of the 19th of April, '75, were *never made nor heard of*, until about forty-eight years after the events took place. Nothing of the kind was thought of, till very lately, by any persons in the neighbouring towns, who have lived in the vicinity of Lexington ever since the 19th of April, '75, and have heard the story often related by persons best acquainted with the facts. Several men have indeed had the impression that there was some firing by the Lexington militia; but this impression was evidently made by the facts above related, through the medium of English writers. Not a word or suggestion was heard of the returning of the fire of the British troops by the militia. *It is therefore incredible that it was a fact.*

This argument against the claims of Lexington appears to us invincible; and it is confirmed by the negative testimony of the Rev. Messrs. Clark, Cooke, Cushing, Woodward, Morrill, Cummings, and Adams, in their anniversary sermons, preached at Lexington on the occasion. They speak on the subject with high feeling and interest, but do not intimate that the militia returned the fire.* It does not appear to us possi-

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* The Rev. Mr. Clark has said something in his *Narrative*, that appears to militate with this assertion, which will be noticed in the sequel. We would that every thing should have its proper weight.
ble, that such uniform and entire silence could have been held, had they known or even believed it to be a fact, that the militia company did return the fire of the British on the spot where the massacre was perpetrated. And they must have known it, had it been a truth.

The oaths of Capt. Parker and others before the Provincial Congress, a few days after the event, contain the same negative testimony. They testify, that they did not first fire upon the British. But why not testify that they did return the British fire, as well as testify that they did not fire first, if both were true? We are aware of the manner in which they are excused for not saying more, when under oath, on the supposition they knew more, as now it is pretended.

It is well known that the British officers endeavored to apologize for their violent conduct by affirming that the Americans first fired upon them. To decide the question, Capt. Parker and others were called before the Provincial Congress, and there made oath that they did not fire upon the British troops before the British fired upon them. And they then knew perfectly well, whether they returned the fire. Was it dangerous, dishonorable, and criminal then to resist unto blood? And did this character attach to such conduct, till the war was ended, and for nearly half a century? But the inhabitants of Lexington were willing the minute men and militia of Concord and adjacent towns should sustain all the terrifying consequences of returning the fire of the British, and, for a long time, to let this pass through the world for truth.*

* Col. Barrett testified, at the time, that the fire was returned at Concord, and did not consider it "good policy to withhold the truth." See his deposition, page 25.
We shall now bring forward a number of testimonies, which tend, directly or indirectly, to prove our assertions and support our claims on the subject under consideration.

The Rev. and venerable Joseph Thaxter, chaplain at the late Bunker Hill celebration, in a letter to the Hon. John Keyes of Concord, dated Edgartown, Feb. 24, 1825, after giving an account of the battle, at the north bridge in Concord, says, "As to fighting at Lexington, when the British marched up, I never heard or knew of any, until of late. I always understood that, on the alarm, a few had collected on the north side of the meeting-house. When the British came up and fired on them, killed several, and the rest fled. It was said at the time, that they did not return the fire. Much pains was taken by the British to prove that the Americans fired first. But it was, I believe, fully proved, that they did not fire a gun. At Concord Bridge the first spark was struck. It kindled a flame that never was extinguished, till the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, which completed the glory of the United States. The present generation little know what we went through to establish our Independence. As to a monument at Concord Bridge, I feel deeply interested. Posterity ought to know the spot where the first British blood was spilt."

In the sentiments of this gentleman, we learn the opinion and full belief of, perhaps, nine tenths of his cotemporaries, who had any knowledge of the transactions and events of the 19th of April.

* In all quotations we shall endeavour to follow the punctuation, italics, capitals, &c. of the originals.—Editor.
We take this opportunity to notice and obviate an objection that has been made to an expression in the Circular of the Committee of the Bunker Hill Association. They say that the first blood was shed at Concord. Undoubtedly they meant British blood, which Mr. Thaxter expressly mentions. To understand them in this sense is rational and candid. Everybody knew that American blood was shed at Lexington, early in the morning of the day on which, a few hours after, British blood was shed at Concord. With this construction, the expression of the Committee is perfectly proper and correct.

The Rev. Joseph Estabrook of Athol, a native of Lexington, in a letter to the minister of Concord, under date of March 29th, 1826, writes as follows,—“After more than half a century, to the best of my recollection, I would inform you and others, that I stood in the ranks, on the parade, till Capt. Parker ordered us to disperse, and till the British came nigh to us, and began to fire upon us, when I left the ranks. At that time all was confusion and distress. I did not see any one of the Lexington company fire upon the British, nor was there any order for it, that I recollect, from our Captain. But from the statement of the Committee and the testimony of some worthy individuals, I believe, a few guns did return the fire on the British troops, before they left the parade, where the company was placed, on that never to be forgotten morning.” Here it is evident, the Rev. gentleman rests his belief of the firing of the militia wholly on the statements and testimonies of other persons, and those lately made, which we believe are not just. He
neither saw nor heard of any firing on the British that morning by any of the company of which he was one, nor any orders for it. But he did hear his captain order the company to disperse, and did see the British fire upon them. Gentlemen who were at College with him, and often heard him tell the story, are ready to testify that he never gave them the idea of returning the British fire.

In the narrative of the Rev. Mr. Clark, which accompanies his anniversary sermon, April 19, 1776, we find nothing that militates with our position, except his opinion of the opening of the war between Great Britain and America, and one paragraph concerning the firing of the militia. He considers the violent and murderous assault of the British troops on the militia at Lexington, as "the commencement of hostilities and the opening of the war." Taking into view the events of the day, as he sometimes does, and especially those at Concord, there is evidently truth and propriety in his opinion. But in limiting his ideas to the massacre at Lexington, we think he is far from being correct. Some persons may suppose that the horrid massacre at Boston, on the 5th of March, 1770, was the commencement of hostilities and the opening of the war. Certainly that wound was never healed, and that event very much accelerated the war. Besides, there seems to be some difficulty in forming an idea of hostility and battle, when one party only assaults; it seems like one fighting alone. A violent attack, however, may be an important step in bringing on mutual conflict. And this was really the case. The massacre at Lexington, was followed, in a few hours, by a
bloody battle at Concord. But had no outrage been committed at Lexington, the British could not have accomplished their object at Concord without meeting resistance and fighting. This is proved by the facts, that resistance unto blood was actually made, and the armed men who made it had not then heard of the murder and bloodshed at Lexington.

The paragraph in the narrative of the Rev. Mr. Clark, to which we have referred, is in the following words; “In short, so far from firing first upon the king’s troops, upon the most careful inquiry, it appears, that but very few of our people fired at all; and even they did not fire, till after being fired upon by the troops, they were wounded themselves, or saw others killed or wounded by them, and looked upon it as next to impossible for them to escape.” If we understand the Rev. gentleman, he means to give this idea, that some very few of the wounded of the militia, who despaired of escape with life, did fire. But which way they fired, and at what, and how long after the fire of the assailants, or whether the British had any knowledge of their firing, all is left wholly in the dark.—These unhappy sufferers were in a state of high excitement and anguish: “at that time all was confusion and distress;” and it is not probable they discharged their guns, if they did fire, in a manner to irritate or annoy the British. We will not inquire how Mr. Clark, who was not on the spot, should know things, of which Mr. Estabrook, who was one of the militia company, had no knowledge. From this paragraph, however, we believe, has chiefly grown the important claim of returning the fire of the British, to the exclusion of what was done at Concord bridge.
The Rev. Mr. Clark goes on to say, "one circumstance more before the brigade quitted Lexington, I beg leave to mention, as what may give a farther specimen of the spirit and character of the officers and men of this body of troops. After the militia company were dispersed and the firing ceased, the troops drew up and formed in a body on the common, fired a volley and gave three huzzas by way of triumph, and as expressive of the joy of victory and the glory of conquest!! Of this transaction I was a witness, having, at that time, a fair view of their motions, and being at the distance of not more than 70 or 80 rods from them." Our author continues—"whether this step was honorary to the detachment, or agreeable to the rules of war—or how far it was expressive of bravery, heroism, and true military glory, for 800 disciplined troops of Great Britain, without notice or provocation, to fall upon 60 or 70 undisciplined Americans, who neither opposed nor molested them, and murder some and disperse the rest, and then to give the shout and make the triumph of victory, is not for me to determine, but must be submitted to the impartial world to judge. Having thus vanquished the party at Lexington, the troops marched on for Concord," &c. A person reading such expressions and being unacquainted with the facts, might be induced to believe that there was at Lexington, that morning, a formal pitched battle. And yet some of his own words, the whole current of testimony and the substance of the narrative, give very different ideas. In Mr. Clark's sermon in '76, on the occasion he thus expresses himself;—"How shall I speak,
or how describe the distress and horror of that awful morn, that gloomy day! Yonder field can witness the innocent blood of our brethren slain! And from thence does their blood cry unto God for vengeance from the ground!" In his note on field, he says, "the field, not of battle, but of murder and bloodshed, where our men were fired upon by the troops." From this sentence, no one would ever think of a battle, or firing on both sides, but only of a cruel and horrid massacre. We will not undertake to reconcile expressions apparently so contradictory.

The monument in Lexington, erected "under the patronage and at the expense of the government of Massachusetts," expressly to commemorate the scenes and the sufferers of the morning of the 19th of April, '75, contains not a word of the returning of the fire of the British troops. Had it been a truth, and then believed, how could it have been omitted! Nothing could have been recorded more to the honor of the deceased in respect to their patriotism and courage. This monument is without date, for what reason we are unable to say. But so much is evident, it had not then been discovered, that the fire of the British was first returned at Lexington.

In confirmation of our statement and claim, we adduce farther the Inscription on the brass cannon given by the Legislature to the Artillery company of Concord. "The Legislature of Massachusetts consecrate the names of Major John Buttrick and Captain Isaac Davis, whose valor and example excited their fellow-citizens to a successful resistance of a superior number of British troops at Concord.
Bridge on the 19th of April, 1775, which was the beginning of a contest in arms, that ended in American Independence.” This inscription, it is believed on good evidence, was written by a distinguished patriot of that period, and approved by the Legislature. Will any one pretend there was a design to misrepresent facts?

The inscription on the grave-stone of Col. John Buttrick is also to our purpose. That part of it which was written by the late governor Sullivan is thus;—“In memory of Col. John Buttrick, who commanded the militia companies who made the first attack upon the British troops at Concord North Bridge, on the 19th of April, 1775. Having with patriotic firmness shared in the dangers which led to the American Independence, he lived to enjoy the blessings of it, and died May 16th, 1791, aged 60 years.” What could have induced governor Sullivan to propose and prepare such an inscription, if he did not then fully believe that the first return of the British fire was at Concord Bridge? There appears to have been but one opinion on the subject for almost half a century; except those above recognized, which were chiefly foreign, and for the existence of which we have accounted.

As late as 1818, Worcester's United States Gazetteer, under Concord, Mass. has these words;—“In this town (Concord) the Provincial Congress met in 1774; and here was made the first resistance to the British, on the 19th of April, 1775.”

Nathan Brooks, Esq. of Concord, affirms that, in years past, he has repeatedly heard Col. William
Munroe, of Lexington, relate the transactions of the 19th of April, '75, in that town; and that he never gave him the idea of resistance and firing by the militia. Had the colonel known at the time that they did return the British fire, how is it possible that it should have gone entirely from his mind for more than forty-eight years, and then come to him clear and plain, that some of the militia did return the fire of the British troops?

The Hon. Samuel Hoar, of Lincoln, who has lived near Lexington all his days, and was at the fight in Concord, has often said that he never heard of any firing on the British, at Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, '75, until within two or three years. How could a man of his opportunities, information, and character have been kept in ignorance so long, had it been a fact that the British fire was returned by the militia of Lexington, as is now pretended!

The present aged clergyman of Concord was, at that time, a member of the University at Cambridge, and was at Concord, while the College was there, and has had the charge of that people since Nov. 1778, and often heard related the interesting events, at Concord and Lexington, by persons who were actors and witnesses of them; and he affirms “that he never heard of the returning of the British fire at Lexington, or the firing of any guns by the militia, when the British troops came up in the morning, until of late; but he always understood that the first return of the British fire was at Concord north bridge.” And this is the light in which the late secretary Bradford views the subject in his history of Massashu-
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setts, who, doubtless, obtained his information from records and documents in his office.

The affidavits of a number of respectable gentlemen are as follows, viz.

"I, John Richardson, of Newton, in the county of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of lawful age, do testify and say, that I was at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775; that no mention was then made, in my hearing, of the Americans having fired upon the British, on the morning of that day, at Lexington;—that I have been personally acquainted with the people of Lexington from that day to the present time;—that the events of the morning of that day at Lexington were the constant topic of conversation for a long time after;—that I frequently heard individuals who were of Capt. Parker's company relate the events of that morning, and never heard that Capt. Parker's company, or any individual in it, fired upon the British on the morning of that day, until the visit of General Lafayette to this country in 1825, with the exception of one gun, which was said to have been fired by Solomon Brown, while standing in the back kitchen of the tavern, then owned by Buckman, now Meriam, as the British were passing on towards Concord. John Richardson."

Middlesex ss. June 25th, 1827. Then personally appeared the above named John Richardson and made oath that the above affidavit by him subscribed is true.

Before me, Nathan Brooks, Justice of the Peace.

"I, Samuel Hartwell, of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of lawful age, do testify and say, that I have been acquainted with the inhabitants of Lexington, and particularly with many who were of Capt. Parker's company on the 19th of April, 1775, to the present time, and for many years from said time had frequent conversations with people of Lexington concerning the events of the morning of that day at Lexington, and do not recollect that any of the people of Lexington ever stated or pretended, that there was any firing by Capt. Parker's company on the British, on the morning of that day, until within a few years since, except the firing of one gun, after the British had turned and were passing off the common. Samuel Hartwell."

Middlesex ss. July 19th, 1827. Then the abovennamed Samuel Hartwell personally appeared and made oath, that the above affidavit by him subscribed is true.

Before me, Nathan Brooks, Justice of the Peace.
Robert Douglass, of Portland, in the county of Cumberland in the State of Maine, aged sixty eight years,—do testify and say, that on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, I was at my father's house in Woburn, in the county of Middlesex and colony of Massachusetts Bay. On that morning, about one hour before day-break, a man rode up to my father's door, knocked loudly, and said "there is an alarm,—the British are coming out, and if there is any soldier in the house, he must turn out and repair to Lexington as soon as possible." Who that man was I never knew. I immediately arose, took my gun and equipments, and started for Lexington. In going by Deacon Obediah Kendall's house, (about half a mile from my father's) I saw a light, and went into the house; I there found a Mr. Sylvanus Wood nearly ready to go; we then went to Lexington together, where we arrived about half an hour before sun rise; we went into Buckman's tavern and inquired the news about the alarm. Some said the British were coming, others said they were not coming. In about fifteen minutes after we entered the tavern, a person came to the door, and said the British were within half a mile. I then heard an officer (who I afterwards learned was Capt. Parker) call his drummer and order him to beat to arms. I paraded with the Lexington company between the meeting house and the tavern, and then marched to the common, near the road that leads to Bedford, there we were ordered to load our guns. Some of the company observed, "there are so few of us, it would be folly to stand here." Capt. Parker replied, "the first man who offers to run shall be shot down." The British soon came in sight, with a field officer in front, having his sword drawn;—the British troops then gave three cheers and ran towards us. The Lexington company began to break off on the left wing, and soon all dispersed. I think no American was killed or wounded by the first fire of the British, unless Capt. Parker might have been. No one of Capt. Parker's company fired on the British, to my knowledge, that morning, and I think I should have known it, had they fired. I knew but two men of Lexington company, and I never heard any person say that the Americans fired on the British that morning at Lexington.

After the British marched toward Concord, I saw eight men who had been killed, among whom were Capt. Parker and a Mr. Porter of Woburn.

Robert Douglass.

Cumberland ss. May 3d, 1827. Then the above named Robert Douglass personally appeared, and subscribed and made oath to the truth of the above written affidavit.

Before me, Josiah Pierce, Jr. Justice of the Peace.

*It is presumed the witness meant Jonas Parker, as the Captain was not killed.
Mr. Douglass was a major in the regiment to which Woburn belonged in 1791, and is now a respectable and intelligent citizen of Portland.

"I, Sylvanus Wood, of Woburn, in the county of Middlesex, and commonwealth of Massachusetts, aged seventy-four years, do testify and say, that on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, I was an inhabitant of Woburn, living with Deacon Obediah Kendall; that about an hour before the break of day on said morning, I heard the Lexington bell ring, and fearing there was difficulty there, I immediately arose, took my gun, and with Robert Douglass went in haste to Lexington, which was about three miles distant. When I arrived there, I inquired of Capt. Parker, the commander of the Lexington company, what was the news. Parker told me he did not know what to believe, for a man had come up about half an hour before, and informed him that the British troops were not on the road. But while we were talking, a messenger came up and told the Captain that the British troops were within half a mile. Parker immediately turned to his drummer, William Diman, and ordered him to beat to arms,—which was done. Capt. Parker then asked me if I would parade with his company. I told him I would. Parker then asked me if the young man with me would parade. I spoke to Douglass, and he said he would follow the captain and me. By this time many of the company had gathered around the captain at the hearing of the drum, where we stood, which was about half way between the meeting-house and Buckman's tavern. Parker says to his men, 'every man of you, who is equipped, follow me—and hose of you, who are not equipped, go into the meeting-house, and furnish yourselves from the magazine, and immediately join the company.' Parker led those of us who were equipped to the north end of Lexington Common, near the Bedford road, and formed us in single file. I was stationed about in the centre of the company. While we were standing, I left my place, and went from one end of the company to the other, and counted every man who was paraded, and the whole number was thirty-eight and no more. Just as I had finished and got back to my place, I perceived the British troops had arrived on the pot, between the meeting-house and Buckman’s, near where Capt. Parker stood when he first led off his men. The British troops immediately wheeled so as to cut off those, who had gone into the meeting-house. The British troops approached us rapidly in platoons, with a General officer on horse-back at their head. The officer came up to —

*This does not include those who went into the meeting-house and were "cut off."
within about two rods of the centre of the company, where I stood. —
The first platoon being about three rods distant. They there halted.
The officer then swung his sword, and said, "Lay down your arms
you damn'd rebels, or you are all dead men—fire." Some guns were
fired by the British at us from the first platoon, but no person was kil­
led or hurt, being probably charged only with powder. Just at this
time, Capt. Parker ordered every man to take care of himself. The
company immediately dispersed; and while the company was disper­
sing and leaping over the wall, the second platoon of the British fired
and killed some of our men. There was not a gun fired by any of
Capt. Parker's company within my knowledge. I was so situated that
I must have known it, had any thing of the kind taken place, before a
total dispersion of our company. I have been intimately acquainted
with the inhabitants of Lexington, and particularly with those of Capt.
Parker's company, and with one exception, I have never heard any of
them say or pretend that there was any firing at the British from Par­
er's company, or any individual in it, until within a year or two.—
One member of the company told me, many years since, that after
Parker's company had dispersed, and he was at some distance, he gave
them "the guts of his gun."

"After the British had begun their march to Concord, I returned
to the common, and found Robert Roe and Jonas Parker lying dead at
the north corner of the common, near the Bedford road, and others
dead and wounded. I assisted in carrying the dead into the meeting­
house. I then proceeded towards Concord with my gun, and when I
came near the tavern in Lexington, now kept by Mr. Viles, I saw a
British soldier seated on the bank by the road. I went to him with my
gun in readiness to fire, if he should offer to resist. I took his gun,
cutlass, and equipments from him. I then proceeded with him towards
Lexington—and meeting a Mr. Welch and another person, I delivered
the prisoner to them.

"After Welch arrived in Lexington with the prisoner, I understood
that another prisoner was taken by Mr. John Flagg, and that they
were conducted to Burlington, and put under the care of Capt. James
Reed. I believe that the soldier who surrendered his gun to me was
the first prisoner taken by the Americans on that day.

SYLVANUS WOOD."

Middlesex, ss. June 17th, 1826. Then the above named Sylvanus
Wood personally appeared, and subscribed and made oath to the fore­
going affidavit.

Before me, NATHAN BROOKS, Justice of the Peace.
The taking of British prisoners has been mentioned some as evidence of a battle at Lexington in the morning. We firmly believe that not one was captured, that morning, when fighting or making any resistance. All who were taken at Lexington, in the morning, were willing captives. They designedly separated themselves from their companions, in order to be taken. They preferred this method to desertion, which would be attended with danger. One of the prisoners, who lived and died in Concord, informed one of us, that he got away from the British, that day, in such a manner.

We come now to the affidavits and depositions of a large number of men before the Provincial Congress, then sitting in Watertown, relative to the events and circumstances of the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. These depositions were all given under oath.

We first adduce Capt. Parker's testimony, the whole of it, which is very concise. Of the other testimonies we shall cite only such parts as affect the question at issue.

"I, John Parker, of lawful age, and Commander of the Militia in Lexington, do testify and declare, that on the 19th instant, in the Morning, about One of the Clock, being informed that there were a number of Regular Officers riding up and down the Road, stopping and insulting the People as they passed the Road; and also was informed, that a Number of Regular Troops were on their March from Boston, in order to take the Province Stores at Concord; ordered our Militia to meet on the Common in said Lexington, to consult what to do, and concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with said Regular Troops (if they should approach) unless they should insult or molest us, and upon their sudden approach, I immediately ordered our Militia to disperse and not to fire; immediately said troops made their appearance and rushed furiously, fired upon and killed Eight of our party, without receiving any Provocation therefor from us."

Lexington, April 25, 1775.
Elijah Saunders testifies, "That after orders were given to fire by the British officers, immediately the Regulars shouted aloud, ran and fired on the Lexington company, which did not fire a Gun before the Regulars discharged on them. Eight of the Lexington company were killed, while they were dispersing, and at a considerable distance from each other, and many wounded,—and although a Spec-tator, I narrowly escaped with my life."

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

Thomas Prince Willard testifies, "that the Regulars ran till they came within about eight or nine rods of about an Hundred of the Militia of said Lexington, who were collected on said Common, at which Time the Militia of said Lexington dispersed, then the Officers made a Huzza, and the private Soldiers succeeded them. Directly after this an Officer rode before the Regulars to the other Side of the body and hallooed after the Militia of said Lexington, and said, 'lay down your Arms, damn you, why don’t you lay down your Arms.'—And that there was not a Gun fired till the Militia of said Lexington were dispersed; and further saith not."

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We Levi Mead and Levi Harrington, both of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, and of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the 19th of April, being on Lexington common as spectators, we saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company; and some of the regulars on horses, whom we took to be officers, fired a pistol or two on the Lexington company which were then dispersing. These were the first guns that were fired, and they were immediately followed by several volleys from the regulars, by which eight of our men, belonging to said company were killed, and several wounded.

Sworn to by (LEVI MEAD),
(LEVI HARRINGTON.)

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

Nathaniel Mulliken and thirty-three others,—"We further testify and declare, that about 8 o’clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the Parade, and soon found that a large body of troops were marching towards us, some of our company coming up to the Parade, and others had reached it; at which Time the company began to disperse, whilst our Backs were turned on the Troops, we were fired on by them, and a number of our Men were instantly killed and wounded—not a Gun was fired by any Person in our company on the Regulars, to our knowledge, before they fired on us, and they continued firing until we had all made our escape."

Lexington, April, 1775.
The next deposition is by fourteen persons, and as follows:—“We further testify and say, that about 5 o’clock in the morning we attended the beat of our drum, and were formed on the Parade—we were faced towards the regulars, then marching up towards us, and some of our company were coming to the Parade with their backs towards the troops; and others on the parade began to disperse, when the regulars fired on the company, before a gun was fired by any of our company, on them; they killed eight of our company, and wounded several, and continued their fire until we had all made our escape.”

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

Timothy Smith, at the same date, testifies;—“I saw a large body of troops marching up towards the Lexington company then dispersing, and likewise saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company before the latter fired a gun; I immediately ran, and a volley was discharged at me, and put me in imminent danger of losing my life. I soon returned to the common, and saw eight of the men who were killed, and lay bleeding at a considerable distance from each other, and several wounded; and further saith not.”

The following deposition is from a British soldier taken like those before mentioned.

“I, John Bateman, belonging to the fifty-second regiment, commanded by Col. Jones, on Wednesday morning, on the 19th of April, was in the party marching for Concord, being at Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, being nigh the meeting-house in said Lexington, there was a small party of men gathered together in that place, when our said troops marched by; and I testify and declare that I heard the word of command given to fire, and some of the said troops did fire, and I saw one of the said party lie dead on the ground nigh the said meeting-house; and I testify that I never heard any of the inhabitants so much as fire a gun on said troops.

(Signed) John Bateman.”

In reference to this and the preceding witnesses of Lexington, it appears to us very reasonable, to inquire why they did not “say further,” if truth required or permitted it? Why not say, we saw and heard several guns fired on the British after they had fired on us?*

* See Col. Barrett’s deposition before referred to for a different manner of testifying.
If this were then a known fact, we know not how they could consistently stop at saying they did not fire on the British first. If any other persons, not of the militia company returned the fire of the British troops, these witnesses, it seems to us, must have known it. There was no danger in testifying that they fired after the British had fired upon them, and killed a number. It would have been considered brave and patriotic, and they would have been applauded and honored, though it might have been thought rash in so small a company. Now the inhabitants of Lexington, and many of the witnesses living, are of this opinion, and appear to think highly of returning the fire of the British troops, on the morning of the 19th of April, '75; and they have endeavored to represent this to the world as a fact. We have a right to presume that the witnesses could not in truth swear to it at that time. How they have acquired additional evidence, in a long course of years, is not for us to say.

We shall close our evidence in support of our claim by an extract from the address of the Provincial Congress to the inhabitants of Great Britain, grounded on the above testimonies.

"Watertown, April 26, 1775. By the clearest Depositions relative to this Transaction it will appear, that on the Night preceding the 19th of April instant, a Body of the King’s Troops, under command of Col. Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent Design to take or destroy the Military and other Stores provided for the Defence of the Colony, and deposited at Concord—that some Inhabitants of the Colony, on the Night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the Road between Boston and Concord, were seized and greatly abused by armed Men, who appeared to be Officers of General Gage’s Army—that the town of Lexington by these means was alarmed, and a company of the Inhabitants mustered on the Occasion—that
ie regular Troops on their way to Concord marched into said Town of Lexington, and the said company, on their approach, began to disperse—that notwithstanding this the Regulars rushed on with great Violence, and first began Hostilities by firing on said Lexington company, whereby they killed Eight and wounded several others—that the Regulars continued their fire until those of said company, who were either killed nor wounded, had made their escape—that Col. Smith with the detachment, then marched to Concord, where a number of provincials were again fired on by the Troops, two of them killed and several wounded, before the provincials fired on them—and that these hostile measures of the Troops produced an Engagement that lasted through the Day;—in which many of the provincials and more of the regular Troops were killed and wounded.

It is evident from this address, that the Provincial Congress did not consider the war commenced, or that any battle or engagement had taken place, until the fire of the British troops was returned at Concord. And from all the testimony it seems certain, that if there was a battle at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775, Col. Monroe, the only surviving officer of the company engaged in it, Rev. Joseph Estabrook, Maj. Robert Douglass, Mr. Sylvanus Wood, and others of the company, were wholly ignorant of it, until more than forty years afterwards, they were informed of it by others.

From the preceding extract, depositions, and testimonies, we are convinced that Capt. Parker ordered his company to disperse, on the near approach of the British troops, that they might not be in a situation exposed and provoking to the British;—that though they did not obey promptly and expeditiously, as was their duty, they were actually dispersing, when the British troops first fired upon them;—and that then those who were able made their escape as quickly as possible. It appears to us highly probable, that, had the
order of Capt. Parker been instantly obeyed, there would have been no blood shed at that time and place.

We leave it to the public to trace and mark the discrepancies in the testimonies given in 1775, and those given in 1824 and 5. We will retain a charitable opinion of the integrity of the witnesses at both periods. But we are full in the opinion that there is error somewhere. There are inconsistencies, if not contradictions, which we cannot reconcile. We still firmly believe, as the conclusion from the whole, and what seems to us too plain to be seriously denied, that in truth and all propriety of language, the militia company of Lexington did not return the fire of the British troops, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, and that the military companies at Concord, commanded by Col. James Barrett, and led on by Maj. John Buttrick, did immediately return the fire of the British troops, that day, at the North Bridge.* This conclusion appears to us just and fair; and this is the result at which we have aimed. It will not be henceforth denied, we trust, that at that time and place the first British blood was shed at the commencement of the American Revolution.

* Some years after the 19th of April, '75, the north bridge was moved lower down the river, and the road discontinued. There is now no open road to the spot where the fight commenced.
View of the Congregational Church in 1827—built in 1732.
SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
EARLY HISTORY
AND
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
TOWN OF QUINCY,
in the
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY GEORGE WHITNEY

CHRISTIAN REGISTER OFFICE......S. B. Manning, Printer.
For the benefit of those who may not be acquainted with the subject, I have thought fit to give the following extract from the Preface to Savage's edition of Winthrop's Journal.

"Before 1752 the year was, by the legal method of computation, held to begin on the 25th March, Lady-day or Annunciation, so called, from the notion entertained by the church, that the event recorded in the Gospel of Luke, i. 26—38 occurred on that day. The general practice of England had, indeed, several years earlier conformed to that of the rest of Christendom, in making the first of January new-year's day: and the law at last followed the popular wisdom, as usual, in the correction. It is of more importance, however, to remark, that, in reckoning the months, March was called the first, February the twelfth, September, October, November, and December then having, consistent with their Latin etymology, the numerical rank which is now lost. Yet it is still more important to be noticed, that a very dangerous diversity existed, in styling the year by its old numerical until the 25th March, or giving it the new designation from the beginning of that month."
The following pages have been prepared solely for the use of the inhabitants of Quincy, and to them they are now dedicated. The object of the author has been to throw light on a subject, of which, necessarily, very many must have been ignorant; and, although this may not have been effected in the best manner possible, he is conscious of having done it as well as he could. If the collection shall be found in any degree useful, the purpose will be answered.
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The Town of Quincy, previously to its being set off as a separate town, with the name which it now bears, was for a long time known as the North Precinct of the Town of Braintree. At a still earlier period it formed the only important part of that town. It was here that the settlement of the place first commenced; and, for many years before the division, into North, Middle, and South Precincts, it was known only by the name of Braintree. Tracing its history still farther back, we find it bearing the name of Merry and Mare Mount, and lastly Mount Wollaston.

The peculiar situation of the place, and its locality with regard to the water, which rendered it a convenient landing place, seem early to have attracted the attention of those adventurous spirits, who followed the Pilgrims in their perilous course. In May, 1622, Mr. Weston and his company approached near it, in their settlement at Wesagusquaset, since called Weymouth. That Weston had at first any intention of making his plantation at Mount Wollaston rather than at Wesagusquaset, may be left as a subject of conjecture; but it cannot be determined with certainty. We have proof only that he was first at Plymouth, and afterwards planted himself at the place, now called Weymouth.*

In 1625, Captain Wollaston, with about thirty others, came over from England, and began a plantation, not far from that already begun by Mr. Weston. To this they gave the name of Mount Wollaston, from a neighboring hill;† and in honor of their leader. Josselyn says, ‡ "This is in the Massachusetts fields where Chicatabat, the greatest Sagamore of the country, lived before the Plague." According to Hutchinson,§ the place "was known by the name of Mount Wollaston some years after; but at length the name was lost in that of Braintree, of which Town it is a part." Prince, in his Chronology, speaks thus of the Captain's coming: ¶ "This year (1625), comes over Captain Wollaston with three or four more of some eminence, and a great many servants, provisions, &c. to begin a plantation.—They pitch on a place in the Massachusetts Bay, since named Brain-

* Neal says, this is the most ancient town in the Province of Massachusetts, Vol. II. pp. 591.
† This Hill is in the Mount Wollaston Farm—now in the possession of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, President of the United States. It is called Mount Wollaston to this day.
tree, on the northerly mountainous part thereof, which they call Mount Wollaston: among whom is one Thomas Morton, who had been a kind of petty-logger at Furnival’s Inn.”—This man became an important character in the early days of New England: and mention will hereafter be made of him somewhat at length.

Earlier, therefore, than the year 1625, there was probably no settlement of civilized men in these parts nearer than Weymouth; at least we have no account of any. Morton, no doubt, came with a patent: but Wollaston had none. Nor is it likely that he made any purchase of lands from the Indians, but came in a friendly manner and settled among them.

The fate of the two plantations at Wesagusquaset and Mount Wollaston seems to have been similar, though from somewhat different causes. Neither continued a very long time. The colony at Wesagusquaset came to an end after one year’s continuance.” That at Mount Wollaston was reduced exceedingly low, if it was not entirely broken up, after the execution of the order of the Court of Assistants against Thomas Morton. But Weston and Wollaston, the two leading men in these settlements, were quite different in their characters. Weston was wanting in firmness and intrepidity. Wollaston was bold, decided and persevering. Both, to be sure, left their plantations, soon after they had established them; but Weston deserted his rather from caprice than from any good cause for leaving. Wollaston left his colony at the Mount, because, as Hubbs says, “after spending much labor, cost and time in planting,” things did not answer his expectation. In Wollaston’s company, there were men of eminence; but Weston is not mentioned as having any who were distinguished. After Wollaston’s departure, through Morton’s excessive kindness to the Indians, the plantation became a source of trouble to the other settlements. When Weston had left his men, they became disorderly, riotous and lazy, so that they were objects of scorn to the Indians. Neal, in a humorous manner, speaks thus of them: “They lived too fast for men that were to begin the world with a little: when they had bartered away all their goods for Indian corn, they sold their clothes and bedding. Some of them became servants to the Indians, and would cut their wood and draw their water for a cap full of corn. The major part turned robbers: but all was too little to supply their wants: some died with hunger, one, as he was gathering shell-fish, stuck fast in the mud, and, being too weak as not to be able to get out, perished in the place. The rest left their dwellings, and lived up and down in the woods, upon ground-nuts and clams, whereby they became the scorn of the Indians.”

Thus both plantations lost all claim to the character they might and ought to have sustained. However the leaders might have differed, we have but little reason to be proud of the peaceful and honorable conduct of those connected with them:—for without doubt Morton deserved as much censure for the trouble he caused the early men of New-England, as did the followers of Weston for their disgraceful conduct and the example they left behind them.

1 See Hutchinson, Vol. 1 p. 6.
It has been said, that Wollaston soon left his colony at the mount. This was an unfortunate circumstance, both for the welfare of the plantation, and for the peace and quiet of the other settlements.—Had Capt. Wollaston remained with his company, instead of withdrawing from them to Virginia, we have every reason to believe, not only that they who remained would have been spared the difficulties in which Morton afterwards involved them, but that the place would even earlier have become a town. Wollaston possessed every qualification necessary for becoming a leader in such an undertaking, and there were those connected with him who might well have served his cause, instead of proving, as did some of them at least, the authors of mischief and disturbance.

There is no account of the precise time when Wollaston withdrew to Virginia. From a note in Prince’s Chronology I copy these words: “It seems most likely that he tried the crop of this Summer, (1626); and the Autumn is the usual time for the New-England fishing ships to go to Virginia.” Hence Prince would lead us to infer that he left in the Autumn of 1626. It seems, at least, singular that he should have given up all hopes of having his expectations of the place gratified—only from the experience of one year’s crop.

At any rate, Wollaston left his colony in its infancy, and went to Virginia. Ample testimony is given by the early historians to this fact. It is sufficient to appeal to Prince on the point. Captain Wollaston having continued at mount Wollaston some time, and finding things not answer his expectation, he carries a great part of the servants to Virginia, writes back to Mr. Rasdall, one of his chief partners, to carry another part, and appoints Mr. Fitcher his Lieutenant till he or Rasdall returns. But Rasdall being gone, Morton excites the rest to turn away Fitcher to seek his bread among his neighbors, till he can get a pass to England. After this they fall to great licentiousness and profaneness.”

Nothing is now known of the state of things at the mount, directly after the departure of Captain Wollaston; nor until the time when Morton gained his ascendancy, and began that course of conduct which ended in the ruin of the plantation. It is probable that even this was brought about pretty soon.

Thomas Morton was one of the company which came over with Capt. Wollaston. He appears to have acted no conspicuous part before the departure of Capt. Wollaston and Rasdall to Virginia.—Rasdall, as it seems, was left with the command of the mount by Capt. Wollaston, and being afterwards sent for by him, a man by the name of Filcher (or Fitcher,) was appointed his Lieutenant. By this we may judge that there were others in whom more confidence could be placed than in Morton. From all we can learn respecting his character, he was a man of considerable talents, but artful, dishonest, and fond of confusion and disorder. He contrived to make himself beloved by the Indians, but was despised and slighted even by the meanest servants in the plantation. The following mention

† See Vol. I. p. 162.
as made of him in the New-England's Memorial. But the afore-
said Morton, having more craft than honesty, having been a petty-
logger at Furnival's Inn, he in the others' absence watches an oppor-
tunity, commons being but hard among them, and got some strong
drink, and other junkets, and made them a feast, and after they
merry, he began to tell them he would give them good counsel: You
see, said he, that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia, and
if you stay still until Russell's return, you will also be carried away
and sold for slaves with the rest: therefore, I would advise you to
thrust out this Lieutenant File her, and I, having a part in the Planta-
tion, will receive you as my partners and associates, so you may be
free from service, and we will converse, plant, trade and live together
as equals, or to the like effect. This counsel was easily followed.

"After this they fell to great licentiousness of life in all profane-
ness; and the same Morton became Lord of misrule, and maintained
as it were a school of atheism, and after they had got some goods
into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they
spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong
liquors in great excess, as some have reported, ten pounds in a morn-
ing, setting up a may-pole, drinking and dancing about it like as
many fairies, or furies, rather; yea, and worse practices, as if they had
new revived and celebrated the feast of the Roman goddess Flo-
ra, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. The said
Morton, likewise, to show his poetry, composed sundry rhymes and
verses,

to the detraction and scan-
dallof some persons' names which he affixed to his Idle or Idol, may-
pole. They changed also the name of their place, and instead of
calling it Mount Wollaston, they called it the Merry Mount, as if
this jollity would have lasted always. But this continued not long,
for shortly after that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endecott, brought
over a patent under the broad seal of England for the government of
the Massachusetts, visiting these parts, caused that may-pole to be
cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished
them to look to it that they walked better; so the place was again
changed, and called Mount Dagon."

By what means Morton contrived to become so great a favorite
with the Indians, will appear from the following extract from the same
New-England's Memorial. And first he taught the Indians how
to use the pieces, to charge and discharge them, and what propor-
tion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of
the same, and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer, and, hav-
ing instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for
him; so as they became somewhat more active in this employment

* See New England's Memorial, p. 136. This book was written by Nathaniel Morton, a long time Secretary to the Court for the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. It has lately been republished by the Hon. John Davis, and its value is exceedingly enhanced by the interesting and important notes of this learned gentleman.

† Though this name was then given to the Merry Mount, it does not appear that it was ever after called so. Thomas Morton also, in his New Canaan, calls it Passa-
negusset, as will hereafter be seen—but it was not generally known even by that
name.

‡ New England Memorial, p. 138
than any of the English. * * * * and when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, * * * * they accounted their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them."

From these extracts we may learn something of Morton's general conduct after the departure of Captain Wollaston and Rasdall. Afterwards he was sent to England by the authorities of the Massachusetts; but, as Nathaniel Morton says, * "he returned again into the Country in some short time, with less punishment than his demerits deserved, as was apprehended."

He was afterwards again apprehended and sent to England, where, according to the same author, above referred to, * "he lay a considerable time in Exeter gaol; for, beside his miscarriage here in New-England, he was suspected of having murdered a man that had ventured monies with him when he first came into New-England." His first arrest was probably in the Spring, or early in the Summer of 1628. In August, 1629, he returned. In about September, 1631, he was again sent to England. While in England, in 1632, he published a book called the New English Canaan. § This, as one has said, || "is full of invective and misrepresentation. He abounds in the vulgar wit of nick-names. Captain Standish he calleth Captain Shrimp. Endicott is styled Captain Littleworth. Mr. Fuller is Dr. Noddy. It is not known, nor will it be worth while to inquire, who are intended by the appellations of Innocence Faircloth, Matthias Charter Party, and Master Bubble." The names given will assist in affording interest to the reader of the book.

I have thought it would be proper to let Morton speak for himself, on the subject of changing the name to Merre Mount, as he terms it. What he says, will, at least, be found curious, and each one will give the narration as much credit, as from the character of the author, he may think it deserves.

"The Inhabitants of Pasonage State (having translated the name of their habitation from that ancient salvage name to Ma-re-Mount, and

* New England Memorial, p. 140.
† Page 140.
‡ He was sent over last in a ship called the "Whale." In allusion to which, he says, in his book, "they cast their Jonah ashore."
§ This book is now very rarely to be met with. I believe I am safe in saying that there are but two copies in this country. One was, some time ago, in the possession of John Quincy Adams. The other was lately presented to the Adams Library of the Town of Quincy, by the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris.
|| See note to New-England Memorial, p. 142.

* Morton declares that Merry Mount is a "blundering acceptation" of Ma-re-Mount, which last name he uses throughout his singular book. With respect to this, some have indeed coincided with Morton, and considered Ma-re-Mount the proper name. Those who hold to the name "Mare," are divided into two classes. One being composed of those who say that Mare Mount is derived from the Latin words Mare, the sea, and Mons, a Mount, or mountain—because the Hill was seen at a great distance off in the sea. This class translate one of the Latin terms, and preserve the other—Ma-re-Mount. The other class change only the last letter of the two Latin words—making it Ma-re-Mont—and consider this term as one of peculiar beauty, referring it to the circumstance that the Hill is washed at its foot by the sea. Whatever name Thomas Morton may have given it, we are at least certain of this, that the inhabitants were exceedingly merry—and that the early historians universally consider the proper name to be Merry Mount—derived from this circumstance.
being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial; after ages, did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemn manner with Revels and merriment after the old English custom, prepared to set up a May-pole upon the festival day of Philip and Jacob; and therefore brewed a barrel of excellent beer, and provided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheer, for all comers of that day. And because they would have it in a complete form, they had prepared a song fitting the time and present occasion. And upon May-day they brought the May-pole to the place appointed, with drums, guns, pistols, and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of Salvages, the same thether of purpose to see the manner of our Revels. A goodly pine tree of eighty foot long was reared up, with a piece of buck-shorns nailed one somewhat nearer to the top of it; where it stood as a faire sea mark for directions how to finde out the way to mine host of Ma-re-Mount.

"And because it should more fully appeare to what end it was placed there, they had a Poem in readiness made, which was fixed to the May-pole, to shew the new name confirmed on that Plantation, which (although it were made according to the occurrent of the time, it being Enigmatically composed), puzzelled the Separatists most pitefully to expound it, which for the better information of the reader I have here inserted.

**THE POEM.**

Rise, Edipeus, and if thou canst unfold
What means Caribdis underneath the mould.
When Scilla Solitary on the ground,
(Sitting in form of Niobe,) was found;
Till Amphitrites Darling did acquaint
Grim Neptune with the tenor of her plaint.
And caus'd him send forth Triton with the sound
Of Trumpet loud at which the Seas were found
So full of Protean forms, that the bold shore
Presented Scilla a new paramore.
So strong as Sampson and so patient, the man who brought
As Job himselfe, directed thou; her over was named
To comfort Scilla so unfortunate.

I doe profess by Cupid's beautious Mother
Here's Scogan's choice for Scilla, and none other:
Though Scilla's sick with griefe, because no signe
Can there be found of vertue masculine.

Esculapius come, I know right well;
His laboure's lost when you may ring her knell.
The fatall sister's doome none can withstand.
Nor Pitharea's powre who points to land.
With proclamation that the first of May
At Ma-re-Mount shall be kept holly day.

"The setting up of this May-pole was a lamentable spectacle to the precise Separatists, that lived at New Plymouth. They termed it an Idol; yea, they called it the Calfe of Horeb; and stood at defiance.

* Prince says, this is the only May-pole ever raised in New-England.

† By the term "mine host," is of course to be understood Morton himself. The party, who afterwards arrested him, he calls the "nine worthies of New Canaan.

‡ This Poem and the song which follows, must be ascribed to Morton.
with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatening to make it a woefull Mount and not a Merry Mount.

"The Riddle for want of OEdipus they could not expound, onely they made some explication of part of it, and say’d it was meant by Sampson Job, the Carpenter of the shipp that brought over a woman to her husband, that had bin there long before, and thrived so well that hee sent for her and her children to come to him; where shortly after hee died; having no reason but because of the sound of those two words; when (as the truth is,) the man they applyed it to was altogether unknown to the author.

"There was likewise a merry song made, which, (to make their Revells more fashionable,) was sung with a Corus, every man bearing his part; which they performed in a daunce, hand in hand, about the May-pole, whiles one of the company sung, and filled out the good liquor like Ganymedes and Jupiter.

THE SONGE.

Drinke and be merry merry, merry boyes—
Let all your delight be in Hymen’s joyes—
Joy to Hymen now the day is come,
About the merry May-pole take a roome.
Make greene garlons, bring bottles out,
And fill sweet nectar freely about.
Uncover thy head, and feare no harme.
For here’s good liquor to keepe it warme.
Then drink and be merry, &c.
Joy to Hymen, &c.

Nectar is a thing assigned
By the Deities owne mind—
To cure the heart oppress’t with griefe;
And of good liquors is the chief—
Then drinke, &c.
Joy to Hymen, &c.

Give to the melancholly man
A cup or two of’t now and then;
This physic shall soone revive his blood.
And make him be of a merrier moode—
Then drinke, &c.
Joy to Hymen, &c.

Give to the Nympe that’s free from scorn.
No Irish stuff, nor Scotch over-worne;
Lasses in beaver-coats come away,
Ye shall be welcome to us all the day—
To drinke, &c.
Joy to Hymen, &c.

"This harmless mirth made by younge men (that lived in hope to have wifes brought over to them that would save them a labore to make a voyage to fetch any over,) was much distasted of the precise Separatists, that keepe much adoe about the tyth of mint and cummin, troubling their braines more than reason would require about things that are indifferent; and from that time sought occasion against my honest Host of Ma-re-Mount to overthrow his undertakings and to destroy his Plantation quite and cleane."

* See New English Canaan, from p. 132 to 136.
It cannot but be remarked how very plausible Morton makes his conduct appear:—but not so, precisely, did it appear to our screeflion but worthy forefathers. No excuse, perhaps, will be necessary for farther extracts from his singular book.

"The Separatists, envying the prosperity and hope of the Plantation at Ma-re-Mount, (which they perceived began to come forward, and to be in a good way for gain in the Beaver trade,) inspired together against mine host, especially, (who was the owner of that Plantation), and made up a party against him; and mustered at what aile they could; accounting of him as a great monster.

"Many threatening speeches were given out, both against his person and his habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire;—and taking advantage of the time when his company, (which seemed little to regard there threats,) were gone up into the inland to trade with the Salvages for Beavers.—They set upon my honest Host at a place called Wessaguscus, where, (by accident,) they found him. The Inhabitants there were in good hope of the salvation of the Plantation at Ma-re-Mount, which they principally aimed at, and the rather, because mine host was a man that endeavoured to advance the dignity of the Church of England, which they, (on the contrary part,) would labour to vilifie with uncivile terms; conversing against the sacred book of Common Prayer, and mine host, that used it in a laudable manner amongst his family as a practice of piety."

"In breife, mine host must indure to be their prisoner until he could contrive it so that they might send him for England, (as they said,) there to suffer according to the merit of the fact which they intended to father upon him; supposing (belike,) it would prove a hainous crime.

"Much rejoicing was made that they had gotten their captivall enemy, (as they concluded him,) whom they purposed to rampage in such sort, that hee should not be able to uphold his Plantation at Ma-re-Mount.

"The conspirators sported themselves at my honest host that meant them no hurt, and were so jocund that they feasted their bodies and fell to tippeling, as if they had obtained a great prize like the Trojans, when they had the custody of Hippæus' pine-tree horse.

"Mine host fained griefe; and could not be persuaded either to eate or drinke; because he knew emptiness would be a meanes to make him as watchfull as the Geese, kept in the Roman Cappitall, whereon the contrary part, the conspirators would be so drownd that hee might have an opportunity to give them a slip instead of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessaguscus. But hee kept waking, and in the dead of night, (one lying on the bed for further suerty,) up gets mine host, and got to the second dore that hee was to passe, which, (notwithstanding the lock, *The historian, in speaking of Morton's arrest, say nothing of his being taken first at Weymouth. It may have been so, however, and have been passed over in silence.]

[1 New English Canaan, p. 137]
hee got open; and shut it after him with such violence, that it affrighted some of the conspiratois.

"The word which was given with an alarming was, O he's gon, he's gon, what shall we doe, he's gon. The rest half asleep stand up in a maze, and like rames ran there heads one at another full butt in the darke.

"Their grand leader, Capt. Shrimp, took on most furiously, and tore his clothes for anger, to see the empty nest and their bird gone.

"In the mean time, mine host was got home to Ma-re-Mount through the woods, eight miles round about the head of the river Monatoquit, that parted the two Plantations—finding his way by the help of the lightening, (for it thundred, as he went, terribly,) and there he prepared powther, three pounds dried for his present employment, and four good gunnes for him, and the two assistants left at his house with bullets of several sizes, three hundred or thereabouts, to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thither; and these two persons promised their aides in the quarrell, and confirmed that promise with a health in good rosa solis.

"After holding a Councell," continues Morton, "Capt. Shrimp takes eight persons more to him;—and like the nine worthies of New Canaan, they imbarque with preparation against Ma-re-Mount, where this monster of a man, (as their phrase was,) had his denne—the whole number, (had the rest not bin from home,) being but seaven. would have given Capt. Shrimp, (a quondam Drummer,) such a welcome as would have made him wish for a Drume as bigg as Diogenes' tubb, that hee might have crept into it out of sight.

"Now the nine worthies are approached and mine host prepared, having intelligence by a Salvage that hastened in love from Wessaguscus to give him notice of their intent.

"The nine worthies coming before the Denne of this supposed monster, (this seaven headed hydra as they termed him,) began like Don Quixote against the wind-mill, to beate a parly and to offer quarter, (if mine host would yeald,) for they resolved to send him for England, and bad him lay by his armes.

"But mine host had no sooner set open the door, and issued out, but instantly Capt. Shrimpe and the rest of the worthies stepped to him, lay'd hold of his armes; and had him downe, and so eagerly was every man bent against him, (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnall man,) that they fell upon him as if they would have eaten him.

"Captain Shrimpe and the rest of the nine worthies made themselves, (by this outrageous riot,) masters of mine host, of Ma-re-Mount, and disposed of what he had at his Plantation."!
In the same English Canaan, Morton goes on to say, that the passed sentence that mine host should be sent to England, but, he says, "when he was brought to the shipp for that purpose, a man durst be so soule hardy as to undertake to carry him. So worthies set mine host upon an island, without gunne, powther, shot, or dogge, or so much as a knife to get any thing to feede upon, or any other cloathes to shelter him with at winter than a thinn suite which he had one at that time. Home hee could not yet get to Ma-re-Mount. Upon this island he stayed a moneth at least—was receaved by Salvages that took notice that mine host was a Neshem, of Passanogessit, and would bring bottles of strong liquor to him and unite themselves into a league of brotherhood with mine host so full of humanity are these infidels before those Christians."

"From this place for England, sailed mine host in a Pinnacea shipp, (that came into the land to fish upon the coast;" and he stayed in England until the ordinary time for shipping, set forth for these parts, and then returned. Noe man being able to taxe him of any thing."

Morton has recorded a Poem called Baccanall Triumph, to derision of the Seperatists, on account of their discontent at his retort beginning thus:

"I sing the adventures of nine worthy wights.
And pity 'tis I cannot call them Knights."

But it is rather enigmatical, and would hardly be found interesting by any reader.

Afterwards, following his account, a Court is called of purpose for mine host;—he there convented; and must heare his doom before he goe; nor will they admit him to capitulate, and know wherefore they are so violent to put such things in practice against a man they never saw before; nor will they allow of it though he decline their jurisdiction."

"There they all, with one assent, put him to silence, crying ou-heare the Governor, heare the Governor—who gave his sentence against mine host at first sight, that hee should be first put in the Bilbowes, his goods should be all confiscated; his Plantation should be burned cleane to the ground, because the habitation of the wicked should no more appeare in Israel; and his person banished from these territories, and this put in execution with all speede."

The smoake that did ascend appeared to be the very sacrifice of Kain. Mine host, (that a farre of abourd a shipp did there behold this wofull spectacle.) knew not what he should doe in this extremity; but bear and forbeare, as Epictetus sayes;—it was booteless to exclaime.

"The Seperatists, after they had burned Mare-Mount, they could not get any shipp to undertake the Carrige of mine host from thence either by faire meanes or fowle."

"At last, however," he says, "one was found who took him off. This man he calls "Mr. Wethercock, a proper mariner.""

hoyst the sayles and put to sea; since which mine host has not trouble
the brethren."

Such is the account, given in the New English Canaan, of the formal change of the name of Mount Wollaston to Mare-Mount, and of the arrest of mine host and his subsequent fate. In the main, the statements are true; that is, they agree with what we find in other histories of good authority. Thus his arrest, as he has recorded it, agrees well enough with the same as given by Prince, the best authority.

"Upon this they see no way but force, and therefore obtain of the Plimouth Governor to send Capt. Standish with some aid to take him. The Captain coming, Morton bars his doors, sets his powder and bullets on the table ready. The Captain summons him to yield, but has only scoffs, &c. At length, Morton fearing we should do some violence to the house, he and some of his crew came out to shoot the Captain. At which the Captain steps up to him, puts by his piece, takes him, enters the house, disperses* the worst of the company, leaves the more modest there, brings Morton to Plimouth, where he is kept till a ship going from the Isle of Shoals to England. He is sent in her to the New England council, with a messenger and letters to inform against him, and yet they do nothing to him, not so much as to rebuke him, and he returns next year."

Prince has recorded the following public notice, taken of him, Sept. 7, 1630.

"Second Court of Assistants, held at Charlestown. Present, Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Endicott, Sharp, Nowell, Coddington, Ludlow, Rossiter, Pynchon, Bradstreet. Ordered that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, shall presently be set in the Bilbowes, and after sent prisoner to England by the ship called the Gift, now returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a Canoe he took unjustly from them; and that his house be burnt down to the ground in sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction for many wrongs he has done them."

This was put in execution; and, while in England, he joined with others in a complaint to the King against the colony, and proved, also, in this way, not a little troublesome to the early settlers. An order was, by his means, issued from the King in 1633, to prevent all further emigration to this Country, but it did not continue long in force.

* There is a tradition, that, at the time of this arrest of Morton, one Gardiner, who had been engaged with him in his hostile conduct to the other settlements, fearing their vengeance, fled into the woods, and there got bewildered in a swamp, and died; from which circumstance the swamp has been called Gardiner's Swamp to this day.

† Prince's Chronology, Vol. I. p. 177.
§ This was, no doubt, somewhat in anger against Morton. His general conduct towards the Indians was far from being of this nature.
In Governor Bradford’s Letter Book* is recorded the Account of the expenses of his first arrest, in 1628; which, besides that it gives a view of the comparative strength of the different settlements at that period, will also be found an interesting record, from its connexion with the character to whom it refers:

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<td>&quot;Naumkeak, (Salem,)&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Piscataquack, (Mason’s Company,)&quot;</td>
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<td>Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Buslem,</td>
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<td>&quot;Natascot,&quot;</td>
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<td>Mrs. Thompson (Squantum Neck,)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Blackston, (Boston,)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Hilton, of Dover.</td>
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It may be well supposed that this was a severe tax on the people of New England, for those days of poverty; but even this was not all the expense into which they were led. “It cost us,” says Gov. Bradford,† “a great deal more, and yet to little effect as the event showed.”

After being first sent to England, he returned in 1629, “as went,” as Gov. Bradford says, “to his old nest at Merry Mount.”—There he renewed his evil conduct, and became once more the subject of public odium.

When again sent to England, in 1634, besides his book before published, he wrote a letter to one Jeffries, in New-England, which was perfectly in character with him. In it, he says, “Of these things I thought good, by so convenient a messenger, to give you notice lest you should think I died in obscurity, as the brethren vainly intended I should.” For this, and for his book, when he returned to New-England again, as he did in 1643, he was fined by the Court 100l. He was poor, and could not pay it. Hutchinson remarks, that “nothing but his age saved him from the whipping-post. He went to Acamenticus, and there died a year or two after.” Morton, in his Memorial, says, “After being grown old in wickedness, he, at last, ended his days at Piscataqua.” Probably this was the same place under a different name.

Thus lived, and thus died, Thomas Morton.§ For the welfare of the plantation here, and for the comfort and quiet of the other settlements, it might be wished, that he had never come over from England.

There is no account to be found of the latter part of the life of Wollaston. It was a remark of President Adams, senior, that he was lost at sea. Whether this was gained from tradition or history, is uncertain.

† Historical Collections, III. 64.
§ It was always the opinion of President Adams, senior, that Morton was supported in his conduct here, by Archbishop Laud, of noted memory; and that it was an object to destroy here, as every where else, even the shadow of religious liberty.
After this, the settlement was quite reduced. It is supposed, from the language of the historians, that a few were left here; whence we lay claim to the oldest permanent settlement* in the Massachusetts.

In a short time, Mount Wollaston was made a part of Boston, though still distinguished by the name of the Mount; and different portions of land were allotted to different gentlemen, who came out and established themselves as farmers, so that here were the earliest cultivated farms in New-England. Hancock† says, "that the lands were granted to Boston by the General Assembly of Massachusetts, in 1634, and that the settlement was soon carried on by sundry inhabitants, who came out, chiefly from Boston, and had grants of land from that town, for their encouragement." "The words of the grant in the public records of the province, run thus: "At a General Court, held at Newton, Sept. 3, 1634, it is ordered, that Boston shall have enlargement at Mount Wollaston, and Rummey Marsh. The bounds were settled April 13, 1636."

In the records of the Town of Boston, I find mention made of several of these first grants of land, and also other records, which may not be found uninteresting.

§ 13th 2d mo., 1635. At a general meeting upon public notice, imprimes, it is agreed by general consent, that our Pastor, Mr. John Wilson, shall have liberty to improve what ground may be for him at Mount Woolistone, with free reserving unto him his grant at Mystick, until his coming home for further agreement with the inhabitants.

The lands this gentleman improved lay on what is called the Farms. The Quincy farm was among the earliest grants, as will appear from what follows.

14th, 10th mo., 1635. **At a general meeting upon public notice, imprimes, it is agreed by general consent, that Mr. William Colborne, Mr. William Aspynwall, Mr. John Sampford, William Balstone, and Richard Wright, shall, in the behalf of the town, go and take view at Mount Woolistone, and bound out there, what may

*Mr. Savage, in his valuable notes to Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I. p. 43, is inclined to believe that Quincy is the oldest permanent settlement in the Massachusetts Colony. Weymouth alone can dispute the claim, and there is but little reason to believe that any of Weston's company remained there, when the settlement was made from Weymouth, in England. It is to be remembered that Plymouth was a separate Colony.

† It may appear surprising, why, at this early period, such a disposition existed for the formation of a settlement in Braintree. The simple state of the case is, that the land was all cleared up, and therefore, on this account, was more convenient. The residence of Chickatabit, in these parts, was the reason of its early cultivation.

‡ Hancock's Century Sermon, p. 21, and note.


‖ Mr. John Wilson was the first minister in Boston, settled over the First Church and Society, now known as the Chauncey Place Church.

¶ There is a tradition, that either Mr. Wilson, or some of his descendants, owned the place now owned by Mr. Edmund Billings. It was long known as the Wilson Place.

** Rec. City Boston, Vol. I. p. 4
Then is recorded a vote, to this effect: Item, it is agreed, all the allotments at Mount Wollaston shall be set out by Coddington, William Collborne, William Aspynwall, Edmund Quinsey, and Richard Wright, or some four of them; and that every allotment shall have a convenient proportion of Meadowe thereunto, according to their number of Cattell that have the same. 4th mo. 1635.

Even after the formation of the Church, and the incorporation of the town, the former in 1639, and the latter in 1640, grants were still made. Thus, 27th 7th mo., 1641. There is granted unto Job Judkin, to have a great lot for five heads, at Mount Wollaston at Braintree. And on the 24th 12th mo., 1639, “To Peter Brackett, of Braintree, for twelve heads, 48 acres.” This last, I suppose though granted before the preceding, was not recorded till after the place was incorporated as the town of Braintree.

About the year 1642, Boston resigned all title to lands in Braintree except certain portions reserved for Commons, as appears by the vote: 4th 1st mo., 1642. At a general Towne’s meeting, upon lawful warning, it’s ordered, that the residue of the Towne’s lands not yet disposed of, excepting those that are lay’d out for Commons at Boston, Braintree and Muddy river, shall be devided amongst the present Inhabitants, together with such as shall be admitted within two months now next following; and that, in this manner, viz. a greater proportion to them that have had lesse than their due, and the lesse to them that have had more, and proportionable to them that have had none, and this is to be done by the select-men, chosen for the Towne’s business.”

By the following vote, it would seem, that a parcel of land, estimated at forty acres, had been allotted to two gentlemen, and that the lot was afterwards found to contain more. One would have supposed, that, though bread and money were not abundant, yet the land was of so little value that this scrupulous exactness might have been spared. “There is liberty granted Goodman Blase and Goodman Baxter, to buy the overplus that remaineth in the three hill Marish, (marsh,) at Braintree, above their forty acres.”

Two years after the preceding, we find that some of the common land in Braintree, belonging to Boston, was sold for the benefit of the clergyman, Rev. Henry Flynt. 29th 5th mo., 1644. The land within the common fence at Braintree, neere the Knights’ necke,

* Mr. Coddington’s farm was the Mount Wollaston Farm, now owned by Hon. John Q. Adams. A descendant of this Coddington afterwards gave certain portions of land, lying towards Mount Wollaston, to the town of Braintree for the support of schools, as he said, “that the next generation might not be as ignorant as the present is.”

† Edmund Quinsey’s Farm was the one now owned by Daniel Greenleaf, Esq.
belonging to Boston, is hereby sold unto — — Matson, James Peace
niman, Moses Payne, Francis Eliot, for 5s. per acre, be it more or
lesse, to be pay’d in corn or cattle, within one moneth, into the
hands of Mr. Henry Flynt, of Braintree, for his own use, on consid­eration of his late great losse, through the hand of God’s Providence,
by fire.”

How early the regulation of all matters concerning the Mount, came entirely into the hands of those who held possessions here, cannot be precisely determined. Without doubt, after the incorpora­tion* of the town, its inhabitants had the sole management of its con­cerns: although, even then, and for one hundred and fifty years after, it was a part of Suffolk, and intimately connected with Boston.

† At a generall Court of Election, held at Boston, May 13th, 1640, the petition of the Inhabitants of Mount Wollaston was voted and granted them to be a Town, according to the agreement with Boston, and the Town is to be called Braintree.” The name, according to all accounts, was given to it from a town of the same name, in Eng­land. †† Braintrey was a Village in England, near Chelmsford, where Mr. Hooker was the preacher.” This was a common prac­tise with those who were engaged in the first settlement of the coun­try. An anecdote is told of the first minister of Boston, that when the Bostonians, who came from a town of that name, in England, wrote home, inviting their minister to join them, he first answered, “I will come, brethren, on condition the place is called Boston.” — And it was so. Nor is it at all to be wondered at. Their thoughts naturally turned back to the delightful land they had left forever:— and it was but in consonance with the best feelings of the heart, to wish to preserve, though it were but in a name, some memorial of the spot which was known to them as the scene of their childhood, the dwelling place of their kindred and friends, where stood the tombs, and where rested the bones of their fathers and brethren.

In 1640, as appears from the votes recorded in the first volume of the Braintree records, the inhabitants began to lay out their public roads; and as early as that, therefore, they exercised the power of a distinct town within themselves.

The following is a copy of the vote, for laying out the county road through the town.

“25th 12th mo. 1640.§ At a Towne meeting, there being pres­ent Captain William Tinge, Samuel Basse, Steven Kinsly, Martin Sanders, Benimin Alber, Matthew Barnes.

At a meeting, this day, it was agreed by us and by Thomas Hool-

*The town soon became, after its incorporation, of considerable importance.—This appears from two circumstances recorded by Hutchinson. In 1637, Massachu­setts sent 160 men, together with some sent from Plymouth and Connecticut, against the Pequod Indians. The several towns are mentioned, with the number of men furnished by each—thus: Boston 26, Charlestown 12, Weymouth 5, Hingham 6, &c. But none were sent from the Mount. They probably could send none. Look at the place in 1642, and we find it bearing an equal tax with Weymouth. A tax of 800l. was apportioned as follows: Hingham, 20l., Weymouth, 14l., Braintree, 14l., Boston 120l. &c.

† See Hancock’s Cent. Serm. p. 21, note.


brooke, and Henry Kingman, and Nathaniel Adams, a Commis
from Waymouth, to lay out the County way through Bran
er; that the same high way shall lye the full breadth of
roads wide, from Waymouth to Brantry meeting-house. And when
as, at the same meeting-house, the way cannot conveniently be
at one end, we appoint two rods at one end thereof, and two rods
on the other end, and then to fall to four rods againe, at a marke
a little beyond the meeting-house, and so that breadth to a stub
of a tree, at Goodman Neale’s house, and then to be carried
the same breadth to the lot, called Hudson’s lot, rectifying the presen
way, which now is, by taking it off by several nokes, as we have
marked the same, at the same breadth to the going downe of the hill
and toward the brooke, from which hill to the brooke, six rods, and
so runs one, (on,) four rods to Dorchester bounds, as it is alrea
set out by several marke trees for that purpose; and this we presen
to the honored Courte, to be recorded for the County high way for
ever.”

In the records just alluded to, and from which the preceding
was taken will be found, the votes passed for most of the old broad
the town. Some of these, from being unused, have become close
up, and now make a part of private property. One of these, which
would be found, at the present day, very convenient, was the road
leading from the corner of the land of Thompson Baxter over to the
county road. When the old stone meeting-house was no longer used
as a place of worship, it became of less importance. There is no
prospect of having this road again laid open.

In these records, moreover, are the votes passed, relative to the
grant from the General Court of 6000 acres, to this town. The fir
is in this form.

In the year 1667, the grant, March 1669, the vote passed by
the Towne, at a general meeting. The Honored General Court,
way of answer to a petition, presented by the Deputy of our Towne,
granted six thousand acres of land to the Towne of Brantry. In
case this say’d grant be layed out, and confirmed by the Court, it is
the vote of the Towne, that every accepted inhabitant, which is an
householder in the Towne of Brantry, shall have an equal interest
in the land granted, and that every such inhabitant and householder
shall bear his equal portion of charge in the seeking of it, and lay
of it out, and all other charges as shall follow, and every man
shall bring in his portion, in money, at the present time, at or before
the 8th day of this instant March.”

After which, we find the following: 25th March, 1673, Christo
Web. At a publick training day, it was voted, and passed in

Goodman Neale’s house stood on the land now in possession of Mrs. Arnold
and formerly the property of the late Joseph Neale Arnold. What is called Dorches
ter, in this vote, is now Milton.

Tradition tells us, that the road leading from Mount Wollaston Farm into the woods
was once a cow-path; and that Wollaston took this route to get timber and wood,
which he found necessary for his convenience. Moreover, that the bridge, called
Captain’s bridge, derives its name from Wollaston, and was called Capt. Wollaston’s
bridge, within a century past.

See Book A. pp. 16—17.
the affirmative, that Christopher Web, jr. should, forthwith, goe and find out a tract of land, and by a sirvaer, lay out 6000 acres, which was the Generall Court's grant unto the Towne of Brantry, and shall make a return of it in a platt, under the sirvaer's hand, to be well bounded with marked trees, with B set on the barke of the trees, and heapes of stones, or by digging a little square hole, that there may be markes upon every side, within 50 rods one of another; the said Web and partners being at all the charge; and this being sufficiently and well done, the Towne does allow the said Web and partners (1500,) one thousand, five hundred acres, for their pain and charge, in case it be look't out in a month's time, and layed out; the said Web is to give six week's work to the Towne; and the platt by the said Christopher Web, to be presented to the Honored Generall Court, to have it confirmed to be the Towne's of Brantry. It is not to be understood, that the said six thousand acres should be lay'd out within a month from the date specified, but within a twelve month. Josiah Chapin and Joseph Crosby are accepted by the said Christopher Web as equal partners, they being at equall charge, and these three persons are to have an equall part, in quantity and quality, out of the 6000 acres."

Although lands had been taken up here, by authority from Boston, at an early period, yet all had not made a purchase of their respective portions from the Indians, who laid claims to them. Accordingly, in 1665, the town of Braintree purchased all the right and title to these lands, from the Indian Chief, Wampatuck, and a deed of conveyance was given under his hand; the first mention of which, we find made Oct. 7, 1679.

* "At a publick Towne meeting, voted, whereas the inhabitants of the Towne of Brantry, having purchased of Wampatuck alias Josiah, an Indian Sachem, all his right, title and interest, to all the lands within the Township of Brantry, as appears by a Deed, under the hand and seale of the said Josiah Sachem, and divers of his wise men, and, whereas, the greatest part of the Inhabitants have enjoyed the particular allotments and parcels of land they are possessed of, by virtue of former grants, and purchases made before the obtaining the said Deed, and which, of right, each person ought to enjoy;—therefore, for the avoiding future differences and troubles, any wise about or concerning the premises, it is hereby ordered, consented to, and agreed upon, by all the Inhabitants aforesaid, whatever land any person or persons of said Inhabitants, have or doe enjoy, by virtue of such grant or purchase, they shall, forever, enjoy the same as their own proper right, to them, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever: any thing in the said Deed to the contrary, notwithstanding." There seems, however, to have been some difficulty about these lands, which is not explained in the records.

27th Oct. 1679.† At a generall Towne meeting, the Towne made choice of Joseph Crosby, Caleb Hubart, and Christopher Webb, jr. to prosecute their interests to the lands purchased of Josiah Sachem, by a treaty with Boston select-men; and in case they cannot

† Book A. p. 27.
comply to bring the matter to a faire trial, as soon as they can with convenience. But Capt. Richard Brackett and Edmund Quinsey assented not unto the vote."

Then again occurs the following vote.

"It was voted, the same day, 5th March, 1682—3, that Capt. Richard Brackett, Lieutenant Edmund Quinsey and Deacon Samuel Thompson, were chose a committee to treat with Boston concerning about the common lands in controversy, and if they can obtain the six hundred acres, beyond the Mill Common and Cachacha land, for the Town of Brantry, then to have full power to issue the difference about the said lands."

But the most interesting document left to us, is the Indian Deed respecting which, another vote is found. *"17th July, 1683. At a publick Towne meeting, it was voted, that the present select men together with Caleb Hobart and Joseph Crosby, shall be a committee and be impowered by the Towne of Brantry, to consider and act according to their best discretion, what may be most advisable, in order to a transmission of a authentic copie of the Deed from Josiah Sachem according to his majestic's order: and also, to consider and to doe what may be most conducable for the Towne's safety, in all the premises, to doe in behalfe of the Towne, according to their best judgments; only the Towne to have a sight of what is sent."

This Deed, it was feared, had been lost; but it was, at last, discovered among some valuable papers, and Deeds, relating to Mount Wollaston Farm, in the possession of Hon. John Quincy Adams.

The Deed is well written, and seems to have been preserved with tolerable care. On the back of it is the following:

In the 17th reign of Charles II. Brantry Indian Deede, given 1665, Aug. 10. Take great care of it.

It begins thus:

To all Indian people to whom these presents shall come; Wampatuck, alias, Josiah Sagamore, of Massathusetts, in Newengland, the Son of Chickatabut, deceased, sendeth, greeting. Know you that the said Wampatuck, being of full age and power, according to the order and custom of the natives, hath with the consent of his wise men, viz. Squamog, his brother Daniel, and old Habatun, and William Mananiomott, Job Nassott, Manuntago, William Nahanton. The abovesaid Wampatuck Sagamore, for divers goods and valuable reasons thereunto; and in special for and in consideration of twenty-one pounds, ten shillings in hand, payd by Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, Francis Eliot, William Needham, and William Savill, Henry Neale, Richard Thayer, Christopher Webb, all of Braintrey, in the county of Suffolk, in New-England, in the behalf of the Inhabitants of the Town of Braintrey, abovesaid, within themselves; whereof and wherewith the said Wampatuck doth acknowledge himself fully satisfied, contented and payd; thereof and of every part thereof doth exonerate, acquit and discharge the abovesaid Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. with all the inhabitants of

*Book A. p. 29.

the Town of Braintrey; them, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assignes, and every of them. And by these presents, have given, grantea, bargained, sold, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents, do give, grant, bargain, sell, enfeof, and confirm unto the said Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. and with themselves, in the behalf of all the inhabitants of the Towne of Braintrey, them, their heirs and assignes, forever, all the East of lands within the bounde of Braintrey, abovesaid, be there more or lesse, being bounded on the sea side with the North East, and with Dorchester line on the North West, and by Waymouth line by the South East, and by Dorchester line on the South West. Excepting Mr. Wilson's farme, Mr. Coddington's farme, Mr. Hough's Neck of land, Mr. Quinsey's farme, which lands were purchased by the above said men, of his predecessors, which the said Wampatuck doth hereby confirme, being all the lands within the bounde of Braintrey, abovesaid, with all the trees, timber, wood, and underwood, standing, lying, growing thereon, together with all the meadow lands, swamps, ponds, rivers, and brooks, lying between the bounde of Dorchester and Waymouth, together with all privileges and appurtenances belonging or any ways appertaining to the same, to the said Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. in the behalf and for the use of all the inhabitants of Braintrey, to them, their heirs and assignes, forever. To have and to hold the said bargained premises, as before buttelled and bounded, together with all deeds, evidences, writings and monuments, that concern the same, in particular, fair and uncancelled unto the said Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. to the only and proper use of the inhabitants of the Towne of Braintrey, to them and to their heirs and assignes, forever. And the said Wampatuck, for himself, and for his heirs, and executors, administrators and assignes, doth covenant and grant with the full consent of his wise men, abovesaid, and with Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. and with them, in the behalf of the inhabitants of Braintrey, aforesaid, to them, their heirs and assignes, forever. And that the said Wampatuck, is the right owner of the said bargained premises, and to every part thereof, unto the day of the date thereof, and hath himself full power and lawfull authority, to bargain, sell, convey and assure the same, in manner and form abovesaid. And that the said Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. with the inhabitants of the Towne of Braintrey, shall forever, hereafter, peaceably and quietly enjoy, have and hold the said bargained, with the appurtenances thereof, as abovesaid, free and clear, and clearly acquitted from all former bargains, sales, gifts, and grants, joynture's tytles, dowrys, tytles of dowers, estates, mortgages, forfeitures, judgements, executions, and any other incumbrance what­ever; as, also, from all tytles of any person or persons, claiming any right or title, interest or propriety to the same, or any part of the same, in form, or under him, the said Wampatuck, or any his predecessors. Excepting some lands abovesaid; whereby the said inhabitants of the Towne of Braintrey, their heirs or assigns, shall, or may be, hereafter, molested by either English or Indian person, or persons, or unlawfully hunted out of the possession, by, from or under him. And that the said Samuel Basse, Thomas Faxon, &c. or any other in the behalf of the inhabitants of Braintrey, aforesaid, shall
have free liberty to record and enroll the said bargained premises, cause it to be enrolled according to the usual custom of recording titles in such a case. Also the said Wampatuck reserved them to hunt and fish, provided he do the English no harm. In the third day of August, one thousand, six hundred, and sixty-five, and in the seventeenth year of the reign of our Lord and Sovereign, his Charles the second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by turf* and twig.

In presence of
Roger Billing.
Benjamin Thompson.
Thomas Keyahgunsson.
Joseph Manunion.
Thomas Weymous.

With some words in the original interlined, but here inserted in their proper places, viz. men in the 3d line. Mr. Quinsey's former [line 13th]

Josiah alias Wampatuck
Daniel Squamog.
Old Nahatun.
William Manunion.
Job Noistenns.
Robert alias Mamuntage.
William Hahatun.

In the formation of the Church, of which, separate mention will be made, we find little of importance, except what has been already stated, down to the period of the formation of the second Parish—That part of the Town, now called Braintree, but first known as the South Precinct, afterwards as the Middle Precinct, and called also Monatoquot, from a river of that name, was voted a distinct Parish, 3d Nov. 1708, and confirmed by the General Court, 5th Nov. following. The town of Randolph, formerly known as the New South Precinct, and afterwards as the South Precinct, was voted a distinct Parish, 13th March, 1726—7, and soon after confirmed by the General Court. This Parish was incorporated into a town, in 1775.

As early as 1728, we find, that an attempt was made, though proved unsuccessful, to divide the town. The records contain the

*This was in conformity with the prevailing custom. Formerly, he who purchased a parcel of land, actually went on to the premises and took into his possession a part of the land and a twig of the trees growing thereon, delivered to him by the person from whom the land was bought.

The Rev. Mr. Hugh Adams was ordained the pastor of the Church there, Sept. 10, 1707. when the Church was also gathered; but removed Aug. 22, 1710. His successor, Rev. Mr. Samuel Niles, was ordained, May 23, 1711. The third Church of Christ was gathered, May 26, 1731. The Rev. Mr. Elisha Eaton ordained pastor of it, June 2 following. See Hancock’s Cent. Serm. p. 28, note.
Feb. 24, 1728. There was a meeting of the town of Braintrey, to receive the report of their Committee, to whom was referred the subject of dividing the town, who reported in favor, but they would not accept it.

In the progress of time, this became necessary. About 1790, those who formed the first parish, turned their attention seriously to the subject; and in 1792, were incorporated into a distinct town, by the name of Quincy. Rev. Anthony Wibird, then minister of the Congregational Society, was requested to give a name to the place. But he refusing, a similar request was made to the Hon. Richard Cranch, who recommended its being called Quincy, in honor of Col. John Quincy, who had been the owner of the Mount Wollaston Farm, which had given the first civilized name to the place.

Before leaving this division of our history, it may be proper to speak of those portions of the town, to which particular names have been appropriated.

The most important of these, considering its early history, is Germantown. It derived its name from those who came over from different parts of Germany, and settled there. Previous to its receiving this name, it was called Shed’s-neck, probably, from a man of that name. It lies on the north-easterly part of the town, and in connexion with Hough’s-neck forms a peninsula, which is joined to the main land by the Mount Wollaston Farm. It is, for the most part, rather elevated in its situation, and has much valuable land. It contains, in particular, one excellent farm, at present, owned by Capt. Peter Bicknell, which, for many years, was considered the most valuable farm in town.

It is not to be concealed or denied, that much deception was practised upon those who came over to this place. It was thought to be a desirable object to induce the manufacturers of glass, and the weavers, to emigrate to this country, and Germantown seemed a favorable spot for them. The overgrown state of the population in the old world, did not require much persuasion, to induce the laboring classes to fly to a less populous land, and to one, too, which had already been associated in their minds with all that was delightful and happy. They were told, that here they should enjoy, unmolested, those rights, both civil and religious, around which their affections were entwined, and which, alone, served to render their homes dear to them.

They were given to understand, that they would be permitted to live as a separate community, and be responsible to the New-Englanders only for their honorable and peaceful conduct. As an additional motive for their emigration, they were assured, that “cows and geese” could be got in abundance in the woods, and that their living would cost them little or nothing. In their sight, the sole object our
people had, in inviting them over, was, that we might be instructed in those useful arts, of which, in our infant state, we were entirely ignorant. And so, perhaps, it was, but this will not authorize deception, or the violation of a sacred promise. Many came over, and established themselves here, and weaving and the making of glass were carried on with spirit. In addition to these, were a pottery and spermaceti works. For a long time, the novelty of the works drew visitors to the place, and all arts were mutually pleased.

Had they met with no discouragement, and been permitted to continue, there is good reason to believe, the place would now have been thickly settled, and in a flourishing condition. But in a short time, the object was effected, and the emigrants were too prosperous to continue. Continual impediments to their success were thrown in the way of the manufacturers, till they became disaffected. Most of them left entirely, and retired to a town, called Waldoborough, and for many years, neither glass manufacturer, nor weaver, has been connected with Germantown.

The time when these men came over, I have not been able to ascertain, with exactness. "I was, a year or two since, (1827,)" these are the words of a gentleman, to whom I am indebted for the information; "at Waldoborough, where I met with a woman, 90 years old; I inquired of her, 'if she could recollect the time when the glass-makers came over to Germantown?' 'Oh, perfectly,' she answered, 'I came with them, and we had joyful doings, on our arrival. General Palmer and old Mr. Quincy roasted an ox for us, and such a merry time was never heard of, before or since.' Her age was then about eighteen."

From this we are to judge that they came about 1753. Mr. Daniel Crane, who died in the Alms-house in 1822, then 85 years old, thought he was fifteen, when they came. This nearly agrees with the old lady's account, and we are probably safe in settling the period between 1750 and '60.†

Hough's-neck, a part of the town connected with Germantown, washed by the sea, so called from a man of that name, who once lived there.

Knight's-neck, a part of the town, on the south-easterly side, towards Braintree, bordering on a branch of what is called Fore-river, so called from a man of that name. Here, in former times, (1635,) says Governor Winthrop, "two carpenters, going to wash themselves, were carried away with the tide, and drowned."

"It is commonly reported, that a man by the name of Waldo, after their disaffection, invited them to follow him to a Township, in his possession, at the eastward, and that there they became prosperous. That afterwards, the heirs of Waldo claimed the township. The Germans considered it theirs by possession, and, as their final resort, resolved to shoot any one who should lay claim to it. This is report. Its truth may be doubted. It is, at least, true, that there was some difficulty, and that a reference was made for its settlement.

†There was not a little of romance connected with some who came over here. A young woman had been engaged to one of her countrymen, who suddenly embarked for this place. Her parents had opposed the match, and their marriage was prevented. Finding that her lover had left the country, she followed him in the next vessel that sailed, and, on landing at Germantown, he was the first on the shore to meet her. They were married, and their descendants are yet with us.

†Winthrop's Journal, p. 88.
The Farms, a part of the town, lying towards Neponset river, probably, deriving its name from the circumstance that Quincy and Wilson had their farms in that direction. At a very early period this part of the town was called The Farms.

Squantum is a large tract of land, on the northerly part of the town, which may very properly be called a peninsular promontory. It is, in many parts, exceedingly rocky, though there is still much valuable land there.

This place was, no doubt, the peculiar residence of the Indians, who dwelt in these parts. Near here, lived the famous Sagamore Chickatabat, whose authority is described by Hutchinson as extending round the harbors of Boston, Charlestown, through Malden, Chelsea, Nantasket, Hingham, Weymouth, and Dorchester.

He was an interesting character. Prince makes the following mention of him. April 15, Chickatabat comes to the Governor again, who puts him into a good new suit, from head to foot, and after, sets meat before him; but he would not eat, till the Governor had given thanks; and after meat, desired him to do the like.

In 1633, a great mortality was caused among the Indians, by the small pox, when Chickatabat died, and many of his people.

His son Josiah, grandson Jeremy, and great-grandson Charles Josiah, succeeded in the humble sovereignty.

Among the conjectures, respecting the etymology of the word Massachusetts; the following, by Neal, gives the origin of the name to this place.

"The Sachem, or Sagamore, who governed the Indians in this part of the country, had his seat on a small hill, or upland, containing, perhaps, an acre and a half, about two leagues to the southward of Boston, which hill, or hummock, is now in possession of Captain John Billings, and lies in the shape of an arrow-head, which arrow-heads are called, in their language, mos, or mons, with an O nasal, and a hill in their language is Wetuset; hence, this great Sachem's seat was called Moswetuset, which signifies a hill in the shape of an arrow's head, and his subjects, the Moswetuset Indians, from whence, with a small variation of the word, the province received the name of Massachusetts. Now this arrow-head-hill is found to lie just about that distance south of Boston, near to Squantum, and is beside, still called Sachem's hill.

The most satisfactory account of the origin of the name of this place is that it was called thus from Squantum, the celebrated friendly Indian, long known and loved by the Plymouth settlers.

Here, for many years, was celebrated a Pilgrim Feast, to which people, from all parts of the State, resorted, and spent the day in so-

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†There is a tradition, that, on a certain time, an inferior Sagamore, from Nantasket made war on this same Chickatabat, and that he came over here and fought him. He was routed, and in flying from his pursuer, attempted to cross a deep creek, but was so far spent, that he was drowned. From which circumstance, the creek has been called "Sagamore Creek," to this day. I believe this creek is in or near Milton.
*Savage's Notes to Winthrop's Journal.
*This was the grandfather of the present John Billings.
**Neal, Vol. II. p. 590.
eral glee, partaking of the produce of sea and shore, in memory of the Pilgrim Fathers, and their first landing at Plymouth. It has however, been discontinued for some years past.

Bent's Point lies on the easterly part of the town, over again Germantown, and may be considered, already, the most beautiful part of the town. It has been settled, within a few years past, by enterprising men, mostly by such as have led a sea-faring life. The principal excitement to the settlement here, was given by Major William Vinal. The place seemed to afford great conveniences for the curing of fish, and for ship-building, both of which have been carried on, though not to the extent at first anticipated.

The Point has already become a place of considerable business, and for the regularity of the buildings, and the taste displayed among them, is certainly not equalled by any other part of the town. The value of the place has increased much, since the opening of Hingham Turnpike. During the greater part of the year, the West- mouth packets, which pass daily to and from Boston, connect the place intimately with the city, so that it promises to become at no very distant period the most important part of the town.

This place has also been called Old Field's District, according to tradition, because, once it was about the only spot in town where corn was raised. By a particular vote of the inhabitants, it is henceforth to be called Quincy Point. The name Bent's Point was derived from a family of that name, residing thereabouts.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

Congregational Church.

Almost the first subject, to which the minds of the early settlers of our country were turned, after they landed here, was the formation of a church. It was religion which first excited them to leave behind them their native shores, and to plant themselves in this land of promise. To provide a covering from the storm, and a security against wild beasts, or men as wild, were matters of course to which necessity prompted them; but it was real principle, and that of no ordinary character, which led them, amidst poverty and distress, to rear temples to the Most High, in the solitude of the wilderness.

There is every reason to believe that Wollaston was a man of principle, and that he shared in that religious feeling which made a part of the being of our forefathers. Had he remained here and settled down with his colony, he would no doubt have shortly established a church. Morton, indeed, complains that the ill-will of the settlers against himself, arose from his own deep piety, and from his habit, accustomed to read the prayers of the church of England, in his

"The establishment of the Thursday Lecture in Boston, is a fair instance of the attention our Fathers paid to religion, in the early days of New-England. This was attended by all classes and conditions of men, from almost every part of the State. It was thought but an exercise of duty, to walk from Salem, in the morning, attend the Lecture, and return home at night. And when this is considered, it will hardly appear strange, that the good people of Braintree were constant in their attendance. I am told, it was the invariable custom of a certain farmer, in this place, to put his was around his neck, with two large boxes of butter, walk to Boston, sell his butter, stop the lecture, and return in the afternoon."
family, as "every good man should." No doubt much unchristian spirit was shown by the Puritans towards those who professed to be of the church of England, from whose persecutions they themselves had just escaped, and that there was much in their conduct which no circumstances and no condition could warrant. The principles of toleration were neither well understood nor acknowledged for many years after the landing of the pilgrims. They were in some measure tinctured by the very spirit they had abhorred and fled from. It is said of Mr. Dudley, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts,* "that he died with a copy of verses in his pocket, wrote with his own hand, and that the following two lines made part of it.

"Let men of God in Court and Churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

But I believe we shall all be ready to say that in the present case cause enough can be found in the character of Morton, for the course which was pursued against him, without resorting to the pretence which he himself has urged.

As may naturally be expected, we have no account of a church existing here during Morton's residence. No account is given of any thing like one, till after the place had become re-settled by those gentlemen who took farms here. Even the few who had then taken up their abode here, had a minister among them sometime before they had formed themselves into a church. As early as 1636, when Mrs. Hutchinson, by her religious zeal, proved the cause of so much excitement in Boston, one Mr. Wheelwright, who was connected with her in religious opinions, and who was also the source of some difficulty there, came out and preached to the people of the Mount. Mr. Wheelwright was a popular man, and gained many followers while in Boston; but when the question came to be decided whether he should become a teacher in the church of Boston, as many wished he should, Mr. Cotton observed † "that though he thought reverendly of his godliness and abilities, so as he should be content to live under such a ministry, yet seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations, he could not consent to choose him to that place: whereupon the church gave way that he might be called to a new church, to be gathered at Mount Wollaston, near Braintree."‡

That he did in fact preach here, appears by the following. § "The Rev. Mr. Wheelwright preached some time to this part of the church, and town of Boston, and acquired some possessions here."

All this was before any regular Church had been formed. The formation of a church, in those days of rigid religious sentiment, was always prior to the incorporation of the town. "The inhabitants of

*See Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 95, note. †This written by a later hand.
Boston, who had taken their farms and lots at Mount Wollaston, finding it very burdensome to have their business so far off, desired to gather a church there. Many meetings were about it. The great lot was in regard, it was given to Boston for upholding the town and church there, which end would be frustrated by the removal of so many chief men as would go thither. For helping of this it was propounded that such as dwell there should pay six pence the acre yearly for such land as lay within a mile of the water and three pence for that which lay further off.

This was in 1636—It was not until 1639, that the Church was gathered. In one of the old books of the church, a record is made to this effect: "The first church of Christ, in Braintree, was embodied 16th Sept. 1639, it being Lord's day." Winthrop thus notices it:

"17th 7th mo. 1639. So this day they gathered a church after the usual manner, and chose one Mr. Tomson, a very gracious, sincere man, and Mr. Flint, a godly man also, their ministers."

Though the place had been settled thus early, on account of the difficulties which occurred, the church can hardly be classed among the very first that were formed. It was the fifteenth in order.

Mr. Thompson and Mr. Flint were the first ministers of the

Winthrop's Journal, p. 185.

† Some of the old historians, among whom is Gorges, in giving the order of Churches, make this the twentieth; and I suppose Mr. Hancock followed their order. But I choose to follow that given by Hon. James Savage, in his valuable note in Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I. p. 94, to which the reader is referred. The old historians were exceedingly wanting in accuracy, on many important points.

‡ It may be worth while to mention, that the house in which Mr. Thompson lived stood nearly opposite the house of the present minister, in what is now often called the Thompson lot, and which was always known by that name formerly. The remains of the cellar, which was under his house, are to be seen to this day. He was also, since filled up, may be distinguished. It was under the large pear tree, in the above mentioned Thompson Lot.

This house was afterwards owned by one Thompson, a descendant of the minister, who was, by trade, a tailor. There is an anecdote, relating to him, and a certain lady, then distinguished in the town for her hatred of all fashions, which she termed "useless finery and finery." The anecdote may serve to explain his being afterwards called Petticoat Thompson.

The ladies of those days wore rich broadcloth petticoats, often trimmed with still richer lace. This good lady came to Thompson, the tailor, with broadcloth, for the petticoat, and very wide gold lace, for the trimming. "How's this, good madam?" said the tailor. "You are not a friend to the fashions?" "I thought," said the lady, "it would do to strengthen the garment." "Well, well," answered the tailor, "so it may, we'll see to it." When the lady called for her dress, behind the rich gold lace was sewed firmly on the inside of the petticoat. As may be expected, she was not a little enraged. The tailor laughed, enjoying the joke, adding, at the same time, "I knew you hated the fashions, madam, and, therefore, thought it best to put the lace out of sight." Tradition does not tell us how the lady looked at this, but that concealing her displeasure, she answered, "That was, to be sure, very prudent, Mr. Thompson, but, since the lace cost so much, I think I'll have it outside, for a bauble." The pleasure of the joke repaid the tailor for the trouble of the alteration.

Mr. Flint lived in a house, situated on the spot, where now stands the house of Mr. Jedediah Adams. Thus the pastor and teacher were near neighbors. The present minister lives on the land once in possession of the first teacher of this Church.

Whether any part of Mr. Flint's house is now standing, making a part of Mr. Adams' house, is uncertain. At any rate, there is, underneath this building, a small cellar, which has always been termed the Flint cellar, and was, as doubtless used by Mr. Flint.
Church. Gorges and Johnson both make mention of them in a few lines of poetry, formerly a favorite mode of treating characters.

"With two-fold cord doth Flint and Thomson draw,
In Christ’s yoke his fallow ground to break, &c."

According to the distinction observed in those early times in the Churches, Mr. Thompson was ordained pastor, and Mr. Flint, teacher. "The first deacons of the Church were, Mr. Samuel Bass, having been dismissed and recommended to them from the Church in Roxbury, July 5, 1640, and Mr. Richard Brackett, who was ordained July 21, 1642, having been received to communion by a letter, recommendatory from the Church of Boston, June 24, 1642."

Mr. Thompson was ordained eight days after the Church was gathered, viz. Sept. 24, 1639, and Mr. Flint the 17th March following.

In Oct. 1642, Mr. Thompson was invited to go on a mission to Virginia, with the Rev. Mr. Knowles, of Watertown. The ministers of New England were solicited by several in that part of the country, to take pity on their destitute circumstances, and send them good ministers to preach the gospel. It was, at least, honorable to the place, no less than the minister himself, that Mr. Thompson should be selected to go on this mission. He returned, however, the next year, by reason of an order of the government there, that such as would not conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England, should, by such a day, depart the country."

Mr. Thompson died here Dec. 10, 1668, aged 68. And Mr. Flint, April 27, 1668, having been connected with the Church more than 29 years.

They were both great men for the age in which they lived. Mr. Thompson was of a melancholy temperament, however, and permitted imaginary evils to interrupt the comfort and peace of life.

Mr. Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, where he gives the characters of nearly fifty of the first Clergymen of New-England, makes very honorable mention both of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Flint. Speaking of the melancholy disposition natural to some men, and the events through which Mr. Thompson passed, which tended to depress his spirit; first, being driven from England and afterwards from Virginia, he says, "Satan, who had been, after an extraordinary manner, irritated by the evangelical labors of this holy man, obtained liberty to sift him; and hence, after this worthy man had served the Lord Jesus Christ in the Church of our New English Braintree, he fell into that balneum diaboli, a black melancholy, which, for divers years, almost wholly disabled him for the exercise of his ministry." He then goes on to remark, that "after the Devil has been duly resisted, he will flee from us, and that in the case of the Rev. Mr. Thompson,

Hancock’s Cent. Serm. p. 23, note.
†Hancock’s Cent. Serm. p. 22.
‡Hancock’s Cent. Serm. p. 22, note.
§Mr. Flint was father of Rev. Josiah Flint, formerly pastor of the Church of Christ, in Dorchester, and grandfather of Henry Flint, Esq. many years senior fellow of Harvard College.

\|See Mather’s Magnalia; also for what follows."
he was resisted by the prayers of all the clergymen, so that "the end of that man was peace.""

After this, he embodies his whole character in a long piece of poetry. In reference to his melancholy state, he thus writes:

"With a rare skill in hearts, this doctor could
Steal into them words, that should do them good.
His balsams, from the tree of life distill'd,
Hearts cleans'd and heal'd, and with rich comfort fill'd.
But here's the wo.—Balsams, which others cur'd,
Would, in his own turn, hardly be endure'd."

He speaks of Rev. Henry Flint, in allusion to the resemblance of twins, and likens him to John Cotton, of Boston. According to Mr. Mather, Mr. Flint had two sons, twins, and to one he gave the name of John, and to the other Cotton. "In fact," says he, "he was John Cotton to the life." He refers, therefore, to John Cotton for the character of Mr. Flint. Of Mr. Cotton, it is sufficient to say that he employs eighteen pages of his Magnalia in his praise.

During the time of the ministry of the pastor and teacher, there were 204 members of the Church. One of Mr. Flint's manuscripts is still extant, containing baptisms from April 30, 1643, to March 1, 1667—8, in which, 408 are recorded, though Mr. Hancock thought some were omitted.

After the death of their first ministers, the Church was unhappily divided, as Mr. Hancock says, "one being for Paul and another for Apollos, as is too often the case in destitute Churches." After the death of Mr. Flint, four years elapsed before another minister was settled. This was from April 27, 1668, to Sept. 11, 1672.

Mr. Moses Fiske, who was the next minister, was sent by the Court of Sessions, for the county of Suffolk, to preach at Braintree, while the Church was in this divided state. The order of the Court on the matter, is found in the records kept by Mr. Fiske, and now in the hands of the present minister of the Congregational Church. It is to this effect:

'\nMr. Thompson's grave stone is still standing in our church yard, on which is the following inscription. 'Here lies buried the body of the Rev. Mr. William Thompson, the first pastor of Braintree Church, who deceased, Dec. 10, 1666, &c. He was a learned, solid, sound divine, whose name and fame in both England did shine.'

And by his side lies Mrs. Anna Thompson, his wife.

A stone, in the form of a monument, lies over the remains of Mr. Flint and his wife, with another at the head, on which is the following inscription: 'Here lies interred the body of the Rev. Mr. Henry Flint, who came to New-England in the year 1665, was ordained the first teacher of the Church of Braintree 1639, and died April 27, 1668. He had the character of a gentleman remarkable for his piety, learning, wisdom, and fidelity in his office. By him, on his right hand, lies the body of Magdley, his beloved consort, who died March, 1668—7. Her maiden name was Hear. She was a gentlewoman of piety, prudence, and peculiarly accomplished for instructing young gentlewomen; many being sent to her from other towns, especially from Boston. They descended from ancient and good families in England.' Over several of the graves in our yard will be found large square stones. These were placed, in earlier times, as a defence against the wolves, who came in large numbers and devoured the bodies that were buried. These stones were generally placed below the surface, directly over the body; in some places there may have been two to each grave, one below and another above.

†Hancock's Cent. Serm. p. 23. note.
At a County Court, held at Boston by adjournment, 23d Nov. 1671; the Court having taken into consideration the many means that have been used with the Church of Braintree, and hitherto, nothing done to effect as to the obtaining the ordinances of Christ among them—this Court orders, therefore, and desires Mr. Moses Fiske to improve his labors in preaching the word at Braintree, until the Church there agree, and obtain supply for the work of the ministry, or this Court take further order.

This is a true copy as attest,

FREEGRACE SENDALL, Clerk."

Mr. Fiske came out, after taking the advice of the neighboring elders, and preached his first Sermon, Dec. 3, 1671. He says in his records, "After the Sermon and exercises were ended, I apologized as to my coming &c., and the next day, about twenty of the brethren came to visit at Mr. Flint's, manifesting, in the name of the Church, their ready acceptance of what the honored Court had done, * * * and thanking me for my compliance thereto."

He was settled Sept. 11, 1672, according to his own record, which is this:

"11th 7th mo. 1672. This was the day of my settlement espousals to this Church and congregation, being selected to the office of a pastor to them. The Churches present by their messengers, were, besides three at Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester and Waymouth; Mr. Eliot prayed and gave the Charge; Mr. Oxenbridge and the deacons joined in the laying on of hands; and Mr. Thatcher gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. Dep. Gov. Leveret, Mr. Danforth, Mr. Tinge and Mr. Stoughton were present."

Mr. Fiske continued in the ministry thirty-six years, and died Aug. 10, 1708, in the 66th year of his age. During his ministry, 147 members were added to the Church. Baptisms, 779. None are recorded during the vacancy.

The next pastor was Mr. Joseph Marsh, who was ordained May 18, 1709, nine months after the death of Mr. Fiske. He continued in the ministry seventeen years, and died March 8, 1726, aged 41 years. The number of members added to the Church during his ministry, was 102. Baptisms, 288. In the vacancy between his death and the settlement of the Rev. John Hancock, there were 8 baptisms.

*See Records of First Church, by Mr. Fiske.  †Ibid.  ‡Hancock.

§Mr. Fiske and Mr. Marsh are buried together in the same tomb, over which is what was once a neat monument, though now defaced. The inscription is hardly visible. It is this:

Braintree! thy prophet's gone, this tomb inters
The Rev. Moses Fiske, his sacred herse.
Adore Heaven's praiseful art that form'd the man
Who souls not to himself, but Christ oft won:
Sail'd through the straits, with Peter's family
Renown'd, and Gaius' hospitality,
Paul's patience, James' prudence, John's sweet love.
Is landed, enter'd, clear'd and crown'd above.
The Rev. John Hancock, the next minister, was ordained Dec. 2, 1726. He continued in the pastoral relation nearly 18 years, was with the Church, to use his own humble language, "in weakness, and in fear and in much trembling." He was, by no means, however, a weak man. He possessed good talents and applied himself diligently to the duties of his office. In the great revival in religion which spread throughout the country, during his ministry, he, with great wisdom and prudence, saved his people from enthusiasm and extravagance, on the one hand, and from infidelity and indifference to religion on the other.

In the year 1739, he preached his well-known Century Sermon on the completion of the first Century since the gathering of the Church. He died May 7, 1744, in the 42d year of his age.

Next to Mr. Hancock was the Rev. Samuel Bryant, who was ordained Dec. 4, 1745. He was a learned man and of a powerful mind.

†Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1726, Mr. John Hancock was ordained the pastor of the church of Christ, in the North Precinct of Braintree, by the solemn imposition of the hands of the Presbytery. The Churches sent unto and desired to be present at the solemnities were the Churches of Cambridge, Lexington, Dorchester 1st Church, Milton, Braintree South Church, Weymouth 1st Church, and Hingham 1st Church. The Rev. Mr. John Danforth made the first prayer; my hon. father, the Rev. Mr. Hancock, of Lexington, preached the Sermon from Luke xxiv. 49. Rev. Mr. Thacher gave the Charge, and the Rev. Mr. Danforth the Right Hand of Fellowship. The Rev. Mr. Niles and Mr. Appleton laying on hands. His letter of dismissal from the Church of Cambridge, was read at the same time, by the Rev. Mr. Hancock. The auditory was very numerous. — See Church Records, 1st B. p. 70.

†See Allen's Amer. Biog. p. 326.

†Mr. Hancock lived on what is now called the Hancock lot. His house became the property and residence of his son, John Hancock, President of the second Congress, and Governor of the State of Massachusetts. Rev. Samuel Bryant also lived in this house, and after him Col. Josiah Quincy, father of the young patriot, and grandfather of the present Mayor of the City of Boston. The cellar of this house is still to be seen.

Among the old houses still standing, one in possession of Lemuel Brackett, may have been once a garrison. The stone walls, of which it is composed, may seem to indicate that such was the case. Its situation near Mount Wollaston, authorizes the belief that the stone part of it might have been built near the time of Wollaston.

In the house of Daniel Greenleaf, Esq. on the farm which was granted to Edmund Quincy, is a study room, which was built for Henry Flint, grandson of the first teacher of the Congregational Church, and for more than fifty years tutor, and nearly the same period fellow of Harvard College. This is called Flint's study, to this day.

Opposite the house of Mr. John Bass, on the rising ground, once stood the dwelling of Thomas Revel, one of the regicides in the reign of Charles I. He was obliged to leave his country to save his life. He came out here, and lived in great obscurity, having built himself a mere shed, as a covering from the storms and cold, on the above mentioned spot. After some time, the owners of the land claimed it, and he was obliged to remove. He retired into the stone-commons, where he built a log-hut barely sufficient to cover himself and his hog, who occupied one end of his miserable abode. All that could be heard of him, while living, was, that his name was Tom Revel. But when he died, the Governor of the Province, and other distinguished men of the time, came out from Boston, and were his pall-bearers. From which circumstance, his true character was brought to light. He was of noble birth, and a distinguished man in the land of his fathers.

†Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1745, Mr. Lemuel Bryant was ordained the pastor of the first Church of Christ, in Braintree. The Churches sent to, were the Church at Lexington, the 2d Church in Scituate, the 2d in Braintree, the 1st in Hingham, the 1st in Scituate, the Church in Milton, the 1st in Stoughton, the Church in Dorchester, the 1st in Weymouth; the Rev. Mr. Brown, of Scituate, began with prayer; the Rev. Mr. Eells, of Scituate, preached from 2d Corinthians iv. 50: the Rev. Mr. Niles, of Braintree, gave the Charge: the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Milton, the Right Hand of Fellowship.
nund, President Adams, senior, has called him "the learned, inge­nuous and eloquent pastor." He was too liberal for the period in which he lived. He was accordingly dismissed, Oct 22, 1753.—During his ministry, he was engaged in controversy with the Rev. Dr. Miller, of the Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Mr. Porter, of Bridgewater, and others.

In 1755, the Rev. Anthony Wibird* was ordained pastor of the Church, and continued till June 4, 1800, when he departed this life, in the 72d year of this age, and 46th of his ministry.

For many years previous to his death he was unable, from bodily infirmities, to attend upon the duties of his office. He was a learned man, though in his habits somewhat eccentric, and withal of great dignity,† and beloved and respected by his people.

Towards the last part of his life, it was necessary to supply his pulpit with other clergymen a great part of the time. Mr. Whit­man, now a lawyer in Pembroke, and Rev. Mr. Flint, now a minis­ter in Cohasset, received calls to settle as colleagues with Mr. Wi­bird, but did not accept them. Rev. Peter Whitney, having suppli­ed the pulpit a short time, was invited to settle, and was accordingly ordained † Feb. 5, 1800.

During his ministry up to the present time, there have been 612 baptisms; 280 couples have been united in marriage; and 222 have been admitted to full communion. The number of deaths during the same period, amounts to 666. The church at present consists of 234 members.§

*Wednesday. Feb. 5, 1755, Anthony Wibird was ordained pastor of the First Church of Christ, in Braintree. The Churches sent to, were the 2d and 3d in Braintree, Rev. Mr. Niles, pastor of the 2d, and Rev. Mr. Taft, pastor of the 3d. To the Rev. Messrs. Sewall and Prince, of Boston; to the First Church in Cambridge; the Rev. Mr. App­leton, pastor; to the First Church in Portsmouth, Rev. Mr. Langdon, pastor; Rev. Mr. Bowman, pastor of the Church in Dorchester; Rev. Mr. Robbins, pastor of the Church in Milton; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Weymouth; Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham; Rev. Mr. Dunbar, of Stoughton. Rev. Mr. Langdon began with prayer; Rev. Mr. Appleton preached from Leviticus, x. 3; Rev. Mr. Gay gave the Charge; Rev. Mr. Dunbar the Right Hand of Fellowship.

†Mr. Wibird was also a man of great circumspection and prudence. He had always an answer ready for all who approached him, and was never found to commit himself. Being a believer in a future state of righteous retribution, he was once asked by one of the Universalist persuasion, what he thought of their doctrines. A question given after the manner of the Pharisees, rather to try him for an answer than to get his opinion. "Why, sir," said the dignified parson, "if you are right, we can't be wrong, and I think yours a very safe way."

‡The religious services at his ordination, were performed by the following clergymen: Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Prof. Ware, of Cambridge, then minister of Hingham; Sermon by Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Northborough; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Dr. Fiske, of West Cambridge; Charge by Rev. Mr. Cummings, of Billerica; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. McKoan, of Milton; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr. Harris, of Dorchester.

§Mr. Stephen Kinsley, of Dorchester, now Milton, was ordained the first ruling elder in this Church, Oct. 12, 1653; Mr. Francis Eliot and Mr. William Alice were ordained Deacons the same day. The successive Deacons to this day are these, viz. Mr. Robert Parmenter, chosen in the room of Deacon Eliot, who deceased Oct. 23, 1677; and Mr. Samuel Thompson, son to the pastor, both ordained, Nov. 2, 1679, by the Rev. Mr. Fiske. Then succeeded Mr. Thomas Bass, Mr. Joseph Penniman, Mr. Nathaniel Wales; afterwards ordained ruling elder, viz. Feb. 27, 1700, by Mr. Fiske. The Rev. Mr. Peter Thatcher, of Milton, and elder John Rogers, of Weymouth, joining in the laying on of hands. Mr. Benjamin Savil succeeded Mr. Wales in the Dea.
For the last thirty years, this society has been more united than any other in our country. No "root of bitterness" has in any measure sprung up to trouble them; none of that ill-will which sectarianism so often produces, has been found among them; nor have any of those sources of division arisen, which, in so many of the towns of New England, have rent the happiest societies, divided parents and children, and mingled the spirit of uncharitableness, bigotry, and any spirit but that of Christ, with that worship of God, which should be "first pure then peaceable."

The church in which the congregational society at present assemble, (1827,) is the second house which has been erected for the public worship of God, by this society. It has usually been supposed that it was the third, because Mr. Hancock, in his sermon observes, "This is the third house, in which we are now worshipping, that and our Fathers have built for the public worship of God."

But by inquiry, I find that by this he was understood to mean that two were built by this society, and one by the Episcopalians.

In the records, is the following account of a vote, which was passed in 1695. "November, A. D. 1695—It being then proposed in the inhabitants, whether the present meeting-house in Braintree should be repaired or another built, it was then voted that a new meeting house be erected or built; a second vote was that Mr. Caleb Hubbard, and Benjamin Savel, should be a committee to repair and stoppe the leaks in the south side of the meeting-house for the present. Benj. Thompson, T. C."

Afterwards we find this record, "Nov. 25, 1706, The inhabitants of the town of Braintree, being lawfully convened, it was then proposed by the moderator, that whereas there were two meeting-houses erected in this town, whether the south end shall be a congregation by themselves, for the worship and service of God. It was then voted, by the major part of said inhabitants, on the affirmative."

This then seems to be the meeting-house, built according to the vote passed in 1695; and, in fact, in 1708, what is now called the first parish in Braintree was made a distinct parish, as we have seen, and they probably worshipped in the house just referred to. Moreover, the present meeting-house in Quincy was finished in 1732, and it would be altogether improbable to suppose that in so short a time another meeting-house should have been built, on the supposition that one was built also for this Parish in 1695.

The stone meeting-house was the only one, therefore, before the present house, (1827,) and was placed on the rising ground near the present market house, occupying the spot on which stands the shop of Mr. Benjamin Faxon. It continued standing for some time after
the present one was built; but was not used, as some have supposed, for a school-house. When it was first erected, it served a double purpose; a garrison* to defend the inhabitants against the Indians, and a place for public worship.

The churches in the early days of our country had little indeed of comfort or accommodation about them. There were no pews, except such as each individual chose to build at his own expense. In the first vol. of Braintree Records, are found many curious votes passed in relation to this subject. One in particular may be mentioned. "Whereby permission is granted to a certain gentleman to build him a pew over the pulpit provided he so builds it as not to darken the pulpit."

The present house was dedicated in 1732, Oct. 8. "It was raised" says Mr. Hancock, "July 27, 28, 29, 1731, in peaceable times. The text preached upon at the dedication was Isaiah lx. 13. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was then administered; at the same time also we began to read the Holy Scriptures in course. The portion then read was 1 Kings, 8th chap. The Sabbath following we began the book of Job and the Gospel of Matthew. Deo optimo maximo Laus et gloria."

The first tower of this house was struck by lightning about the year 1755, and shattered to pieces. It was placed on the top of the roof, on the north-west end. The present tower was built just before the revolutionary war, but the inhabitants were prevented from completing the cupola till after the war.

This church has undergone several repairs at different periods. By the increase of the population, it was found to be too small for the accommodation of the people, and in 1806, it was rendered more commodious by opening it through the whole length, and increasing its size by a great number of pews. The whole appearance of the church was improved by this act, and thus it has continued to the present time. The engraving at the beginning of this pamphlet shows its appearance in 1827.

The other public garrison was near the house of Mr. Joseph Bass. Indeed, the cellar to his house is the same one which was dug for the garrison. His garden was, in former times, fenced in, and used as a place of safety for the cattle, against the attacks of the Indians. Between his house and the hill, on which stood the other garrison, the stone meeting-house, was an immense swamp. This swamp was altogether impenetrable, except by one or two paths, known only to the inhabitants. And, accordingly, when the Indians were hereabouts, the people from the two garrisons could pass from one to the other, through the swamp, without the least danger of annoyance. The place has little the appearance of an impassable swamp now.

"The vane of this first Church has been preserved to the present time. Towards the close of the life of President Adams, senior, he had it placed before his house, on a pole, where it still remains."

The dimensions of this house, since the last alteration, are as follows: Width 56 feet, length 61 feet, height of tower to bell-deck 50 feet, height of cupola from bell-deck 25 feet, height of ball, above the vane, from the ground, 75 feet. The appearance of the Church, inside, as well as out, is still very respectable. There are 87 pews on the lower floor, and all painted throughout. The galleries, as well as the roof, are supported by four large pillars, which give the house rather a solemn and imposing appearance. The pulpit is in the ancient style of building, handsomely carved, with one flight of

*Garrison
The inhabitants are now engaged in erecting a new church of stone for their better accommodation, in consequence of a very liberal grant of the Hon. John Adams, of several quarries of stone for that purpose. Another generation has risen up to worship with their fathers, for whose convenience a larger church seems to be required. The utmost harmony has prevailed in regard to the subject, and it is expected that a new Church will be prepared for the worship of God in the course of another year, equally creditable to the public spirit of the inhabitants and the memory of the honorable donor.

**Episcopal Church.**

The Episcopal Church in this place, was built sometime between the years 1725 and 1728. There is in existence, a bond of Samuel Pain, dated August 13, 1725, to pay 5l. to Peter Marquand and others, a committee for building a Church of England in Braintree. And a record is made in the hand-writing of Dr. Miller, that the first meeting within the walls of the Church, was held on Easter Monday, 1728.

It appears also, from another bond, that an agreement was made between Ebenezer Miller, on the one hand, and Henry Turner, Peter Marquand, John Vesey, George Cheesman, Benjamin Vesey and Samuel Pain, on the other hand, and by this agreement Mr. Miller received 100l., which sum was to be returned to Turner and others, with interest, in one year, if before that time he should not be appointed to preach as minister of the Episcopal Church in Braintree by the honorable society, for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts.” This sum was intended to defray the expense of Mr. Miller’s voyage to England.

Mr. Miller was then Master of Arts at Cambridge, New-England. He went to Europe and was ordained Deacon by Edmund, Lord Bishop of London, June 29, 1726, and Priest, July, 1727, was created Master of Arts at Oxford, July 16, 1727, was licensed to preach the Gospel in Massachusetts, 24th July, 1727, was appointed missionary to Braintree, New-England, Aug. 26, 1727, and Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Bolton, Sept. 28, 1727. He then returned to Braintree, where he officiated till his death, Feb. 11, 1763. His remains are entombed under the Church, over which he presided for 36 years.

During this period he was once again in England, and was created Doctor in Divinity at Oxford, Dec. 8, 1747. From February 11th—

—stairs. Below is the Communion Table, forming the front part of a large pew; according to ancient custom, made for the accommodation of the Deacons, or perhaps for the Ruling Elders. In front of the gallery, for the choir of singers, is a handsome door presented to the Society by two ladies, Madam Abigail Adams, wife of President Adams, and Madam Esther Black, widow of the late Moses Black, Esq.

*This account of the Episcopal Church is taken from a Report of a Committee on pews; of which L. M. Sargent Esq. was chairman.*

†Dr. Miller lived in a house which stood till it was taken down, a short time since where now stands the house of Edward Miller. Esq. a lineal descendant of the worthy divine. The house, which was taken down, was very old, and an elegant house for its day. It was, for many years, the residence of Major Ebenezer Miller, son of the Doctor.
1763, to the Christmas following, the Church was destitute of a minister. From Dec. 1763, to March 30, 1777, being Easter Sunday, the Rev. Edward Winslow was its pastor. From March 30, 1777, to the ordination of its present minister, there has been no settled clergyman over the church.

The land on which this church is erected and its surrounding yard, were granted as a free gift by William and Benjamin Vesey, August 26, 1725, in these words: “For building a Church of England upon, and for no other purpose.” On the settlement of Mr. Winslow, the congregation agreed with the society abroad, by whom he was appointed, to provide a decent house and glebe for his accommodation. Accordingly, Feb. 25, 1764, a subscription commenced with that intent, the head of which closes in these words: “for the use and benefit of an Episcopal minister forever, performing divine service according to the liturgy of the Church of England, at said Brain-tree.”

The deed is from Thomas Alleyne and wife, dated April 2, 1765, to the wardens of this church and their successors, “to and for the sole use and benefit of said Episcopal Church,” and for the consideration of 306l. 13s. 4d. lawful money. To this purchase 20l. were contributed by John Borland, and 42l. by John Apthorp, of London.

On Easter Sunday, 1777, Mr. Winslow gave notice that he should no longer officiate in this church, and on the 2d of August, 1777, he sailed with his son from Boston to Rhode Island, to be exchanged for two prisoners. Death prevented the execution of this design.

On Easter Sunday, 1760, a collection was made for the sufferers by a fire in Boston, and the society felt themselves able to bestow on this object 11l. 0 11. lawful money.

In 1773, it was found necessary to enlarge the church at the east end 13 feet. The pulpit was then removed to the corner of the north range of pews from the centre of the opposite side.

On the records of the church up to this period, may be found nearly 800 baptisms. In 1764, sixty-four heads of families are named by Mr. Winslow, as belonging to this church, and sixty communicants knelt round the altar.

In 1777, without any symptoms of decline, it may be said to have fallen in the midst of its strength. In that year Mr. Winslow adhering to the principles of monarchy, abandoned the church and the colonies. The fall of the church since that period has perhaps justly been ascribed to the necessary connexion between it and the Government of England, during the revolutionary struggle.

Mr. Miller and Mr. Winslow, received from the society for propagating the gospel, 60l. sterling, or $266; the residue of their salaries being paid by their parishioners. But after the revolution, when we could no longer pray for the King as our ruler, this support was withdrawn.

After this the church became little more than a church in name. Without a minister and without revenues, it was supplied by readers, and at times by some gentlemen in orders. The lay reader who first followed Mr. Winslow, was Mr. Joseph Cleverly. At a meeting on Easter Sunday, 1784, the thanks of the church were voted to Mr. Cleverly for his past services, and at the same meeting it was voted to confer with the Rev. Mr. Parker, on the subject of applying to
Mr. Taylor to officiate in this church. Whence it is interred.

Mr. Cleverly's first term of service was from 1777 to '84, about seven years.

At an adjourned meeting of the church, May 17, 1784, James Athorp, Esq. was requested to solicit the society for propagating the Gospel, once more to lend their aid here.

At another adjournment, May 31, 1784, it was voted to engage Mr. Wheeler to officiate one Sabbath in each month.

At a meeting Oct. 3, 1784, some attempt was made to settle Mr. Graves, of Providence, but after a conference with that gentleman it failed.

March 28, 1786, the church renewed its contract with Mr. Wheeler, to preach once a month till Jan. 1, 1786, and afterwards on Easter Monday, till 1787. The contract was annually renewed, and Mr. Wheeler supplied the church thus till April, 1790; Mr. Cleverly reading service when he was absent. April 26, 1790, it was voted that Mr. Wheeler be employed only once in two months.

May 16, 1791, James Athorp and others were appointed to procure a minister for the summer, and the Rev. Joseph Warren, was applied to and occasionally preached, as did also the Rev. William Montague.

April 8, 1793, the contract to preach monthly was renewed with Mr. Montague, and continued till 1799. It was then thought proper to employ his services through the summer, and upon occasional Sabbaths.

After the year 1801, to which period Mr. Montague continued to supply, different clergymen and readers have been employed, who have officiated for single Sabbaths or longer stated periods. Of this number were Mr. John L. Blackburn, once rector of St John's Church, Providence; William Clark, James B. Howe, Calvin Wallcutt, &c.

The church continued to have preaching, without a settled minister till 1822. "Oct. 8, 1822, it was voted that this society accept the consent of the present incumbent, the Rev. B. C. Cutler, to officiate permanently in this church, as their pastor, and they hereby agree to pay over to him annually, the whole future income of the church, together with the rent of the glebe, after deducting the necessary current expenses; and they sincerely pray that their society may be increased under his care, so as to render the salary more worthy of his acceptance in succeeding years."

Rev. Benjamin Clark Cutler, was ordained deacon of the church 19th September, 1812. He commenced preaching here in July of the same year. He has since been admitted to the order of priests.

Since that period the church has been enlarged by two wings running the whole length of the house, and now many more assemble within its walls for the public worship of God, than have assembled there at any period since the foundation of the Church.

EDUCATION.

From the first settlement of the town great attention has been paid to the education of the young. The Puritans in their poverty never

* At his ordination the Rev. Dr. Gardner, of Trinity Church, Boston, read prayers and the Rev. Bishop Griswold, of Bristol, preached.
lost sight of learning, and that spirit of theirs which led them to look more mildly on death than on ignorance, passed down from 'sire to son,' and was not suffered to perish here.

Almost among the very earliest records of the town, are those which relate to the establishment and maintenance of schools. Neal says, in early days "Roxbury and Braintree are distinguished for their free schools."

The first school-house in this town stood near the spot on which the first meeting-house was placed, and occupied the land on which now stands the house of Mr. John Green. The next stood on Pen's hill, near Mr. Henry Hardwick's house, and was kept many years by a Mrs. Belcher. President Adams, sen. was one of her scholars. The vote for the erection of this school-house, is still on record.

"Oct. 2, 1697—Voted that a new school-house† should be built in the road between Clement Cox his house, and Gregory Belcher's, hard by the white-oak‡ tree. The dimensions of the house to be twenty feet long, the width sixteen feet long, and seven foot between joynets."

The next school-house§ stood on the land where now stands the house of Mr. George Newcomb, nearly opposite the Hancock lot. The school-house which stood till it was burnt down in 1815, on the edge of the green opposite the meeting-house, was the next in order. The one now standing was raised shortly after that was burnt, and finished in 1817. The whole cost of this building was $2127 19: over the school-rooms is a large and convenient Hall, used by the town for the transaction of all public business.

Besides the schools kept in the houses above mentioned, others were added to the several districts as the town increased. From the situation of the town, it is hardly capable of the same accommodations in regard to schools it might otherwise possess.

The central school which is kept through the year, is so far removed from some of the districts, as to make it inconvenient for all who might wish to attend; and although two schools placed in favora-

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For this information I am indebted to Mr. Joseph Bass, who is of the very best authority in matters of tradition; and to him also for an anecdote relating to this same Mrs. Belcher. It was a custom with her to carry her corn to mill herself, except when some one of her scholars lent her a helping hand. John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, was a favorite among the rest, and when he carried the corn, she gave him as a reward three coppers, and charged him at the same time to keep his money to buy land with. It is unnecessary to add how well he profited by early instruction.

†This school-house was a very fine one for those days. It had a bell attached to it for the use of the scholars. But a bell was so novel a thing that, when the master was not in the school, it was kept incessantly ringing. This was not found so agreeable to those who lived near, and who would oftentimes have preferred to have spared what the scholars considered so delightful a treat. One morning the scholars came to their bell rope with their accustomed earnestness, but most unfortunately for them the bell had been taken in the night and was never afterwards heard of.

‡This white-oak tree seems to have been one of note, for it is often referred to, and made of as much importance, as if it had been a mountain never to be moved.

§This school-house stood partly in the road. It was kept by a Mr. Fisher, who made it a custom, as it was then a custom in all the schools, to hear his scholars recite on Saturday morning in the Assembly's Catechism. Mr. Joseph Bass was then a boy, and one morning among the rest was questioned to recite. But he refused, saying, that his father wished him not to recite in the Catechism. He was excused by the master, but the matter was the cause of some excitement. Afterwards Mr. Fisher was invited to dine with the father, and the affair was settled.
ble situations to be kept through the year might seem in remedy to evil, it has not as yet been thought expedient to make such an arrangement. According to the present system, two of the larger and most distant districts are furnished with a school-master during four months in the year, while in the summer season all the districts are provided with a school-mistress.

A private school is also kept by Mr. William Seaver for scholars attending to the English studies, which from the experience of the gentleman in school-keeping, will, without doubt, be found of great value to the place, as an accommodation for those who may choose to have the benefit of private instruction.

The following are the sums which the town have seen fit to raise for the several years mentioned. The sums have been increased from year to year according to the demand for larger appropriations and their means of conveniently satisfying that demand.

In 1792, voted to raise 75£ for the support of schools.
1802, " $430 "
1810, " 722 "
1826, " 1360 "

Between the years 1740 and '60, a Latin school was kept in this town by Mr. Joseph Marsh, son of the former minister, which was one of the most respectable schools in the country. He kept his school in the house now owned by Mr. Frederick Hardwick, sen. He prepared young men for college, and fitted others for honorable stations in life. John Adams, Zabdiel Adams, and Josiah Quincy,jr went through the course of studies preparatory to entering the University, under his care and direction.

By the liberal donations of the late President Adams, a foundation has been laid for an Academy here, which at some future time will place the means of obtaining a classical education within the reach of all in the town who may desire to avail themselves of them.

Libraries. The Adams Library, so called from its donor, is one of the most valuable in the State for its size. It was presented to the inhabitants of Quincy by the Hon. John Adams, a short time before his death. It consists of about 3000 volumes, and contains some of the very choicest works, some of which are not to be found in any public library in the country. It is designed to be placed in a room of the Academy for the benefit of the school. At present, the inhabitants derive little or no benefit from it. But if the design of the "beneficent benefactor" shall hereafter be answered, as without doubt, some time or other, it will, their children and their children's children, to the latest time, may successfully derive from it those advantages, which the aged patriot had in view in presenting it.

The Quincy Social Library, is owned by a number of proprietors, and is intended for a circulating library. It consists of two or three hundred volumes, and has been the means of exciting a love of reading and of useful knowledge, which have amply compensated for all the expense attending it. It might be still more enlarged and made of incalculable advantage to the town.

"In addition to the land containing the quarries of stone, the Hon. John Adams presented to the town a very valuable lot of land, called the 'Hancock lot.'—and on this, according to the conditions of the grant, the Academy is to be placed.
Beside these, are many private libraries belonging to different individuals, which, with the attention paid to learning, bear strong testimony to the intelligence, good sense, and public spirit of the people.

STATISTICS.

Within the last few years, the population of this place has rapidly increased, and few towns are, at present, in a more prosperous and growing condition.

In the year 1800, according to the census then taken, the following was the return made of the inhabitants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Colored</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>639</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1081</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whole number of dwelling houses, 134

In the year 1820, the return was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Colored</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>812</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whole number of families, 251

The whole number of dwelling-houses in 1827, amounts to 240

Militia. A sufficient number of men performing military service, is furnished from Quincy to form two large militia companies, and an independent company of infantry. For many years, several individuals in the town joined with others of one or two of the neighboring towns, and formed a company of cavalry, but at length, there were not found enough sufficiently interested in its support, and it was disbanded.

During the revolutionary struggle, a company was formed in this place, which was commanded by Captain Vinton, father of the physician, which was marched to Cambridge for the defence of the place. This company afterwards went to New-York, but many of its members died through fatigue. The life of a soldier was new to them, and its hardships were too great.

Fire Department. Two bands of men are released from the number performing military duty, for the management of two Fire Engines, which have been thought necessary for the safety of the town

*Mr. Hancock observes, in the notes to his Century Sermon, that many ancient families had then become extinct. At present, the names of Payne, Parmenter, Palmer, Neale, Crosby and Thompson, formerly very numerous, are not to be found among us.

He mentions also, several instances of longevity, viz. Mr. Francis Newcomb, who died May 27, 1692, upwards of an hundred. Mr. Lawrence Copeland, who died Dec. 30, 1699, at least an hundred years old. Betty Suchnummug, an Indian, was reckoned an hundred years old at her death.

He records two remarkable instances of sudden death in the house of God, in the time of divine service, viz. Mrs. Lydia Saunders, who sunk down in her seat and died instantly, March 9, 1711, at 12 A. M. in a good old age. And Mr Joseph Parmenter, who dropped down dead in the pulpit, Feb. 20, 1737, in the 82d year of his age.—See H. C. S. p. 26, note.
against fire. One of these is called the "Columbia," the other "Adams Engine."

A Society is also formed among the inhabitants, called the "Quincy Fire Society," for the mutual preservation of each other's property in case of fire.

Trade, &c. There are seven shops in the town for the retail of English, West India, and American goods. There is one Tavere and one Hotel. About one hundred men are employed in manufacturing boots and shoes, and on an average, perhaps, nearly the same number in splitting and hammering stone. There are two establishments for currying leather, one Tannery, one Dye-house, one cham­lace manufactory, one establishment for weaving stockings, three chaise manufactories, three establishments for the employment of wheelwrights; between twenty and thirty men are employed as car­penters, three establishments for working slate, one cabinet manufac­tory, four blacksmith's shops, two taylor's shops, one jeweller.

On the farm of the Hon. Josiah Quincy are large and valuable salt works, from which a vast quantity of salt is annually made.

A fine market-house is kept open through the year, by which, in addition to other means, the inhabitants are conveniently furnished with almost every kind of provision.

A Post-office has been established in this place for many years, and a fine stage coach runs daily to the city. Besides this, other stages are passing through the town at almost every hour, so that in this way we have every convenience for communication with the city.

Ship-building, Fishery, &c. Ship-building has been of late years of considerable importance in this town. At different periods, it has

The first tavern in this town was the middle part of the house occupied by Mr. Benjamin Faxon, and was kept by a Captain Mille, who was also a representative to the General Court. The next stood on Pen's Hill, and was kept by Mr. Penniman. The third was kept near the house of Mr. Peter Bryenston Adams, first by Mr. Corby, afterwards by Mr. Baa. The fourth stood where now stands the house of Captain James Brackett, and was kept by his grandfather. The next was kept near Mr. William Packard's house, and was kept by Mr. Cleaverly, afterwards by Mr. Marsh. The next was kept in Mr. Packard's house by Mr. John Newcomb. He being proprietor, several had the care of this tavern, among whom are the names of Arnold, Hayden, &c. The next was the present tavern, opposite the Congregational Church, kept first by Colonel Thayer, next by Capt. Young, next Deacon Savil, and now kept by Mr. Daniel French.

In this house Gov. Shirley once lived.

†In September 1789, the famous ship Massachusetts was launched from that part of Quincy called Germantown. She attracted great attention at the time, and drew to her launching people from all parts of the State. She was built for the Canton trade, Major Samuel Shaw, of Boston, agreed with an East India company to have her built. Eli Hayden, of Braintree, contracted with Major Shaw to build her. Daniel Briggs was the master builder. Her dimensions were as follows:

- Length of keel, 116 ft. 00
- Length of beam, 36 " 10
- Foremast in length, 81 "
- Diameter, 27 in. &c.

Lower deck, 6 ft. 10
Gun deck to upper, 6 " 6
Lower hold, 13 " 6
Gunwale, &c.

It is commonly reported that this ship was lost in her first voyage. This, however, is not true. The report probably arose from a prediction, of Moll Pitcher of Lynn, a fortune-teller, that she would be lost and every man in her. This prediction had a wonderful effect upon the seamen, so that, in fact, three different crews were shipped before she left Boston. She reached Canton in safety and was there sold. In Java and Canton she was pronounced the handsomest vessel in the two ports. For a more particular account of this vessel, the reader is referred to Delano's Voyages, where are described, in a very interesting manner, the superstitions fears of the crew during the voyage.
been prosecuted with more or less spirit, and some of the finest trading ships* have been launched from our yards. Two yards only are in use for this purpose at present.

Curing of fish has been somewhat attended to at Quincy Point.—The situation of the place affords many conveniences, and before the last war it was carried on more extensively than it has been since. This event caused an interruption in the business which has not as yet been restored.

Mills. Till within three or four years past, two mills† have been in operation for grinding corn and other kinds of grain. One of these, called Veazie's mill, was in use during half the year only. It was at length found, that the land which it was necessary to cover in order to form the pond, was more valuable than the mill, and it was no longer continued. The tide-mill is still in operation, and is the only one at present in the town.

Beside the tide-mill, and in connexion with it, is a saw-mill, which has been found of some use in sawing. But it cannot be supposed that, in a place where boards and plank can be obtained at so reasonable a rate by shipping, a mill of this kind should be found so valuable as in places farther removed in the interior.

Stone Quarries. The Stone quarries are valuable sources of wealth to the town. The stone which they yield is of the finest species of granite, and has, of late, been preferred by many to the white Chelmsford granite. It is found of different qualities and different colors. Some of it is white, and resembles much the Chelmsford, though it is not found of so fine a grain. In other places it bears a greyish aspect. But that which is generally considered the best at present, is of a fine blue color. This is found to retain its original appearance without the least change; while the other colours lose their beauty in a few years.

Before the year 1800, these quarries were not worked or thought of much value. It is said, that the person who thought of turning them to an account, was fearful of the success of his project, and was rather secret in trying his wedges. He found the stone to split.

"A large vessel was also built many years ago, by the lower wharf, on the place of Daniel Greenleaf, Esq. It was built for the Province, from the timber which grew near the place, and under the superintendance of the two Quincy's, Col. Josiah and Col. John.

†The first mill in this town was on the land of Lemuel Brackett, Esq. and nearly opposite a small island by the Canal-bank, called the Pin-cushion. There are to be seen, to this day, the remains of a wharf near the spot, and the timbers which formed part of the mill.

It was kept, says Mr. Joseph Bass, by a man of the name of Twelves. By tradition so called, because he commanded a company of twelve men. In days less particular on this point than the present, it was not uncommon to nick-name a person; and for this, to be ever afterwards the only appellation by which the person should be known. What was the proper surname of this Twelves it is impossible to determine.

In connexion with this mill may be mentioned, a wind-mill, built by Royall Tyler about the year 1786. This mill stood on the plain by the shop of M. R. & E. Marsh. It was not well constructed, and did not answer the purpose for which it was intended.

The plan was not generally approved of before it was built, and not a little fun was made at the expense of the builder. Among others, Mr. Wibird, then minister of the Congregational Church, was asked by Mr. Tyler how he liked his mill. "Why, sir," said he, "when I was a boy I made one myself, but it would not go."

‡Owned by Deacon Elijah Veazie.
regular manner, and since that period the quarries have been worked without interruption.

Nothing but marble can exceed the beauty of this granite, when well worked. It presents a fine surface, pleasingly variegated, uniting in its appearance richness and massive strength.

This granite has been wrought into almost every form. Perhaps it appears to the greatest advantage when worked into pillars, whatever form it is made to assume, whether taken rough from a bed, or nicely hammered into regular blocks, and made the outer wall of a dwelling, or formed into noble pillars, or made to stand as it has been,) for monuments to the memory of the dead, it is in every way attractive. Some of the quarries seem to be inexhaustible, and promise to endure as long as man endures through all coming time.

Quarries of slate have also been found near Nuponset, which have proved useful in furnishing a substance for grave-stones.

Canals and Rail-way. It has always been a desirable object to form an easier mode of conveying the stone from the quarries to the wharves, than by carting them, which has been found not only excessively burdensome and tedious, but also attended with an expense all would be glad to diminish. No way had as yet been devised for taking the stone to the wharves but by teams; and as it could not easily be got to the water, a plan was formed for bringing the water nearer the stone.

Accordingly, in the spring and summer of 1824, a canal was begun by Mr. Joshua Torrey, an enterprising man, which, it was intended, should run from the head of the creek, east of the Alms-house, nearly to the meeting-house, by which a very great part of the carriage by land would be saved. It was entered upon and pursued, for a time, with spirit, but it seemed likely to prove too expensive, at least for one individual, and the whole design was entirely abandoned.

An impulse, however, had been given to public spirit, which seemed likely, in the end, to be productive of good effects. In the spring of 1825, another plan was set on foot to follow the stream called Town River, from the tide mill, as far up as the Stone Bridge, on the Hingham and Quincy Turnpike, and so to scoop out the channel and raise canal banks, as to render it navigable for sloops of considerable burden to wharves which should there be built. Shares were accordingly sold, and a company was incorporated by the name of the "Quincy Canal Corporation," and the plan was begun with the most sanguine hopes of its ultimate success.

The Corporation, however, were unfortunate in many of their contracts, and the thing did not advance so rapidly or so successfully as was expected. With various fortune, at one moment prosperous, then adverse, now with high hopes, and then again on the eve of leaving it forever; they at length completed their undertaking in the autumn of 1826.

Though it may appear strange, it is no less true, that till within the last year, there was no regular stone house in the town. There were stone garisons which were afterwards converted into dwelling-houses or other buildings, and of this character was the old stone meeting-house, but no one had, till lately, built a house of this material.

The stone for the Bunker-hill Monument is now preparing, to be taken from the
The cost of this canal was upwards of $10,000. Sloops can now approach within a mile of the ledges and take the stone to market; while in return, opportunity is offered the sloop owners to take in another cargo of lumber or other saleable articles, because they can thus be landed nearly in the centre of business. At the head of this canal is a fine wharf, the longest and best in town, and no place appears more favorable for a lumber wharf, stores for grain, &c.

Soon after this canal was commenced, a bolder design was formed of building a Rail-way, on which the stone might be transported in great quantities, from the quarries directly to the wharf. This was a much bolder design, because it was one, which had, as yet, never been tried in this country on so large a scale as was now contemplated. The plan was suggested from the wish to obtain, in the easiest mode possible, a sufficient quantity of stone for the erection of the Bunker Hill Monument. Under this plea a more general interest was undoubtedly awakened, in favor of the proposed project, though all were anxious, independent of any such patriotic feeling, to do all that could consistently be done, to cherish the spirit of internal improvements; and especially for a rail-way, which was an object of universal curiosity.

Several routes were surveyed for the purpose, and the one which led from the quarries, on the borders of Milton, was at last selected by the company, as the most conducive to their interest and to the plan they had in view. It was the wish of the Town of Quincy, as a body, as well as of individual owners of quarries, that the rail-way should run directly through the town. This route seemed attended with less expense, and was also favorable to the interests of those who held valuable quarries on the south side of the hill, from whence stone had been hitherto taken. They had fears lest a sad alternative should be left them, either to see the rail-way company taking to themselves all the business, or else to be obliged like them to build a rail-way of their own; neither of which seemed altogether agreeable.

The Rail-way Company obtained permission from the Legislature to build their road, and it was immediately entered upon, and entirely completed in the autumn of 1826. The entire cost of the work was estimated at $100,000. It runs a course of about three miles, from the quarries to the wharves. For a short distance, it is formed of two branches, owned by different companies, one belonging to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, exclusively, the other, to a society of gentlemen of wealth, in Boston.

It has hitherto fully answered the expectations, at first entertained of its success. How far, or whether it will, in any degree, prove an injury to those before engaged in the stone business, time alone can determine.

Should it, however, continue to fulfill the design proposed, and its owners be enabled to afford their stone, at market, at a much cheaper rate than can be afforded, by the owners of ledges, who have hitherto been engaged in this business, and who cannot unite with the rail-way already built; perhaps it would not be taking too great a prophetic view, to suppose that another would, in a few years, be constructed, running through the valley, which seems to have been designed by nature for the purpose, on the south side of the hill.
where these ledges lie; and either uniting with the canal, at its head, or pursuing its way onward to the open ocean.

Surface, Soil, &c. The Town of Quincy is, for the most part, much diversified with hills and valleys. Some of the hills are very high, and are distinguished by different names. Mount Wollaston rises to a considerable elevation above the level of the sea. Pen's hill is an abbreviated name, given to a high hill between Quincy and Braintree, from the family of Peniman, once large owners of thereabouts. Mount Ararat is a large and lofty hill, and is among the parcels of land, lately presented to the town, by the Hon. John Adams. President's hill is a beautiful eminence, so called from being, a great part of it, the property of the second President of the United States. The title seems to be well appropriated, since it has now become the property of another President. The top of this hill commands one of the most beautiful prospects in the country, which, on a clear Summer's evening, is picturesque in the highest degree.

The soil is generally, rich and fertile. Some of it is rocky and barren, but for the most part, it is made annually to yield an abundant harvest.

Relics, Curiosities, &c. In the north-west part of the town, bordering on Milton, are still to be seen the remains of a furnace, which was built there, in all probability, nearly two hundred years ago. The dam, which was raised to form a pond for water-works, is still standing, and the cinders, which came from the furnace, lay scattered about to show that men once worked there, and have passed away. A short time since a cavern was discovered, of which the dimensions were as follows: depth, about 8 feet, width, 6 feet, with an entrance-way of 3 feet wide. The walls of this cavern are well built of stone, and seem to indicate that very great fires were once made in it; probably it was used for the furnace. A small plate of iron was also found, no doubt left there by the workmen when they left the place.

Little is known respecting those who worked in this furnace, or the time when it was erected. The great-grand-father of Mr. Wilson Marsh lived on and owned the land nearly opposite the railway hotel, and in his farm was included the furnace meadow. He settled there in 1650, and the furnace was then standing. Through this family, tradition informs us, that men were sent over here by a company in England. It has been thought that the workmen were Swedes; but of this there is not so much certainty. Whoever they were, they proved a dissipated set; the proprietors lost by them, and broke up the establishment. The ore which they worked was taken from the meadow, south-west of Mr. Edmund Billings. This was about a mile from their furnace.

The situation which they chose was well calculated for the object they had in view. By erecting a very small dam, the stream, which passes through the meadow, is made to overflow an immense portion

* For this I am indebted to Mr. Wilson Marsh.

† Near this place, till within some few years past, stood a little bridge, which always went by the name of the "Furnace-mine bridge." The distance of this mine, from the furnace, will cease to be wonderful, when we find that in the Jerseys they have carted their ore ten miles, after landing it from the vessel, which had carried it by water as many more.
of land, of little value; by which a water power is obtained, sufficient for carrying on extensive works.

In the year 1819, the bones of two Indians were discovered by some workmen, on the land of the Messrs. Billings', near Squantum. From the appearance of these bones, it was supposed that the bodies were a male and female. Those of the male seemed to indicate a man of great size. Under their heads were found a large piece of pure copper, two hatchets, and other relics which proved they had been connected with civilized men, perhaps with Morton.*

In 1775, near the farm-house of Mr. George W. Beale, stood what was considered an old fort. Three sides were under the ground, and well stoned. The door was made of double plank. It may have been used as a place of safety from the Indians.

Masonic Lodge. A Lodge of free and accepted masons was installed in this town, in the year 1804, by the name of "Rural Lodge." The society, at present, consists of about forty members.

DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUALS.

It becomes us with great propriety, to make mention of those distinguished persons, who have either gone forth from this place, or in the course of their lives, been intimately connected with it. Beside those who have become peculiarly distinguished will be mentioned, all who have taken degrees in Universities or Colleges.

Mr. Hancock† observes, that "since the foundation of Harvard College, scarce any town in the province hath reaped greater advantage from it than this; there having been graduated in it, if I mistake not, 49 of the children of this people, and 42 of them out of this parish; many of whom have done worthily and been famous, both in Church and State."

It is to be remembered, that at the time this was spoken, one hundred years only had elapsed since the University was founded. When this is considered, it may indeed appear surprising, that in a country town, by no means numerous in its population, so many should have had the advantage of a liberal education.

Following the alphabetical order, our enumeration commences with one who fled from persecution.

Henry Adams, the progenitor of the Adams family in this country. "He‡ took his flight from the Dragon persecution in Devonshire, England, and alighted with eight sons, near Mount Wollaston. One of the sons returned to England, and after taking time to explore the country, four removed to Medfield and the neighboring towns, two to Chelmsford, one only, Joseph, remained here, and was an original proprietor in the township of Braintree." Joseph Adams had a son Joseph Adams, who was the father of John Adams, who was the father of John Adams the President.

They were distinguished, as we learn from the epitaph of Henry Adams, "for their piety, humility, simplicity, prudence, patience, temperance, frugality, industry and perseverance."

*On the land of the late Anthony W. Baxter, is the spot of ground which was used by the Indians for their burial-place. It lies near a thick swamp. †See C. S. p. 33.
‡From an epitaph on the monument, raised by President Adams, senior, over his grave.
John Adams, son of John Adams, senior, a respectable and valued citizen of this place, born 19th Oct. (old style,) 1735. His life was one of the most eventful recorded in the annals of history, and his name will ever be remembered among the benefactors of his country, and among the glorious asserters of the rights of man.

When quite young, he was not distinguished for an ardent love of learning, to which he afterwards so severely applied himself. Study was rather an irksome task to him, and to those acquainted with his youthful spirit, books seemed but the fetters of a mind, in coming years destined to work wonders in the cause of freedom.

It has been most justly observed that man is, in a great measure the creature of accidental circumstance, and never, perhaps, was this remark more clearly illustrated, than in the history of the early life of John Adams.

To those who knew any thing of the last days of this great man, it is wholly unnecessary to mention how great were his conversational powers, and that to all who were so fortunate as to listen to him, the fund of anecdote, from which he drew for their instruction, no less than entertainment, was inexhaustible. It was his delight to speak of interesting incidents which had been connected with himself, or through vanity or ostentation, for these were not a part of his nature, but to bring conviction to the mind, that of much that was considered abstract truth, there were found sensible illustrations in common life.

The following anecdote, related by him, even to the last days of his life, with all that good humor which was so characteristic of him, it is presumed, has not yet passed away from the minds of many, who have heard it from his own lips; a few only of his strong expressions are remembered.

"When I was a boy, I had to study the Latin-grammar; but it was dull and I hated it. My father was anxious to send me to College, and therefore I studied the grammar till I could bear with it no longer; and going to my father, I told him I did not like study, and asked for some other employment. It was opposing his wishes, and he was quick in his answer. 'Well John,' said he, 'if Latin-grammar does not suit you, you may try ditching, perhaps that will; my meadow yonder needs a ditch, and you may put by Latin and try that.'

'This seemed a delightful change, and to the meadow I went.—But I soon found ditching harder than Latin, and the first forenoon was the longest I ever experienced. That day I eat the bread of labor, and glad was I when night came on. That night I made some comparison between Latin-grammar and ditching, but said not a word about it. I dug the next forenoon, and wanted to return to Latin at dinner, but it was humiliating, and I could not do it. At night toil conquered pride, and I told my father, one of the severest trials of my life, that, if he chose, I would go back to Latin-grammar. He was glad of it; and if I have since gained any distinction, it has been owing to the two days labor in that abominable ditch.'

He was prepared for College in the school of Mr. Joseph Marsh, then a distinguished instructor in this place; and was graduated at Harvard University, in 1755. After leaving College, he kept a school in the town of Worcester; studied law with Col. James Put-
nam, of the same place, and while engaged in this study, wrote his famous letter, so prophetic of the greatness of his country.

In his profession he became early distinguished, and was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was foremost among that band of patriots, who laid the foundation of the Independence of our Country. His conduct in the cause of Preston, with his friend Josiah Quincy, jr. would, of itself, have made his name enduring.—He was a member of the first Congress, in 1774, and was the bold adviser of the Declaration of Independence. He was chosen on the committee to draft that paper, and eloquently defended it. He was sent minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, the same to the United Provinces, and was many years the American Minister in France and England. In 1789, he was chosen Vice President of the U. S. and in 1797 was chosen President.

In 1817 he was chosen one of the electors for the choice of President. In 1820, he was sent, by his native town, to the Convention for the purpose of amending the Constitution.

He was elected President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; had been a member of various other societies, filled the most important stations in the gift of the people, and received the highest honors from our Universities and Colleges.

The latter part of his life was spent in private retirement. As an orator, he was one of the most powerful his country ever beheld. It was the remark of Thomas Jefferson, that on the subject of the Independence of the Colonies, John Adams, by his eloquence, “moved us from our seats.” In learning, he was profound, and in religious knowledge, surpassed the Theologians of his age. He died* at 6 o’clock, P. M. on the 4th of July, 1826, in the XCI. year of his age.

Jedidiah Adams, was graduated at Harvard University, 1733, and was, for many years, the worthy minister of a Church in Stoughton, where he was settled in 1745.

Zabdiel Adams, born 5th Nov. 1739. His father was uncle of John Adams, President of the United States. He was one of the students of Mr. Joseph Marsh, was graduated at Harvard University in 1759, and ordained minister of Lunenburgh, on the 5th Sept. 1764. He continued many years an eminent minister of the Gospel, and died 1st March, 1801, aged 62.

John Quincy Adams,† son of John Adams, was graduated at Harvard University.
University, in 1787, and appointed Professor of Rhetoric and History, in the same Institution in 1806. He was sent minister to several of the Courts of Europe, filled other important offices in the Government, was made Secretary of State by President Monroe, in 1817 and is now President of the United States.

Charles Adams, son of John Adams, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1789, engaged in the study and practice of law, in New York, and shortly after died there.

Thomas Boylston Adams, son of John Adams, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1790, entered upon the practice of law, and was appointed Chief Justice for the Southern Circuit of the Court of Common Pleas.

George Washington Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, was graduated at Harvard University in 1821, engaged in the study and practice of law, in Boston, and was chosen Representative to the General Court, from that city, in 1826.

Charles Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1825, now engaged in the study of Law, Washington.

Benjamin Beale, son of Capt. Benjamin Beale, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1787, now a resident in France.

Gregory Baxter was graduated at Harvard University, in 1725. John Bass was graduated at Harvard University in 1737. He was a man of great mathematical genius.

Lemuel Bryant was graduated at Harvard University, in 1739; was ordained the sixth minister of Braintree First Church, 4th Dec. 1741 and dismissed, Oct. 22, 1753.

John Lindall Borland was graduated at Harvard University in 1774.

George Washington Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, was graduated at Harvard University in 1821, engaged in the study and practice of law, in Boston, and was chosen Representative to the General Court, from that city, in 1826.

Charles Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1825, now engaged in the study of Law, Washington.

Benjamin Beale, son of Capt. Benjamin Beale, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1787, now a resident in France.

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Lemuel Bryant was graduated at Harvard University, in 1739; was ordained the sixth minister of Braintree First Church, 4th Dec. 1741 and dismissed, Oct. 22, 1753.

John Lindall Borland was graduated at Harvard University in 1774.

Ebenezer Brackett, son of James Brackett, born in 1773, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1791, entered upon the practice of medicine in this place, and died here a few months after commencing his practice. He was a young man of great promise.

William Coddington, a distinguished person from Lincolnshire, England. He was engaged with others in the first settlement of this town; afterwards he became Governor of Rhode Island, and died in 1678, aged 78.

Joseph Cleverly, was graduated at Harvard University in 1780. For many years employed as a reader of the Church service, in the year 1767, in the white-house, near the seat of Penn's hill which you, sir, once inhabited. I had been attending Plymouth Court the whole week, under the greatest anxiety. Returning on Saturday afternoon from Plymouth, I met Dr. Telfus on Long Plain, between Dr. Shute's house and Mr. Cushion's tavern, who informed me that I had a son. He must, therefore, have been born Thursday or Friday. The next morning I carried him out to be baptized by Mr. Smith, of Weymouth, his grandfather, his great-grand-father, John Quincy, was then dying. His daughter, his child's grand-mother, requested me to call him John Quincy.

These minute details are not worth remembering, but as there seems to be a curiosity on the subject, you now have the truth.

Most respectfully,

Rev. Peter Whitney.
Quincy, 2d March, 1825.

*For more particular account of Congregational ministers, see account of that So
Episcopal Church, in this place. He died 16th March, 1802, aged 89. *u The simple monument of his name, his age and services is erected in the Episcopal Church-yard near the sanctuary, where he so long and faithfully presided."

Joseph Crosby was graduated at Harvard University in 1772; for some time a preacher of the Gospel, but never settled.

Ebenezer Crosby was graduated at Harvard University in 1777; practised medicine in New York, and became a Professor of medicine in a College in that State.

William Clark, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1759, for many years minister of an Episcopal Church in Dedham, and employed also in supplying the church in this place. He died 4th Nov. 1815, aged 75 years, and lies buried in their church yard.†

Arthur St Clair, one of the distinguished Generals of the Revolution, a resident here in 1763.

Richard Cranch was born in Kingsbridge, England, in October, 1726. His parents were Puritans. He came to Boston at the age of nineteen. In 1750, he left that place on account of the prevalence of the small-pox, and came out to what was then called the North Precinct of the town of Braintree, afterwards he removed to Weymouth, there married the daughter of Rev. William Smith, and soon returned to this place, where, with the exception of a few years, he spent the rest of his days.

He was a man of a strong and comprehensive mind. He was deeply read in almost every science, a great Theologian, and above all distinguished for the piety and purity of his life. He was repeatedly chosen a Representative to the General Assembly of the State, and several times a Senator. He was appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas, for Suffolk, and retained that office 'till the division of the county.

In 1780, he received an honorary degree of Master of Arts, from the University in Cambridge. He was also elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

His own death, and that of his excellent and amiable consort were not a little peculiar. §"It had been his earnest desire that he might not survive the death of his wife; and hers, that she might live to be-

*Report on the subject of Pews.
†The following Latin inscription is carved on his stone.

In memoriam Reverendi Gulielmus Clark, ejus cineres sub hoc lapide sunt depositi. Olim quibusdam annis apud Dedham minister Episcopalis, et pro annis pluribus ab officio sacerdoti per corporis infirmitates exclusus. Molestias varias et dolores per vitam sustinuit Providentiae divinae submissus, et in spe ad vitam eternam resurrectionis beate. obit Nov. die IV. A. D. MDCCXV, ætatis sue LXXV.

Abi viator, Disce vivere, disce pati, disce mori. In Christo mea vita latet, mea gloria Christus, et illius tandem potentia omnipotenti resurgam.

For the benefit of the English reader, I have made the following translation. Sacred to the memory of the Rev. William Clark, whose ashes repose beneath this stone, formerly for some years an Episcopalian minister in Dedham, and by bodily infirmities, for a long time taken off from his ministerial duties. His various maladies and sufferings he endured in pious submission to divine Providence, and died in hope of a resurrection to a happy immortality, 5th Nov. 1815, aged 95. Go stranger, learn to live, to suffer and to die. My life is hid in Christ. He is my glory, and by his omnipotent power I shall awake.

†He lived in the house than belonging to the Apthorp family, now the property of madam Hannah Miller.
§See Whitney's sermon, at the interment of Richard Cranch and wife, p. 16.
hold her dearest friend gathered in peace to the dust of his fathers. Richard Crauch died 16th of October, 1811; Mary Cranch, his wife, died 17th Oct. 1811; and were both buried on the same day.

William Cranch, son of Richard Cranch, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1787. After leaving college he read law with Judge Dawes, of Boston; opened an office in this town, but remained only a few months; afterwards he opened an office in Haverhill, where he continued till 1794. He was then sworn into the Supreme Judicial Court, removed to Washington, and on the last day of the administration of President Adams, was admitted as a justice of the District Court of Columbia. On the death of the Chief Justice of that Court he was appointed to fill the vacant office. He is also vice President of the Columbian Institute.

Benjamin Clark Cutler, was graduated at Brown University, in 1822, now minister of the Episcopal Church in this town.

Henry Flynt, one of the first ministers of the Congregational Church in this place.

Moses Fiske, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1662, the third minister of the Congregational Church in this place.

Josiah Flynt, son of Henry Flynt, minister of this place, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1664, and afterwards ordained minister of Dorchester.

Henry Flynt, son of Mr. Josiah Flynt, minister of Dorchester, and grand-son of Henry Flynt, of this place, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1693, and Tutor and Fellow in the same for fifty years. He resided here many years before his death.

Thomas Greenleaf, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1784. entered upon the study and practice of law; was for many years Representative to the General Court, from this town, and in the course of the administration of his excellency John Brooks, appointed a counsellor.

Thomas Greenleaf, jr. was graduated at Harvard University, in 1806, and for many years engaged in the practice of law in this place. He died 29th Sept. 1817, aged 29 years.

John Hancock, son of Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington, was the 11th minister of the Congregational Society in this place, and graduated at Harvard University, in 1719.

John Hancock, son of Rev. John Hancock of this place, was born in January, 1736, and graduated at Harvard University, in 1754. On the death of his uncle, Thomas Hancock, Esq. he inherited a considerable fortune and became an eminent merchant. In 1776, he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives, for Boston. He was a member of the first Congress, in 1774, and in May 1775, in the second congress, was chosen President in the place of Peyton Randolph, who was obliged to return home. As President of Congress, he was first to put his name to the ever memorable Declaration of our Independence. On the 12th of June, 1775, General Gage issued a Proclamation, promising pardon to all the rebels, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, as "whose offences," are declared to be "of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than condign punishment."

*See Allen's Biography, p 327*
He left Congress on account of his ill health, in Oct. 1777. When the present Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, he was chosen first Governor in 1780, and continued in that office till he resigned in '85. In 1787, he was again chosen to the same office, where he remained till his death, Oct. 8, 1793, aged fifty-six years.

His administration was peculiarly popular. He addressed the legislative assembly with a power of eloquence seldom equalled. His conduct as President of Congress, was dignified and impartial. His fortune enabled him to be generous and charitable. He was a distinguished benefactor of Harvard University, and died as he had lived, beloved for his virtues and respected for his independent and honorable conduct.

Leonard Hoar, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1650, chosen President of the same in 1672, and died* here Nov. 28, 1675, aged 45.

William Hope was born in this place. His mother’s name was Willard. His parents were both lost at sea. † At the age of seventeen, he went to London, and from thence to Amsterdam, where he became the greatest merchant and banker ever known before or since. In the war which ended in 1763, he was the agent and banker of the British Government. All the millions of money for the pay and subsistence of the army of Prince Ferdinand, passed through his hands. Such were the magnitude of his concerns, the grandeur and magnificence of his style of living, and the integrity of his character, that he was visited and respected by Kings and Princes, Dukes and Lords, who made journeys on purpose to see and pay their respects to him.

Joseph Marsh, fourth minister of the Congregational Society in this town, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1705.

Ebenezer Miller, first minister of the Episcopal Church in this town, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1722.

Jonathan Mills was graduated at Harvard University in 1723, afterwards a settled minister in Ware and other places.

John Marsh was graduated at Harvard University, in 1726.

Joseph Marsh, son of Rev. Joseph Marsh, born in 1710, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1728, and, for many years, was master of a Latin School in this place.

William Montague, at different periods between the years 1790 and 1800, a preacher in the Episcopal Church in this place.

Edward Miller was graduated at Harvard University in 1813;

On his monument, in our grave yard, is the following curious inscription:

Three precious friends under this tomb-stone lie,
Patterns to aged, youth and infancy.
A great mother, her learned son, with child,
The first and least went free, he was exil’d.
In love to Christ, this country, and dear friends,
He left his own, cross’d seas, and for amends
Was here extol’d, envyed all in a breath.
His noble consort leaves, is drawn to death.
Strange changes may befal us ere we die.
Blest they who well arrive Eternity.

His aged and pious relict, the late Madam Usher, was buried in the same tomb, May 30, 1723.—See Hancock’s C. S. p. 25, note.

†See Recollections of a Bostonian, published a few years ago in the Boston Centinel, written by John Marston, Esq. of this place.
entered upon the practice of law in this town, and was afterward sent Representative to the General Court of the State.

Jonathan Neal, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1724.

Samuel Nightingale, was graduated at Harvard University in 1734; was a Judge of one of the Courts of Rhode-Island, and Lieutenant Governor of that State.

Joseph Pease Palmer, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1771.

Thomas Phipps was graduated at Harvard University, in 1757. He entered upon the practice of medicine in this place in the year 1768, and continued an eminent physician till his death, 4th Nov. 1817. He died aged 85.

Thomas Phipps, son of Thomas Phipps, the successor of his father in the practice of physic in this place.

Edmund Quincy† came from England with the Rev. John Cotton flying from civil and religious persecution, in the reign of Charles I, and arrived at Boston, Sept. 1633. He was elected in May, 1634, one of the first Representatives of Boston to the first General Court held in the province. He received a grant of land in this place, in 1635, and died soon after, aged 33.

Edmund Quincy, son of Edmund Quincy, was born in England, in 1627. He inherited and settled on his father's estate, at Mount Wollaston. He was a magistrate of the county, and Lieut. Colonel of the Suffolk regiment. He died in 1697, having had two sons, Daniel and Edmund.

He was appointed by the Court, about the year 1690, on a committee for substantiating the charges against Sir Edmund Andros.—His son Daniel died before his father, leaving one son John.

John Quincy was born in 1689, was graduated at Harvard University in 1708, and was one of the greatest public characters of that period. He held the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives, longer than any other person during the charter of William and Mary, and was Representative from Braintree, and member of the Executive Council of the Province forty successive years.

Edmund Quincy, the youngest son of Edmund Quincy, was born in Braintree, Oct. 1681; was graduated at Harvard University in 1699, and entered early into public life as representative of his native town, and afterwards as member of the Executive Council. He held the commission of Judge of the Supreme Court of the Colony, from the year 1718 to his death. He was appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, their agent at the Court of Great-Britain, to settle a controversy between the Province of Massachusetts Bay and that of New Hampshire, relative to their respective boundary lines. In Dec. 1737, he embarked for England on that mission.—He died in London soon after his arrival, of the small-pox, Feb. 23, 1738. Beside a donation of one thousand acres of land to his heirs, in the Town of Lenox, in the county of Berkshire, the Colony caus-

“This man was the great uncle of Mr. Joseph Rass, and as he thinks was once a preacher, but is not certain. The Neals were great landholders in this town many years ago. They owned all the land to a considerable extent both sides of the road from Mr. Boylston Adams' house to the brook towards Milton.

† This account of the Quincy family, I have taken chiefly from the "Life of Josiah Quincy, jun." by his son Joseph Quincy.
ed a monument to be erected over his grave, in Bunhill Fields, London, at their expense.

Edmund Quincy, son of Edmund Quincy who died in London, was born in Braintree in 1703, was graduated at Harvard University in 1722. He was many years a merchant in Boston; afterwards resided on his paternal estate in Braintree,† was author of a "Treatise on Hemp Husbandry," published in 1765, and died an active magistrate of the county of Suffolk, in July 1788, aged 85.

Josiah Quincy, youngest son of Edmund Quincy, who died in London, was born in Braintree, in 1709; was graduated at Harvard University, in 1728, and entered into business as a merchant in Boston. In 1737, he accompanied his father to England, passed several years in Europe, at different periods of his life, and finally returned to America, in 1749. He was appointed, in 1755, by Gov. Shirley, joint commissioner with Thomas Pownall, afterwards Gov. Pownall, to negotiate with the Colonies of Pennsylvania and New York, for assistance in erecting a frontier barrier against the French, at Ticonderoga. He retired from business in 1756, and resided in Braintree on a portion of his paternal estate, until his death, in 1784.

Edmund Quincy, eldest son of Josiah Quincy, was born in Braintree, Oct. 1733; was graduated at Harvard University in 1752; entered into business as a merchant in Boston, and visited England in 1760 and 1763. He was a zealous whig, and a political writer of that period, and, had his life been spared, he would, probably, have

†The following is the epitaph inscribed on his monument:

Edmundi Quincy armigeri, patiia Nov—Angli Massachusettensis, viri, pietate, prudentia et bonis literis spectati, hie deposite sunt reliquiae.

Qui variis ab ineunte state Muneribus in Re tam civili, quam militari a suis sibi commissis, (his præsertim Regi a conciliis—Curia Suprema Judicataria Justiciarum et Militum Tribuni,) summa facultate et spectata Fide functus, Laudem merito adeptus est.

Re Patriæ sue publica postulante ad Aulam Britannicam legatus est profectus ut Jura suorum et commoda procuraret.

Variolis arreptus—morte præmatura obiit, et cum eo emolumenta, que in ejus legatione, summa cum spe reposita erant omnibus suis popularibus desiderabilis. Decessit, at nullis magis quam Patrio Senatui qui in amoris testimonium et gratitudinis ejus praebuit. Dextera est.

In English it runs thus: Here are deposited the remains of Edmund Quincy, Esq. native of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England; a gentleman of distinguished præty, prudence and learning.

Who early merited praise for discharging, with the greatest ability and approved integrity, the various employments, both in the civil and military affairs, that his country entrusted him with, these especially, as one of his majesty's council—a Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and Colonel of a regiment of foot.

The public affairs of his country so requiring, he embarked their agent to the Court of Great Britain, in order to secure their rights and privileges.

Being seized with the small pox, he died a premature death, and with him the advantages expected from his agency, with the greatest prospect of success; he departed the delight of his own people, but of none more than the Senate, who, as a testimonium of their love and gratitude, have ordered this epitaph to be inscribed on his monument. He died at London, Feb. 23, 1737, aetat 57.

†Opposite the place of Daniel Greenleaf, Esq. was once a beautiful cascade, built by Edmund Quincy. The land between the two hills, near the road, was somewhat excavated, which formed a pond, perhaps forty rods long, and ten wide. A dam was raised, on which bars were placed in the form of a grate, and through these the water was made to pass. Before it reached the stream below, it had formed itself into one entire sheet, which presented a very pleasing appearance. "I have often heard the sound of this water-fall," says Mr. Wilson Marsh, "at the distance of a mile."
taken an active part in the American Revolution. His health declining under a pulmonary complaint, he sailed to the West Indies and died at sea. March, 1768, aged 35.

Samuel Quincy, second son of Josiah Quincy, was graduated at Harvard University in 1754; engaged in the study of the law, and became eminent in that profession. He was appointed Solicitor General of the Province, under the Crown, and held that office until the revolution. Influenced by his official duties and connexions, his political course was opposed to that of the other members of his family. He was appointed Attorney for the Crown, in the Island of Antigua, which office he held till his death, in 1789.

Josiah Quincy, jun. the youngest son of Josiah Quincy, was born in Boston, Feb. 23, 1744; received his instruction preparatory to entering the University in the school of Mr. Joseph Marsh, in this town. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1763. He entered upon the study of law with Oxenbridge Thatcher, Esq. of Boston, and was afterwards eminent in the practice of it. He took a bold stand as a writer and an actor in the cause of freedom. In the case of Preston, in the Boston massacre, he shared an immortal fame with his co-patriot, John Adams. The labors of his profession wore upon his frame, and in Feb. 1773, he was obliged to leave home and take a voyage to the south. He returned, and in May, 1774, published "His observations on the Boston Port Bill." On the 20th Sept. 1774, he embarked, privately, at Salem, for England, in the cause of his country. Here he remained some time, and was returning home in 1775, with his heart and soul devoted to his country. That country he was never more permitted to reach. His health had been continually failing, and on the 26th of April, 1775, without hearing of the battle of Lexington, he died.

The inhabitants of Gloucester paid funeral honors to his remains. He was afterwards removed to this place, according to his wish, where a monument was erected to his memory, and to that of his wife, by his only surviving child, Josiah Quincy.

He had lived for his country, and his last prayers were for its welfare. His name will be enrolled among those great spirits, who led the way in procuring the freedom of the civilized world.

On one side of this monument is the following epitaph, written by John Quincy Adams:

Sacred to the memory of Josiah Quincy, jun. of Boston, barrister at law. Brilliant talents, uncommon eloquence, and indefatigable application raised him to the highest eminence in his profession. His early, enlightened, inflexible attachment to the cause of his country is attested by monuments more durable than this, and transmitted to posterity by well known productions of his genius. He was born the 23d of Feb. 1744, and died the 26th of April, 1775. His mortal remains are here deposited, with those of Abigail, his wife, daughter of William Phillips, Esq. of Boston. Born 14th April, 1745; died 25th March, 1798. To their united and beloved memory this monument is erected by their only surviving child.
Josiah Quincy, son of Josiah Quincy, jun. was graduated at Harvard University, in 1790; for many years member of Congress from Suffolk; member of the State Legislature, and Speaker of the House of Representatives; Judge of the Municipal Court in Boston, and now Mayor of the City of Boston.

Norton Quincy, son of John Quincy, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1736, and died here, Sept. 23d, 1801, aged 85.

Josiah Quincy, jun. son of Josiah Quincy, was graduated at Harvard University in 1821, and now in the practice of law in Boston. He is one of the aids of Governor Lincoln, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Grindall Rawson was graduated at Harvard University in 1678; afterwards Secretary of State.

Edward Stedman, formerly a physician in this place.

Samuel Spear was graduated at Harvard University in 1714; afterwards a settled minister.

Elisha Savil was graduated at Harvard University in 1743; practised physic in this place, and died 1768.

William Thompson, first minister of the Congregational Society, in this town. From him is supposed to have descended Benj. Thompson, Count Rumford.

Henry Turner,* for many years a respectable physician in this place. He died Jan. 21, 1773, aged 84.

John Tileston, for many years master of the North Writing school, in Boston. He was born 31st Dec. 1734, and was a school-mate of President Adams, senior, who ever retained a respectful remembrance of him. Upwards of seventy years of his life were devoted to the instruction of youth. His salary was continued to him to the day of his death, though he retired from his duties as a school-master, at the age of 85. He was remarkable for his modesty, industry and moral excellence. "Though not a great man, he was a very useful one, and deserves to be remembered among the worthies of his country." He died 13th Oct. 1826, aged 92.†

Royall Tyler, a native of Boston, though many years a resident here. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1776. "He commenced his public life as Aid de Camp to Gen. Lincoln, who commanded the army that suppressed the rebellion of Shays, in 1786–7. During that campaign, Mr. Tyler was charged by Gen. Lincoln with a special mission to the Government of Vermont. About 1790, he removed to Vermont, and there became a distinguished lawyer. He was assistant Judge of the Supreme Court six years, and Chief Justice of the same Court six more. He was a man of genius, a poet, an orator, a civilian, an erudite and accomplished scholar, and a gentleman of elegant and endearing manners." He died 16th Aug. 1826, aged 66.

Lewis Vassal, son of a Major Vassal,‡ who came over to this coun-

*Dr. Turner lived in the house of Mr. Benjamin Gay, and kept a tavern there for some time. This fact had not come to my knowledge when the list of taverns was printed on page 46. This must, therefore, be added, to make that list complete.

†See notice of his life in Boston Centinel, 14th Oct. 1826.

‡Major Vassal, who, I suppose, was the son of William Vassal, mentioned in Eliot's Biography, lived in the house of President Adams, and died there. Lewis, his son, lived in the house of Mr. John Greenleaf, and lies buried in the Episcopal Church-yard, with his wife by his side.
try from the West Indies. Lewis Vassal was graduated at Harvard University in 1728; spent his life in this place, and died Sept. 16, 1743, aged 34.

John Vassal, son of Major Vassal, was graduated at Harvard University in 1732, and became a merchant in Boston.

William Vassal, son of Major Vassal, was graduated at Harvard University in 1733; was afterwards High Sheriff, for the county of Middlesex.

John Vassal was graduated at Harvard University in 1757.

Lewis Vassal was graduated at Harvard University in 1760.

Benjamin Vinton was graduated at Harvard University in 1736, and was, for many years, a respectable physician in this town.

John Wilson, born in England, was graduated at Harvard University in 1705, and afterwards a physician in this place.

John Webb was graduated at Harvard University in 1703; settled in Boston at the New North Church, in 1714, died in 1750, aged 63. He was a man of considerable influence for his time.

Nathan Webb was graduated at Harvard University in 1715, afterwards a settled minister.

Anthony Wibird, seventh minister of the Congregational Society in this place, was graduated at Harvard University in 1747.

Edward Winslow, for several years minister of the Epis. Church in this town.

Peter Whitney, eighth minister of the Congregational Society, was graduated at Harvard University in 1791.

Ebenezer Woodward, a practising physician in this place, was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1817.

George Whitney was graduated at Harvard University in 1824.

It has been remarked that no single portion of our country, of so small an extent, has afforded so many distinguished men to adorn the annals of our history, as the Town of Quincy. In the hour of need, when men's souls were tried, John Adams and Hancock and Quincy and Samuel Adams, whose ancestors were from here, were the champions of our liberty; and in after times, two Presidents of the nation were called hence, by the voice of the people. Since then it be true, that no condition, however humble, if adorned by a virtuous and enlightened mind, can prove an obstacle to individual eminence. how are we excited by those who have gone before us, to lay broad and deep the foundations of knowledge and virtue, that so others may continue to go forth from among us, to be the ornaments and pride of our land.

*Mr. Wilson Marsh tells me, that he was once present at the execution of a man in Cambridge, which, he thinks, was under the superintendence of High Sheriff, William Vassal.

John and Lewis, the younger Vassals here mentioned, were probably sons, either of the merchant or the sheriff.

†It is possible, after all the pains I have taken, that some who have graduated may not have been mentioned. If so, I hope any other cause may be found for the omission, than intentional neglect.
On Monday, June 11th, 1827, the corner stone of the "Adams Temple," so called, for the use of the Congregational Society, in this place, was laid with proper solemnities. A prayer was offered by the Rev. Peter Whitney, Pastor of the Church; after which he commenced the following Address:

"My Christian Friends,—In conformity to the wishes of that great benefactor of us and of our country, the late President Adams, we are now erecting a temple for the worship of that incomprehensible Being, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain. The foundation is already completed; and having addressed our prayer to the holy Majesty of the universe for his blessing upon our undertaking, we now proceed to deposit, beneath this corner stone a silver plate, on which is engraved the inscription, which will be read by the Chairman of the Committee."

The Hon. Thomas Greenleaf, Chairman of the building committee, then read the inscription on the plate, to be deposited in a lead box, together with the several deeds of land, presented to the town by the late President Adams. The following is the inscription:

"A temple for the public worship of God; and for public instruction in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. Erected by the Congregational Society in the Town of Quincy; the stone taken from the granite quarries, given to the town by the Hon. John Adams, late President of the United States.

This stone was laid June 11th, 1827, in the fifty-first year of American Independence.

The Rev. Peter Whitney, Pastor of the Society.
John Quincy Adams, President of the United States.
Levi Lincoln, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
John Whitney, Daniel Spear, John Souther, Selectmen of the Town of Quincy.
William Wood, Master Builder.

Memoranda.
The population of the town estimated at 2000.
That of the United States at 13,000,000.
Engraved by Hazen Morse.

Mr Greenleaf made some interesting remarks, connected with the history of the place, and deposited the box; after which the Address was concluded, as follows:

"When ages after ages shall have passed away, when all, who are now living on earth, and successive generations for centuries to come, shall have finished their probation and gone to the unseen and eternal world, these walls
of granite, we are about to erect, will stand, we trust, amidst the revolution of time, a monument of the interest we felt for the worship of God, and for the accommodation of our successors on the stage of life, till the stones themselves, of which it is to be constructed, shall be crumbling into dust.

"In this temple, when completed, may the truth, as it is in Jesus, be preached in all its purity and simplicity. Here also may the prayers of devout and humble souls ascend with acceptance to the throne of everlasting mercy. Here may affliction, in all its forms and degrees, find consolation and support under the weight of suffering. Here may sin be forever denounced, and the sinner encouraged to repent and live. And here may that faith, which looks beyond things seen and temporal, to those that are unseen and eternal; which directs the aspirations of the soul to the presence and enjoyment of God in heaven, be animated and strengthened and confirmed. And here may many souls be trained up to join the spirits of the just made perfect in the devotion of a temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

"In looking forward to the period, when another temple shall rise upon the ruins of this, we are naturally led to reflect upon what will then be the state of society here; how vastly improved! how far surpassing us in intellectual and moral excellence, will be the generation then existing! Our hearts rejoice in the contemplation of the increasing virtue and wisdom of the world; and we would offer our prayers to God, that we may so finish our course on earth, as to enter on our immortal destiny with qualifications for ceaseless progress; that, however improved our descendants may be, when these walls shall sink beneath the desolations of time, we may have reached a measure of improvement in that better world above, beyond what they shall have attained under all the advantages with which they may be favored. And with the numerous multitudes, who shall here be formed for glory and immortality, may we finally unite in ascribing thanksgiving and blessing, dominion and power, unto Him, who sitteth on the throne forever and ever."
A SERMON
PREACHED IN
CHRIST CHURCH, QUINCY,
on
COMPLETING A CENTURY SINCE ITS FORMATION,
on
CHRISTMAS DAY, 1827.

BY BENJAMIN C. CUTLER,
RECTOR.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

CAMBRIDGE:
HILLIARD, METCALF, AND COMPANY.
FOR SALE BY MESSRS HILLIARD, GRAY, AND CO.—R. P. AND C. WILLIAMS,—SAMUEL H. PARKER, AND MARSH AND CAPEN, BOSTON.
Price, twenty cents.

1828.
SERMON.

Hebrews xiii. 7, 8.

Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation; Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.

On Christmas day, 1727, the Missionary of the English Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts commenced his labors in this house. For this information we are indebted to the Century Sermons of the Rev. Mr. Hancock, a respected pastor of the congregational society in this town. There is a record in the handwriting of the Rev. Dr. Miller, the missionary alluded to, of a meeting for transacting business within the walls of this church on Easter Monday, 1728; and there is in the same hand, the record of a baptism on the Christmas day previous. We have, therefore, without doubt, about us the venerable remains of a complete century.

But we may not pause to view the marks of faithfulness and simplicity apparent in the construction of this building; which seems to have been intended rather for the temporary accommodation of a little flock, than for a permanent evidence of their wealth and worthy zeal for the honor of God. Our fathers laid the foundation
of pure and undefiled religion, and looked forward to their posterity to erect a temple worthy of the doctrines and worship which they established.

An hundred years have past away since the sound of the Gospel was first heard from this place! How long in anticipation, how short in retrospect! When the first minister of this church rose to address his congregation on the opening of this house, how faint were his conceptions of this day—who at such a distant period of time should occupy the places of his hearers, or who fill the place of the speaker himself! But the days, the weeks, the years have come and gone. Time has turned on his steady but rapid wheel, and brought this day before us with all its events open to our view. So, my brethren, will all succeeding centuries pass away, and leave us amidst the solemn realities of that great day, in which God "will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained."

But the approach of that day cannot be calculated by years or by centuries: it will not break gradually upon the world, as an ordinary day; it will burst in upon our business and pleasures, like a thief in the night: "the heavens will pass away with a great noise: the elements will melt with fervent heat, the earth and the works that are therein will be burnt up. Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness." 2 Peter, iii. 10, 11.

With the flight of time, great changes and revolutions take place. States and empires rise and fall: the sceptre of superior power passes in turn from nation to nation: oppression fastens her chains of darkness upon one delinquent after another in the descending career of immorality and vice; and recruited virtue, rising with
irresistible power, regains her native liberty and inde­
pendence.

Systems of philosophy and schools of literature have
their rising, their meridian, and their setting beams.
Bigotry and persecution, the famine and pestilence of
the moral world, appear and disappear with the interval
of ages; and the generations of man himself succeed
each other like the grass of the field, or like

"Yearly leaves that now with beauty crowned
Smile in the sun, now wither on the ground."

Amidst this universal revolution, let us admire the sta-

bility of truth.

It might be impossible to point out in what the nations
of Christendom have differed: to describe the various
opinions and sentiments which have at times agitated
this troubled sea, yet to mark what has survived every
revolution, what has united every division, what central
point has attracted all hearts, might be no difficult task:
it is small in compass, and simple in apprehension,—it is
Jesus Christ.

But when or where shall we look for this unanimity—
this simple and supreme regard to Jesus Christ? Not
in the midst of life and of health; not in the hurried
round of earthly occupation; much less amidst the
clashing of creeds and sentiments, waving like hostile
banners, and warring amidst confusion and noise, and
"garments rolled in blood:" no, we must rather listen
to the "cries of the wounded and to the groans of the
dying." It is after the visions of this world have all
vanished, and the warfare of life is all over—in the
chamber of disease, and on the bed of death—that this
unanimity is discovered; it is in the souls of dying
martyrs and saints that we see reflected the image of
Jesus at the right hand of God. "The end of their conversation is Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and for ever."

Against the truth, the spear of infidelity has been launched. This attack has been unwarrantable and ungenerous; but unspeakably important in its effects. Unwarrantable, because all the evidence has been offered, which men, who live by faith in other concerns, should desire in this.* Ungenerous, for if our faith in Christ expired with our lives, we should still be amply compensated. "For the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever." Important, for although ridicule has brought forth its robe of scorn and crown of thorns, and blasphemy has bowed the head and bent the knee, and power has persecuted and slain, and earth and hell have swallowed up our hope; yet it hath "burst their bands in sunder," risen with regenerated might, and, like the orb of day, shines with the same unchangeable glory. What more can infidelity do? What more can it desire? It has crucified and slain the head, it has defamed and persecuted the members, it has ridiculed and reproached the doctrines, it has risen under the accumulated weight of centuries, overthrown the "foundations of the righteous," and crucified afresh, and yet the faith of Jesus remains "the same yesterday, and today, and for ever."

* We cannot, indeed, demonstrate the truth of religion to a mathematical certainty; and why not? because all such reasoning is addressed solely to the understanding. Here the heart and understanding together are to be addressed. If man was a pure intelligence, he might have been satisfied even to demonstration. But he is made up of feeling and passion, as well as intellect; and therefore moral reasoning must be employed. There can be but little doubt, that in general the understanding of men is convinced, to the same degree that their hearts are affected. The reason why men know so little of God is, because they "desire not a knowledge of his ways." "Ye will not come to me, that ye might have life."
Crushing this direct attack, truth has sustained a more subtle, but not a more successful assault in the encroachments of error. All the error that has mingled with and debased the truth may be traced to the fall of man. The irregularity, discoverable in his passions, is matched by the inaccuracies of his judgment, and the infirmities of his reason; as if from some vast eminence he fell, and in falling disturbed the equal balance of his powers. To this, as to its proper cause, must be traced the unworthy ideas of God, which, to this day, degrade the heathen world. Is it possible that reason, in its original perfection, could be brought to bow before wood and stone, and fire and water, as the authors of human existence, the makers of heaven and earth? The eternal power and Godhead may be discovered by original reason, but seem not to be perceived by that which is fallen and unassisted.

In its natural state, reason will “change the truth of God into a lie”; and just in proportion as it is unrestored, it will corrupt the truth. Hence we see it at one time mingling a divine atonement with human merit, and filling the unhumbled heart with presumptuous hopes; at another, encumbering the truth with painful and antiquated ceremonies; then adopting a portion of the truth into a system of secular and sensual indulgences, of fierce and fanatical professions, which has since devastated an immense proportion of the moral energies of man; for ages we almost lose sight of the truth in a mystery of iniquity, a subtle combination of former errors and human inventions; and emerging from this as from a cloud in the sixteenth century, into what endless heresies have its professors been divided! What calamitous contentions! What furious controversies, what unholy strifes have they since kept up! “Nevertheless the foundation of
God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his. And let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." How important this injunction is, we see from considering another and a deeper wound which the truth has received "in the house of its friends," I mean by hypocrisy.

"The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," the faith and constancy of one eminent Saint is admirably calculated to establish the truth in the minds of others; the eyes of thousands are upon him, both of "men and angels," and he is carried near the hearts of the faithful, to inspire them with confidence and to invite them to victory. The tombs of the early martyrs were annually visited by troops of the faithful to bless God for their faith and constancy, and to kindle inspiration from their ashes!

But just in proportion as constancy encourages, apostasy discourages the church. Upon how many hearts is the wound inflicted! How many "hands hang down!" How many eyes are filled with tears! Yet from the days of Judas Iscariot to the present there has been a procession of hypocrites and traitors, which has entailed disgrace and contemp upon the truth, has excited the hopes of the infidel, and stirred up the blasphemy of the enemy of God. But it is all in vain. Like some vast rock in the ocean, truth remains firm; its base is buried in the depths and its summit is wrapped in the clouds: "heaven and earth may pass away, but that rock cannot pass away." It is the rock of ages; destined, as saith the prophet Daniel, to be magnified and elevated, until it becomes a great mountain and fills the whole earth. Grand and immense in its aspect! eternal and immovable in its foundations! Impenetrable and insensible to assault; sublime and effulgent in its light, the corner stone
of that spiritual temple, “not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.”

We are called upon this day to view with reverence “the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.”

A portion of the stability of truth appears to have been communicated to the government, the doctrines, and the worship of the church.

Rites and ceremonies, which by some may be mistaken for things signified, are changeable parts of this divine depositary. Modes of worship and forms of prayer may be adapted to the genius and temper of the age; and are to be wisely and discreetly regulated by the church: but the church itself, in its essential features, appears to have been permanently settled by its divine head. Order and unity prevail through the innumerable hosts, which compose the “church of the first-born in heaven;” and order and unity should prevail through the church on earth, as it should through every thing physical and moral. The body and the mind of man are formed by their Maker with superior and subordinate powers and parts; and the smallest subdivisions of the human race into families are furnished with a head and members, which exercise and submit to government.

The first appearance of the church of God, in the bosom of a single nation, and in a wilderness, was made in perfect form, under the direction of God himself, who gave his charge to Moses. When in fulness of time it advanced from sensible, to moral and intellectual claims upon man, that only seems to have been omitted which had completed its purpose. The rites and ceremonies, the types and shadows, either vanished away, or partook of a more moral and intellectual character; were spiritual-
ized and generalized for a more durable and extended purpose.

The first step in forming the Christian as the Jewish church, was the calling of ministers; Moses and Aaron in the first instance, and the apostles and disciples in the second; and this call proceeded from the lips of the Lord himself. The church is “founded upon apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.” If we trace the government of the church up to the time of its institution, we find a simple gradation of authority from the disciples to the apostles, and from these to our Lord himself; who, in his humble and affectionate offices and appellations, taught them that necessity alone imposed the reins of government, and that these should be held as among brethren and friends; that the greatest is only the servant of all.

This gradation of authority still remains permanent in the offices of bishop, priest, and deacon; and having, for these eighteen centuries, been upheld and supported by the great body of Christendom, it seems to have past the test of time and experience; and although the superior office of a bishop may, in an unsanctified heart and in unhallowed hands, be made an instrument of ambition and persecution, yet the abuse of an office should never condemn the office itself. For one who held the office of an apostle under our Lord himself was seen to abuse it.*

* “The supreme authority of the American Episcopal church is vested in a general convention of two houses, with co-ordinate powers: the house of the bishops of the several dioceses, and the house of clerical and lay deputies from each diocese, chosen by the clergy and representatives of the congregations in diocesan conventions: the consent of both houses being necessary to the acts of the convention; and the clergy and laity having a negative on each other;” and thus the government of the church very nearly resembles the civil government of this country vested
The same stability may be discovered in the doctrines of the church.

It was found necessary at an early period to collect and incorporate the doctrines of the Gospel in a more formal manner, than that in which they came from the lips of our Lord. As matter of instruction to his true disciples, they were delivered in a simple and natural form, connected with the common feelings of the heart, and the common occurrences of life. Hence we find them set forth in the simple drapery of tales or parables; or illustrated by the more impressive display of miracles. This may be still the most natural and affecting way in which they can be delivered "for reproof, for consolation, and for instruction in righteousness." But when these doctrines are to be vindicated from the attack of those who have no sympathy, and no sincere desire for the truth, they must be marshalled in a more distinct and defensive attitude.* Hence articles of belief, and creeds, and confessions of faith may be important bulwarks in Congress. In choosing a bishop, the laity as well as the clergy have a voice; and in selecting and settling a clergyman, the congregation decide by the common custom of voting. At meetings of the general convention, the senior bishop presides as moderator. Thus in separating from the crown of Great Britain, this church, like our civil government, preserved all reasonable and sufficient energy, while it threw off all the oppressive incumbrances of a monarchical establishment.

On the subject of revenue, there is a marked difference between the church in England and America. The incomes of our ten bishops united, would not probably amount to a third part of the income of some one of theirs; and it is presumed, that the salaries of all our clergy (450) together, if we except those who live in cities, would not more than reach two such tempting episcopal livings! It is believed, however, that very great demands for charities of various kinds are expected to be made upon those immense revenues of the English prelates; and it is certain, that munificent endowments of schools and colleges have arisen from them.

* These remarks on the doctrines of the Gospel are clearly illustrated in an admirable little treatise on "The Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revelation," by Thomas Erskine, Esq. Advocate.
against that flood of error and infidelity, which from the first have beat violently against the church, have sometimes shaken, but have never prevailed against her. Through all her calamities, and through all her corruptions, the church has “held fast that form of doctrine” which was delivered to her “of them who were eye witnesses and ministers of the word;” and has exhibited it in her articles, creeds, and confessions, from generation to generation of her sons, and for it has contended earnestly with host after host of her foes.

Modes of worship and forms of prayer appear to have been left by the great head of the church to be regulated by the united wisdom of its members. But although no particular directions were given, yet some general principles were inculcated. A form of prayer was set forth by our Lord himself, which served as a model; and which, possibly, suggested the manner in which the worship of the church might best be preserved pure and spiritual: that is, by scriptural forms. There may be objections to forms of prayer, and a liturgy for the church; but one of the most formidable objections is, that persons unaccustomed to forms of prayer feel at a loss at first how to employ them; but if the church fails to secure every one who for a short time worships with her forms, she rarely loses one who has given them a patient trial.

Those who are “hearers of the word” only, who go up to the house of God to hear sermons, and to hear prayers and praises, may find the modes of worship and forms of prayer provided by the church useless and cumbersome: but those who “go up to the temple to pray,” may be greatly assisted by such helps to devotion. But forms of prayer may be considered as means to preserve the purity of the church. If these are scriptural,
spiritual, and evangelical, they will give a tone to the religious sentiments of the people, and afford some defence against the declining piety or purity of the minister. All the essential doctrines of the Gospel are interwoven in the prayers of the church, and thus they appear on every occasion of public worship to revive the faith, and to lead the devotions of the people; and they may preserve through a long and unsound ministry a love of the truth, which will afterwards lead the people to choose a more faithful pastor. But "woe to the declining church which has no gospel liturgy! For when the spirit is gone, in a church which has no forms, nothing is left." "It has certainly pleased God in one country at least (England), to revive primitive Christianity in the midst of rational forms and evangelical articles."*

Amidst the revolutions of ages and events, we still find, my brethren, something on earth durable and permanent. We are called upon this day to view with veneration an institution, which has resisted the ravages of time, the flood of error, and the fire of persecution; originating in divine wisdom, and perpetuated by divine power in the use of proper means of defence and protection. An hundred years have past away, and yet the same truth is maintained, the same doctrines professed, and the same worship employed! An hundred years have past away, and there are seen still within these walls and upon this consecrated ground men "who honor the Son, even as they honor the Father:" who have assembled to celebrate the birth of him, "who brought life and immortality to light!" to commemorate the death of him, "whose blood cleanseth from all sin:" who have come up with the gifts and graces of the spirit,

* Dr. Buchanan, in his Researches, Note.
to worship him “who is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.” And let us hope, and pray, and trust, that this day will thus be celebrated from century to century, so long as “the sun and the moon endure.” Let us hold fast that form of sound words which we have received; and pray for grace to fill the full measure of those prayers and praises, which, for ages, have borne upward the aspirations of “saints now made perfect in heaven:” and let us once more join in ascribing “glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.”

It is becoming on this day to “remember those who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith you are to follow, and the end of whose conversation you are to consider.” I shall therefore gather together the few materials left me, and endeavor to present to you an historical sketch of this church.

I should not have extended the previous remarks so far, had the history of this church been marked by any very striking or important events. But like many other kindred institutions, it has past the time of its existence in peace and quietness; sometimes in solitude and desertion, but never, I trust, in warfare and contention.

As far back as the year 1700, some exertions were made to introduce the Episcopal church into this town; and the names of Messrs. Bartlet and Eagers are mentioned as missionaries sent for that purpose. But no effectual measures were taken to secure a church until some time in the year 1725, when a bond was signed by Samuel Pain to pay Peter Marquand and others a certain sum for building a Church of England in Braintree. Early in the year 1726, Henry Turner, Peter Marquand, John Vesey, George Cheesman, Benjamin Vesey, and
Samuel Pain, made an agreement with Mr. Ebenezer Miller, who had graduated from Harvard College three years before, to proceed to England, to procure ordination, and to become the minister of an Episcopal church in this place. Mr. Miller arrived safe in England, and was ordained by the bishop of London.—He received deacon's orders June 29th, 1726, and those of priest in July of the year following. On the 26th of August, 1727, he was appointed a missionary of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts; and this town was pointed out as the field for his labors. He remained in England until the close of September following, when he embarked for this country, and arrived in time to open his mission on Christmas day, 1727. Here he continued to officiate until his death, in the year 1763. During this period he was once again in England, and was created doctor in divinity at Oxford, December 8th, 1747; and among other marks of respect shown him in that country, was the appointment of chaplain to the duke of Bolton. Of the ministry of Dr. Miller, I have no means of speaking accurately. The best evidence of a faithful ministry is its fruits in pious and exemplary communicants. I find at the close of his labors a list of fifty families belonging to the congregation, and of fifty members of the communion: 488 infants and adults were admitted to baptism during the same time.

The manner in which the Rev. Mr. Hancock, his contemporary, speaks of the church, induces the belief, that Dr. Miller cultivated friendly relations with those who differed from him, which, although entitled to small praise, is very important in its consequences. A simple tribute of zeal for this church, and affectionate interest in its first minister, are to be found in a silver cup for the sacrament, presented by a negro slave; and in the often
repeated account of the Doctor's farewell sermon, before his second departure for England, in delivering which, said another faithful African, "there was not a dry eye in the church." Both these were domestics in the family of the Rev. Dr. Miller; and if all the poor in the parish cherished for him and the church the same affection and zeal, it would speak well for his fidelity to a Master, who "chose the poor in this world rich in faith, and heirs of the promise." The children of Dr. Miller preserved an attachment for the church in which they were born, and were among its principal supporters in this place. Mr. Mottram Vesey, his grandson, will long be remembered as a mild and modest, but firm friend of this church. For many years he remained almost alone in the administration of its secular affairs; and with his brother contributed to the interest of its worship in leading the praises of the sanctuary. In the month of November, 1762, it pleased God to visit the Rev. Dr. Miller with a paralytic disorder, under which he continued until the 11th of February, in the year 1763, and then, in the words of his successor, the Rev. Mr. Winslow, "to the very great loss of this church, his family and friends, he departed this life." His remains are entombed under the church, which he served for 36 years.

The Rev. Edward Winslow was the son of Mr. Joshua Winslow, a respectable merchant of Boston: he graduated at Harvard College in 1741, and was intended for the Congregational ministry; but the course of his studies led him to prefer Episcopacy: his father protested, and the son relinquished his profession, and applied himself to commerce. He married and resided in Barbadoes, one of the West India islands. But not being able to content himself out of that sacred field of duty, to which he had
early been called, he quitted mercantile life, went to England, and was ordained by the bishop of London deacon and priest. Offering himself as a missionary to the venerable Society before mentioned, he was appointed to succeed Dr. Johnson in Stratford, Connecticut. But having a large family, and being desirous of giving them a better education than his circumstances in Stratford would allow, he obtained the living of this church, and removed here with his family, July 27th, 1764.*

Mr. Winslow officiated in this church for thirteen years. Many are still alive who remember him, and speak of him and his family in terms of high respect. He occasionally visited and preached in the neighbouring churches of Dedham, Bridgewater, Scituate, and Marshfield, as did also his predecessor, Dr. Miller, if I may judge from the records of ministerial services in these places.

Indeed the venerable Society seemed to expect of this church to exercise a maternal care over those of the same communion in the vicinity, who were weaker than itself. This mutual assistance among churches is a very Christian and profitable practice. Even if a church, which has a settled minister, should be closed for two or three Sundays in a year, that it may send help to others who are perishing for lack of knowledge, it will sustain no real loss. The members of that church will have time to reflect upon their own privileges, and will learn to feel for the wants of others; and the minister will most probably enkindle his own zeal, and increase his usefulness; and thus this noble charity may bless both those who give, and those who receive.

The labors which your former pastors bestowed upon the church at Hanover, particularly, have been abundant-

* This account is from his grandson, the Rev. William E. Wyatt, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's parish, Baltimore.
ly repaid by the Rev. Mr. Wolcott, its present Rector. His services, six or seven years since, were animating and renovating to this church. His zeal and piety are entitled to our gratitude and respect; and his sad and silent musings on returning from what he feared unprofitable labors, accompanied, as we trust they were, by supplication to God, have long since been turned into thanksgiving and praise.

The fruits of the Rev. Mr. Winslow's ministry, like those of Dr. Miller's, I am unable fully to state. The number of families in the congregation was increased from 50 to 68; the number of baptisms registered was 268; but I can find only nine names added to the list of communicants, three of which appear to have been in his own family; and all were added the four first years of his ministry.

Whether Mr. Winslow was very careful in his admission of members to the communion, not receiving them without decided evidences of piety, or whether the great struggle of the Revolution was felt in some of its earlier convulsions, or whether it pleased God to restrain his grace and Holy Spirit during a period of ten years' continued labor, I cannot determine. But I am inclined to believe, that the approaching Revolution was awakening those party views and feelings, which, when once in a state of even gentle excitement, forbid the hope of much religious improvement. It is certain, that Mr. Winslow quitted this church when the Revolution at length broke out, and for that reason.

Without referring back to times on which we all look with intense interest, and with very nearly the same impressions, this much, my brethren, I feel bound to say, that the same pertinacity which was then exhibited by the church clergy, the same martyr-like spirit which
bound them to the then existing government, would be roused in defence and in suffering for that government under which it has pleased God to place them now. It appears to have been a love of order that influenced the clergy; and if they lacked that superior sagacity, which could penetrate and perceive the laws of nature, which at times supersede those of human legislation, they should have at least the merit of the humbler, but no less graceful virtue of "submission to the powers that be, which are ordained of God." I make this, however, as a general remark: there may have been exceptions to it; and it may require some limitation. All our clergy were then under oath to conform literally to the prayers of the church; and unless absolved by the power that enforced the oath as the terms of ordination, they could not depart from it. As Mr. Winslow could not safely read the prayer for the king, nor conscientiously forbear to read it, if he performed service at all, he resigned the charge of this church, and removed to the city of New York. During his residence in this city, he occasionally preached and performed the offices of the church, in one of which he met his death. On returning from a funeral, as he ascended the steps of his own house, he fell down and expired. His remains were entombed under the altar of St. George's church in the city of New York. The widow and children of Mr. Winslow removed to North Carolina. John Winslow, son of the deceased, who was born in this town in April, 1765, settled in Fayetteville, North Carolina, and became a wealthy and active citizen: he was sent to the legislature, and filled the various offices which it was in the power of his fellow citizens to bestow. To the church of his fathers, although long deprived of her services, he continued firmly attached; and by his personal influence and pri-
vate property, he was mainly instrumental in building an Episcopal church in his adopted city; which was opened for public worship on Christmas day, 1818. Over the grave of this excellent man, is the following inscription: "Here lies the mortal remains of a man, whose virtues are registered in the heart of every Episcopalian, a man who will long be remembered for the good deeds he has done to the house of his God and to the offices thereof."

Next to Mr. Winslow we find the name of Mr. Joseph Cleverly; who, if he was not one of the ministers of this church, was one of its fathers. This excellent man was graduated from Harvard College in 1733; and although never in holy orders, yet he served the spiritual interests of this church for many years, by reading prayers and sermons; and is called in the records, their teacher. At a meeting on Easter Monday, 1784, the thanks of this church were voted to Mr. Cleverly, for his past services: it is from hence to be inferred, that his first term of service was the whole time between 1777 and 1784, a period of seven years. Mr. Cleverly was a staunch churchman, and of unblemished reputation. He continued to officiate in the absence of regular clergy-men, till extreme old age and decrepitude terminated his useful ministration. He closed his accounts at the age of 89, and the simple monument of his name, his age, and services, is erected over his grave in the church-yard.*

The family of Mr. Cleverly, like those of his predecessors, have firmly adhered to the church, and inherit

* Many of the above facts I have taken from the records of this church; which a few years since were enlarged, and much valuable information was added to them, by the labors of a committee, to which we owe many thanks.
the respect and the recompense of the seed of the righteous.

From this period the services were performed by clergymen and readers sought by church committees; who officiated for single Sundays, or for longer stated periods. Of this number were the Rev. John Lynn Blackburn, the Rev. James B. How, now settled in Clermont, New Hampshire, and the Rev. Calvin Wolcott, before named; the Rev. William Clark also resided for some years in this town, in connexion with the church; but his infirmities prevented him from officiating in public: his remains are buried in this churchyard.

In May, 1822, your present minister performed divine service in this church. At the request of the wardens he came here to reside in the month of July following; was ordained deacon, by the Right Rev. A. V. Griswold, September 19th, 1822; and priest, the 16th of March, 1825. The first ordination was held in this church, and the second in St. Ann's church, Lowell; it being more convenient for the bishop to perform the service at that time and place.

The inhabitants of the town who retained a respect and attachment for the church, have been returning within its pale; and others have united with it from a regard to the doctrines and worship maintained. The number of families now belonging to the church is 78; the number of communicants 68 (65 of which have been added since 1822); and the number of baptisms recorded in the same time is 111. Of religious improvement I cannot speak by comparison with past times, for in one respect, this is a new church. But the patience with which you have listened to my imperfect development of the Gospel, and the desire so general of hearing the truth, painful or pleasing, fills me with hope, that at
some future period at least, under more vigorous and impressive ministrations, you may bring forth more plentifully the fruits of Christian faith, to the glory of God. This, my brethren, I am thankful to say, that religion has appeared to be advancing among you, if it has advanced but slowly. Blessed be God, there has been "no root of bitterness to trouble us, and none to molest or to make us afraid." We have had "peace," that most desirable guest, within our walls: God grant that it may "rule in all our minds."

You cannot "remember" the first ministers of this church, but there is one minister you can all "remember!" One "who has not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God," so far as he has understood it. Remember, my brethren, how, for the space of five years, he has "ceased not to warn every one, night and day." Remember! how plainly he has taught you, that you were all "by nature the children of wrath;" that in you, that is, in your flesh, dwelleth no good thing: how often he has confessed together with you, that "there is no health in us," that the "remembrance of our sins is grievous, and the burden intolerable!" Remember! how he has lifted up the Lord Jesus Christ, and pointed you to the "blood which cleanseth from all sin!" How earnestly he has pleaded with you to "look unto him, and be saved;" and how frequently assured you, that he is able to "save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him." Remember! how often he has shown you from the Scriptures, that you "must be born again," "of water and the Holy Ghost," changing "your hearts and minds," and lives and conversation; and producing that "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord;" and how without ceasing you must pray for this "Comforter," to "help your infir-
mities," "to enlighten your minds," to rectify your con-
sciences, to subjugate your wills, to consecrate your 
affections, to cause you to "hunger and thirst after 
righteousness," and, indeed, to "live, and move, and 
have a being" in the church of God. Remember! how 
he has warned you "to come out" from a vain, en-
snaring, and polluting world: "to be separate," and to 
"touch not the unclean thing," and that "God would be 
a father unto you;" "and always to keep in your minds 
a lively remembrance of that great day, in which we 
must give a strict account of our thoughts, words, and 
actions, and according to the works done in the body, 
be eternally rewarded or punished!" This faith, my 
brethren, may you ever "follow,"—for this "earnestly 
contend;" and this faith may you ever find in those 
whom you choose to rule over you, and to speak unto 
you the word of God. This Gospel, under which you 
have been "born again," brought into a holy and happy 
walk with God, which has borne, as upon eagles' wings, 
the souls of the faithful through much tribulation safe 
into the kingdom of heaven; which has sustained its 
believers amidst the "violence of fire," and which has 
had as many martyrs as it has pages, who have shed their 
blood and laid down their lives in its defence; which has 
been torn, in defiance of earth and hell, from the unhal-
lowed embrace of error and corruption, and set once more 
upon the golden candlestick—the church; this Gospel, 
determine by God's grace to keep in this church. With-
out it, the church will crumble to the dust; and with it, 
will "flourish in immortal youth."

I cannot close the history of this church, without 
reminding you of its benefactors. For fifty years a 
Missionary association in England, "The Society for 
propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," contributed
annually £60 sterling to the support of the minister of this church, which munificent donation amounted in all to more than £13,000.* In the year 1764, the members of this church resolved to purchase a house and glebe for the use of their minister, who at that time was the Rev. Mr. Winslow; the sum of £1246 67 was collected by subscription. Of this sum nearly £300 was subscribed by different members of one family, which both in this country and in England have manifested much zeal for the church. One of this family, who now resides in Cambridge, England, Mrs. Sarah Apthorp, lately presented us with a valuable part of our communion plate.† Until within a short time, this church has never been independent of assistance. But it has at length undertaken entirely to support the Gospel; and I am happy to say, for the honor of the Gospel, that every

* This venerable Society was incorporated in the reign of William III, June 16th, 1702. By referring to the report of a meeting of its subscribers and friends held in London, May 19th, 1826, it appears still to be engaged with a zeal equal to that which it discovered an hundred years ago, when the minister of this very church was receiving a commission from its authorities. This Society has in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Upper and Lower Canada, Bermuda, Cape Town, New South Wales, and in India, 113 missionaries, and 113 schoolmasters, which, together with pensions to the widows of missionaries, donations in aid of the erection of churches, and other expenses, cost the Society not less than £27,000, or $114,444 a year! What a stream of benevolence must have flowed from this source for one hundred and twenty-five years! And this is the spirit and noble language which it now employs: "The Society's general designs are far from being confined to one portion of the globe, they embrace every part of it, to which British power and British benevolence have access." Christian Observer, 1825, 1826.

† There is every reason to believe, that the church would have sunk in ruins after the American Revolution, had it not been for this house and land; the rent of which kept it in repair, and afforded the occasional services of clergymen. A large fund may be of little advantage to a church; but a moderate amount of landed property greatly conduces to its permanent establishment.
family appears to have improved in its circumstances. This is the natural effect of supporting religion. "Honor the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase, so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine." The church has been enlarged three times: in 1773 it was found necessary to add 13 feet to its length; and in 1824 and 1826 wings, the whole length of the building, were added to the sides.

I have now presented you, my brethren, with a history of this church from the time of its establishment, in 1727, to the present day; a period of one hundred years. The retrospect of the past is a simple task, and only requires the industry of the recorder; but a glance into futurity, even to the shortest period, is denied to mortal man. Here we stand upon the shores of another century, which lies before us, incapable of revealing what a day will bring forth. The only thing of which we can be certain, is, that it will bury us all in its waves: the mighty flood will roll over our sleeping dust, and appear to our successors in the same gloomy, but expressive silence. What, in this emergency, becomes us as men and as Christians?

As men, it becomes us to prepare for death; to improve the period allotted us, in securing the favor of God, through a human and divine Mediator; and in laying up for ourselves "treasures in heaven:" that whether the messenger of death come at midnight or in the morning, "we may be found watching." As Christians, our duties are more extensive. Here the precept is: "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." The benevolent labors of our fathers, of which we have heard this day, might have been enlarged or diminished by the increase or de-
crease of their zeal and faithfulness. The records of our own labors are in like manner dependent. We are to be viewed at the distance of an hundred years; when all that is visible of us, will be our names and our works. We are to be considered by those who, however near their relationship, will remember and recount not our poverty nor our riches, not our pleasures nor our pomps, but our deeds of benevolence, our zeal for the honor of God, and our devotion to the Gospel of Christ.

The friends of religion have spared no expense in furnishing this church with the means of grace; let us be ready to furnish others with the same liberality; let destitute churches in this State, and in the Western forests, never plead in vain; and even should the cry come to our ears from perishing millions over the waters, let us remember, that the cries of this very church were heard for fifty years continually across the Atlantic; and that 3000 miles of ocean afforded no excuse for withholding aid: "freely ye have received, freely give."

As Episcopalians, our duties are peculiar. We have received, through many dangers, the oracles of God, and the scriptural liturgy of this church. The wealth and the lives of many gone to their long home, have been devoted to the preservation and perpetuity of this church. It has descended from generation to generation, as an inheritance to us; enclosing, as its precious charge, the pure Gospel of Christ; breathing it in all its forms and offices; displaying it in all its creeds and articles, and defending it in all its counsels and ministrations. The acquaintance of some of you with the church, has been short; and you may not as yet have perceived the excellence of its forms,* but regard these only as helps

* It is impossible to conduct public worship without a "form of prayer." The minister must make some form for the people, and it is his form of
to devotion. They are not necessary to acceptable prayer, nor necessary for "saints made perfect in heaven;" but they seem to be important for saints imperfect on earth, and well calculated to preserve the spirit of devotion amidst all the fluctuations of feeling and sentiment in the church, and in the world. Without doubt, there are some inconveniences attending a settled form of worship; but these seem overbalanced by the advantages; especially in the present unsettled state of religious opinion. These prayers are permanent: do you approve of them to-day, they will, in all probability, remain here an hundred years from this day for your children's children.

A caution is indispensably necessary. We are all naturally prone to extremes; and those who employ means in religion, are inclined to rely too much upon them. It may be the fault of churchmen, to rely too much upon their "admirable forms," and too little upon the adorable Head of the church, and the Holy Spirit. The purity of the church depends upon the power of Christ, and the continual influences of the Holy Spirit; and forms without prayers, fervent and constant; and doctrines without practice, careful and consistent, will bring reproach rather than defence.

Lastly, our duty as citizens is simple. It is to maintain, as much as possible, quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people. I cannot express my own feelings better, than to repeat some of the concluding prayer that they use. The only question is, Whether we will have a form made beforehand, with care, and which we may fully understand, or have a different one every Sunday, made while the minister is praying? It may be said, that a minister has reason to expect immediate help from the Holy Spirit in his prayers; so he has in his preaching; and yet preaching with a form has been long in use, and is thought no impediment to usefulness.
words of the Rev. Mr. Hancock's Century Sermon, delivered in the year 1739; and to pray that they may be responded from century to century, so long as there are different denominations in this town. "Blessed be God, that we enjoy so much peace and quietness in this place, under our different apprehensions and modes of worship; and if I have somewhat boasted of you for your peaceableness, prudence, and charity, I hope you will not make my glorying void. Wherefore let us all study to be quiet, follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another. 'If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.' 'Above all things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness.' This is the bond of union, the cement of societies, without which they will soon disband, and be dissolved. 'Let brotherly love continue.' Amen.
At the conclusion of the Sermon the following Anthem, prepared for the occasion, was sung.

Awake, my harp—'tis holy ground!
But let thy notes be deep and low;
For those, who rais'd these altars round,
Sleep in their robes of death below.

This day an hundred years have run,
Since those, whose earth beneath us lies,
To Thee, Eternal Three in One,
Here first bid hallow'd anthems rise.

Their tuneful tongues have turn'd to dust;
Their crumbling stone, itself, decays;
But hark! the spirits of the just
Surround thy throne, perfecting praise.

'Tis holy tide—the shepherds, led
By Bethlehem's star, pursued their way,
And found the manger and the shed,
Wherein the sleeping Jesus lay.

Come, holy spirit, and excite
Our hearts of clay to love and fear;
And lead us, by the day star's light,
To seek our Lord and Saviour here.