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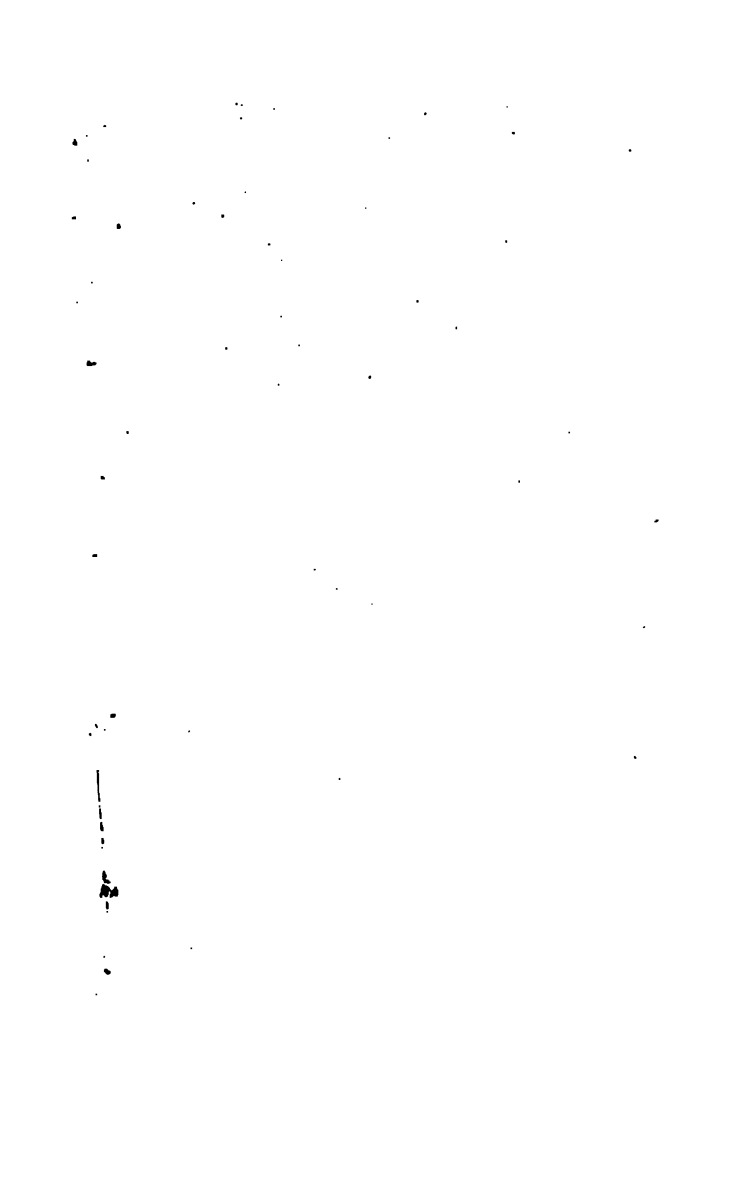


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DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION

OF THE

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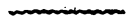
OF THE

BAPTIST CHURCH AND SOCIETY,

IN WARREN, R. I.

MAY 9, 1845.

By JOSIAH P. TUSTIN, PASTOR.



PROVIDENCE:

H. H. BROWN, 25 MARKET SQUARE:

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WARREN, JUNE 10, 1845.

At a special meeting of the Benevolent Baptist Society in this town, held in the Lecture Room of the Church, on the 9th inst. it was

Resolved unanimously, That the undersigned be a Committee to solicit for the press a copy of the Historical Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the new Church Edifice, on the 8th day of May, by the Reverend JOSIAH P. TUSTIN, Pastor of the Church."

It affords us pleasure, Dear Sir, to communicate to you the above resolution, while we assure you of the continued regard of

Your friends and obedient servants,

LEVI HAILE,
S. P. CHILD,
A. M. GAMMELL,
CHARLES RICHMOND, jun.
G. M. FESSENDEN.

P R E F A C E.

In the following pages there are some historical notices of a sacred succession of Independent Churches, in the Principality of Wales, who held the sentiments of the modern Baptists, in more or less purity, during the long lapse of the dark ages, and even from the first introduction of Christianity into Britain. It is the history of *principles*, rather than the *names* of sects, that has engaged our attention.

The author need make no apology for directing the attention of those of his brethren who enjoy literary leisure, and possess a religious spirit, to a subject always interesting whenever named, but which has been sadly neglected by scholars in the Baptist, and other evangelical persuasions. It is a most cherished and prevalent opinion, with the Welsh Baptists, that their distinguishing principles have been preserved in their purity, by the Cambrian people, through all the ages from the first

introduction of Christianity into their Island. That God has had his scattered and hidden people in Piedmont and Holland, as well as in Wales, through the night of the dark ages, there can be no doubt. But it seems to have been a part of His wise arrangement for their preservation, that they should be kept in obscurity, and that obscurity now makes it very difficult to trace their history. What we find concerning them in the historical works accessible to the general reader, are but the scattered fragments thrown by their enemies into contempt. It is not too much to say, that the history of Cambro-British Christianity is yet to be written. Adequate attention has never yet been given to the purely Cambrian portion of British history. The causes of this neglect can readily be assigned. Among these reasons is the fact stated by Sir James Mackintosh: "The history of this native race has not yet been extracted from fable; nor has any Welshman yet arisen who has made such attempts to recover the perhaps still remaining materials, as will warrant us in asserting that they have altogether perished. An early conquest damped the national feeling, which would have fondly clung to the slenderest fragment of such memorials, from the pursuit and preservation of which at the favorable time they were diverted by their long reliance on the legends of Geoffrey of Monmouth."

But we may safely hazard the assertion that the materials for the Ecclesiastical History of the old

British Churches, are by no means lost. They are locked up in the yet untranslated Welsh language, and deposited in many an old Welsh book or manuscript, laid away in the archives of their abbies and parish churches. Of the most authentic and valuable writers among the Welsh Baptists, Joshua Thomas' History of the Welsh Baptists, is the most accessible: but even of this work, only some meagre portions, imperfectly translated, have appeared in the English language.

All that has been attempted, in the following allusions to Cambro-British Christianity, has been a rapid bird's eye view of a few prominent facts, chiefly derived from such authorities as Ivimey's History of the Baptists; Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, and Crosby's History of the English Baptists.

Abundant references could have been made to facts in the Civil History of the Welsh, in works which are accessible to the author; such as Powell's History of Wales, exhibiting the succession of the Princes of Wales, from Cadwallader the last king, to Llewelyn, the last prince of British blood; written originally in British, by Caradoc, of Llancavan: Published in English by Dr. Powell: Also, a Sketch of the early history of the ancient Cymry, from the year 700 B. C. to A. D. 500. 8vo. London, 1803. Also, the History of Wales, with an Appendix, in Nine Books. By Rev. William Warrington. London, A. D. 1786.

But the abundant materials in these, and in similar works could be brought into but very little requisition, in a brief historical sketch, such as this pretends to be, the only object of which is to take a rapid glance at the order of events as they stand associated in the connexion between this quiet village church and the ancient churches of the British race, on another continent. Had pastoral duties afforded the requisite leisure for such a service, the writer would gladly have penetrated further into the Aboriginal history of this vicinity, and have exhibited at greater length many facts, of more than a local interest, which are intimately associated with the events which led to the settlement of this Town, and the organization of this Church. Regretting both the fact of the hitherto sad neglect of our local history, and the unwritten memorials of the worthy men who deserved a higher meed of praise than such a passing notice; and lamenting his inability to present this Discourse in a better form, it is given, such as it is, as a token of respect to the members of the Church and Congregation under his pastoral care, by their sincere friend,
THE AUTHOR.

Warren, July, 1845.

MATTHEW XXIII : 8.

“ONE IS YOUR MASTER, EVEN CHRIST: AND ALL YE
ARE BRETHREN.”

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to give a summary of Christianity, in a few points of doctrine, expressed in a few words. The highest efforts of sanctified genius and the greatest powers of human expression, when employed in defining and classifying within a small compass, the peculiarities of the *Gospel*, have been attended with perplexity and dissatisfaction.

The Author of our Religion, “who spake as never man spake,” taught the spiritual truths he revealed, in language which could only have been dictated by the clearest conceptions of his all-originating mind. He connected eternity with time, threw a strong and burning light upon the shadows of futurity, and brought home to the bosoms of men, a present apprehension of the substantial realities of the invisible world.

The Doctrines he revealed were simple and yet sublime; the Worship he established was spiritual and purifying; the Conduct he required was holy and benevolent.

His Religion viewed as a collective system, may be considered *doctrinally*, as to what we are to believe, *experimentally*, as to what we are to feel, *practically*, as to what we are to do. The equal blending of doctrine, feeling and action, in the high exercise of a well proportioned symmetry, is the human realization of the great *Idea* developed in the religion of Jesus Christ.

All religion grows out of a sense of human want; and man is therefore disposed to be a religious being.

The object for which we have assembled to-day, is connected with religion. To its sacred purposes we have now convened to dedicate this Building, as a tribute of grateful homage to Almighty God, and of adoring love to our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

The declaration of the objects implied in this design, would be an appropriate theme for our present discourse. The Doctrines we believe, the Feelings we cherish, and the Ends we pro-

pose to accomplish, might naturally be exhibited in connexion with this solemn occasion. But the statement of our Religious Faith, and the illustration of our cherished Designs, could not be satisfactorily compressed within the limits of time assigned for this exercise.

It is therefore fitting and necessary that we should restrict our views to a smaller compass, and confine our attention to the facts that belong to our present position.

But the Present is connected with the Past, by the ties of religious as well as of civil relationships. The current of time is rapidly sweeping by, and we stand on a spot where we can look back upon the stream as it rushes up to the present, and down its course as it glides away in its onward progress to the ocean of eternity. The memories of the past come rushing up before us, and the dim visions of the future rise unbidden to our view.

We stand on a spot hallowed by many an association of *sacred and thrilling interest.*

It is well for us, now that we have retired for a while from the hum of business, and the common interests of secular life, to lift the veil that hides the Past, and trace the line of events, which, as human causes, have produced the results of the Present. "God lives in history," and History is no less "Philosophy teaching by example," than the voice of God teaching by his Providence.

I have said that we are assembled here in contemplation of Religion in its relations to former times; and these relations, as they affect us personally and socially, are found intermixed with all the details of the civil and religious History of the generations that have preceded us.

It was the love of Religion, and of Religious Liberty, that put in motion the train of events which led to the formation of our social institutions and brought us together on the spot of ground, and the point of time, we now occupy. There can be no proper apprehension of our past history, whether we consider ourselves as a religious Society, as a part of this Town or State, or of the New-England Community,

without investigating those religious causes, which led to the formation of civil and religious society on this Western Continent.

While the history of this Church and Town, partakes of much that is common to the general characteristics of New-England, it is more signally distinguished by the history of peculiar principles, in which our social existence originated, and with which we have always been identified. To trace the history of these peculiar principles, and the events with which they were connected, is therefore the particular object of the present Discourse.

The Principles which I design to illustrate historically, may be reduced to three :

1. *Liberty of Conscience in Religious concerns.*
2. *The Independence of each Christian Church and its separate existence from Civil Government.*
3. *The admission of only such persons into the Church as profess experimental Christian Faith, by the ordinance of Baptism, in the form of Immersion.*

These three religious principles were identified with the origin of this community, and were so combined in the belief of the ancestors of this Church and Town, that in their estimation, the presence of one of them implied the necessary union of the others, and the rejection of one, in its logical and natural tendency, vitiated or excluded the whole :—all standing or falling together.

These views of Faith were considered by the forefathers of this Church, as they are believed by us, their representatives and successors, to be identical with the Doctrine and Worship of the Apostolic Churches.

It should be distinctly understood, as it is fully admitted, that these principles do not constitute the Summary, nor even the most considerable part, of the Christian System. Nor is it pretended that each and every one of them, or all of them together, are peculiar alone to the Religious Communion with which we stand connected, in distinction from all other names and orders of Christian people ; and it is the peculiar glory of Evangelical Christianity in the present age, that the lines of distinctive difference between the various orders of Protestants,

are less visible than in most preceding periods since the Reformation of Luther. At no time probably, since the first two centuries of the Christian Church, has there been so deep and general a disposition among earnest-minded Christians to derive their entire faith and practice from the New-Testament alone, as at the present. All Evangelical denominations seem disposed to act upon the principle, that *the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants*.

The claims of Tradition and Custom are sifted and reduced to their true merits; and the authority of the Inspired Scriptures is elevated above the ordinances of men. And hence there is less to distinguish the leading evangelical denominations from each other, than in former ages.

It is an occasion of thanksgiving on this auspicious day, that there are so many doctrines of fundamental importance in Religion, which we hold in common with the whole fraternity of Evangelical Protestants. And we trust that holding the unity of the Spirit, in the bonds of peace, we are still drawing closer together, disposed to act upon the apostolic precept, "Whereto we have already attained, let us

walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing."

These considerations being premised and understood, we shall be free from the charge of intending offence to any Christian sensibility, if we proceed to trace out the progress of the peculiar principles which characterized the origin and history of this church; even if, in such illustrations there may be any occasion by way of contrast to point out the errors of other forms of Faith.

But it is not the history of a *Sect*, or the prevalence of a *name*, that we are in quest of, so much as the history of *principles*. It should be a matter of small concern to any of us, as to the antiquity of our denominational appellatives;—which in the case of almost every persuasion of Christians, have not been of *their own* selection, but most frequently bestowed on them in a way of reproach, by those who were their enemies. Such was the case with the *Puritans*, whose name was applied in contempt to a class of men of whom the world was not worthy;—of the *Methodists*, whose zealous piety provoked the invention of a term by which

the operations of religion on the passions, should be rendered opprobrious to the formal worldling or the proud hypocrite ;—of the *Quakers*, whose modest piety was charged upon them as a mark of servile fear ;—and of the *Baptists*, whose primitive ordinance has characterized them with a name, they never preferred or selected, but which they are yet perfectly willing to bear.

The distinguishing principles to which I have adverted, as characterizing this Church in its origin and formation, are believed by us to be identical with the faith and practice of the *Primitive Christians*. Though they are not summed up in so many terms in the language of the Text, they are implied and embodied in those words of our Saviour, “ One is your Master even Christ : and all ye are brethren ; ”—words which are an appropriate motto for a Baptist Church.

There can be no *religion*, without *authority* to enjoin it : and the doctrines of religion, to have any *influence*, must rest on authority of the highest order ; and the religion that is from God, has such authority. Jesus Christ proclaimed himself as the only Mediator between

God and man, and the only Lord of the human conscience. When his disciples professed his name, they declared their allegiance to him, and their internal Faith, by public Baptism. This was the order in which Christ himself connected the conditions of obedience ;—" He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved." And his inspired Apostles observed the same principles, in the same order. They always regarded Baptism as the outward act of Internal Faith ; as the test-oath and naturalization act, by which a stranger and alien declared his allegiance to Christ his King, and became a naturalized citizen of the visible church. Thus the apostle Paul declares it, as the act of a soldier who has put on the regimentals of the army, into which he has been sworn : or as the act of a servant assuming the livery of the master, whom he has bound himself to serve : " For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." Nay, the very method by which Baptism was administered, declared its significance and its binding obligation. It was a solemn act of burial in water, by which a man declared his belief of the burial and resurrection of Christ ; his own deadness to the

world, and his rising again to newness of life. "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection."

Thus, each believer declared his own discipleship, to his own Master. What was required of one, was necessary for all. All therefore were received into the community of Brethren, on equal conditions.* There were no char-

*The church was in the beginning, a community of Brethren. All its members were taught of God; and each possessed the liberty of drawing for himself from the Divine Fountain of life. (John vi. 45.) The Epistles, which then settled the great questions of doctrine, did not bear the pompous title of any single man, or ruler. We find from the holy Scriptures, that they began simply with these words: "The apostles, elders and brethren, to our brethren." Acts xv. 23."—*D'Aubigne's Reformation*, vol. 1, p. 17.

tered or hereditary rights, attaching to any class or order. Each Christian Society was constituted on the basis of the social and moral equality of all its members, upon the professed Faith of each. There being no divinely appointed model of church constitution and government, given by Christ or his apostles, the disciples were left to their own discretion in arranging the details of each separate community, according to the customs of their particular age, or country. But the great fundamental principles of their Faith contained all the general outlines, *within* which the particular arrangements of each Society must be necessarily embraced. Each church inherently possessed the authority to elect its own officers, who should act as the pastors, and official representatives of the body; to determine the regulations by which their affairs were to be governed, and the particular conditions of admitting, or rejecting members;—all subject however to the general outline-laws laid down by Christ and his inspired apostles.

The churches, accordingly, which were formed during the life time of the apostles, seem to have been nothing more than converted, or Christianized Synagogues, which in each case had been a separate and independent re-

ligious society by itself.* So that when the whole, or the majority of the members of any particular Synagogue had become converted, they still continued the same organized body as before ; and they continued to use their former privilege of electing their own overseer, bishop, or pastor, and to choose deacons, stewards, or whatever other officers were necessary, for the executive management of their own internal affairs.

Each Christian Church, therefore, became, or continued to be, a society or popular assembly, formed on the model of the previously existing Synagogue, having a free, voluntary and elective government, in the choice of its own officers, and inheriting within itself, all the elements of religious liberty. The pastor was simply the elected teacher, and moderator in their assemblies, holding no hereditary rights, but only *primus inter pares*,—the principal elected by his peers.

* See Lightfoot's *Harmony of the New Test.* Vol. III. p. 257. Also, Coleman's *Primitive Church*, pp. 39—47. Also, Whateley's *Kingdom of Christ*, pp. 78—83.

The standard of all authority, was the recorded teachings of Christ himself, or the inspired epistles of the apostles, who alone held a higher rank, from their position as the witnesses of Christ's ministry and resurrection; and *they* exercised a paramount authority as the infallible interpreters of the Divine Will. But the apostles themselves, disclaimed anything like the hereditary aristocracy of the Levitical priesthood; and by their own sanction, they legalized the popular form of government in the Synagogue worship, as the mode of organization in the newly formed Christian Churches. They made not the slightest claims to an order of the Christian ministry, parallel or analagous, to the Levitical priesthood: nor did they incorporate into their worship, the elements of their national temple service, such as a sacrificing priest, the altar for sacrifice, the sacred vessels, or any of the glittering regalia of their ritual service. The only Priest they recognized was Jesus Christ, their ever-living intercessor; the only sacrifices they offered, were their own bodies and souls, a living sacrifice, as a voluntary and spiritual service,—the sacrifices of a pure heart and a benevolent life:

the only temple they reared, was composed of themselves, as spiritual believers, "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone; in whom, all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; in whom they are also builded together for an habitation of God, through the Spirit."

The apostles themselves held a peculiar office, for a special purpose, and when they died, their office died with them. As a jury of witnesses, their living testimony could only be perpetuated in the Inspired Canons of Scripture, which were closed forever at the death of the last of the apostles. But apart from their extraordinary commission, as infallible witnesses and inspired teachers, the apostles claimed for themselves no extraordinary privileges.

The Christian societies thus formed and organized, were so many little republics, each within itself, and all these smaller circles were embraced within the comprehensive circle of Christ's spiritual kingdom. He alone, was the Lord and Master of each; and they were breth-

ren, as independent, yet separate branches of the one Spiritual Community, of which the Lord Jesus Christ, was the Invisible and Heavenly Head. Still with all this outward diversity in organization, they were all one in the fellowship of love and faith, holding the communion of the saints, united in spirit as different members of one body, or as brethren of the same great family. But with all their diversity of endowments, there was the *unity of Religion*. "There were diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit: diversities of administrations, but the same Lord: diversities of operations, but it is the same God who worketh all in all. There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling: one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all: one Lord, one faith, one Baptism."

There was no visible representative, as the earthly head of each of these churches, or of all of them together: but Christ himself was the invisible Head of the universal, invisible church. His kingdom was indeed *within* the world, but it was not *of* the world. Though

each community possessed the organized form of a human society, it was yet not of the nature of an earthly kingdom ; as it was not originated for any earthly purpose, nor conducted on the principles of worldly policy. Those who were members of this spiritual society, formed for spiritual purposes, might yet in another capacity, be members of a secular society, formed for secular purposes : if they were scholars, they might belong to an Academy : if farmers, they might belong to an Agricultural Society : if they were citizens of any particular country, they were to retain their citizenship, “ rendering unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar’s ; but rendering to God, the things that are God’s ; ”—but the authority of Cæsar was never to bind their conscience, nor their privileges as Christians ever to exempt them from the lawful claims of human government, within its own proper capacity. Christ was the Master of all, as believers ; and to his own Master, every one was to stand or fall.

Such, in outline, were the simple principles which characterized the organization of the Christian church in its best and earliest days.

This is not the time, nor the place to show how these distinguishing principles were gradually obscured and neutralized, and became intermixed with forms of doctrine and worship foreign to those of the original church. The faithful pen of History could easily trace the rise and progress of insidious errors, which insensibly stole in upon the unguarded church, and at length brought on the spiritual despotism, which in later times, reduced her to a servile allegiance to secular power. But without detailing the incidents of History, it is sufficient to show the progress of those three distinctive principles to which I have adverted, and which entered elementarily into the formation of the apostolic church,—the corruption of which paved the way for the subsequent admission of every form of error.

All the events of history, reduced to a simple analysis, show how insidious, but yet how operative, is the influence of a false principle, or of a true one, misapprehended. And as a general fact, perhaps it is true, that for want of candid and attentive reflection, the mass of men do not see the unsoundness of any false principle, till its working is fully developed in practice,

and they see the baleful results to which it actually and legitimately leads.

Thus in the latter part of the second century, a misconception of the supposed efficacy of Baptism, led to the conviction that it was essential to salvation ; and hence infants, and others who were in danger of dying without the benefit of the sacramental grace of Baptism, received the application of that ordinance, and were thus supposed to be absolved from the guilt of original sin. And those whose critical state of health would endanger their lives, by immersion, received the application of water in their sick chamber, or on a dying bed : and thus was introduced *Clinical Baptism*,* which, in time, prepared the way for a general substitution of the *form* of its administration. By thus admitting Infants to Baptism, the wall of partition between the church and the world was gradually taken down, and Christ's visible kingdom became a kingdom of this world. By exalting the efficacy of Baptism to a Sacra-

* So called from being administered on a *bed*—from a Greek word, signifying *couch* .

mental Grace, the great doctrine of Justification by Faith, insensibly merged into the notion of a *covenant of works* : and thence were entailed the devices of Popery, and the belief in works of Supererogation. Henceforward the Doctrine and Worship of the church declined together.

In the same manner, the gradual elevation of the Bishop of Rome, led to a commanding supremacy over all the other churches in those territories that were lawfully subjected to the civil government of the Roman Empire : and the supremacy which the neighboring churches had at first voluntarily yielded to the enlightened oversight of the Roman Bishop, at length led to the usurpation of power, which by the unhappy concurrence of political events, resulted in a *Diocesan* government, which superinduced the greater concentration of a *Metropolitan* bishopric, and this was at last matured into the still higher pretensions of a *Patriarchal* supervision, and the unlimited despotism of a universal Papal Hierarchy.

Henceforward, Christianity which was intended for the *heart* of man, became the servile creature of the State, and the instrument

of her own undoing. Having ascended the throne of the Cæsars, she assumed the purple and the diadem, and enrolled the legions of Rome among the hosts of the faithful. Then the cross was lifted in the van of conquering armies, and was made the sanction of inquisitorial injustice. When the sword was once drawn in defence of the cross, its scabbard was thrown away, and for more than ten centuries it continued the scandal of religion, and the plague of the world.

But though the *name* of Christianity was applied by the temporal powers to the worst of purposes, and became the watchword for war throughout Europe, her pure spirit still lived in the hearts of thousands, and her enlightening influence was never lost, in any age. Her conservative power may be clearly traced among some smaller or larger communities in every age and country of nominal Christendom. The witnesses for the truth, and the dissenters from the reigning apostasy of Antichrist, were always found among thousands of sequestered groups of Christians, who loved the Gospel, and held it in its purity of Doctrine and of Worship: who are known in history by the

name of Novatians at Rome, the Donatists in Africa, the Faulicians in Greece, the Cathari or Puritans in Italy : in all the south of Europe, in Germany and Holland, these Christians were known as the Albigenses, Montenses, Waldenses and Anabaptists,—names not assumed by themselves, but applied in contempt by the dominant power of the papal church.

It would be easy to show, that while the long night of spiritual despotism brooded over Europe for so many centuries, the pure worship and simple doctrine of the Gospel were always preserved by a band of faithful witnesses : and its light can be clearly traced, sometimes in brighter, sometimes in feebler lines, from the very first dawn of the star which guided the men of the East to the cradle of the Messiah.

Though her light was smothered and concealed in her prison house at Rome,—though, her sanctity was defiled and her authority desecrated, by those “ who were at hate with prayer and studied curses,” her living Spirit could not be quenched, and her dungeon was broken open by the strong arm of Luther, and she again stood forth in the immortal freshness of youth and beauty. Its influence stopped

not at the place or the time, that gave it birth. It restored man to mental independence and moral dignity, while at the same time it fitted him to retain this supremacy. We can trace its great principles henceforth animating and governing the events of all subsequent history.

It would be an easy and delightful task to trace the history of the principles of the apostolic and primitive churches, through various channels and by various names, in an unbroken line of succession, from the first communities of Brethren, down through the long night of papal despotism, till they re-appear in all their brightness and beauty, in modern times.

But the particular connexion which this Baptist Church sustains to the church of Christ in former ages, even back to the apostles' times, will enable us to delineate the progress of Christian principles, apart from all the churches on the Continent of Europe.

It is a fact generally known, that many of the Baptist churches in this country derived their origin from the Baptist churches in Wales, a country which has always been a nursery for their peculiar principles. In the earlier settlements in this country, multitudes

of Welsh emigrants, who left their fatherland, brought with them the seeds of Baptist principles, and their ministers and members laid the foundation of many Baptist churches in New-England, and especially in the Middle States.

It is not pretended, and it is distinctly disclaimed, that our churches in this country lay claim to any *literal* or *lineal* order of succession from the apostles. If *literal succession* were worth anything, we have as Baptists, a much *clearer* and a much *cleaner* pedigree than those advocates for prelacy who trace their ministry through the turbid channel of the papal apostasy, and who are forced to acknowledge the Pope as a true Christian Bishop, and the Romish communion as the true Catholic Christian Church. But the very nature of our peculiar principles leads us to place no confidence in the doctrine of a regular and literal apostolic succession, even if it could be clearly made out in favor of our own genealogical descent; a theory, however, which is utterly untenable, whether viewed in the light of historical evidence, or the dictates of common sense: a theory which has been exploded by the ablest divines in every evangelical commu-

nity, and is now abandoned by the most candid and independent advocates of prelacy itself.*

While we speak therefore, of the clear identity and unbroken succession of the pure principles of the Gospel doctrine and worship, through the several ages of the past, we speak of no such succession as implies a priesthood of regular descent, or of such religious ordinances as depend for their sacramental efficacy upon the authority of priest, council or pope.

The valid administration of the Christian ordinances is derived from the nature of a church, and the end for which it is organized.

In nature, each Christian Church, is an organized Society, based upon a mutual covenant of all its members, having the inherent right, like every other Society, to elect its own officers, form its own particular rules and by-laws, to admit or dismiss its individual constituents,—all subject however to the general outline conditions of obedience laid down by the authority of the Great Head of the Church. The ends for which the church and its ordinances are

* See Whateley's Kingdom of Christ, pp. 182—189. Appendix A.

appointed, are the spiritual improvement of all its members, the advancement of truth, and the direct promotion of peace and righteousness on the earth.

The duties of all Christian converts are plainly laid down in the Scriptures; and among these duties, it is enjoined that they should assemble together in a social capacity, to pray, to instruct and exhort each other, to observe mutual watchfulness, to bear each other's burdens, and to enjoy the ordinances of religion. Any body of Christian converts, brought together in a heathen, or in a Christian land, are perfectly competent to organize themselves into a church, and appoint one of their number, having suitable gifts, to the office of the ministry. A person thus elected and ordained, is as much an authorized minister of the Gospel, and possesses as high, commanding sanction, to preach and to administer the ordinances of religion, as if an unbroken line of elections and ordinations should connect his ministry with the chair of St. Peter.

On these principles each of the independent Christian Churches of our forefathers was formed. And hence from the nature of the case, no

literal or lineal descent is of any value, even if it could be ascertained to be historically unbroken. But the Holy Spirit, acting by the Divine Word, can create a church and ministry, "*ex re nata*," without any pedigree than that of Adam "who was a son of God"—a church fresh from heaven, by the free illapse of the Divine Spirit.

Such was the principle on which the First Baptist Church in this State, and the first on this continent was formed. Roger Williams and eleven associates, feeling the inward power of Divine Truth, and dissatisfied with what they considered the abuses of the doctrines and ordinances in surrounding churches, agreed to form themselves into a Christian Church. Taking the Bible for their only guide, they saw it was their duty, first of all, to profess their inward faith, in the name of Christ, by the ordinance of baptism—which symbolized his burial and resurrection, and declared their own spiritual separation from the world, by their dying to sin, and their arising to newness of life. There was then no properly baptized minister on the continent; and yielding to the necessity of the case, they appointed Mr. Ezekiel Holli-

man to baptize Mr. Williams, who then in turn baptized all the rest. If the validity of Baptism depended on any sacramental virtue or episcopal ordination, there could be no question as to its regularity in the case of those baptized by Mr. Williams himself. He was first a regularly ordained clergyman of the church of England, and as that church both before and after its separation from the papacy, had recognized immersion as a valid and primitive form of baptism, the act of Mr. Williams in baptizing his eleven associates, must be recognised as Christian baptism, even by the advocates of prelatical succession.*

But though the persons thus baptized, might justly consider their baptism, and all descending from them, as valid, according to the episcopal theory, they did not for a moment rest the authority of the ordinance upon any connection with prelatical ordination. They seem to have acted, as Backus suggests,† on the

* See Knowles' *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, pp. 165—169.

† There is a case proposed by Zanchius, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, in 1568, in his commentary

simple principle of Scripture and common sense, that although it is the province of a regularly ordained Christian minister to dispense the ordinances of religion,—and that in ordinary cases it is disorderly and inexpedient to depart from this general principle, yet, that in cases of necessity, where ministers could not be found, it was perfectly proper for a layman to administer the ordinances, and thus commence a regularly established ministry, *de novo*. Such is the testimony of the earliest Fathers in the Christian Church, and of the ablest Ecclesiastical Historians.*

on the fifth chapter of Ephesians, in treating of Baptism, in which “ he propounds a question of a Turk coming to the knowledge of Christ and to faith, by reading the New-Testament, and withal teaching his family and converting it and others to Christ, and being in a country where he cannot easily come to Christian countries, whether he may baptize them whom he hath converted to Christ, he himself being unbaptized? He answers, I doubt not of it, but that he may, and withal provide that he himself be baptized of one of the three converted by himself. The

* Knowles' Memoirs of Roger Williams, pp. 166, 7

In consequence of a misapprehension of the facts connected with Roger Williams' baptism, it has been often and heedlessly repeated, after that it has been so often contradicted, that all the baptisms and ordinations of American Baptists, are traceable to Roger Williams, and that his were irregular;—and thus the origin of our Denomination in this country has been unjustly imputed to him.

Now, although all those who were baptized by Mr. Williams, must, by the admission of Pedobaptists themselves, have been baptized, the fact is, that very few of the Baptists in this country have sprung from the church in Providence. From the earliest periods of our colonial settlements, multitudes of Baptist ministers and members came from Europe, and settled in different parts of this continent, each becoming the centre of an independent circle,

reason he gives is, because he is a minister of the word, extraordinarily stirred up by Christ; and so as such a minister may with the consent of that small church, appoint one of the communicants, and provide that he be baptized by him." Backus, Vol. 1. pp. 105. 6.

wherever they planted themselves. There are at present over 700,000 regular Baptist communicants in this country, and of these, probably not one hundredth part have ever had any connection with the venerable church in Providence; "though her members have been numerous, and she has been honored as the mother of many ministers."*

A very large proportion of the earliest Baptist churches on this Continent, were directly of Welsh descent. The first Baptist church in Massachusetts was established in Swansea in 1663, when the Rev. John Miles, with a number of Baptist members, came from Wales, and tradition says, brought with them their church records, and thus re-established, or perpetuated the church which had previously existed in Swansea, in the Principality of Wales.

The Warren Baptist church, is a branch, or rather a reproduction of the Welsh Baptist church first established in Swansea.

As it is our object to sketch the history of our peculiar Christian principles, as they gov-

* Knowles, p. 169.

ern the events of human society, and are involved in all the relations of the past, it is important to trace the connection between the Christianity of Wales and the particular Baptist church from which this Body originated.

The Welsh race, from which the ancestors of this church sprung, are the only pure descendants of the ancient Britons. The earliest inhabitants of the British Islands were the Celts, a general name, descriptive of the nations in the north-west of Europe, in the times of Julius Cæsar. But that particular part of this race who settled in Britain, bore the still more ancient name of Cimbri, (or Cymry,) a tribe of Calmuc or Tartaric origin, who soon after the Trojan war, sallied forth from the regions around the Caspian sea, and traversed their fearless way across the Continent of Europe, and colonized on the borders of the German Ocean. Passing thence into the north of France, in the province of Brittany, they crossed the English channel, and found a final resting place in the Islands of Britain.

They were a wild aboriginal race, probably the descendants of Gomer, the eldest son of

Japheth, who was the youngest son of Noah ; partaking of all the stern qualities of the original Tartaric race, large in size, of great bodily strength, impetuous in war, impatient of labor, and governed by the strong impulses of heroic passion. Such was the original stock of that wild and vigorous race of men subsequently called the British, whose existence became authentically known to the civilized world, about the time of Cæsar's invasion, 55 years before the Christian era.

The exact period, and the particular means, of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, are not certainly known. We know, authentically, that the Gospel was early and widely diffused in Gaul and all the surrounding coasts on the Continent, in the first and second centuries ; and on this account it is reasonable to suppose that it should early have reached the neighboring Island of Britain, particularly when we consider the maritime habits of the people.

While the apostle Paul was imprisoned, for two years at Rome, about the year of our Lord 63, many Welsh soldiers, who had joined the Roman army, and many families from Wales, who had visited the imperial city, became con-

verted to Christianity. Among these, were Pomponia, Grecina and Claudia Ruffina, the saints in Cæsar's household; the first of whom was the wife of Aulus Plautus, the first Roman governor in Britain, and the last of whom was a native Briton, the daughter of Caractacus, the Welsh king, and whose husband, Pudence, was a believer in Christ.

There is, therefore, every reason to believe, that many native Welshmen, converted under Paul's ministry at Rome, or by the instrumentality of Christian soldiers in the Roman army, carried home the precious seed of the gospel, and scattered it among the hills and vallies of Wales.

From this period, till about the end of the second century, we have no very authentic information concerning the spread of the gospel among the Welsh, who at that time were the same, not only in origin, but in name, as the unmixed race of the ancient Britons. About the year A. D. 190, we find Tertullian boasting that the Gospel had subdued the savage tribes of Britons, who were yet unconquered by the Roman arms. At about the same time, Lucius, a British king, sent to Gaul or to Rome, or

more probably to both, for Christian teachers to carry on the missionary work among his own people. Lucius was evidently not the original founder, but the restorer and second father of the British churches.

It is much more probable, however, that Lucius sent to Gaul for Christian teachers ;— from the fact, among other reasons, that the Welsh or British churches, had already varied from the Romish, in many *ritual matters* ; the British churches also maintaining their independence against the already growing assumptions of authority by the Roman bishops : while they observed the same rites with the Gallic churches, which were planted directly from Asia Minor : thus proving that the British in the second century principally received their Christianity either immediately, or by means of Gaul, from Asia Minor, which may have easily taken place through their commercial intercourse.*

During the Third, Fourth and Fifth cen-

* See Neander's Church History, p. 50 : also, Mosheim's Eccl. History, pp. 99, 100 : also, Mosheim's De Rebus Christianorum, pp. 213—15.

turies, Christianity seems gradually to have taken root among the British race, and not a few of the royal blood, as well as multitudes of inferior birth, became converts to the Christian faith. About the year A. D. 325, the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, a native Welshman, made a public profession of Christianity, at the same time abolishing all the persecuting edicts of his predecessors, and preparing the way for the dissolution of the whole system of paganism throughout the Roman empire. His conversion is ascribed by Theodoret,* to the influence of his mother, Helena, who was a Welsh lady, the daughter of Coelgodebog, Earl of Gloucester. After residing for a time in Britain, with her husband, who was a Roman, they removed with their son Constantine to Rome, where he subsequently achieved a brilliant career, and became the first Christian Emperor in the world, as Lucius, another Welsh Prince, 135 years before him, had been the first Christian king, since the earthly ministry of him who is King in Zion.

* Theodoret Eccl. Hist. Liber I. cap. 17: also, see Milner's Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. p. 318 and Vol. II. p. 39.

During the interval between the conversion of Constantine, A. D. 325, and the Saxon Invasion, in 449, the process of gradual corruption was working out the results of Papacy among most of the churches in the Roman Empire, on the Continent of Europe. But among the Welsh, or native Britons, the love and practice of primitive Christianity still prevailed, and but little disposition was felt to admit the innovations and superstitions of the rising reign of Antichrist.

Their faith in the essential doctrines of the gospel, was, however, severely tried by the prevalence of an insidious heresy, which began to agitate the public mind, about the year A. D. 405, and which originated in the philosophical speculations of one of their own countrymen. It was the system of Pelagianism, a heresy the most deeply rooted, and the most difficult effectually to combat, that ever found a lodgment in the Christian church; which tasked to the utmost the profound talents of St. Augustine, at the time of its origin, which taxed all the energies of Luther and Calvin, at the Reformation in the 16th century;—which employed the acutest powers of our American Edwards,

and which has tried the faith of multitudes of Christians in every age since its origin. The author of this system was Pelagius, a native Welshman, whose real name was *Morgan*, or *Marigena*, translated by the contemporary Greek writers into *Pelagius*, the corresponding word in their language; and it is by this name he is generally known in history.*

Combined with the origin of Pelagianism and the religious agitation which ensued among the British, a series of political events now began to change their social destiny.

Owing to the declining state of the Roman Empire at its centre, the last of her protecting legions were withdrawn from Britain about the year 446. Immediately the Picts and the Scots from the North poured their desolating bands of robbers upon the British territory, while the Angles, Jutes and Frisians, bands of piratical adventurers, invaded the island by sea. Thenceforward the original homogeneous character of the British people in England, became greatly changed. Wave after wave of foreign population poured in upon the native race, and be-

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist Vol. I. pp. 370—374.

came intermixed with the British stock. The most numerous and successful of these invading hordes, were the *Angles*, a valiant race of Germanic origin from the vallies of the Elbe, who, rapidly combining with the original British, impressed upon them the strong features of their own character, and gave their name to the principal part of the island, which thenceforward has borne the name of *England*, and in modern times its present name of *England*.

But a large portion of the native British, and especially of their young men who had been trained in the Roman army, valiantly resisted the approaches of these invading foreigners, and more than once drove back the barbarous tribes from their island. The mercenary bands still continuing to return and desolate their country, the British people who were still unmixed with the foreign tribes, called in to their aid and defence the powerful arms of the German Saxons, who by stratagem and treachery combined with the Angles themselves, whom they had been engaged to resist, and after many bloody and desperate battles, drove the remaining British before them into the mountains of Wales, and took complete possession of the en-

tire country of England. By this juncture of the Angles with the Saxons, and both together being grafted on what remained of the original British in England, was laid the foundation of modern English institutions, and the basis of the Anglo-Saxon character.

The unconquered remnants of the ancient British were crowded step by step, by each successive wave of foreign immigration that swept over from the Continent, till they were entirely driven out of England, and took a final refuge in the sequestered vallies and mountain fastnesses of Wales, a district on the West of England, about 180 miles in length, by 80 in breadth. Here these relics of the original Cambrian race, the only pure descendants of the British stock, known by the more modern name of Welsh, have lived for 1400 years, an unmixed and homogeneous people, leaving behind them among the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of their former territory, but a small portion of their blood, and but few distinct traces of their national character.*

The disappearance of the British from the soil of England, was followed by an almost

* Appendix B.

entire extinction of Christianity among the compound relics, which formed the Anglo-Saxon race; and the barbarous religion of these heathen invaders, sharpened their ferocity in their conflicts with the British Christians. When at the end of 150 years from the Saxon invasion, Austin, with forty other missionary monks, was sent by Gregory the Great to convert the Saxons, they found both the Christian religion and the British language extinct in the English territory; an awful proof of the ferocity of the warfare which had raged between the heathen invaders and the exiled British Christians, the only remains of whom had become entirely shut up among the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, except a few in Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, or those who had been driven into Brittany, beyond the English Channel. Over all the rest of England, paganism had again established itself triumphantly: the churches were demolished, or converted into idolatrous temples, and the public worship of the true God had ceased.*

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. p. 384.

During the interval of 150 years between the banishment of the British, and the arrival in 596, of Austin, to convert the Anglo-Saxons, who had now become entirely pagans, the remnants of the old British race had found a safe retreat in the sequestered regions of Wales.

Here, unlike their English conquerors, they continued to be simple-minded, well-informed and zealous Christians, retaining the primitive ordinances of religion, the independence of their churches, and fanning the flame of patriotism and the love of religious liberty. They remained in quiet obscurity, experiencing, so far as is known, but few changes of prosperity or adversity, till about the beginning of the seventh century, when, at the re-introduction of nominal Christianity into England, the Welsh Christians again appear on the page of history, holding forth their peculiar principles, in bright contrast with the corruptions of the times. Gregory the Great, having ascended the pontifical chair in 590, he sent Austin, with forty monks, in 596, to convert the Saxon pagans to papal Christianity.

In a short time nearly all the Anglo Sax

ons became nominally Christians. The way was led by Ethelbert, the most distinguished of the Saxon kings, among whom England was then divided, who had married a christian wife, named Bertha, the daughter of Charibert, king of Paris; and being converted, by her influence, to Christianity, he was followed by nearly all his subjects, of whom he caused ten thousand to be baptized in a single day, in the river Swale, near York, which by royal edict, was consecrated as a baptismal river.

This kind of conversion becoming so rapidly and successfully promoted, Austin was appointed, in 597, by the Court of Rome, Archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of all England.*

*The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Austin being confirmed, the Pope "exhorted him to proceed with his work; advised him not to demolish the pagan temples, but to convert them into churches, purifying them with holy water: for the pagans would love to worship in the places long held sacred: only the idols must be destroyed. He also advised that the people be allowed on festal days to assemble around the churches, erect booths, and there feast themselves, much as during their pagan state, yet with-

Having been so successful among the Anglo-Saxons, in the year 604 Austin attempted to bring under the jurisdiction of Rome, and to a conformity with his national church, all the pastors and churches of the ancient Britons, who are thenceforward better known in history by the name of the Welsh, and who had now been entirely shut up in the Principality of Wales. But these British pastors and churches, the successors of the ancient British converts to Christianity in the first and second centuries, utterly refused to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of Rome, or to compromise matters with the new national church established by Austin in England. These strenuous Welsh Christians, retaining their ancient spirit and the institutions of their primitive Christianity,

out sacrificing to their idols." Mosh. Eccl. Hist. Book I, Cent. VI. Part I, Chap. I, Sec. 2.

In the year 602, Austin built his Cathedral at Canterbury; in 604, he erected St. Paul's Church, in London, and in the next year the *West Monastery*, (afterwards called *Westminster*,) adjoining London. Thus in a few years all England became nominally Christian, and the foundations of the modern English church were laid.

turned a deaf ear to all the conditions proposed for their union with Rome. At length, however, they consented to hold an interview with Austin, in a council which met on the borders of Herefordshire, which on the part of the Welsh was composed of 1200 pastors and delegates. The chief conditions of uniformity proposed by the Roman prelate of the English church, were the three following. *First*: That the Welsh should observe the festival of Easter, which from the peculiar religious associations of the Romish church at that time, was the great test question of papal allegiance, and the non-observance of which was incompatible with their communion with the papal church. Although the controversy was nominally concerning the *time* of the great festival of Easter, the real *principle* involved, was the question of spiritual bondage to Rome, or of the unfettered liberty of conscience in religion. The *Second* condition proposed by the English prelate, was their ecclesiastical subjection to his own primacy: and this involved the great principle as to whether Christ should be king in his own kingdom, and the practical question of the union of Church and State, and the original independence

of each church. The *Third* term of uniformity submitted by Austin, was that he should give *Christendome*, which, in the language of the times, meant *baptism*, to their children. And this involved the great religious doctrine of personal responsibility and experimental faith. These three propositions comprehended, in fact, the three great comprehensive principles associated in the events which led to the establishment of this Church and Town, the illustration of which will be more distinctly conspicuous in the details of our ancestral history.

But with all these conditions of uniformity proposed by the English prelate, the Welsh pastors and churches steadily refused compliance.

Irritated by his failure, and despairing of effecting the desired union by the arguments of reason and scripture, to which the Welsh resorted, Austin proposed to leave the settlement of the questions to miraculous arbitration, "by agreeing that the party which should perform a miraculous cure, was to be considered as sanctioned by the interposition of heaven.*"

* Bede.

He pretended to have cured a blind man, and to have exercised other miraculous powers, which pretensions the credulity or the pious fraudulency of his followers assisted him in maintaining. But the Welsh Christians adhering to the principles of faith and the religious ordinances which they had received from their British ancestors, were accused by Austin with holding obstinate prejudices and unpardonable heresy; and that if their errors of faith could not be cured by persuasion, they should be extinguished with blood. Many of the pastors and delegates were put to the sword by the bordering Saxons, who, as the Welsh historians say, were led on at the instigation of Austin, who was enraged at the insolence of their conscientiousness. This crowning act of cruelty was consummated but two years before the death of Austin, in 607, and but one year before Gregory the Great was declared by the Emperor Phocas to be not only the Pontiff of Rome, but Bishop of the universal church, and recognized as a temporal prince, as well as the spiritual vicegerent of Christ on earth. This great event is the landmark which the Spirit of Prophecy had predicted as the visible date

of the full establishment of the reign of Antichrist.* From that period onward till the death of Llewellyn, the last prince of the British blood, in 1274, when Edward I. reduced the brave Cambrian race to its present dependence as a Principality of the English crown, the history of the Cambro-British people is involved in much obscurity. Their religious history is indeed recorded among the existing monuments of their own native language; but as Sir James Mackintosh suggests,† no native Welshman, in modern times, of sufficient genius and industry, has arisen, to recover the remaining authentic records of their history, which their national feeling, damped by conquest, has been in danger of neglecting, amid the perishable legends of fable and tradition.

The faithless and merciless acts of oppression by which the rapacious invaders had al-

* It is a remarkable fact, that the National Church of England was fully established on its present basis, within one year of the time when Gregory the Great was declared by royal edict to be the visible head of the universal church.

† History of England, Reign of Edward I

most driven the unhappy Britons to despair, produced a state of society most unfriendly to the preservation and transmission of that part of their history, for subsequent times.

But as God had preserved his scattered and hidden people in Piedmont and Holland, and as thousands were found in every age, who formed an uninterrupted succession of witnesses to the Truth, so now in Wales, multitudes of these sequestered people, unbroken in spirit, formed a regular chain of true and faithful witnesses to that Gospel which they had received from their Christian ancestors of former centuries, and which they here preserved amid their quiet and fertile vallies, shut up by lofty mountains from the rest of the world, as if God had designed these mountain fastnesses as the barriers of protection for his chosen and faithful people, against the corruptions and assaults of the papal hierarchy. And it seems to have been a part of the wise arrangement of Providence for their preservation, that they should be kept in obscurity, and that obscurity now makes it very difficult to trace their history. What is chiefly found concerning these Welsh Christians in the Ecclesiastical and Secular

Histories of their later Contemporaries, are but scattered fragments, which their enemies in the Church and State of England, would have gladly thrown into obscurity and contempt.

But in the recesses of their mountainous Principality, they still retained their liberty and independence, and loved the religious principles which they had received from their fathers. And when, in later times, the vail of darkness was drawn aside, which for several centuries had hid them from the notice of the world, they reappear on the page of history, displaying the same noble qualities of character which distinguished their British ancestors, the same native frankness and generosity, the same love of liberty and hatred of oppression, the same characteristic honesty and uprightness, the same love of home and of country, and holding their Christianity pure and unmixed with human traditions, as they received them from their Christian ancestors of the first centuries.

Their pastors and theological writers had but few opportunities to appear on the great arena of the historical world ; subjected as they always were, to the prejudice and jealousy which are ever the fate of a despised and

dreaded sect: and what references are made concerning them, but poorly conceal the hatred of their enemies, and their ill-disguised dread of the influence of sentiments before the light of which, their own cherished systems must have withered away. Indeed there are many evidences that these Welsh pastors were men whom their enemies might affect to despise, but whom they were compelled to fear. The theological colleges, which in their early days were located at Bangor in the North, and Carleon in the South, were long the abodes of sacred learning. In the Seventh Century it is said that the College at Bangor was resorted to by more than 2000 theological students at one time. These schools of piety were not like the Catholic monasteries, but were conducted on much the same principles as the fraternities of the modern Moravians, or like the Baptist Missionary establishment at Serampore, in India, in which a kind of community of interest and affection united all the members in the bonds of Christian brotherhood.

But in later times the British pastors received their knowledge of Christianity, apart from the institutions of learning, each drawing for him-

self from the oracles of Divine Truth. Distinguished by their love of religious liberty, opposed to the authority of human tradition in matters of religion, with all the sympathies of their nature against the union of ecclesiastical power with the state, and exercising the great Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment in interpreting the Scriptures, they stood forth as the representatives of those great principles which the primitive British Christians had received from the apostles, which were always preserved by a sacred succession of men of whom the world was not worthy, and which at a new and fortunate juncture of political affairs, were reasserted and practically exemplified by Roger Williams in establishing this State, and by John Miles in establishing this Town; men, both of whom were of Cambro-British blood, and both of whom had learned the principles of Cambro-British Christianity.

If it belonged properly to the object of this discourse, it would not be a difficult task to trace the history of Baptist Sentiments in other and parallel lines, through the channel of history. But as previously suggested, it is not our purpose to present a summary of a denominational creed,

nor to trace the prevalence of a sectarian name, through all the historical phases of the past. Other and abler pens have been worthily employed in rescuing from oblivion the memory of those great men, the lustre of whose principles shone like stars in the dark night of papal corruption.* And it is the history of the *principles*, rather than of the *men*,—of the *sentiments*, rather than of their *names*, that chiefly interests us in our present investigations.

During every period of the history of the British Christians in Wales, there were contemporaneously with them, in other parts of Europe, Societies of men, who held the pure and uncorrupted principles of the gospel: and wherever any one of the distinguishing princi-

* I cannot forbear from referring in this place to the masterly illustrations of Baptist principles in the Historical Discourse of the Rev. William Hague, delivered in Providence in 1839. For brevity as well as comprehensiveness, that Discourse contains the clearest, most candid and philosophical exhibition of Baptist principles, and the true nature of the events which led to the establishment of this State, that I have any where seen, in so small a compass.

ples, I am tracing, was held, the others were generally, and intimately blended with them. Wherever the doctrine of believer's baptism was cherished, the ideas of the unfettered liberty of conscience, the independence of the church, and the supreme authority of the Written Word, were all considered its logical deductions, and its Scriptural concomitants.

And when the Reformation by Luther began in the sixteenth century, there were multitudes of Christians in Piedmont and Holland who came forth from their retirement, and maintained in public, what the pressure of outward persecution had before prevented them from declaring. Many of them long before Luther's time, had cherished principles which Luther himself never clearly apprehended; and when they found that he accepted the notion of Consubstantiation in the place of Transubstantiation, and maintained the right of the magistrate to use the sword in suppressing heresy, and in promoting the truth, they felt that the Lutheran Reformation needed itself to be reformed. The leaders of that great moral revolution, not advancing to the full extent of the results to which their own leading principles

would have conducted them, were thrown into conflict with men and with principles, as much in advance of themselves, as *they* were in advance of the papal church, whose authority they had thrown off. Luther, Zuinglius and Melancthon, though they all conceded the antiquity and the Scripturalness of the doctrine of Believer's Baptism, and its mode by immersion, yet found that doctrine connected with other principles which involved the freedom of the conscience, the right of the church to govern itself, and its separate existence from the State ;—which were conclusions they were not yet prepared to accept, and hence, being all logically and Scripturally united, they were all proscribed together.* Luther admitted the

* Bishop Burnet (History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 176) candidly acknowledges that the Baptist Denomination in England have been unjustly represented, by being identified with some of the German Anabaptists who engaged in the political disturbances at Munster. He attributes the rise of the Baptists in Germany to their carrying out the principles of Luther, regarding the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the rights of private judgment ; and in this the Catholic writers agree with him, who charge Luther

nullity of Infant Baptism as a scriptural ordinance, yet practised it, from the connexion it had with the State church, and with other standing ordinances which he was not disposed to abandon.* Zuinglius pleaded for Infant Baptism, and yet (in his Work, De Paedobapt.) admits that "The institution of Anabaptism

with being the father of the German Baptists and say that when he persecuted them "he let out the life of his own cause." Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 543. (For the above reference I am indebted to Hague's Historical Discourse, p. 66.)

* Luther says, in so many words, "It cannot be proved by the Sacred Scriptures that Infant Baptism was instituted by Christ, or begun with the first Christians after the apostles." Quoted in Booth's Paedobaptism examined, Vol. II p. 4.—And "Baptism itself," Luther says, (Opera, Vol. I. pp. 336, 7,) "is nothing else than the word of God with immersion in water." And again he says,—"Washing from sins is attributed to Baptism; it is truly, indeed, attributed, but the signification is softer and slower than it can express by Baptism, which is rather a sign both of death and resurrection. Being moved by this reason, I would have those that are to be baptized, to be altogether dipped into the water, as the word doth *sound*, and the mystery doth signify."

(as Baptist principles were then called) is not a novelty; but for thirteen hundred years has caused very great disturbance in the church, and has acquired such strength that the attempt in this age to contend with it appeared futile for a time." But thirteen hundred years backward from the time of Zuinglius, carry us up to the early part of the third century, the very period when infant baptism is believed to have crept into the church: when Tertullian, who is the first Ecclesiastical historian among the ancient Fathers who allude to it, mentions it as having first begun to be practised in Africa, in the year 204:—at the same time he speaks of it as an innovation, and dissuades from baptizing infants, and proves the delay of it to a more mature age, is to be preferred. (Tertullian De Baptismo, Cap. XVIII.)

Previous to the time of Tertullian, there is no undoubted mention made of Infant Baptism, in any way: and from the silence of the Fathers between Tertullian and the Apostles, on the subject, the matter must be relinquished as an historical question: and we are accordingly brought up to the Inspired Scriptures themselves. Neander, the most candid and profound

Ecclesiastical historian of the present, or perhaps of any age, says of the apostolic period—“The practice of infant Baptism was remote from this age:” and he adds, “Not only the late appearance of any express mention of Infant Baptism, but the long continued opposition to it, leads to the conclusion that it was not of apostolic origin.” (Eccles. Hist. Apostolic Age.)

No wonder, then, that Mosheim, the great Lutheran Historian of the last century, should say of a body of Christians every where scattered over Europe in sequestered groups in every period of the dark ages,—“That they [held that no persons ought to be baptized until they come to the full use of reason.”* And the same historian when speaking of the origin of the Anabaptists, whom he associates with the Waldenses, Albigenses and Mennonites, as interchangeable names for people holding substantially the same principles, says, “The true origin of that Sect which acquired the

* Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. chap. 3, p. 127.

name of Anabaptists by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of Mennonites from the famous man to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hidden in the remote depths of antiquity, and is of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained.”*

But the line of descent through which we are at present tracing the prevalence of Baptist principles, leads us to discover their re-appearance in England and Wales, at the time when Roger Williams stood forth as their representative, in forming this State, and John Miles as his counterpart, in colonizing the district now embraced within this Town. Previous indeed, to the prevalence of Luther's Reformation in England, the followers of John Wickliffe, and the Lollards who were substantially in fact and principle the same as if they had been called by the *name* of Baptists, had

* Mosheim Eccl. Hist. Cent. XVI. Sect. III. Part II. chap. 3. § 2.

stood up as the bold opponents of *tradition in religion*; and of the *union of ecclesiastical power with the State*; and they were too often called upon to seal their faith with their blood, “not loving their own lives unto the death.”

And when the pressure of civil and spiritual tyranny was removed, the fires that had been sleeping under the ashes, again broke out into a flame, and soon all England was moved by their light and warmth. The consequence was, that when the English reformation began to dawn, Baptist sentiments were proclaimed all at once, in many parts of the realm. As early as in 1549, we are told by Bishop Burnet, (II p. 143,) that many Baptists fled from Germany into England, who maintained that Infant Baptism was no baptism, and so were re-baptized.

But the source through which these sentiments were mainly derived, by those who adopted them in England, was from Wales. Two hundred years before the Lutheran Reformation dawned in England, John Wickliffe, persecuted for boldly maintaining the Truth of the Scriptures, and for translating them into English, was compelled to retire to Hereford-

shire, and the adjoining counties, on the friendly borders of Wales, and there the seeds of truth which he deposited, took root and flourished. It was in that very neighborhood that William Tyndal was born; who, 150 years after Wickliffe's death, caught the light of his principles, and followed his footsteps in giving another translation of the Bible to the English nation. Both of these men were Baptists, in all their distinguishing principles, if not in name.

Tyndal perished in the flames of martyrdom, in Flanders, in 1532. His last words were, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England." Wickliffe died a century and a half before him, in 1384, not an actual martyr, but from the fatigue and suffering incurred in persecution. Forty years after his death, his bones were dug up, burnt and thrown to the winds, by his enraged enemies.

From the same borders of Wales there went forth influences that stopped not at the place nor the time that gave them birth. As soon as the Reformation dawned, and the pressure of persecution was removed, there suddenly appeared a multitude of men professing Baptist

sentiments. Many of the British Christians came forth from their hiding places in the Principality of Wales, where they had preserved the doctrines and the ordinances of the Gospel, unadulterated by the corrupt church of Rome, having never bowed the knee to Baal. This accounts for the fact, that at the commencement of the Reformation so many Baptists all at once made their appearance. *No one can tell when they first became Baptists*: nor how long their little churches had continued in this British Piedmont. Hence, in less than a hundred years, their sentiments were found scattered all over the English nation. In the reign of Charles the First, and in the time of the Commonwealth, they had wonderfully multiplied. A large part of Cromwell's army, and many of his generals and leading officers were Baptists. They were complained of by their contemporaries, "as growing more rapidly than any other sect in the land."*

If the limits of this Discourse permitted, we could name a catalogue of Baptist Ministers, Civilians, Scholars, military officers and other

* See Baillie's Letters, I p. 408

professional men, the number of whom would surprise even the general reader, who is not intimately acquainted with the history of those times.*

A large proportion of those free and bold spirits who bore so conspicuous a part in rescuing the English people from the oppression of a usurping monarchy, and an ecclesiastical despotism, were of the ancient British stock, and many of them were native Welshmen.

Oliver Cromwell was of Welsh origin, and Roger Williams and John Miles were both born in Wales. It was to the circumstances of his birth and early training, that Roger Williams was probably indebted for those great principles of religious faith and human liberty which have thrown such a peculiar glory around his name. It is too often supposed and asserted, that to this man belongs the praise of being "the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the

* For a convenient reference to this subject, see an able article in the March No. of the *Christian Review* for 1843.

doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law.”* The eloquent historian of the United States has given currency to this opinion, which he with most others who have attempted to write the history of Roger Williams and of Rhode-Island, have mistaken, from a misconception of the circumstances connected with his origin, and from a want of acquaintance with the religious history of the Cambro-British people. While every existing State is truly represented by Mr. Bancroft as “connecting by the closest bonds, the energy of its faith with its form of government, there appeared,” he says, “in their midst, one of those clear minds which sometimes bless the world by their power of receiving moral truth in its clearest light, and of reducing the just conclusions of their principles to a happy and consistent practice.” “He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but

* Bancroft's Hist. U. S. Vol. I, p. 375.

never violate the freedom of the soul." * * *

"In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position: the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet, which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New-England: and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart.*"

The splendid description which Mr. Bancroft has given of Roger Williams, represents him as emerging from the moral darkness by which he had been surrounded, and in the deep workings of his keen and far-sighted mind, groping and grappling and bringing to light, a mighty principle, the nucleus and concomitant of other stupendous conceptions, to which all the rest of the world were as yet strangers. This singular eminence, to which the father of this State has been exalted, is equally unnecessary and unreasonable. It has made him the subject of undue praise on the one hand, and of unjust representation on the other. His defenders have been betrayed into a spirit of vain-glorious adulation; his ac-

* Bancroft's Hist. U. S. Vol. I, pp. 367, 8.

cusers have been quickened into a spirit of captiousness and detraction. He is praised by the one as a star of the first magnitude, which all at once shed its brilliant light upon mankind, as the pole-star of their destiny: by the other, he is viewed as an erratic planet, breaking from its orbit, subject to no law, and striking its path into the realms of chaos. He has been called the great modern law-giver in moral and political jurisprudence, by many Baptists, who are willing to own him as the father of their religious denomination in this country; and by others he has been accused with being "*conscientiously contentious*,"—governed by a spirit of restlessness, which rendered him as liable to stumble on a false principle, as to alight upon a true one; while his worried conscience was nothing but a sanctimonious bundle of pride, self-conceit and evil passions.

Both of these opposite views of his character are equally unfounded. The truth is, that he possessed a noble character, combining a vigorous intellect, disciplined and furnished by generous learning, with a moral nature, softened and sanctified with the graces of piety. But in all his published works, and in all his

written memorials, there is no evidence that his intellect was so singularly quick and far-sighted, or that his moral philosophy was self-derived from his own original conceptions. He drew his moral creed from the Bible alone: and from his intercourse with multitudes of noble minds in his fatherland, whose intellect, philanthropy and piety, were equal to his own. Though he occupied a peculiar position, and seemed to strike out new and startling theories, in New-England, he was not in advance of thousands in Wales and in England, who had as clear and familiar an acquaintance with the great principles he advocated, as he had himself: and from whose companionship, indeed, he must have derived his first conceptions of the doctrines he maintained. To him, indeed, belongs the honor of *establishing the first civil government* in modern Christendom, which gave equal liberty of conscience to all its subjects: but the *moral principle* on which he acted, so far from being his own original discovery, was the carrying out, under fortunate circumstances, of the great idea, which multitudes before him had clearly derived from their Bibles, apart from all human systems of ethics or poli-

tics. Both he and they, drew their sentiments from the Bible: and they had long held as simple and primary convictions, those truths, which, when once boldly advocated before the world, seemed like the inspirations of enthusiasm, or the daring presumption of heresy and treason. And they were but links in that long chain of witnesses for the truth which connected those Cambro-British Christians, who, in the earlier part of the Seventeenth Century, startled England from her dreams of spiritual slumber, with generations of holy men before them, who in every age, preserved and contended for the "faith once delivered to the saints."

About the time that Roger Williams had planted his colony at Providence, on the basis of those truths which have immortalized his name, among the multitude of his contemporaries who held the same sentiments in Wales and in England, was the Rev. John Miles, whose history is identified with the origin of this Town.

When, under the influence of the English Reformation, in the reign of Charles I. many distinguished persons, both in and out of the established Church, adopted Baptist Sentiments,

several of them visited Wales, to confer with the Churches in that Principality. Among these Apostles of the English Reformation, who visited Wales, were Penry, Wroth, William Erbury and the celebrated Vavasor Powell. They found many of the old British Baptist churches who held the sentiments of the Reformers, in advance of the Reformation itself. As the Waldensian and Piedmontese Christians on the Continent, were disappointed when they found that Luther's Reformation still allowed of many existing corruptions, the reformer himself substituting Consubstantiation for Transubstantiation, and recognizing the jurisdiction of civil Government in the affairs of conscience, so these old Welsh churches were not disposed to accept, as the full expression of their religious Faith, the doctrines of their newly reformed brethren from the English church. Among these churches of the old Baptist order, were six, who had formed an association on the principles of their ancient Christianity. These were the churches of Olchon, Llanwenarth, Llantrisaint, Carmarthen, Dolan and Swansea. It is the last of these six churches, with which we, as a people, are historically connected.

In the year 1649, being the first year of Cromwell's protectorate, the Rev. John Miles became pastor of the Church in Swansea, in Glamorganshire, a county in the south of Wales. He soon became one of the leading ministers of the Baptist denomination in that Principality.

In 1651, he was sent as the representative of the Baptist churches in Wales, to the Baptist Ministers' Meeting, in Glazier's Hall, London, with a letter giving an account of the peace, union, and increase of the Baptist churches in his country; and returned with a letter written by the London Ministers to their Brethren in Wales, in which they were advised to form new churches; so that their members who resided at a distance might be made more useful: and that the smaller churches so formed should associate together for the occasional observance of the Lord's supper, and the promotion of Christian fellowship.

Mr. Miles continued his ministry with the church in Swansea for thirteen years, during which time he added two hundred and sixty-three persons to his church,* at the

* Backus, Vol. I, p. 351.

same time, acting as the leading representative of the Baptist Churches in Wales, and was their medium of correspondence with the Churches in London, Dublin and several other places. But in 1662, two years after the restoration of Charles II. the *Act of Uniformity* was passed, by which two thousand of the most pious and useful ministers in England and Wales, not conforming to the requisitions of the established Church, were ejected from the places they had occupied during the protectorate of Cromwell. Among these non-conforming ministers, of whom many were eminent Baptists, was the Rev. John Miles, who immediately after his ejection came with some of his brethren to New-England, bringing their church-records with them.*†

The first notice we find of Mr. Miles, on his arrival in America, is at Rehoboth, where finding spirits kindred to his own, he immediately gathered around him the materials for organizing a church. He probably landed, at first, at Boston or Salem, but discovering that the spirit of

* Backus, Vol. I, p. 353.

† Appendix C,

persecution, which had banished Roger Williams, still lingered there, and lured by the intelligence that some of his brethren were scattered through Rehoboth, on the westerly borders of the Colony, near the bounds of Rhode-Island, he soon took up his abode in that Township. It was here that Mr. Obadiah Holmes had resided, who, about twelve years before, had been publicly whipped at Boston, for holding Baptist sentiments, and for acting accordingly. The cruel treatment of Mr. Holmes, was equalled only by the unjust fine and imprisonment of the Rev. John Clarke and Mr. John Crandall, whose only offence had been to hold the sentiments of the Baptists, and to venture on a visit of mercy to one of their aged brethren within the limits of Massachusetts, where heresy in religious opinions was as actionable in the eye of the civil law, as were the most flagrant vices of actual conduct.* But as injustice always defeats itself,

* Even twelve years before the persecution of these three men, as early as 1639, the very year when Roger Williams established his church in Providence, there was an attempt made to form a Baptist church in

and the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, so the effect of this inquisitorial tyranny was to create a re-action in favor of the sentiments of the men who had been persecuted for maintaining them.

On the arrival of Mr. Miles in Rehoboth, finding several of these persecuted heretics, whom he and his companions in their fatherland would have regarded as the true successors of the ancient British Christians, he united with them in the house of Mr. John Butterworth, in Rehoboth, in a solemn covenant, in forming a new church, or in reproducing the same one which he had represented in Wales.

Weymouth, a town fourteen miles south-east of Boston. The leading men who held the interdicted sentiments, were John Smith, John Spurr, Richard Sylvester, Ambrose Morton, Thomas Mackpeace, and Robert Lenthall, who, being presented before the Court, for their heresy and treason in dissenting from the established churches, were fined and imprisoned with various degrees of severity, and the attempted organization was crushed by the strong arm of the secular law. See Backus, Vol. I, pp. 113, 114, and Benedict, Vol. I, p. 357.

The names of these original constituents were John Miles Pastor, Nicholas Tanner, James Brown, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley and Benjamin Alby. All these seven men appear to have possessed high standing and influence, notwithstanding their crime of dissent, as their names are often found in the records of the Towns of Rehoboth and Swanzea.

As soon as it was known that this church was organized, and were observing the ordinances of religion on Baptist principles, the orthodox churches of the Standing Order solicited the government of Plymouth Colony, within whose jurisdiction the church had been formed, to interpose its authority for the extirpation of the heresy. In accordance with this solicitation, the members of this little church were fined each five pounds, for setting up a public religious meeting without the knowledge or consent of the Court, to the disturbance of the peace and the received faith of the community. They were at the same time ordered to desist from their meeting for one month, and advised to remove their meeting to some other place, where they might not preju-

dice any other church. Upon this order and advice, Mr. Miles and his church removed to Wannamoiset, a place south of Rehoboth, being a part of the present town of Barrington, not then included within the limits of any existing town, though Rehoboth, which at that time embraced nearly all of the present County of Bristol, in Massachusetts, claimed a kind of jurisdiction over it. At first they appear only to have removed their *place of meeting* to Wannamoiset, as permission was afterwards given to Mr. Miles to purchase land and to continue his residence in Rehoboth. After the action of the Court in the removal of the church from Rehoboth, these exiled brethren erected their first meeting-house, about three miles northwest of Warren, on a spot within the limits of Wannamoiset, (now Barrington,) a few rods south of the Rehoboth line, and a little south of the road, that now leads from Warren through Seckonk, to Providence.*

On the 30th of October, 1667, the Plymouth Court, according to the encouragement previ-

*Appendix D.

ously given, made to the founders of this church, along with others, a grant of land, to be called Swanzea, after the name of the Church and Town which Mr. Miles and his friends had left in Wales. The Plymouth Colony had always from the first, exhibited a more liberal spirit, in matters of religious opinion, than their brethren of the Massachusetts Bay.*

It was in the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay that nearly all the proscriptions for liberty of conscience were enacted. It was here that those suspected of Witchcraft, were hanged; that the Quakers shared the same fate; and that the Baptists were imprisoned and expatriated. As Roger Williams had always received more candid and merciful treatment at Plymouth, than in the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, so for the same reason, doubtless, John Miles and his friends, at their first landing, immediately proceeded to find a resting-place within the limits of the Plymouth Colony. And although they were fined and silenced by the authority of that government, it is evident that a milder policy would have been more grateful to the Court and the Ministers, if they could

* *Appendix E.*

honestly have seen its consistency with the existing union of Church and State, and the received conviction that it was the duty of the magistrate to use his sword for the suppression of heresy. Accordingly, the Plymouth Court, more willing to remove the Baptists from their jurisdiction, than to punish them within it, declared, "that in case they should remove their meeting unto some other place, where they may not prejudice any other church, and shall give us any reasonable satisfaction respecting their principles, we know not but they may be permitted by this government to do so."*

On the 30th of October, in the same year, (1667-8,) the Court of Plymouth made an ample grant of all the district called Wannamoisset, and parts adjoining, described in general bounds, as embracing "all the lands between the salt water and river, and the bounds of Taunton and Rehoboth," to be held by Mr. Miles and his friends, for their accommodation, as an incorporated Town, within which they were at liberty to exercise all their rights of

* Plymouth Records, July 2d, 1667.

conscience as members of a Baptist church. The territory thus granted under the incorporated name of Swanzea, then embraced not only what is now Swanzea, in Massachusetts, but also the present town of Somerset, in the same State, and the present towns of Warren and Barrington, in Rhode-Island.

The two first names in the petition for the grant of this Town, are Mr. Miles, the Pastor of the church, and Capt. Thomas Willet, who, though not a Baptist, but probably a member of the Reformed church of Holland, yet felt the value of religious toleration, and freely joined with Mr. Miles and his friends, in securing the grant of a Town, within which liberty of conscience might be allowed to all; who, though of different sentiments, could still live as peaceful neighbors, in the exchange of the civil amenities of common life. The spirit of these two leading men doubtless reflected a generous influence over all the community. As Mr. Miles, like Roger Williams, was a scholar and a well-bred gentleman, so Capt. Willett had adorned his naturally amiable character by the elegant refinements of foreign travel, and the intelligence derived by compan-

ship with eminent men in other lands. He was one of the last of the Leyden Company who came to Plymouth, and by his intimate acquaintance with the manners, customs and language of the Dutch, was frequently sent by that Colony, to represent their interests among the people of New-Netherlands. In 1647, he became the successor of Capt. Miles Standish, in the command of the military at Plymouth; was frequently elected one of the governor's assistants, and on the surrender of New-York by the Dutch to the English, in 1664, he visited that town with the *Commissioners of Appeals*, where he performed his duties so successfully to all parties concerned, especially to the Dutch, that after the re-organization of the government, he was elected the first English Mayor of the city of New-York, which office he held for two years. After acting as umpire between the Dutch and the English, and healing their divisions and strifes, his peaceful nature inclined him to the shades of retirement, and he returned to his quiet home, in that part of Swanzea which is now Barrington, where, just before the breaking out of Philip's war, he died, on the 4th of August, 1674, and was

buried in a sequestered spot, about three miles west from this place, where a simple stone, bearing a brief inscription, records the memorial of a man, who is worthy to receive from the government of the great commercial metropolis of our country, a more appropriate and enduring expression of gratitude they owe to their first English Mayor.*

When the Court of Plymouth made the grant of Swanzea to Mr. Miles, Capt. Willett, and their friends, they were also empowered to determine the conditions on which they would receive strangers as members of their Town. As a refuge was thus afforded by the liberal nature of their incorporation, to all who might have different scruples of conscience in matters of religion, and to adventurers and refugees, who had *no* conscience at all, care was taken by the Town, that none should be admitted as members of their community, who should corrupt the morals or religious character of the inhabitants, or who were likely to become.

* Biographical Note of Capt. Willett. See Appendix F.

common paupers, as a charge to the Town. Four persons were appointed by the Town, at the head of whom was Capt. Willett, to prescribe the conditions on which any might become inhabitants, and in performing their duty, they adopted the following conditions :

1. That no *erroneous person* should be admitted into the Township, either as an inhabitant or sojourner.
2. That no man of any evil behaviour, as a contentious person, should be admitted.
3. That none should be admitted that may become a charge to the Town.

These rules, while they strongly reflect the spirit of rigid morality which marked all the early colonists of New-England, were submitted for review to Mr. Miles and his church, in consideration of their prominent position as the leading members of the Town. The church, not unmindful of their distinguishing principles, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world,—that the civil magistrate in the one, has no jurisdiction in the spiritual affairs of the other,—that personal faith, expressed by baptism, is the only proper condition of membership in

a Christian church ; and desiring to allow the same religious liberty to others which they claimed for themselves, made an address to Capt. Willett and his associates, not members of their church, in which address they gave an explication of the manner in which they wished the proposed rules to be understood, and manifested a strong desire to found a community on the liberal and comprehensive principles of the Bible, by which the glory of God and the good of man may be best promoted. The explanations made by the church, were agreed to by Capt. Willett and his associates, as Trustees, and being unanimously adopted, Feb. 20, 1669, they became the foundation on which the Town was established.

By this time, although the larger part of the citizens of the Town were Baptists, many other persons besides Capt. Willett, of liberal sentiments and pious life, who were not Baptists, were concerned in the settlement and prosperity of the Town.

Notwithstanding the Second Charter of Rhode-Island, granted by Charles II. on the 8th of July, 1663 (four years before the Town

of Swanzea was incorporated,) most clearly included the present towns of Bristol, Warren and Barrington, and all that territory " extending eastwardly three English miles, to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of the Narragansett Bay, as the said Bay extendeth itself from the ocean on the south unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence,"* yet when the town of Swanzea was incorporated, four years afterwards, the Plymouth government assumed jurisdiction over all the territory embracing the present towns of Bristol,† Warren and Barrington, and granted the two latter as a part of the Town of Swanzea.

Some questions were raised by the Rhode-Island people, respecting these boundaries, and commissioners were several times appointed by the King and the Colonial governments, to settle the difficulties; but the original grant by the Plymouth Colony was still maintained for more than eighty years, and the bound-

* See Second Charter

† See note on Br: of Rhode-Island
G. as an Indian Town, Appendix

fixed by the Charter were not ascertained and acknowledged till the year 1746, when, after repeated litigation, the present Town of Bristol, and the Town of Warren, then embracing what are now both the present Towns of Warren and Barrington, became recognized parts of the State of Rhode-Island.

Accordingly, it is only ninety-nine years since the Town of Warren ceased to be a part of Swanzea, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, when its inhabitants became citizens of the little State, in whose civil and moral welfare they have ever since been so deeply interested.

The history of this Church and Town, therefore, cannot be properly contemplated apart from their original connection with the Church and Town of Swanzea, with which they were so long identified as constituent parts.

It is therefore necessary to the purpose of this Discourse, to present a brief sketch of the continued history of Swanzea, from the time of its settlement by Mr. Miles and Capt. Willett, until the partitioning of this Town, and the separate organization of this Church.

Nothing of special interest appears to have occurred in the affairs of the Church or Town of Swanzea, from 1669 till Philip's War, which began in June, 1675, in the sufferings of which, the Swanzea people bore so conspicuous and melancholy a part. At the beginning of this War, the Church still worshipped in their first meeting-house, about three miles north-west of this place, and about a mile and a half west of Miles' Bridge, the place now known as Barneysville. The ground occupied by the present village of Warren, though then a part of the Swanzea grant, was still occupied by the remnants of the once powerful tribe of Wampanoag Indians, whose former chief, the good and faithful Massasoit, had held his residence, there is every reason to believe, but a short distance from the spot where we are now convened.* After Massasoit's death, which occurred at some time between the months of May and December, of 1661, his son and successor, Philip, repaired to Mount Hope, whic then became, probably for the first time the resi-

* Appendix H.

dence of the Great Sachem of the Wampanoags.

This powerful Chief had seen his father Massasoit, holding, with enduring constancy for forty years, the solemn compact which he formed when he welcomed the first Englishman to the shores of Plymouth, and little dreamed that before the onward march of civilized society, the race of red men must fade away, and in less than two centuries, leave scarcely a relic of a noble people, who, in more fortunate times, would have been an ornament to their age, and to human nature.

Roused by the recollections of ancient glory, and stung with the consciousness of failing strength, Philip resolved to employ his mighty genius in combining all the powerful tribes of New-England Indians, in striking one exterminating blow, which should sweep from the land, all the colonies of strangers, who had dotted their hunting grounds with harvest fields, and farm houses, and thriving towns, and aspiring churches.

Some of his warriors, burning with impatience for the attack before the time appointed by Philip for the general onset, had already

betrayed his design by committing depredations on the settlement in Swanzea, while the Baptist Church and Congregation were assembled for worship, on Sabbath, the 20th of June, 1675. The government of Plymouth speedily made preparations to protect the defenceless inhabitants, who lived in this vicinity, and several military companies were at once called out from Plymouth and Boston, and at the same time the people were requested by the government to observe the following Thursday as a day of fasting and prayer. While the Swanzea Church had been observing the day as requested, returning from their place of worship, they were surprised by the Indians, and several of them were killed, among whom was Eldad Kingsley, one of the first constituent members of the church. The people of Swanzea and Rehoboth were soon collected into garrisoned houses: and on the following Monday, June 28, the forces arriving from Plymouth and Boston, they entrenched themselves in the mansion house of Mr. Miles, which stood about fifty rods west of the bridge, which still bears his name. The next day the troops returning over the bridge, marched down the eastward side of the War-

ren river, towards Mount Hope, finding on their way the heads of eight Englishmen, whom the Indians had murdered, set upon poles by the side of the road, at a spot about one mile east of this place. Marching on to Mount Hope, they found that Philip had fled to the east side of Taunton River : but nothing daunted, they attacked his warriors in their fastnesses wherever they found them : and collecting all their forces together, they crossed the Bay into the Narragansett country, and by a series of well concerted attacks, they carried fire and sword into every wigwam ; and striking blow after blow, at almost every point at once, in a short time, they left nothing but a few scattered relics of the once powerful tribes of the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts. Philip, hunted down like a stricken deer, at last fell a victim to the treachery of one of his own people : and thus sunk the last of a noble race, whose melancholy fate would even now have been almost forgotten and unwept forever, but for the imperishable interest associated with his memory, by the brilliant genius of Irving. “ With heroic qualities and bold achievements, that would have graced a civilized warrior, and

have rendered him the theme of the poet and the historian : he lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a lonely bark, foundering amid darkness and tempest—without a pitying eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle.”*

Although one half of the dwellings in Swanzea were laid in ashes during the war, the inhabitants immediately after the extermination of the Indians, began to spread themselves in various directions, and some of them repaired to the site on which this village now stands, which had been previously occupied by the wigwams of Massasoit's Indians. In a short time the eastern part of this Township became thickly settled ; and as there was no other place of worship, but the Baptist meeting-house in the Town of Swanzea, embracing as it then did what are now the Towns of Swanzea and Somerset in Mass., and Warren and Barrington in Rhode-Island, the people found that some more central spot must be selected for the accommodation of their wide-spread congregation.

* Sketch Book.

Accordingly, two years after the war, (1677) the Town resolved to assist the church in removing their meeting-house from its former position three miles N. W. of this place, to the lower end of New-Meadow Neck, immediately opposite this village, across the river. But as difficulties occurred in their attempted removal of the House, the project was abandoned, and in about two years afterward, the Town assisted the church in erecting a new meeting-house, 40 feet long, 22 feet wide, with 16 feet posts, on the site of the old grave yard at Tyler's Point, just below Kelley's Bridge.* At the same time, they built by the side of their meeting-house, a dwelling house, which the Town transferred to Mr. Miles, to indemnify him for money which he had advanced to the Town in defraying the expenses of the Indian war.

The place of the new meeting-house at Kelley's Bridge, was at that time the most central point in the Town, and was then called the

*The vote of the Town to assist the church in erecting a house of worship on Tyler's Point, is dated March 29, 1680.

“Place of Trade;” and for sixty years afterwards, nearly all the shipping in the foreign and coasting trade, held by the people in this vicinity, was connected with wharves and warehouses on New-Meadow Neck, near the two Bridges, now known as belonging to Capt. Bowen and Mr. Kelley.

But the population continuing to extend northward and eastward into what are now the Towns of Swansea and Somerset, in Mass. in the course of twenty years after the meeting-house was built on Tyler’s Point, it was found to be extremely unsuited to the convenience of the majority of the people; and accordingly, about the year 1700, it was removed to North-Swansea, as it is now called, to a spot directly west of the place now known as Cornell’s Tavern, where it stood till the present meeting-house of the Swansea church was erected, in 1717. Tradition says, the meeting-house was moved across the Warren River to the east side, on the ice.

But the new position of the house of worship being equally unsuited to the religious accommodation of the numerous people then inhabiting the present Town of Barrington, it created

the necessity for the establishment of another church : and as many Congregationalists had lived in various parts of Swanzea from its first incorporation, advantage was taken of the occasion thus afforded, and the present Congregational church in Barrington was organized shortly after the removal of the Baptist meeting-house, from Tyler's Point, in 1700. The first meeting-house of the Barrington Congregational church was erected a few rods south of the venerable Elm trees at the corner of the road, one mile west of Warren.

Notwithstanding the trying circumstances in which Providence had placed the learned and pious Mr. Miles, he continued during and after the Indian war, to exercise his ministry with great success and acceptance. While residing at his first location near Barneysville, he was engaged in the noble occupation of instructing youth, as well as of preaching the Gospel. He appears to have possessed a considerable amount of property, and was always greatly interested in the affairs of the Town, as well as of the church. He was held in the highest esteem by the other religious per-

suasions ; for notwithstanding his almost unpardonable heresy of being a Baptist, he was employed by the Congregational church of the standing order in the Town of Rehoboth to preach for them once on a week day, every fortnight, and on every alternate sabbath, during nearly all of the year 1666.*

During the interval between 1667-8, till the completion of their new meeting-house on Tyler's Point, in 1680, Mr. Miles preached to his persecuted Baptist Brethren in Boston ; and so acceptable was his ministry there, that they urged upon him the proposal to become their pastor, which however, to the joy of his people in Swanzea, he did not accept. After the meeting-house was finished he returned to his church and residence at Tyler's Point, where

* Mr. Backus says, Vol. 1, p. 506, "We are told that being once brought before the magistrates (on a charge for we know not what,) he requested a Bible, and upon opening it, he turned to these words in Job : 19 : 28, " But ye should say, why persecute we him, seeing the root of the matter is found in me," which having read he sat down ; and the word had a good effect upon their minds, and moved them to treat him with moderation if not with kindness."

he continued to reside three years, when he fell asleep in Jesus on Feb. 3, 1683. He exercised his ministry for thirty-eight years; about half of that time, in his native country, where for several years he was the leading Baptist minister in Wales; and with distinguished success for twenty years in this vicinity during the stormy times of Indian warfare, and the more unnatural despotism of religious intolerance. Less fortunate than his noble co-adjutor, Capt. Willett, not even a rudely inscribed stone points out the spot where rest the earthly remains of a man whose memory is still precious, and whose name will be revived with immortal honors at the resurrection of the just. He was, most probably, buried in the old grave-yard near where his dwelling and meeting-house stood at Tyler's Point, just across the river, a few hundred yards from this place.*

* All that we have been able to ascertain of Mr. Miles' family is that his wife was named Ann Humphrey, by whom he had three children, John, Susannah and Samuel. John must have been a full grown man when Swansea was founded, as he was one of the first clerks of the Town. Of his daughter we

After Mr. Miles' death, the church were without a pastor for nearly two years, when Capt. Samuel Luther, who had sustained every office of honor and trust which the proprietors of the Town could bestow, was ordained to the work of the ministry in 1685, by the assistance of Elders Hull and Emblen of Boston. Both before and after he became pastor of the church, his name often appears on the Records of the Town: having been appointed moderator of the Town meeting, and on the most important committees, and for several years representative to the Legislature, showing the esteem in which he was held both at home and abroad, until his

know nothing but the name. His son Samuel was in College at Cambridge at the time of his father's death. In 1684 he graduated and went to England, and after receiving the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford and taking orders in the Episcopal church, he returned to America and settled as minister of King's Chapel in Boston in 1689, where he died in 1729. Mr. Backus incorrectly supposes that this Samuel was Mr. Miles' *grandson*, but there are several facts which prove the correctness of the statement in Farmer's Register, that he was the son of Mr. Miles.

death, which occurred on the 20th Dec. 1716, having been pastor of the church upwards of 31 years. He possessed an ample estate, and resided on the west side of the Kickemuit river, one mile east of this place, and was buried in the old grave-yard near his residence, where a tomb-stone still stands over his ashes. He has had a large posterity, among whom was the late Col. Ichabod Cole, the present venerable Mr. Seth Cole, Capt. Shubael P. Child, and many, if not most of the numerous families bearing the name of Luther, in this vicinity.

The Rev. Ephraim Wheaton, who for 12 years had been the colleague of the Rev. Samuel Luther, succeeded him as sole pastor at his death. His ministry in Swansea was attended with such great success, that in five years from 1718, he baptized and received into his church fifty members, and during the 17 years of his pastorate, he baptized about one hundred, who became members of his church; while he was also instrumental in erecting their present house of worship. He wrote an account of the remarkable revival in his church to Mr. Thomas Hollis of London, the distinguished Baptist

patron of Harvard University, who sent him a letter of congratulation on his ministerial success, accompanied with a present of books. The celebrated John Comer was his assistant at one time ; and at a later period the same service was performed for two years, by the Rev. John Callender, who afterwards became pastor of the First Baptist church in Newport, where he published his Century Sermon, with enlargements, containing the most authentic information extant, respecting the early history of Rhode-Island. During the ministry of Mr. Wheaton, he resided within the bounds of Rehoboth, where he died on the 26th of April, 1734, aged 75, and was buried in the grave-yard near the residence of Dr. Samuel Bullock, where a decent monument stands over his grave. Near by his side, was laid the lamented Comer, who died on the 23d of the following month, before he had completed his 30th year.*

* The descendents of Mr Comer, in this vicinity, have in their possession, two volumes of his journal and correspondence, which would furnish ample materials for his biography ; but the limits proper for this Discourse forbid any extended notice of that good and useful man.

Mr. Wheaton was a man of piety and talents, and left considerable property, with a numerous family. His four sons were settled on different portions of his lands, and among his lineal descendents are Judge Wheaton of Norton, Mass., Dr. Wheaton, an aged and eminent physician in Providence, the Hon. Henry Wheaton, U. S. Minister to the court of Prussia, the Rev. Henry Jackson of New-Bedford, Mass., the Hon. Charles Jackson, present Governor of this State, and the large and respectable family bearing the ancestral name, who reside in this Town.

During the last year of Mr. Wheaton's ministry, Mr. Samuel Maxwell was ordained his colleague, who at Mr. Wheaton's death, became sole pastor of the church. He seems to have been successful in his ministry, so that in the six years of his pastorate, he baptized about fifty persons. But being somewhat unsettled in his principles, he became, in 1738, a Sabbatarian, and was dismissed from his office. He was however always esteemed a pious man, and lived to a good old age, in the south part of Rehoboth, where he left numerous descendents who still bear his name, in that neighborhood.

After the church had been destitute of a pastor, two or three years, they elected the Rev. Benjamin Herrington, who entered upon his office, the 1st of July, 1742. He was a man of remarkably popular talents, having almost always a crowded audience, and during his short ministry of six years, baptized and added to the church about eighty persons. At length, however, his character suffered from the imputation of improper conduct, and not sufficiently clearing up the charges against him, he was dismissed from the church, May 3, 1750, when he went to Canterbury, Conn. where he preached to a few people, and lived in obscurity to old age.

On the removal of Mr. Herrington, Mr. Jabez Wood, grandson of Thomas Nelson, the progenitor of the extensive Baptist family of that name in Middleborough, Mass., was called to supply the pulpit, and after considerable hesitation on the part of the church, was at length ordained, Sept. 5, 1751, to the pastorate in which office he continued without much success for twenty-eight years, when he was dismissed, and removed to Vermont, where he died in 1794.

During the period thus briefly sketched, the interests of this community now bearing the name of Warren, were inseparably connected with the Church and Town of Swanzea, of which they formed a part. The ministers of that church had been men of able talents, and sound religious faith, and for a considerable part of that period, the church was probably the largest and most flourishing Baptist church in New-England.

Their members resided at a distance of many miles around, in the various towns which were then included in that of Swanzea, and not a few came great distances to enjoy among this highly favored people, the ordinances of the Gospel. They were favored with repeated revivals of religion, especially during the ministry of Mr. Wheaton, when there were upwards of two hundred regular members of the church, and a very large and respectable congregation gathered from all the surrounding country.

It was for these reasons, that the distinct organization of the Warren Baptist Church, is of comparatively so recent a date. The Town

of Warren, though plainly included in the Rhode-Island Charter of Charles II., in 1664, had been embraced in the grant which the Plymouth Government had made in partitioning off the Town of Swansea, and the Massachusetts Government claimed jurisdiction over it, till the boundaries fixed by the Charter, were ascertained and ratified by royal enactment in 1746. •

The question of the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, began to be discussed in the Rhode-Island Legislature as early as 1729, in which year Commissioners were appointed to act with those from Massachusetts, in settling the disputed line, but not agreeing, nothing effectual was done. In 1734, Gov. Wanton, of Rhode-Island, sent a petition to the King, praying that the matter might be settled, which was replied to in 1738, by the proposal of the crown to appoint a commission from the other Colonies. But to "save cost and altercation," it was deemed best to make another trial to settle the dispute among themselves, and accordingly a new committee was appointed by both parties, who met

in Bristol, in 1739, when, as before, no success attended the commission.

In 1740, the King, agreeably to his recommendation, appointed a commission from without the Colony, while committees were appointed by the contending parties to appear before the commissioners. The Court met at Providence, in June, 1741, and organized by appointing Cadwallader Colden, of New-York, President of the Board. They came to a decision, June 30, 1741, by agreeing to transfer from Massachusetts to Rhode-Island, the territory of Little-Compton, Tiverton, Bristol, a large part of Barrington, and a portion of Swanzea, which embraced forty-seven families, together with "Attleborough Gore." But Massachusetts, declining to comply with this decision, appealed to the King in Council.

In 1746, the decision of the King and Council was received, confirming the agreement of the Commissioners: whereupon the Legislature of Rhode-Island immediately in the same year, (1746,) passed an act incorporating the towns by their respective names, as portions of Rhode-Island. The concluding part of the act, is as follows: "And that part of the territory con-

armed to Rhode-Island, which has heretofore been part of Swanzea and Barrington, with a small part of Rehoboth thereto adjoining, with the inhabitants thereon, be incorporated into a township, by the name of Warren." This name was given in honor of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who, in June of the previous year, (1745,) commanded the English fleet, which, in connection with the Colonial army, of about 4400 strong, commanded by Gen. William Pepperell, had captured Louisburg and the Island of Cape Breton from the French, after a toilsome and dangerous siege of six weeks. By clearing the coast of French ships of war, Admiral Warren rendered the greatest service to this population, who then, as now, made their chief dependence on maritime trade.

By the same act which partitioned off, and named Warren, as a part of Rhode-Island, the "Attleborough Gore" was named Cumberland, after the Duke of Cumberland, who had just before gained the battle of Culloden, for which Americans as well as Englishmen, shared in the national pride and rejoicing.

Thenceforward the population of this village, which had previously been very small, began

to increase, and the chief seat of trade was withdrawn from the Barrington side of the river, and wharves were built and shipping accumulated at what is now the village of Warren.

Although the town, at its first incorporation under its present name, embraced all of Warren and Barrington, the number of freemen admitted as Corporators was only seventy-six, and the larger part of these resided on the Barrington side. Before the boundaries between Massachusetts and Rhode-Island were settled, Barrington had been separated from Swanzea, and incorporated under its present name in 1718, but that name was sunk, when the town became a part of Warren in 1746. And notwithstanding the population considerably increased for the next twenty-four years, a majority of the freemen still resided on the west side of the river in 1770, when, thinking that their own interests would be better served by a division of the Town, and believing that they were unfairly taxed for the benefit of the people on this side of the river, they petitioned the Legislature to be set off as a town by themselves, under their former name of Barrington.

The measure was opposed by the eastern portion of the population; but in 1770, the Legislature, yielding to the demands of the majority, passed an act, the concluding part of which is as follows: "All the lands on the westerly side of the river that extends itself from between Bristol and Rumstick Northerly to Miles' Bridge, is to be made a township, and called Barrington." The name of Barrington was thus revived, after having been extinct for twenty-four years.

The separate organization of the Warren Baptist Church grew out of the circumstances in which Brown University originated, both being formed at about the same time, and mutually connected in the agency by which they were established. As early as the year 1707, the Philadelphia Association, composed of the Baptist Churches in that vicinity, was formed, with the view of promoting the welfare of the Baptist interests in America. At an early period, they projected plans for the education of a suitable ministry: but at that time, almost every College in the country was so much under the restrictions of denominational govern-

ance, that for a candidate for the Baptist ministry to be educated in one of them, was too often attended with a humiliating sacrifice of feeling, personal position, and even of honorable Christian principle itself. Even so late as 1780, the Massachusetts government allowed none but Congregational ministers to be overseers in the University at Cambridge.*

Accordingly, the "Philadelphia Baptist Association obtained such an acquaintance with the affairs of Rhode-Island, as to bring themselves to an apprehension that it was practicable and expedient to erect a College in the Colony of Rhode-Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists, in which education might be promoted, and superior learning obtained, free from any sectarian religious tests."†

The distinct project of establishing a Baptist College in this State, seems to have originated in the mind of Morgan Edwards, a celebrated Baptist clergyman of Wales, who, in 1761, left his native country, and arriving in

* Backus, Vol. III, p: 47.

† Backus, Vol. III, p. 235.

Philadelphia, became the pastor of the First Baptist Church in that city. He at once became the moving cause of various enterprises, which have placed the Baptist churches in this country under great obligation to remember the talents and time which he devoted to their best interests, both in Europe and America.

Immediately after the plan of a College was attempted, Mr. Edwards put forth vigorous exertions at home and abroad, in raising money and obtaining books for the Institution, and he was mainly instrumental in procuring for it a Charter in this State. In the later periods of his life, Mr. Edwards deemed this the greatest service he ever did for the honor of the Baptist name.*

After the plan for forming a College in this State was distinctly projected by the Philadelphia Association, in 1762, they selected as a suitable leader in the important work, Mr. James Manning, who, in September of the same year, had taken his first degree in the College of

* Funeral Sermon by Dr. Wm Rogers: from 12th No. of Rippon's Annual Register.

New-Jersey. In the following year, while on a voyage to Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, having been directed to visit Rhode-Island, he landed at Newport, and proposed the subject of his mission to several gentlemen of the Baptist denomination, among whom were the Hon. Samuel Ward, then Governor of this State, Hon. Josias Lyndon, who was also afterwards Governor, Col. John Gardiner, Deputy Governor, and twelve others of the same persuasion, who readily concurred with the proposal, and entered upon the use of the means to accomplish it.* Notwithstanding various secret contrivances, and some open attempts were made to defeat the enterprize, an ample Charter for the purpose was granted by the Legislature of this State, in February, 1764.

It immediately became a question of great practical interest, as to where the College should be located. No funds had as yet been collected, and it was evident that the College could not support itself, at least in its feeble beginning. It was therefore necessary to con-

* Backus, Vol. II, p. 236.

nect it with some other situation, whose pecuniary income would furnish means for helping to assist the College. At that time there were nearly sixty Baptist communicants residing in the Town of Warren, the majority of whom held their membership with the Swanzea church, and nearly all of them seem to have preferred to be considered as a branch of that venerable church, in whose communion they and their forefathers had found so much edification and comfort.

It was with reluctance they could be induced to leave a church, so time-honored in name, and so prosperous in state. But as the population of this village was then rapidly increasing, it became obvious that the time had arrived, when they would best secure their religious welfare, by continuing no longer as a branch of the mother church in Swanzea, but by forming themselves into a separate and independent body. After much prayerful deliberation, it was concluded by the Baptists in this Town, on the one part, and by the friends of the College, on the other, that Mr. Manning should remove to this place, with the view both of organizing a church, and of beginning the Col-

lege; and in the summer of 1764, removing with his family from New-Jersey, he took up his residence in this village. He immediately opened a preparatory Latin school, while at the same time he was diligently employed in preaching the Gospel, having been previously ordained by the Baptist church at Scotch Plains, near Elizabeth-Town, N. Jersey, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Benjamin Miller.*

On the 15th day of November, 1764, the Church in this place was constituted, being composed at its organization of fifty-eight members, thirty-five of whom had been received from the Swanzea church, and twenty-three others, some of them having been baptized by the Rev. Samuel Maxwell, who had preached for a time in this town, some having been baptized by the Rev. Gardner Thurston, of Newport, and some by Mr. Manning, after he arrived in this place. By previous appointment, the members intending to be formed into a church, had engaged the Rev. John Gano of New-York, the Rev. Gardner Thurston of New-

* Appendix I.

port, and the Rev. Ebenezer Hinds of Middleboro', Mass. to assist in the proposed constitution. The day being kept in the solemn exercise of fasting and prayer, "in the forenoon the Rev. Mr. Thurston preached a sermon, and after a short intermission of service, the people returned, and the Rev. John Gano, James Manning, and Ebenezer Hinds, each made a prayer suitable to the occasion, after which, the church covenant, previously prepared by Dr. Manning, was presented and read."*

After the constituent members had signed the covenant, "they were asked by the Rev. Mr. Manning, whether they in the presence of that assembly, viewed that as their covenant and plan of union in a church relation, which question was answered by them all in the affirmative, standing up; after which, three of the brethren, Samuel Hix, Amos Haile, and John Coomer, in behalf of the Church, presented a call, previously prepared by the brethren, to the Rev. James Manning to become their pastor.† The call was read publicly by

* Appendix K.

† Appendix L.

the Rev. Mr. Gano, after which, he asked the Rev. James Manning if he accepted it, which was answered in the affirmative.

“ Then Mr. Gano preached a sermon, suitable to the occasion, in which he reminded both pastor and people of their respective duties and urged the mutual performance of both from those important motives which the nature of the relation requires. Thus ended the solemnities of the day.*

From this time onward, during the six years of Dr. Manning's ministry, the Church and College increased and flourished together. Having already commenced the business of instruction by opening a Latin school immediately on his arrival in this town, Dr. Manning had prepared the way for beginning the College when, in Sept. 1765, he was elected its President: but he seems to have been the only instructor till in 1766, when the late Hon. David Howell, a graduate of New-Jersey College in that year, was appointed the first Tutor in the

* Quoted from the Church Books.

College.* The next year, (1767,) the Rev. Morgan Edwards—to use his own words—“set out for Europe to solicit money towards paying the salary of the President and Assistant; for hitherto we had no funds; and succeeded pretty well, considering how angry the mother country was with the colonies, for opposing the stamp act. Afterwards the Rev. Dr. Hezekiah Smith and others gathered small sums in America, for the same purpose, but after all, the endowment is so scanty, that the College is in arrears to the President to this day, who has suffered considerably by it.”

But notwithstanding the pecuniary embarrassment of the College, the Church, accord-

* “During a large portion of his protracted life, Mr. Howell was connected with the College in Rhode-Island. For three years, he was a tutor, and the first ever appointed in that institution; for nine years, Professor of Natural Philosophy; for thirty-four years, Professor of Law; for fifty-two years, a member of the Board of Fellows; and for many years, Secretary of the Corporation.” Prof. Goddard’s Memoir of Dr. Manning.

ing to the agreement they made in their call to Dr. Manning to the pastorate, appear to have given him a liberal support. Shortly after the Church was organized, and the College established, a house of worship was erected over the precise spot occupied by the one recently removed, and about two thirds of the size of the one lately taken down on the north side of this Edifice, and overlapping a few feet of ground covered by it; and a spacious mansion was erected, for the double purpose of a College and parsonage, on the land occupied by the eastern and middle parts of the spacious house of worship in which we are now convened.*

The first Commencement was held in the Meeting-House, Sept. 7, 1769, when seven young men, matriculated in 1765, took their first Degree in the Arts.† Of these, the Rev. *Charles Thompson*, who succeeded Dr. Manning in the pastorate of this Church, took the highest honors, and pronounced the Valedictory Address. Two more of this class were eminently useful Baptist Ministers; one of whom,

* Appendix M.

† Appendix N.

the Rev. *William Rogers*, D. D. was the successor of Morgan Edwards, as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia, and for many years was Professor of Oratory and Belles Lettres in the University of Pennsylvania;—the other, was the Rev. *William Williams*, for many years pastor of the Baptist Church in Wrentham, Mass. and who was elected to the Fellowship of the College in 1789. Mr. Williams, in the course of his ministry, instructed many young men in the study of theology, and probably prepared more young men for Rhode-Island College, than any other man, since its beginning. A fourth member of this Class, was General *James Mitchell Varnum*, afterwards distinguished for his eloquence as a member of Congress from the State of Rhode-Island, and was also a Brigadier-General in the American army in the war of the Revolution, and was subsequently appointed Judge of the North-Western Territory, whither he removed in 1787, and died at Marietta, Ohio, in 1790, aged forty years.*

* See Memoir of Gen. Varnum, in the "Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar," by Wilkins Updike, Esq.

In immediate connection with the origin of the College and Church in this place, was formed the *Warren Association*, the oldest Baptist Association of the kind in N. England, which took its name from this place, where its first meeting was held, in 1767. Various measures had before been repeatedly resorted to, by Baptist Churches in some parts of New-England, to combine their exertions, in order to procure exemption of the civil government, from the "ministerial Taxes," and other annoyances of the kind, to which they were subjected by the "Standing Order." In every colony in New-England, except Rhode-Island, the Baptists were exposed to various civil disabilities, while all the protests and remonstrances to which they resorted, had proved unavailing. In Massachusetts, however, the appeals of their ministers and churches had begun to incline the Legislature toward a more lenient policy :* which, awakening in the Baptists, the spirit of hope, they applied to several of their independent sister churches in the other colonies, to

* Appendix O.

enter into an association, to be based on principles of mutual right and advantage, and social and moral equality, the main object of which should be to produce a closer agreement among themselves, and to exert a joint influence over their fellow-citizens in the respective colonies, and their Legislatures, in order to gain the same civil and religious freedom, which had hitherto been monopolized by the "Standing Order." On the 28th of August, 1766, the Warren Church voted, "That an Association be entered into with sundry churches of the same faith and order, as it was judged a likely method to promote the peace of the churches." As the location of the College in conjunction with the church, had now made this village a place of resort and a general rallying-point, for the leading members of the Denomination in these regions, it was deemed best to connect the annual meeting of the Association with the anniversary of Commencement, so that all who came from a distance might have the opportunity of attending on both occasions. Accordingly, the anniversary of the Association was fixed on the first Tuesday after Commencement, which order of time, in the respective anniver-

saries of the College and of the Association, has ever since been observed.*

Immediately after the first Commencement, the College began to grow in social importance, and public attention, far and near, was attracted to it. As no public edifice was yet erected for its permanent accommodation, applications were made to the Corporation from the counties of Providence, Newport, and Kent, for its establishment among them, each holding out strong inducements, in competition with this town, for the honor and benefit of its location. This church, immediately after the first Commencement, voted that "The Meeting-House in this Town be and is, for the use of the Corporation and President at Commencement times; and oftener, if wanted by either, only so as not to interfere with Divine Worship; *Provided*, that the College Edifice be founded and built in the County of Bristol; and that the Parsonage House in said Warren be for the use of the President, so long as the President be our Minister."

* Appendix P.

As the place for the permanent location of the College was still undetermined, the four towns of Warren, Providence, Newport, and East-Greenwich, in four different counties of the State, all preferred their claims as being, each respectively, the most eligible situation. The consequence was, that the public mind was greatly agitated by the contention which grew out of these conflicting claims. Mr. Edwards, in referring to the subject, says, "Warren was at first agreed on as a proper situation, where a small wing was to be erected in the spring of 1770, and about £800 raised towards effecting it. But soon afterwards, some who were unwilling it should be there, and some who were unwilling it should be anywhere, did so far agree as to lay aside the said location, and propose that the county which should raise the most money, should have the college."

The two ablest competitors in this contest were the towns of Providence and Newport. The latter town raised £4000 by subscription, but Providence gained the advantage, by raising £4280, and after an earnest discussion on the merits of the conflicting claims, the Corpora-

tion, on the 7th of February, 1770, decided by a vote of twenty-one to fourteen, that the edifice be built in the town of Providence, and there be continued forever.*

But as Dr. Manning had been identified with the College from its first foundation, and was the soul of its prosperity, a great practical difficulty arose between the Corporation and the Warren church, as to which he must relinquish. He was devotedly attached to his people, and they were as devotedly attached to him; and when the alternative was presented, he was about to resign his presidency, rather than his pastorate. After considerable correspondence between the Corporation of the College, and the Warren Church and Congregation, Dr. Manning was persuaded to resign his charge of the church: and in the following May, 1770, removed with his undergraduates to Providence;—which, in the language of the church records, “was to the wonderment of his people, he being greatly admired and renowned, before

* Manuscript Letter of Dr. Manning to Dr. Hezekiah Smith, dated Warren, Feb. 12, 1770.

he rejected his people, which was in the sixth year of his ministry." The grief of the church in the removal of their admired and beloved pastor, had its counterpart in the dissatisfaction and chagrin of the town in losing half of their territory in the same year, when Barrington was partitioned off, and erected into a separate township.

After the church had been destitute of a pastor for about one year, they called Mr. Charles Thompson, the valedictorian of the first graduating class, to preach to them, and by the assistance of Elders Ebenezer Hinds of Middleboro', and Noah Alden of Bellingham, he was ordained to the pastoral charge, July 3, 1771. He was born at Amwell, New-Jersey, April 14, 1748, and became pastor of the church at the age of twenty-three. A great blessing attended his ministry; so that during the four years of his pastorate, the membership of the church was almost doubled. But when the war of the Revolution broke out, in 1775, its pernicious effects were sorely felt by this people. Mr. Thompson was appointed a chaplain in the American army, which office he held till 1778, when being at home on a visit, the English

troops came up to Warren* on the morning of May 25, 1778, and burned the Meeting-House, Parsonage-House, an Arsenal and several private dwellings, and carried Mr. Thompson away as a prisoner, and confined him at Newport, from which he was released in about a month, by what means he never knew.

After this, he preached some time at Ash-

* The occasion of the attack upon Warren, was that General Sullivan having been appointed to command the American forces on Rhode-Island, the English, who were blockaded at Newport by the French fleet, were anticipating an attack upon the Island by the Americans from the main. To defeat this design, the English commander sent 500 men up the river, who landed at daylight on the morning of the 25th of May, between Bristol and Warren, and moved in two detachments, the one for Warren, where they destroyed the Meeting-House and Parsonage House, blew up the Arsenal, and burnt up other property ;—the other, for the head of Kicke-muit river, where the boats were building for the American expedition, and there they destroyed about seventy flat-bottomed boats, set fire to one state galley, and burnt a large quantity of pitch, tar, ship-timber and other property belonging to the Americans, at that place.

ford, Connecticut, till 1779, when he became pastor of the church in Swanzea. So great was the shock which this population sustained by the calamities of the war, that the church and people were very much scattered, many of them taking refuge in the interior of the country, and so few remained, that no public religious meetings were held for several years. A large part of the remaining members of the church resumed their membership with the maternal church in Swanzea, upon the condition that they should have full liberty to be dismissed when the Providence of God should permit the Warren church to be re-organized.

Thus, after this church had maintained a separate existence for fifteen years, it again merged into the original church, of which the Baptists residing in this village and immediate vicinity, had formerly been a branch for about one hundred years, previous to the separate organization of this church in 1764. It was this union and agreement between the two churches, that encouraged Mr. Thompson to become the pastor of the Swanzea church, on the 7th of October, 1777. Immediately after Mr. Thompson commenced his ministry at

Swansea, new life was infused into the church, and a glorious revival of religion ensued, during which he baptized seventy-five persons, about thirty of whom resided in Warren. The connection of the Warren with the Swansea brethren appears to have been distinguished with the happiest influences. It was not till after the war, that this church ceased to be a branch of the maternal church at Swansea, and resumed its separate existence. On the 5th of February, 1784, the congregation in this place resolved to build another House of Worship, on the same spot where their former one had stood; and in the course of the following year, they erected the Meeting-House recently taken down, which has been so dear to the religious associations of a large part of this congregation, from their earliest childhood.

On the 29th of August, 1785, the Legislature granted a charter to the Benevolent Baptist Society, composed of Baptist members and others friendly to their interests, for the purpose of establishing a permanent fund for the maintenance of the ministry in the Baptist Church and Society in Warren. The House of Worship having been erected, and a chartered So-

ciety established, with a fund for the support of the ministry, in September of 1786, the former members of the church, and others who had been elsewhere dispersed, were again re-organized on the basis of their former covenant and plan of union.

Although the former members of the Warren church had encouraged the settlement of Mr. Thompson at Swanzea, after their own church was broken up in the war, it was evidently with the expectation that he might become their pastor again, whenever they should be re-organized. His ministry, however, had been so eminently successful at Swanzea, and his engagements as a teacher of youth were such, that he could not honorably relinquish his station, and he continued the beloved and useful pastor of the old Swanzea church, till 1803, when he removed to Charlton, Mass. where soon after, May 1, 1803, he died of the consumption.*

After the church had been re-organized in Sept. 1786, in the following month the Rev. John Pitman, removing with his family to this

* Appendix Q.

town, became the pastor of the church, having been previously ordained to the work of the ministry. Mr. Pitman's labors were very acceptable and edifying to the church, and attended with a moderate increase of its membership, having baptized eighteen persons during the three and a half years of his pastorate. Early in the summer of 1790, he resigned his pastoral office, and removed to Providence.*

For a period of three years and a half, after the removal of Mr. Pitman, the church were destitute of a pastor, during which time they were supplied with preaching, principally by the Rev. Nathaniel Cole, subsequently of Plainfield, Conn. and by various other ministers, who visited the place. At length, in October of 1793, Mr. Luther Baker, born in this town, June 11, 1770, was called by the church to the work of the ministry, and to the pastorate of the church, which soon began to revive, under his care. Mr. Baker's ministry at several periods was blessed with extensive and powerful revivals of religion. In the year 1805, ninety

* Appendix R.

persons were added to the church, nearly all of them by baptism. Another revival commenced immediately after the session of the Warren Association, which was held in this place in Sept. 1812, in which over sixty were baptized in the course of a few months.

Within the period of the Rev. Mr. Baker's ministry, and especially within the forty years extending from the great revival in 1805, up to the present time, this church has been repeatedly blessed with refreshing seasons from the presence of the Lord. The most extensive and powerful work of grace, known by the name of a revival of religion, which this church has ever experienced, began in the latter part of the winter of 1820, after a season of peculiar darkness and difficulty. The church had been divided in her councils, and greatly perplexed in the exercise of discipline, in matters which related to their former pastor, and dissatisfaction growing out of the circumstances attending his resignation. They had been for some time without a pastor; but under the faithful preaching of the Rev. Dr. Gano, of Providence, who with others, frequently visited this people at that time, in the fulness of the blessing of

the Gospel, and with an unction from the Holy One of Israel, this weary heritage all at once became greatly revived; and an overpowering religious influence was felt by this population, which was never equalled by any thing of the kind, before or since. On the 11th of March, of that year, the Rev. Flavel Shurtleff began his ministry, which, in conjunction with the faithful labors of Dr. Gano and others, was blessed by the great refreshing of the church, and the conversion of a multitude of the impenitent. In a few months, one hundred and thirty were added to the church, nearly all by baptism, who, with many others that joined other churches, were the subjects of this gracious visitation.

But the period of time, extending from the present, up to the great revival under Mr. Baker's ministry, is so familiarly known to many who still live to relate what they were personal witnesses of, and the existing records of the church are so full of the transactions of the last forty years, that it would only be an easy work of compilation, to fill up many pages with events of glowing interest, and sketches of remarkable character. The limits of this Dis-

course, already too much extended, forbid us the easy and pleasant task of detailing the materials of history, so abundantly to be found in the records of the church, in the personal recollections of many of its living members, and in occasional publications containing allusions to this church and people.

Mine has been the more difficult, though not less pleasant duty, of unfolding to view the sources of our religious and social existence, by collecting facts and testimonials, many of which had become well nigh lost forever, and most of which were out of the reach of the present generation. It must be the work of some future pastor or historian of this church, to take up its history at the points where we leave it, and embody those materials which are much less likely to become lost, than those which have furnished the sketches presented in these pages.*

* The original Records of this church, from its organization in 1764, to the burning of the meeting-house and parsonage house in May, 1778, were mostly destroyed in that fire. The Providence of God, however, so ordered it, that Mr. John Throop, led by

This church has had from the beginning, up to the present time, nine regular Pastors.

The First Pastor, the Rev. Dr. James Manning, a graduate of Princeton College in the class of 1762, began with the church, Nov. 15, 1764, and resigned April 26, 1770,

The Second Pastor, the Rev. Charles Thompson, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1769, became pastor of the church, March 31, 1771, and closed his connection with the church, when it was scattered and disorganized by the burning of the meeting-house, May 25, 1778.

The Third Pastor, the Rev. John Pitman, became Pastor immediately after the re-organization of the church, October 26, 1786, and resigned in June, 1790.

The Fourth Pastor, the Rev. Luther Baker, was ordained to the work of the ministry, and to the pastorate of this church, on the third

principles of friendship to the church, had taken a complete copy of the records, up to November 30, 1769; which with disconnected fragments of the original records saved from the fire, were afterwards copied into the Church Books by William Turner Miller after the re-organization of the church.

Thursday of October, 1793, and resigned November 1, 1814.

The Fifth Pastor, the Rev. Silas Hall, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1809, was called to the pastorate, and accepted the call, on the day of Mr. Baker's resignation, Nov. 1, 1814, and resigned May 1, 1817.

The Sixth Pastor, the Rev. Daniel Chessman, a graduate of Brown University, in the class of 1811, and a licentiate of the Second Baptist church in Boston, was ordained to the work of the ministry and to the pastorate of this church, March 5, 1818, having supplied the pulpit from August of the preceding year. He was dismissed by the church, Jan. 23, 1820.

The Seventh Pastor, the Rev. Flavel Shurtleff, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1814, commenced his labors as minister, March 11, 1820, and resigned, September 18, 1821.

The Eighth Pastor, the Rev. John C. Welsh, a recent member of Waterville College, and a licentiate of the First Baptist Church in Boston, was ordained to the work of the ministry and to the pastorate of this church, June 11, 1823, and resigned, November 1, 1840.

The Ninth Pastor, and the present incumbent, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1838, was recognized as Pastor, April 23, 1842.

During the organized existence of the church, embracing the intervals between its pastors, it has been without pastoral care, the aggregate sum of eight and a half years.

The present number of members is	264
The whole number of members from the beginning is	770
Of these there were at its first organization,	58
Added by Dr. Manning, in six years,	15
Added by Mr. Thompson, unknown.*	
Added, at the re-organization in 1786, by dismissal from Swanzea, of those not formerly members of this church,	18
Added by Mr. Pitman, in about three and a half years,	21
Added by Mr. Baker, in twenty-one years,	251
Added by Mr. Hall in two and a half years,	34
Added by Mr. Chessman, in about two years,	3

* There were undoubtedly many persons baptized and added to the church under the ministry of Mr. Thompson,—but the records containing their names, &c. were destroyed by the fire. No account of those thus added, can be included in the summary of members.

Added by Mr. Shurtleff, in one year and a half,	133
Added in the interval,	2
Added by Mr. Welsh, in seventeen and a half years,	179
Added in the interval,	23
Added by the present pastor, in three years and a quarter,	33
July 1, 1845.	

While this church has not been unduly rigid in the maintenance of its authority, and in the administration of discipline, it is yet the painful fact, that since its organization, of all the members added, seventy-six have been excluded who were not afterwards restored, being a fraction over ten per cent. of the whole.

In these rapid outline sketches of our social and religious history, we have arrived at a period known to the personal recollections of many who are now before me. Time only forbids the picturing forth before you, of those familiar persons and events that would awaken in your hearts the recollection of your dearest and most sacred associations.

Neither can we enforce at present those lessons of instruction with which the past addresses us from the dust and sepulchre. We have been reviewing the history of remoter

periods, but where are the men whose lives and whose actions we have been recording? "Our fathers where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?" The glowing hearts that once swelled with joy, or sunk in sadness, at the revival or the declension of piety, are now cold in the grave: the eyes once watchful for the signs of the times, are dimmed forever; the voices that chanted the high praises of Israel's God, are silent now; and "the old familiar faces are gone." Some, whose spirit of generous piety, longed to see the day when a temple, such as we are in, should be reared, have not lived to see it; and even some who beheld these massive walls slowly rising, have never seen their completion; they have gone the way of all the earth. And we too are dwelling on the banks of that stream of time whose rapid current is ever winding on from the eternity of the past, to the eternity of the future; we see the moving course of events on its surface; now they are above us; now they are below us; but they never stop before us.

"—We can never say they're *here*,
But only say they're *past*."

Meanwhile we should feel that we are not liv-

ing for the present, nor for ourselves ; but for the future, and for others ; for our families who are the hopes of the church : for the young, our substitutes in another generation, who are to receive our work as we pass it over to them, and to hand it on to still coming ages ; for our country, whose existence and welfare must depend upon the maintenance of those great principles of civil and religious freedom, which our forefathers brought to light amid surrounding darkness, and struggled for, amid cruel mockings and bloody sufferings ; and for God, who is first and last, and all and in all, God over all, blessed forever.

In the erection of this noble and substantial Edifice, we have been doing a work, less for ourselves, than as a legacy for posterity ; and though our eyes may not long see these walls our hands have builded,—and its earthly glory will all fade away amid the splendors of the upper sanctuary, in the New Jerusalem ; yet even then it may not dim the brightness of a happy retrospection to remember that on earth we were willing, as the royal Psalmist was, to give a generous offering to the outward beauty of Divine Worship. Meanwhile, we hope to

offer up our prayers and praises, to receive instruction and encouragement within this temple, which we have endeavored to render chaste and beautiful, but not gorgeously splendid, nor superfluously expensive; unadorned with tinsel and tracery, yet solemnly imposing, and complete in its proportions. Yet we do not forget, that our sublime and spiritual religion is not inconsistent with the severest exactness and the utmost purity of taste; that the inlets of sensation are the medium of our earliest ideas, our most permanent associations, and of our religious impressions themselves; that while they who worship God acceptably, must worship Him in spirit and in truth, we may make the sight of the eye affect the heart, the hearing of the ear the entrance of faith, the sounds of harmony the source of inward melody, and our lowly worship on earth the emblem as well as foretaste of those celestial services where the worshippers are "before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them; and they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb

which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”

Here, then, while we dedicate this temple to the spiritual service of a spiritual God, praying that the glory of this latter house may be greater than that of either of the former, let us seek after greater soundness of religious doctrine, greater purity of religious discipline, greater liberality of religious sentiment, greater amiableness of religious manners, greater benevolence in religious philanthropy; that we may have communion with the Father in his house, the Son on his throne, and the Spirit in our hearts; that looking through the visible things which deceive, to things invisible, which never deceive, we may behold the glory of that spiritual building, not made with human hands,—the church itself, the body of Christ, “by whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; in whom also we may be builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.”

And now, in conclusion, we can say, in the spirit of piety with which the Psalmist, who

had it in his heart to build a temple to the Lord, "not offering unto the Lord his God of that which cost him nothing," could express his joy at going up to the sanctuary, and rejoice in the holy city, "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Let thy work, O Lord, appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it." Amen.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

Note A.—Page 33.

As a specimen of the candid and independent spirit of a liberal class of men, who, like Dr. Thomas Arnold, late of Oxford, and Archbishop Whately, love the form of episcopal government, and yet place the question of Apostolic succession on its true historical merits, we subjoin a few passages of Bishop Whately, on the “Difficulty of ascertaining unbroken succession.”

But as there are some persons who are too ready to separate from any religious community on slight grounds, or even through mere caprice, “to heap up to themselves teachers, having itching ears,” it has been thought,—or at least maintained,—that the only way of affording complete satisfaction and repose to the scrupulous, and of repressing schism, is to uphold, under the title of “Church-principles,” the doctrine that no one is a member of Christ’s Church, and an heir of the covenanted Gospel-promises, who is not under a Ministry ordained by Bishops descended in an unbroken chain from the Apostles.

Now what is the degree of satisfactory assurance that is thus afforded to the scrupulous consciences of any members of an Episcopal Church? If a man consider it as highly *probable* that the *particular Minister* at whose hands he receives the sacred Ordinances, is really thus apostolically descended, *this* is the very utmost point to which he can, with any semblance of reason, attain: and the more he reflects and inquires, the more cause for hesitation he will find. There is not a Minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up with any approach to certainty his own spiritual pedigree. The sacramental virtue, (for such it is, that is implied,—whether the term be used or not in the principle I have been speaking of) dependent on the imposition of hands, with a due observance of apostolical usages, by a Bishop, himself duly consecrated, after having been in like manner baptized into the Church, and ordained Deacon and Priest,—this sacramental virtue, if a single link of the chain be faulty, must, on the above principles, be utterly nullified ever after, in respect of all the links that hang on that one. For if a Bishop has not been duly consecrated, or had not been, previously, rightly ordained, his Ordinations are null; and so are the ministrations of those ordained by him; and their Ordination of others; (supposing any of the persons ordained by him to attain to the Episcopal office) and so on, without end. The poisonous taint of informality, if it once creep in undetected, will spread the infection of nullity to an indefinite and irremediable extent.

And who can undertake to pronounce that during that long period usually designated as the Dark Ages, no such taint ever was introduced? Irregularities could not have been wholly excluded without a perpetual miracle; and that no such miraculous interference existed, we have even historical proof.—Amidst the numerous corruptions of doctrine and of practice, and gross superstitions, that crept in during those ages, we find recorded descriptions not only of the profound ignorance and profligacy of life, of many of the Clergy, but also of the grossest irregularities in respect of discipline and form. We read of Bishops consecrated when mere children;—of men officiating who barely knew their letters;—of Prelates expelled, and others put into their places, by violence;—of illiterate and profligate laymen, and habitual drunkards, admitted to Holy Orders; and in short, of the prevalence of every kind of disorder, and reckless disregard of the decency which the Apostle enjoins. It is inconceivable that any one even moderately acquainted with history, can feel a certainty, or any approach to certainty, that, amidst all this confusion and corruption, every requisite form was, in every instance, strictly adhered to, by men, many of them openly profane and secular, unrestrained by public opinion, through the gross ignorance of the population among which they lived; and that no one not duly consecrated or ordained, was admitted to sacred offices.

Even in later and more civilized and enlightened times, the probability of an irregularity, though very

greatly diminished, is yet diminished only, and not absolutely destroyed. Even in the memory of persons living, there existed a Bishop concerning whom there was so much mystery and uncertainty prevailing as to when, where, and by whom, he had been ordained, that doubts existed in the mind of many persons whether he had ever been ordained at all. I do not say that there was good ground for the suspicion; but I speak of the fact, that it did prevail; and that the circumstances of the case were such as to make manifest the *possibility* of such an irregularity occurring under such circumstances.

Now let any one proceed on the hypothesis that there are, suppose, but a hundred links connecting any particular minister with the Apostles; and let him even suppose that not above half of this number pass through such periods as admit of any possible irregularity; and then, placing at the lowest estimate the probability of defectiveness in respect of each of the remaining fifty, taken separately, let him consider what amount of probability will result from the *multiplying* of the whole together. The ultimate consequence must be, that any one who sincerely believes that his claim to the benefits of the Gospel-Covenant depends on his own Minister's claim to the supposed sacramental virtue of true ordination, and this again, on perfect Apostolical Succession, as above described, must be involved, in proportion as he reads, and inquires, and reflects, and reasons, on the subject, in the most distressing doubt and perplexity.

* * * * *

But if each man's Christian hope is made to rest on his receiving the Christian Ordinances at the hands of a Minister to whom the sacramental virtue that gives efficacy to those Ordinances, has been transmitted in unbroken succession from hand to hand, every thing must depend on *that particular Minister*: and *his* claim is by no means established from our merely establishing the uninterrupted existence of *such a class of men as Christian Ministers*. "You teach me," a man might say, "that my salvation depends on the possession by *you*—the *particular* Pastor under whom I am placed—of a certain qualification; and when I ask for the proof that you possess it, you prove to me that it is possessed *generally* by a *certain class* of persons, of whom you are one, and probably by a large majority of them!" How ridiculous it would be thought, if a man laying claim to the throne of some country, should attempt to establish it without producing and proving his own pedigree, merely by showing that that country had *always been under hereditary regal government!*

Note B.—Page 48.

At the same time that the unyielding Britons were driven into Cambria, multitudes of the British Christians and British soldiers, fleeing from the horrors of the Saxon invasion, passed over to the Continent,

and took refuge in that peninsula in France, between the Seine and the Loire, then called *Armorica*, but which has ever since borne the name of Brittany, from the language and institutions of the insular Britons. Here, by their intermixture with the Franks, they became a peculiar people, and in their sequestered region have ever since preserved the distinctive marks of their Welsh origin. They have been the glory and the bulwark of the French nation; inheriting the same simplicity of manners, the same love of liberty, the same hatred of oppression, the same invincible loyalty, which have characterized the Welsh race wherever they have lived. In France, as well as in Britain and in the United States, the descendants of the Welsh have shown to the world that the strongest mental independence and the most invincible attachment to religious liberty, are the best safeguards to the stability of civil institutions, and the permanent interests of human society.

When in the last century the French Revolution was desolating all that was dear and venerable to the people of that bright and sunny land, the Welsh descendants in the plains of Brittany along the Loire, were the last to yield to the ferocious policy of Danton and Robespierre, and they arose as one man, to stem the furious tide of Jacobin Republicanism. The splendid genius of Alison, in his chapter on the "War in La Vendee," has drawn an immortal eulogium of those "Christian martyrs whose blood cemented a fabric of eternal duration." These descendants of the ancient Britons, present one of the most

brilliant illustrations on record, of a people whose inherent love of liberty, and undying devotion to religion, may be inseparably connected with the strongest elements of patriotism, and the safest foundations of national perpetuity. While the dogmas of Atheism were propagated by their natural accompaniments of fire and sword, desolating the altars of religion throughout all France, "there sprung," says the eloquent historian of Europe—"from the ashes of La Vendee, a spirit which hurled Napoleon from his throne, and is destined to change the face of the moral world. It first put the cause of Revolution openly and irrevocably at war with that of Religion: the friends of real freedom may thank it for permanently enlisting on their side a power which will never be subdued."^a

Note C.—Page 79.

From the fact that Mr. Miles and his friends brought their church records with them, it has been supposed, with good reason, that the Baptist church in Swansea is but the continuation, or re-production, of the old church in Swansea, in South Wales. That the old church records were actually brought to this country, seems scarcely to admit of a doubt, though of late, some have been disposed to question the fact.

^a Alison's History of Europe, Vol. I, Chap. XII.

Tradition, in earlier and later times, among the Baptists in the vicinity of Swanzea, asserts the fact. Mr. Backus, in his History of New-England, (Vol. II, p. 117,) in speaking of "a piece of villainy which was detected in Swanzea," says, "That town was first granted to five men, three of whom were Baptists; and they laid out sundry parcels of land, which they called pastors' and teachers' lots. They had a large and curious book of church records, which was brought from Wales; and the surveys of those lots were recorded therein. In 1718, Richard Harden became both a Deacon and the Clerk of the First Church in Swanzea; and was encouraged to build and make improvements upon one of those lots, near the Meeting-House; and he was also a leading man in Town-affairs. Having such advantages, he was tempted with the notion, that by destroying the record of those lots, he could obtain that whereon he lived, as common land. And behold, all the records of Swanzea church, betwixt 1663 and 1718 were taken out of the Book, and have never been recovered since."

Note D.—Page 83.

For the following statement I am indebted to the Rev. Abiel Fisher, present Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Swanzea, to whose diligence and fidelity in collecting the scattered memorials of his ancient Church and Town, I am indebted for several of the

facts presented in connection with the Swansea Church.

“ It has been supposed, and often stated by Backus and others, that the first Meeting-House was erected near Kelly’s Bridge, on Tyler’s Point, opposite Warren : but I have ascertained that it was about three miles north-east from that point, a little south-west of the road leading from Warren, to Seekonk and Providence. The very spot has been pointed out to me, being on a road leading from the main road to the house of Squire Allen, lately deceased. This road leads out of the main road, between the houses of Timothy P. Luther and John Grant, only 20 or 30 rods from the latter. The line of Seekonk is only a few rods north of this spot. It seems nearly certain, that while most of the church resided in Rehoboth, (as that town then embraced Seekonk,) they chose a site for their Meeting-House as near their residence as possible, where they could be permitted for a time to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.”

Note E.—Page 84.

The founders of the Plymouth Colony were the first band of those free and pious spirits, who, rising above the corruptions of the National Church, had left their native land, to seek a purer worship, far away from their beloved homes, in a foreign wilderness, and under stormy skies. They first began

their wanderings by removing to Holland, "where they knew that they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."*

Here, under the ministry of their excellent pastor, the devoted John Robinson, they lived for a while, in a tolerable degree of peace and comfort, and received many converts among their numbers, which soon amounted to 300 communicants.

But desiring to live under the protection of England, and to retain the name and language of Englishmen; and being unable to give their children such an education as they had themselves received; and grieved at the profanation of the Sabbath, and many other religious abuses among the people of Holland; for these and many other similar reasons, they began to agitate the question of removing to some part of America; and finally, after many a baffling detention and a long, tempestuous voyage, they commenced the colonization of New-England, on the rock of Plymouth, where they landed on the 22d of December, 1620. Here, beneath unknown skies, with the wide dreary Atlantic on one side, and a gloomy unbroken forest on the other, they laid in suffering and in faith, the deep foundations of that moral character, which has made the New-England people the pride and glory of our nation, in peace, and in war, our firm and immoveable bulwark. Nev-

* Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony.

er was there a company of men, of stricter virtue, whose consistent holiness and practical fear of God, more signally honored their profession, than these Plymouth Pilgrims.

The Colonists who founded Massachusetts Bay, eight years afterwards, were not Independents or Separatists, like their Plymouth brethren, but were non-conforming members of the Church of England. Their conscientious convictions and their dearest sympathies still attached them to the National Church, while they opposed what they believed to be her Romish errors and superstitions; and though in all points they could not conform to it, they still sought the welfare of their souls in its ministrations; and lamenting what they believed to be its defects, not in a spirit of bitter hostility, but of pious grief, they were still disposed to honor the good and forget the evil, so strangely mixed in the doctrine and ritual of that communion. They were yet unwilling to break the bands of ecclesiastical fellowship, and only wished a greater freedom for the exercise of their personal faith, by a *practical* departure from the ritual economy of that church;—a movement, which they did not then foresee, would lead eventually to an entire separation from the English Establishment, and to the formation of New-England Congregationalism.

Many of them had been nursed on the lap of luxury, while not a few were of noble birth and lofty station; and nearly all had enjoyed the advantage of the highest mental and social culture. In the brilliant display of their personal virtues and their

religious graces, they reflected more of cheerfulness and warmth of sentiment, but less of moral courage and singleness of purpose, than their Separatist brethren of Plymouth; while in the want of a candid temper towards their brethren of a different faith, the symmetry of their character was more frequently disfigured by a spirit of relentless intolerance, which singularly contrasted with the general display of their otherwise almost unrivalled virtues. They believed in Christ as the only Head of the church, and in the Holy Scriptures as the only standard of their Faith: and as such, they were even then far in advance of the age in which they lived. But they had not yet sufficiently lost sight of the spirit and maxims on which the dominion of the English Throne and Altar were based, to admit the claims of personal conscience to their full extent; and hence, in forming their social community in Massachusetts Bay, they could not bring their civil laws and religious institutions, both together, in perfect accordance with the principle of liberty of conscience in spiritual affairs. Their honest piety and sincere benevolence did all that possibly could be done, to reconcile the duty of an implicit faith in their creed, with the liberty of every man "to think as he pleased, provided he thought right;"—and of this, they were to be the self-made judges.

Note F.—Page 88.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

CAPT. T. WILLETT,

BY

REV. A. FISHER, OF SWANZEA.

Capt. Thomas Willet was one of the last of the Leyden company who came to this country. He arrived at Plymouth in 1629, being then 16 or 18 years old. He was educated as a merchant; and as the greater part of his life was spent in Holland, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the customs and language of the Dutch: a circumstance which rendered him so highly acceptable to the Dutch of New-York. On his arrival, he was sent by the people of Plymouth who had established a trading house at Kennebeck, to superintend their business as agent. He continued at Kennebeck, about six or seven years, when he married a lady at Plymouth, and probably removed to Dorchester, and thence between 1641 and 1647 returned to Plymouth. In 1647 he became the successor of Miles Standish in the command of the military at Plymouth.

In 1651 he was elected one of the Governor's assistants, and was annually continued in that office till 1665, when the pressure of his other duties obliged him to decline further election, and James Brown, of Swanzea, was chosen his successor. In Feb. 1660 we find Capt. Willet an inhabitant of Rehoboth, having ob-

tained liberty of the town to purchase large tracts of land in its vicinity. In 1661, being empowered by the Court of Plymouth, he purchased of Womsitta, the eldest son of Massasoit, the large tract of land afterwards called Rehoboth North Purchase, now Attleborough and Cumberland. This tract, however, he relinquished into the hands of the Plymouth Colony in 1666. He was also the original purchaser of Taunton North Purchase, (now Norton, Mansfield and Easton,) as well as of many other tracts of land in the vicinity. On the surrender of New-York to the English under Col. Nichols, in August 1664, by the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant, Capt. Willett accompanied the Commissioners of Appeals, viz. Nichols, Carr, Cartwright and Maverick, to that city; and rendered them great service by his acquaintance with the customs, usages and language of the Dutch, in organizing the new government. He performed his duties while there to the entire satisfaction of all the parties concerned, and rendered himself so acceptable to the people, that after the organization of the government he was elected the first English mayor of the city of New-York. To this office he was elected a second time; and the Dutch had so much confidence in his integrity, that he was by them chosen umpire to determine the disputed boundary between New-York and New-Haven. While he was Mayor of New-York he appears to have held his standing as a citizen, and his property at Rehoboth, and to have sustained office therein. When the two years of his Mayoralty had expired at New-York, he returned to Rehoboth.

Capt. Willett's name appears the first on the list of individuals to whom liberty was given to form a township by the name of Swanzea. In the settlement of the town, Capt. Willett and Mr. Miles may justly be considered the most prominent men ; and they are usually styled the Fathers of the Town. He continued to reside on his farm in Swanzea, during the remaining part of his life. Capt. Willett on July 6, 1636, married Mary Brown, who is generally supposed to have been the daughter of Mr. John Brown, the elder, at Plymouth. She was sister of Mr. James Brown, one of the constituent members of the Swanzea church, and whose name was held in high esteem in the the town and colony. Of eight children, some of them died in childhood, while several of Capt. Willett's descendants have distinguished themselves in the history of the country. His grandson Francis Willett was a prominent man in the colony of Rhode-Island. Another descendant, his great grandson, the late Col. Marinus Willett, served with distinguished honor in the Revolutionary war, and was also Mayor of New-York.

Capt. Willett appears to have had his residence at the north west part of Swanzea, a part of which is now in Barrington, and a part in Seekonk, where he died, August 4, 1674, at the age of sixty-three. He was buried at the head of Bullock's Cove, in what is now Seekonk, where a rough stone still stands to mark the spot, on which is legible the following brief and rudely carved inscription :

" 1664

Here lyeth the body of the worthy Thomas Willett, Esq., who died August ye 4th in ye 64th year of his age, anno

Who was the first Mayor of New-York and twice did sustain the place."

His wife Mary died about 1669, and lies by his side.

Note G.—Page 91.

The grant of the Plymouth Court, in 1667, which described the town of Swanzea as embracing "all the lands between the salt water and river, and the bounds of Taunton and Rehoboth, &c."—has been by many supposed to include the present town of *Bristol*, as well as Warren, Barrington, Swanzea and Somerset. Bristol, however, was *not* included in that grant, but continued for several years after, as an *Indian Township*. After Massasoit's death, in 1661, it appears, that most of the remaining Wampanoags removed from this immediate vicinity, and were collected together more compactly, on a smaller territory, being the same as the present town of Bristol. In a Manuscript Document belonging to the town of Warren, called "The Grand Deed of Saile of Lands from Osamequin and Wamsetto his son, Dated 29th March, 1653," the territory described as follows, was sold: "All those severall parcels and necks of uplands, Swamps and Meadows lyeing and

being on the south side of Sinkhunch (Seekonk) els Rehoboth, &c." After the deed describes the lands thus sold, it ends as follows:—And the said Osamequin, (Massasoit,) and Wamsetto, (Alexander,) his son, covenant, promise and grant, that whensoever the Indians shall remove from *the Neck*, that then and from thenceforth, the aforesaid Thomas Prince, Thomas Willet, Miles Standish, Josiah Winslow, shall enter upon the same, by the same agreement, as their Proper Rights and Interest to them and their heirs forever."

By virtue of the preceding Deed, the remnants of his tribe, after Massasoit's death, began to collect together, with Philip for their chief, on the Mount Hope lands. Some Indians, however, still continued to live in Warren, till about the beginning of Philip's war, as they were reluctant to give up so much of their territory on so easy terms.

Frequent altercations took place between the Colonists of Swanzea and the Wampanoags, about the boundary lines of the Mount Hope lands; until at length, shortly before the war, a fence was run from the Warren to the Kickemuit rivers, on the line which is the present boundary between Warren and Bristol. Tradition says that this fence stood for many years after the war.

The Indians continued to hold and occupy the lower part of the Neck,—that is, that portion of it now constituting Bristol—until Philip's war, when being exterminated or driven away, their remaining rights to the territory were extinguished. The proprietors

of Sowams claimed the deserted territory by the provisions of the Grand Deed; but, after a long controversy, the Government decided it to be conquered land, and should be sold to assist in defraying the expenses of the war. "In 1680, Mount Hope territory, about 7000 acres, was granted to the colony by the crown, for their services and sufferings in the war. * * Rhode-Island urged their claim. * * Mount Hope territory was sold soon afterwards by Plymouth, for three hundred pounds. The king's letter, communicating the grant of Mount Hope, contained encouraging assurances of further favors, upon proper application." (Morton's Memorial, Davis' Ed. p. 469.)

At the same time, the Proprietors of Sowams, in the MS. Record Book, say, "That for the lands now in dispute between the Proprietors and the publique, whether ours or conquered Lands, the Proprietors doe, (forthwith all as one man,) take effectual course for the defence and clearing our Interest in the Lands aforesaid." (See also Holmes' Annals, I. 400.)

The Deed of Bristol, given by the Government of Plymouth, which is dated Sept. 14, 1680, states the compensation to be "Eleven hundred pounds of our current money of New-England;" and describing the land called "Mount Hope Neck" and Poppasquash Neck," says, "excepting only and reserving the Lands already granted to the inhabitants of Swanzea at the north end, or entrance of said Neck, (being the same as Warren,) and also the one Hundred acres of Land now belonging unto the family of Gorams,

and the meadows formerly purchased of the Indians."

Note H.—Page 93.

The ground occupied by this village, was undoubtedly the home of Massasoit, the faithful friend of the pilgrims. Ever since the time of his death, 184 years ago, tradition has represented this as the place of his general residence; and in the memory of the oldest people in this vicinity, "Massasoit's spring," near Baker's wharf, in this village, has been a time-honored place, associated with the name of that great chief. But there are copious proofs of more authentic character than simple tradition, which fully establish this fact. The arguments proving this point would here be adduced;—as it entered into the plan of this Discourse to give an extended supplementary notice of the fact that Massasoit held his residence near the spot where this Discourse was pronounced: but since this small volume has been put to press, it has been deemed desirable to illustrate the aboriginal and colonial history of this neighborhood much more at length, than was contemplated in the plan of the author; and accordingly, the subject referred to in the beginning of this Note, is reserved for a Supplement to this volume, by General Guy M. Fessenden, whose diligence and accuracy in such investigations, specially qualify him for writing the Secular History of this town. The author the more cheerfully resigns

these topics to Gen. Fessenden's department, as he is already indebted to that gentleman for several facts and suggestions presented in these pages.

Note I.—Page 118.

The following is a copy of the letter of Dismission given by the Baptist church at Scotch Plains to the church at Warren, in behalf of Mr. Manning.

The original letter, now in my possession, is signed by all the male members of that church, fourteen in number. It is presented as a happy specimen of the method of doing church business by our forefathers.

“ The church of Jesus Christ, meeting at the Scotch Plains, in the county of Essex, province of East New-Jersey, professing Believer's Baptism, Laying on of hands, Election of Grace, Effectual Calling, and Final Perseverance in Grace, &c.

To the Church of Christ of the same Faith and Order, in Warren, in the Government of Rhode-Island, do send our Christian Salutation :

DEAR BRETHREN; Whereas our Revd. and respected Br. Mr. James Manning, hath by your call removed his Residence from amongst us, and now abides with you; and hath requested of us a Letter of Dismission in order to Joyn with you, And hoping it will be more for his Comfort and your Advantage so to do: We therefore recommend him as an orderly Zealous Professor; and has been called and

regularly ordained in this Church to the Ministry of the Gospel, in which his Proficiency and Profiting has appeared to many: And we doubt not when joyn'd with you by virtue of this Dismission as he will be discharg'd from our immediate oversight, You will receive him and make use of him in Love and all the relative Duties of his important Station. We are Joyn'd in our Prayers for him and You that the glorious Head of the Church would bless you with every Gift, Grace and Prosperity, through Jesus Christ our common Lord. Amen.

November ye 25th, ano 1764.

BENJAMIN MILLER,
[and thirteen others."']

Note K.—Page 119.

COVENANT OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH,
WARREN, R. I.

Whereas we, unworthy sinners, are through the infinite riches of free grace, as we trust, brought out of darkness into the marvellous light of the Gospel, and the grace of it, transformed into the Kingdom of God's dear Son Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour, and made partakers of all those privileges which Christ purchased with his precious blood, think it our duty and greatest privilege we can enjoy here on earth, to walk in all the commandments and Ordinances, not only for our own comfort and peace, but for the manifestation of the glory of God, and for the mu-

tual help and society of each other; and as it hath pleased God to appoint a visible Church relation, to be the way and manner whereby He is pleased to communicate to his people the blessings of his presence, a growth in grace and furtherance in the knowledge of our Lord God,

We therefore, this day, after solemn fasting and prayer for help and direction, in the fear of His Holy Name and with hearts lifted up to the most high God, humbly and freely offer up ourselves a living sacrifice unto Him who is our God in Covenant, through Jesus Christ, to walk together according to his revealed word, in visible gospel relation, both to Christ our only head, and to each other as fellow members and brethren of the same household of faith.

And we do humbly engage, that through his strength we will endeavor to perform all our respective duties, towards God and each other, and to practise all the Ordinances of Christ, according to what is and shall be made known to us in our respective places, to exercise, practise and submit to the government of Christ in this Church.

And we declare that it is our mind that none are properly qualified members of this Christ's visible Church, but such as have been wrought upon by the grace of God, delivered from their sins by the Justifying Righteousness of Christ, and have the evidence of it in their souls, have made profession thereof, that is, of a living faith in Christ, and have been baptized by immersion, in the name *of the Holy Trinity.*

Further, it is our mind, that the imposition or non-imposition of hands upon believers, after baptism, is not essential to Church Communion, and that where the image of Christ is discerned, according to the rules of God's word, and those previous duties, but now mentioned are submitted to according to Gospel rules, we are ready to hold communion with all such walking orderly in the Church of Christ.

And now we humbly hope that although of ourselves we are altogether unworthy and unfit thus to offer up ourselves to God or to do him any service or to expect any favor, or mercy from him, yet that He will graciously accept of this our free-will offering, in and through the merits and mediation of our dear Redeemer, and that He will employ and improve us in his service to his own praise, to whom be all the glory both now and forever. Amen.

[The original copy of this church covenant, in the hand-writing of Dr. Manning, is now in my possession. J. P. T.]

Note L.—Page 119.

CALL OF THE CHURCH TO MR. MANNING.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST in Warren, in the Colony of Rhode-Island, Baptized upon a personal profession

of faith, holding the doctrines of Regeneration, Perseverance in grace, &c.—being constituted and organized a Church this 15th day of November, A. D. 1764, present to the Revd. James Manning, late of Nassau Hall, in New-Jersey, their Christian salutation :

Reverend and dear Sir,

INASMUCH as God in his Providence hath seen fit to give us an opportunity of being constituted a church of Christ, That we may according to the pattern showed us in the Gospel, partake of the ordinances which Christ hath left in his church, and walk together as Brethren in Christ : by his Apostles having instructed us that ordained pastors are those that are to feed his people with knowledge, and administer ordinances amongst them, we do this day unanimously request that you would accept this our call to the work of a Pastor over and amongst us, having been fully satisfied heretofore of your call and ordination in the work of the ministry in a regular church of Christ in Elizabethtown, East Jersey, under the Pastoral care of the Revd. Benjamin Miller ; And as we are of opinion that they who preach the gospel should live of the Gospel, we do here declare our intention to render your life as happy as possible by our brotherly conduct towards you, and communicating our temporal things to your necessities so long as God in his providence shall continue us together ; your acceptance hereof we humbly hope will be a ~~mean~~ ^{sign} under the divine blessing of our mutual sur-

therance and growth in grace; thus we prefer our request and subscribe your Brethren,

<p>JOHN EASTOBROOK, BENJAMIN COLE, SYLVESTER CHILD, JOHN CHILD, EBENEZER COLE, JOHN WEST, WM. EASTOBROOKE.</p>	}	<p><i>In behalf of the whole.</i></p>
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Note M.—Page 122.

The first House of Worship, built by this Society in 1764, was about 44 feet square, with a four-sided hip roof, surmounted at the top and centre with a small belfry, in which was hung a ship bell, the rope of which hung directly down in the audience room, so that when ringing, the sexton stood in the centre of the middle aisle. The style of the architecture was very plain, without tower or porch, and the building was never painted.

The front door, on the east side, led directly into the audience room: and immediately within the entrance, to the right and left, were stairs leading into the galleries. At the west side was the pulpit, with its sounding-board. This church had then introduced psalmody as a part of public worship, though even so late as in 1764, there was a divided use among the Baptist churches in New-England, some churches regarding metrical hymns, and all kinds of music, as unauthorized by the New Testament. In this church,

however, there was then no organized choir; the hymns were read off, two lines at a time, by the Deacon, and sung by the congregation. [For the facts above stated, the author is indebted chiefly to General G. M. Fessenden.]

The second Church Edifice was erected in 1784, on the spot occupied by the former, partly on the same underpinning, and extending westward about 17 feet. The vote of the Society to erect this building, stands recorded Feb. 5, 1784, when they adopted the plan by which the house was built. A building Committee, consisting of Dea. Ebenezer Cole, William T. Miller and William Barton, were appointed and authorized to negotiate with General Nathan Miller, to build the house for \$2000. It appears, however, that this sum proved too small to erect such a building with, and it was not finished, so as to be used, till in the summer of 1786. Its dimensions were 61 feet in length and 44 feet in width; it had a tower at the east and front end, 14 feet square and 44 in height.

This house at first contained 63 square pews on the lower floor, and had galleries on three sides. The pulpit at the west end, was supplied with the old fashioned sounding-board. In 1800, a steeple, forty-three feet and a half in height, was placed on the tower, making the whole height 87 1-2 feet. At the same time, the bell still in use by the Society, was placed in the tower. In the spring of 1832, the old square pews were taken up, and replaced by modern slips, making 74 on the lower floor. The organ now owned by the Society, was obtained in the autumn of the same year.

In May, 1844, this house, to make room for the stone building, was removed a little northerly, and in November of the same year, was taken down.

The present Church Edifice is erected partly on the ground occupied by the two former Houses of Worship, and partly on ground south of that location, including the land on which the original Parsonage and College building stood. Its dimensions are the following: the length of the body of the house is 84 feet, the width 70-feet, and in height, 34 feet from the ground to the outside cornice: in front is a tower, 23 feet square, 86 feet high, surmounted with a battlement, rising 8 feet and projecting out one foot. The side and end walls of the main building, are surmounted by battlements of the same order with the tower, rising about six feet from the roof. The walls of the building are constructed of dark brown and gray stone, laid in horizontal courses, technically called the "Scotch coursed rubble," the courses varying from 12 to 18 inches in height, but each course carried uniformly round the whole building.

The thickness of the tower walls at the foundation is 7 feet, brought in at the surface of the ground to 3 feet, while at the upper extremity they are reduced to 20 inches. The thickness of the main walls is 5 feet at the foundation, brought in at the surface of the ground to 2 1-2 feet, and from the audience room floor to the top, the walls are uniformly two feet thick.

The style of the Edifice is the Medium Gothic, exhibiting the outlines of that order, but without the

various forms of tracery and carved work which render that order of architecture so gorgeous and expensive. There are fourteen arched windows in the main building, each 24 feet high, five in each side, and two in each end. There are also five arched windows in the tower, two in the basement, and three in the organ room, the one in front being very large. The windows are filled with stained glass, of a variety of colors, interspersed with borders and intermediate courses of white ground glass. The effect of this glass is to throw a soft religious light over the whole interior, which, combining with the dark colors of the wood work, and the long drawn aisles, is very solemn and impressive. The pulpit is of a very peculiar construction, its floor being on a level with the tops of the pews, open at the sides, the speaking desk of a reduced size, the platform of the pulpit appropriately furnished with carpet, and with a sofa and chairs made of black walnut, and finished with crimson velvet. The pulpit is lighted by lamps placed on heavy bronzed standards. The house is lighted by four large bronzed chandeliers, each having eight burners. On the floor of the audience room are 146 pews, arranged in three double rows, with four aisles, two side, and two medial; the pews are finished in combed oak, and capped with black walnut railings, all the pews being uniformly finished, and cushioned with crimson moreen. There are also open seats on the side aisles, against the walls. There is a gallery across the building, over the vestibule, the organ room being in the tower, on a level with the gallery.

In the basement story is a lecture room capable of accommodating 500 people; a committee room; a large unfinished lumber room, and the Pastor's study, connecting by a flight of stairs, with the pulpit above. The house is warmed by two large furnaces, of the most approved construction; while ventilators are so constructed as to keep the air in the house at all times pure, and the temperature equally comfortable. The lot on which the building stands, is about 145 feet square, inclosed by a cast iron fence of ornamental picket work, surmounting a base wall of dressed granite. The front and sides of the lot are ornamented with elm trees, some of which have been growing for many years.

The whole expense involved in the erection of this building is about \$18,000. The Building Committee engaged in its construction were Messrs. S. P. Child, Lewis Hoar, J. P. Tustin, S. A. Driscoll, H. H. Luther, Charles Richmond, jun. G. M. Fessenden, and C. T. Child. The design of the building was furnished by Major Russell Warren, of Providence. The stone work was executed by Mr. William Andrews, of Providence, and the wood-work by Mr. C. S. Tompkins, of Warren. The painting, glazing, staining, &c. were done by L. Cole & Co. of Warren. The whole Building is constructed of the most substantial materials, and all the work is executed with fidelity and good taste.

Note N.—Page 122.

The following is an account of the first Commencement of the Rhode-Island College at Warren, September 7, 1769, from the Providence Gazette and Country Journal, printed by John Carter, September 9, 1769.

PROVIDENCE, SEPTEMBER 9.

On Thursday, the 7th of this instant, was celebrated at Warren, the first Commencement in the College of this Colony; when the following young gentlemen commenced Bachelors of Arts, viz: *Joseph Belton, Joseph Eaton, William Rogers, Richard Stites, Charles Thompson, James Mitchell Varnum, and William Williams.*

About ten o'clock, A. M., the gentlemen concerned in conducting the affairs of the College, together with the Candidates, went in procession to the Meeting-House.

After they had taken their seats respectively, and the audience were composed, the President introduced the business of the day with prayer; then followed a salutatory oration in Latin, pronounced with much spirit, by Mr. *Stites*, which procured him great applause from the learned part of the assembly. He spoke upon the advantages of Liberty and Learning, and their mutual dependence upon each other, concluding with proper salutations to the Chancellor of the College, Governor of the Colony, &c. particularly expressing the gratitude of all the friends of the College to the Rev. *Morgan Edwards*, who has encoun-

tered many difficulties in going to Europe, to collect donations for the Institution, and has lately returned.

To which succeeded a forensic dispute in English, on the following Thesis, viz: "*The Americans, in their present circumstances, cannot, consistent with good policy, affect to become an Independent State.*" Mr. *Varnum* ingeniously defended it by cogent arguments, handsomely dressed; though he was subtly but delicately opposed by Mr. *Williams*, both of whom spoke with emphasis and propriety.

As a conclusion to the exercises of the forenoon, the audience were agreeably entertained with an oration on *Benevolence*, by Mr. *Rogers*; in which, among many other pertinent observations, he particularly noticed the necessity which that infant Seminary stands in, of the salutary effects of that truly Christian virtue.

At three o'clock, P. M. the audience being convened, a syllogistic dispute was introduced on this Thesis: "*Materia cogitare non potest.*" Mr. *Williams* the respondent; Messieurs *Belton*, *Eaton*, *Rogers* and *Varnum* the opponents. In the course of which dispute, the principal arguments on both sides were produced towards settling that critical point.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was then conferred on the candidates. Then the following gentlemen, (graduates in other colleges,) at their own request received the honorary degree of Master in the Arts, viz: Rev. *Edward Upham*, Rev. *Morgan Edwards*, Rev. *Samuel Stillman*, Rev. *Hezekiah Smith*, Hon. *Joseph Wanton, Jun. Esq.*, Mr. *Jabez Bowen*, and Mr.

David Howell, Professor of Philosophy in said College.

The following gentlemen, being well recommended by the Faculty for literary merit, had conferred on them the honorary degree of Master in the Arts, viz: *Rev. Abel Morgan*, *Rev. Oliver Hart*, *Rev. David Thomas*, *Rev. Samuel Jones*, *Mr. John Davis*, *Mr. Robert Strettle Jones*, *Mr. John Stites*, *Rev. James Bryson*, *Rev. James Edwards*, *Rev. William Boulton*, *Rev. John Ryland*, *Rev. William Clark*, *Rev. Joshua Toulmin*, and *Rev. Caleb Evans*.

A concise, pertinent and solemn charge was then given to the Bachelors by the President, concluding with his last paternal benediction, which naturally introduced the valedictory orator, *Mr. Thompson*, who, after some remarks upon the excellences of the oratorical art, and expressions of gratitude to the patrons and officers of the College, together with a valediction to them, and all present, took a most affectionate leave of his classmates. The scene was tender—the subject felt—and the audience affected.*

The President concluded the exercises with prayer. The whole was conducted with a propriety and solemnity suitable to the occasion. The audience, (consisting of the principal gentlemen and ladies of this Colony, and many from the neighboring governments) though large and crowded, behaved with the utmost decorum.

[* The original manuscript copy of this Oration, in the handwriting of *Mr. Thompson*, is in the possession of his descendants, in this town. J. P. T.]

Not only the candidates, but even the President, were dressed in American manufactures. Finally, he observed, that *this class are the first sons of that College*, which has existed for more than four years, during all which time it labored under great disadvantages, notwithstanding the warm patronage and encouragement of many worthy men, of fortune and benevolence; and it is hoped, from the disposition which many discovered on that day, and other favorable circumstances, that these disadvantages will soon, in part, be happily removed."

Note O.—Page 124.

As early as in 1753, after various memorials and remonstrances addressed to the Government of Massachusetts, by several Baptist churches in that Colony, the spirit of intolerance, by which the "Standing Order" had exacted the ministerial Tax from the Baptists, and otherwise subjected them to very oppressive civil disabilities, was so much softened, that the Lieut. Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, passed an act, entitled, "An act in addition to an act, passed the 13th year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, An act further to exempt persons commonly called Anabaptists, within this province, from being taxed for aid towards the support of ministers." One passage of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature of that session stands thus :—

“ *Be it enacted*, by the Lieut. Governor, Council and House of Representatives, that no person for the future shall be so esteemed to be an Anabaptist as to have his poll or polls and estate exempted from paying a proportionate part of the taxes that shall be raised in the town or place where he or they belong, but such whose names shall be contained in the lists taken by the assessors, as in said act provided, or such as shall produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, and of two principal members of such church, setting forth, that they conscientiously believe such person or persons to be of their persuasion, and that he or they usually and frequently attend the public worship in such church on Lord’s days.— *And be it further enacted*, that no minister nor the members of any Anabaptist church, as aforesaid, shall be esteemed qualified to give such certificate, as aforesaid, other than such as shall have obtained from three other churches, commonly called Anabaptists, in this or the neighboring provinces, a certificate from each respectively, that they esteem such church to be one of their denomination, and that they conscientiously believe them to be Anabaptists, the several certificates as aforesaid to be lodged with the Town Clerk where the Anabaptist, (desiring such exemption,) dwells, some time betwixt the raising or granting of the tax, and the assessment of the same on the inhabitants. This act to continue to be in force for five years from the publication thereof, and no longer.”

Note P.—Page 126.

For a more detailed account of the Warren Association, the following account is presented from Benedict's History of the Baptists.

“WARREN ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in the place from which it took its name, in 1767, at which time three ministers* from the Philadelphia Association came on with a letter to encourage the measure. Only four churches at first associated, viz. Warren, Haverhill, Bellingham, and the Second in Middleborough. The delegates from six other churches were present, but they did not feel themselves ready to proceed in the undertaking. As the annual Commencement of the College had been fixed on the first Wednesday of September, the anniversary of the Association was appointed the Tuesday after. This arrangement is still observed.† The second and third sessions of this Association were held in the place where it was formed. The fourth was at Bellingham, and the fifth at Sutton, in 1771, by which time it had increased to 20 churches, and over 800 members. This year they began to print their Minutes, and have continued to do so to the present time. The two churches in Boston fell in with this establishment a few years after it was begun, but it was some time before the Providence church, which is now the oldest and largest in

* Mr. Backus has not mentioned their names. Dr. Jones and Morgan Edwards were probably two of them.

† During about twenty years past, the Association has had the first day of its meeting, on the first Wednesday instead of the first Tuesday after Commencement.

it, could be brought into its measures. The doctrine of the laying-on-of-hands was probably the principal cause of this delay. This Association for a number of years included a large circle of churches, which were scattered over a wide extent of country, in Rhode-Island, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont and Connecticut. Most of them were, however, in Massachusetts, and in process of time, Boston became not far from its centre. It has, from its beginning, been a flourishing and influential body; has contained a number of ministers of eminent standing in the Baptist connection; has successfully opposed the encroachments of religious oppression; has aided the designs of the College at Providence; has devised plans of a literary and missionary nature; and has been more or less concerned in whatever measures have had a view to the promotion of the cause of truth, of the Baptist interest in New-England, and remoter regions. By this body were presented many addresses to the rulers of Massachusetts, and some of the Continental Congress, against civil oppressions for conscience' sake; by it also were issued many publications in defence of religious freedom. It was almost constantly employed in measures of this kind, from its formation, to the close of the war, in 1783; and no small success attended its exertions."

Note Q.—Page 133.

Additional notice of the Rev. Charles Thompson, by Rev. A. Fisher, of Swanzea.

Besides the great and gracious revival of religion

under Mr. Thompson's ministry with the Swanzea church, immediately after his settlement, in 1780, there were two more revivals during his ministry with this people; one in 1789, and the other in 1801, which greatly encouraged the church and the minister. The whole number baptized by him, while minister at Swanzea, was one hundred and seventy-six. But in consequence of the re-organization of the Warren church, and the formation of other churches within the circle formerly embraced by the Swanzea church, the decrease of this church was so great, that before Mr. Thompson left, his field of labour had become very much lessened, so that when he left the church, it was not much larger than when he found it.

His support was small, so that he was obliged to labour with his own hands, keep store, and instruct scholars, to obtain *a living*. Mr. Thompson was a native of New-Jersey, having been born at Amwell, April 14, 1748. As Mr. Manning came from New-Jersey at the beginning of the Rhode-Island College in Warren, Mr. Thompson came on with him, or very soon afterwards, for the purpose of obtaining an education. After the irruption of the English troops into Warren drove Mr. Thompson with his family away from the place, he abode for a short time in Ashford, Conn. preaching at various places, until he settled in Swanzea, in 1779. Here he faithfully performed the duties of a minister of the gospel, with much success, for the period of twenty-three years, when he removed to Charlton, Mass. where he died, May 1, 1803.

In the early part of his ministry he married Miss Sally Child, daughter of Sylvester Child, of Warren, by whom he had five children, viz. William, Abby, Margaret, Sally and Charles.

Mr. Thompson was tall in person, and of a fine figure. The expression of his countenance indicated benignity and intellect. He was industrious, improving his time as if he knew its value. In his family he was kind, but firm, and the same qualities he displayed in the church and everywhere else.

As a preacher, he had a voice of great compass, of sweet and commanding tones. His feelings were deep and tender; often he wept over the people, while he uttered his voice in notes of thunder, to awaken the sinner from his sleep of death. His sermons were studied, but not generally written. He understood his own deep responsibility; he knew the account he must give to the great Judge; he felt the worth of the soul; and with emotion besought the sinner not to die. In language, he was plain and forcible; he feared not to declare the great truths of the Bible,—such as man's sinfulness and helplessness, the holiness of God's law, and the blessedness of the gospel. He clearly held up and maintained the government of God, and his election of his people to eternal life. He well understood that all his hopes of success depended on the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit. In short, he never in his preaching lost sight of the cross of Christ, in which he gloried. And while he dwelt on these glorious themes, he led his hearers to look at death, the resurrection, the final

judgment, heaven and hell. On the one hand, he portrayed the glories of heaven; and on the other, in melting but awful strains, he showed to the impenitent the agonies of the second death. Such preaching could not fail to lead the wicked to tremble, and in multitudes to flee from the wrath to come. The church he fed with the bread of life, so that under his ministry they were instructed and rendered holy.

He was also very successful in the instruction of youth; and many were the young men whom he instructed in the ways of science and of virtue. Such talents as he possessed could not be hid; he was often called to preach on public occasions, and multitudes, besides the people of his own particular church, were benefited by his faithful labors. At his death well might it be said, "A great man has fallen in Israel."

Mr. Fisher adds;—

The churches of Swanzea and Warren stand in the relation of mother and daughter. As in the order of nature, while the daughter advances from youth to womanhood, the mother becomes old and decrepid, so it is in this case.

Once, after the daughter had gone out from her mother's house, in her extremity she was received back to be cherished in her bosom. Now that the mother has become old and weak, it is hoped that the daughter will not forget the knees on which she was dandled, while the mother rejoices in her prosperity.

Note R.—Page 134.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF REV. JOHN
PITMAN.

The Rev. John Pitman was born in Boston, April 26, 1751. At the age of thirteen years, he removed with his father, to engage in mercantile business, at Beaufort, S. C. ; but after a short residence there, he returned to Boston. Though educated by religious parents, he describes himself as having early tried "to harden himself in sin, and shake off the restraints of his early education. He became profane, active in all mischief, and was surpassed by few of his companions in iniquity. In this course he continued, till some time in 1769; when He who has all power was pleased to say, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther. Then his conscience was alarmed in reality: his sins rose to his view, and the fears of eternal misery pressed upon his mind. He resolved to change his course of life, to repent and turn to God."

The subsequent exercises of Mr. Pitman's religious experience, given in extensive details in his own papers, describe the progress of a soul, having been first enlightened by the Holy Spirit to see the plague of his own heart, through all those successive acts of a work of grace, till it comes to see the excellence of Jesus Christ, the suitableness of the plan of salvation revealed in the gospel, and its final and appropriating application for a personal interest in the promised blessing,—peace in believing, and joy in the Holy Ghost. He was baptized by Dr. Stillman, Feb. 24, 1771.

Though he had become a citizen of that "kingdom which is not of this world," he loved his country, was an early advocate of its independence, and felt it his duty to maintain its rights and privileges. At the passage of the "Boston port bill," in 1774, he removed to Philadelphia, and subsequently joined a volunteer company, consisting principally of Quakers belonging to that city. During the various scenes of his military duty, and on other occasions, he not only displayed the bravery of the soldier, in a righteous cause, but in an eminent degree, that decision and attachment to the service of his Heavenly Father that gained him the esteem and respect of all his companions.

Mr. Pitman began to preach in 1777, having probably united with some church in Philadelphia, by whom he was approved as a preacher of the gospel. After he was ordained, he preached at various places in New-Jersey, from 1777 till 1781, when he again removed to the city of Philadelphia.

On Sept. 21, 1778, he was married to Rebecca Cox, daughter of Richard Cox, of Upper Freehold, N. J. While at Philadelphia, he was engaged chiefly in secular business for the support of his family, but always preached the gospel on the Sabbath, and at other times. For about five months, in the latter part of 1781, he supplied the pulpit of the First Baptist church in that city, after the church had been left without a pastor, by the secession of their former pastor, Mr. Winchester and his party, who adopted the sentiments of the Universalists. In May, 1784, he removed to

Providence, R. I. where, although he became engaged in different kinds of secular business, he devoted part of his time to the acquisition of useful knowledge in his ministerial profession, and to its several vocations. In Sept. 1785, he was appointed steward of the College, and continued in that office one year, during the greater part of which he supplied the Congregational church in Attleborough, Mass.

In Oct. 1786, he received an invitation from the Baptist church in Warren, R. I., to become their pastor, and after resigning his office in the College, removed thither with his family, and continued to officiate as their ministry till July, 1790, when he removed to Providence, and re-united with the Baptist church there.

His preaching in Warren was abundantly blessed. He was highly respected in the town, and the utmost harmony subsisted between him and the church.

In the first great revival in the Warren church in the years of 1804-5, several who were then added to the church, dated their first awakenings from his preaching. He continued to supply the Warren pulpit frequently, after his removal to Providence, till the 20th of March, 1791, when he accepted a call to officiate as minister of the Baptist church in Pawtuxet, R. I.

Mr. Pitman held his residence in Providence, and continued to preach for the church at Pawtuxet for six years, when in April of 1797, he commenced preaching for the Baptist church in the First Precinct of Rehoboth, Mass. being the same that was subse-

quently erected into a separate town, under the ancient Indian name of Seekonk.

Here he labored in the ministry with only a short interruption, the remaining part of his life. His exertions among this people were crowned with the Divine blessing. Gradual additions were frequently made to the church during his ministry; and in the year 1820, the Lord poured out his Spirit upon the inhabitants of that town, and thirty-seven were added to the church.

On Monday night, July 22, 1822, after having preached on the preceding Sabbath with unusual engagedness and solemnity, he was attacked with apoplexy, which terminated fatally on the following Wednesday, in the seventy-second year of his age. A few minutes after he was first taken, he remarked, "I shall die, and not live."

His remains were interred on the ensuing Friday, when a very appropriate sermon was delivered by Rev. William Rogers, D. D. from 2 Cor. v. 1.

A portion of Dr. Rogers' sermon at the funeral of Mr. Pitman, is to be found in the September No. of the American Baptist Magazine for 1822, in which an elevated character is given of Mr. Pitman, as a *man*, a *Christian*, and a *Minister*. In the November No. of the Magazine for the same year, is an extended and ably written biographical notice of Mr. Pitman, from which nearly all the facts in this Note are extracted, and of which, this article pretends to be a very short abridgment. The judgment of some of the oldest and most candid of Mr. Pitman's living friends,

in this town and elsewhere, has been sought by the writer; and they uniformly agree in saying that the Biography referred to in the Magazine is drawn with great candor and discrimination. Many personal recollections of interesting incidents in Mr. Pitman's history, could be supplied, by some among us, who knew and loved him well; but the brevity needful and proper for this small work, necessarily forecloses them. Mr. Pitman left a wife and three children to mourn their irreparable loss.

CONCLUSION.

No sketches have been drawn in these articles, of the pastors of this church, after Mr. Pitman, to the present time. They are all, with one exception, (Rev. Daniel Chessman) still living; and the record of their life and character more properly belongs to some future and more extended history of this church. The writer closes these records of the events and the men of former times, feeling that it will be an easy and grateful task, at some other time, to take up this history from the points where it is now left; and the materials of which must hereafter be more abundant and accessible, than the sources from which these sketches are drawn.

It is with pleasure, that in connection with this Discourse, the author can introduce within the covers of the same book, a supplementary article by General Guy M. Fessenden, who has undertaken a similar

work of exhuming the materials for the early history of this town, to what the present writer has, with respect to this church. Both these articles are designed to be like the base of an inverted cone or pyramid, wider at the foundation, and tapering to a point, narrower as we come down to the present.

SUPPLEMENT.

©

THE
HISTORY OF
WARREN, R. I.
FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES;
WITH PARTICULAR NOTICES
OF
MASSASOIT AND HIS FAMILY.

By G. M. FESSENDEN.

PROVIDENCE:
H. H. BROWN, 25 MARKET SQUARE.
1845.

P R E F A C E.

The following pages were written at the solicitation of the Author's friends, supported by his own view of the importance of such a work.

The connection of Massasoit and his immediate household, with the first settlers of New-England, constitutes an important feature in the early history of our country.

From the difficulty in obtaining correct information, respecting that distinguished aboriginal family, and especially, the place of their residence; writers, living at a distance from the scenes they describe, have been led into erroneous statements, and these errors have been copied and repeated in subsequent historical compilations.

The local residence of the writer gives him the advantage of reconciling facts and testimonies, which could not be reasonably expected of others, differently situated.

Besides making due acknowledgment for the quotations given, the writer deems it proper to observe, that he has derived much information from the following works:

Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, Holmes' Annals,

Davis' Morton's Memorials, Drake's Book of the Indians, Church's and Hubbard's Hist. of Philip's War, Old Indian Chronicle, R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., Hakluyt's Voyages, Prince's Annals, Mather's Magnalia, Bliss' Hist. of Rehoboth, Barber's Hist. Coll., Adams' and Barber's Histories of N. England, Updike's Mem. of R. I. Bar, Belknap's Am. Biog., Knowles' and Gammell's Mem. of Roger Williams, Backus' Hist. of the Baptists, Thatcher's Ind. Biog. Hubbard's Hist. N. England, Manuscripts,—Record Book of the Proprietors of Sowams, and parts adjacent, from 1653 to 1751,—Swansea Records from 1670 to 1718,—Warren Records from 1746.

Warren, August, 1845.

THE HISTORY OF WARREN.

THE early history of this town, in consequence of the lapse of time, the various national, state and town governments under which it has passed, and the diversified sources to which we are compelled to resort for information, involves difficulties of research, requiring much patience, candor and industry.

The territory, of which it is a part, since first known, has been successively under the national or subordinate jurisdiction of the Aborigines, of France, England, North and South Virginia, New Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Rhode-Island. Besides following these general changes, the town while under the Indian Sachems, was called Sō-wams in Pokanóket, until 1667, when it became a constituent part of Swanzea, Mass. which was incorporated that year. It so remained till 1746, when it was set off from Massachusetts and annexed to Rhode-Island, and including Barrington, which had been previously erected into a separate township in 1718, was incorporated into one town by the name of Warren. In 1770, the town was divided, the western part resuming

the name of Barrington, the remaining part constituting the town with its present limits.

The history of the aboriginal inhabitants of this place and vicinity, their character and condition at the time of the first visit of white men, their decline and final dispersion before the irresistible force of civilization, are full of interest. The brilliant discovery, by Columbus, of the western world, in 1492, induced the great maritime powers of Europe to send exploring vessels to this continent, with the object of acquiring territory by right of discovery. It is somewhat remarkable (as historians observe,)* that three great commercial powers should employ for that purpose, persons all of the single nation of Italy, which was not then noted for its extensive navigation. While Spain employed Columbus of Genoa, and England the Cabots of Venice, France engaged the services of Verrazzano of Florence, to which we would add, (and we are surprised at the omission) that Portugal also employed an Italian, Americus Vesputius of Florence.

Of these, the French pilot, Verrazzano, discovered and visited this vicinity. We find that Francis I. of France, in the spring of 1524, sent the ship *Dolphin* (or *Dauphin*) Capt. Verrazzano, who sailed along the coast, from South-Carolina to Newfoundland, occasionally stopping and visiting the coast, and named the

* *Holmes' Annals*, I. 55.

whole country *New-France*. On this voyage, he entered the Narragansett Bay, the account of which visit, and his description of the natives, we take from his letter to the King, after his return.* He states that he sailed from Madeira on the 17th of January, 1524, in the ship *Dolphin*, with eight months' stores and 50 men; that he made the land after steering a west course, in 50 days, and passed on along the coast northerly, until he came to Block Island. We now quote his words, as given by the translator :

“ We discoursed an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land ten leagues, about the bignesse of the Iland of Rhodes ; it was full of hils couered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast ; we gaue it the name of your Majesties mother.† And we came to another land, being 15 leagues distant from the Iland, where we found a passing good hauen, wherein being entred, we found about 20 small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings, came about our ship, comming no nearer than 50 paces towards vs, they stayed and beheld the artificialness of our ship, our shape and apparel, then they all made a loud showt together, declaring that

* Published in “*Hakluyt's Voyages*,” A. D. 1600. New Edition, Quarto, London, 1800. 3d Vol. p. 357.

† *Louisa* was the name of the mother of *Francis I.*

they reioyced ; when we had something animated them, vsing their gestures, they came so neere vs, that we cast them certaine bells and glasses, and many toyes, which, when they had received, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare, aboard our ship."

"They were dressed in deer skins wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaske, their hayre was tied vp behind with diuers knots. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions that we haue found in this our voyage ; they exceed vs in bignes, they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse, others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp, they are of sweete and pleasant countenance ;—the women are very handsome and well favoured, of pleasant countenance and comely to behold ; they are as well manered as any women, they were deeres skins branched or embroidered as the men use, there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes, they weare diuers ornaments according to the vsage of the people of the east."

"Wee bestowed 15 dayes in prouiding ourselues ; evry day the people repaired to see our ship, bringing their wiues with them, whereof they are very ielous and caused their wiues to stay in their boats, and for all the intreatie we *could make*, we could neuer obtain that they

would suffer them to come aboard our ship. There were two kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare; the eldest was about 40 yeeres of age; the second was a young man of 20 yeeres old; and when they came on board, the Queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland, a quarter of a league off." "There was a little Iland neere the ship where the men went, the woods were okes, cypresse trees, and other sorts vnknown in Europe, damson and nut trees; there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, Luzerns, and other kinds."

He then describes their boats, as made of one log, by the aid of fire, and tools of stone, and were of sufficient capacity to carry 10 or 15 men. He continues:—

"We saw their houses, made in circular forme, 10 or 12 paces in compasse, coured with mattes of straw, wrought cunningly together." "They live long and are seldom sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselves with fire, without any physitian, and they say that they die for very age."

"The mouth of the hauen lieth open to the south, half a league broad, and being entred within it, between the east and the north, it stretcheth twelve leagues, where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20 leagues in compasse, wherein are five small

Ilands, very fruitfull and pleasant; full of hie and broade trees, among the which Ilands any great nauie may ride safe. Turning towards the south, in the entring into the hauen, on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the sea." "In the midst of this entrance, there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature, apt to build any castle or fortress there." "This land is situated in the parallel of Rome, in 41 degrees and 2 terces. The 5th of May we departed."

Most writers who have noticed the discoveries of Verazzano, consider the foregoing extract as referring to Block Island and Narragansett Bay.* The latitude 41d. 40m. is given by him very correctly, considering that in those days the marine instruments for observing it, were the astrolabe, semisphere, ring and cross-staff. The general description is very accurate and disagreements are found only in some of the distances and magnitudes given by him, which are readily accounted for;—first, from the fact, that at that time a French league was seven tenths of an English mile shorter than the pres-

* Bancroft Hist. U. S. I, 15, 16; New-York Hist. Col. 1, 45-60; Belknap Am. Biog. I, 33 or 63; Moulton New-York, I, 147, 148; N. Amer. Review XIV, p. 293-311; R. I. Hist. Coll.

ent league; and also, that in writing to the King an account of his wonderful discoveries, Verazzano would naturally be likely to over estimate.

This visit constitutes the first ever made by white or civilized man to any portion of the State of Rhode-Island; nor was a second made until after the lapse of ninety-seven years, during which time the attention of the European governments was turned to the peculiarly exciting state of affairs at home, and but little was done in the way of discovery on this continent. Some settlements were attempted at the south, but mostly failed;—the eastern fishery was carried on; but there is no account of any visit, during that long period to any place in or near the territory of Rhode-Island.

The fact, we think, is fully established, that the second visit of civilized white men to any part of the State, was made to the spot now occupied by the village of Warren.

About the commencement of the 17th century, the spirit of discovery and settlement on this continent, again revived under more auspicious promises than before. In 1620, our pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth, and were soon visited by the principal Sachem of the territory between Narragansett and Massachusetts Bays, and a simple treaty entered into between the parties. This Sachem was Massasoit, who resided at the Indian village of So-

wams, in the Pokanoket territory, about 40 miles distant from Plymouth. The village or town of Sowams was situated upon the spot now occupied by Warren, and the dwelling of Massasoit was located within a few yards of the running spring near Baker's wharf.*

The region now constituting Bristol, Barrington and Warren, in Rhode-Island, with parts of Swanzea and Seekonk, in Massachusetts, was called Pokánoket by the Indians, and was the district occupied by the tribe of Wampanoags, under the immediate government of Massasoit, whose dominion, however, extended over nearly all the south-eastern part of Massachusetts, from Cape Cod to Narragansett Bay.

The comparative mildness attending the plague of 1616, in this region, the fertility of

* Massasoit's spring is situated about 80 feet from the original high water mark, on land gradually descending to the river. It is near Baker's wharf, in a public street, and in its natural state was a common but powerful spring. In consequence of making the street and wharf, and erecting buildings near the spot, and raising the land, the spring has been excavated and walled up like a well. It is now eight feet deep: at five feet from the bottom, a sluice way is left in the wall: the water never fails, but is always up, or near to this aperture, and for eleven months of the year, a stream the size of a man's arm, is running through it. Near the shore it comes to the surface, and flows into the river. The water is of a pure and excellent quality.

the soil, the uncommon facilities for fishing, and being the head tribe of the nation, and residence of the principal chief, caused Pokanoket to be more thickly settled than any other portion of Massasoit's dominions.

The hill in Bristol then called *Montop* was immediately renamed by the English *Mount Hope*: this gave a name to the whole neck, which, from the Mount to Miles's bridge in Swanzea, was known as Mount Hope neck. On this neck were three Indian villages, viz. *Montop*, located near the Mount; *Kikemuit*, around the spring of that name, and *Sowams* or *Sowamset* (pronounced S'womset) on the spot where the village of Warren now stands.

The remains of these settlements are plain to be discerned;—in this immediate vicinity, human bones are often disinterred, shells abound in the soil, and many Indian relics, consisting of warlike instruments, and implements for domestic and mechanical purposes, are frequently collected.* Around Kikemuit spring, for a space of ten acres, the soil is mixed with oyster, clam and quahaug shells, to the depth of several feet.

Some authors have located the residence of

* The writer has made a collection of curious relics of undoubted aboriginal origin, which have been found at or near where these Indian villages once stood.

Massasoit at Mount Hope; others have supposed it to have been in Barrington. The former appear to have been led into their mistake, by supposing that as Philip had for some time resided, and at last was killed, at Mount Hope, that it was, therefore, the residence of his father Massasoit, and his brother Alexander before him;—while the latter have been betrayed into their error, from a misconstruction of a note in Callender's Historical Discourse.*

* The following is the note referred to in Callender's Hist. Dis.—“Perhaps Sowams is properly the name of the river, where the two Swanzea rivers meet and run together for near a mile, when they empty themselves into the Narragansett Bay; or of a small island, where the two rivers meet, at the bottom of New Meadow Neck, so called.” R. I. Hist. Coll. IV. 84.

This note of Callender's is not, as has been supposed, his own correction of a statement made by himself, but the passage in his discourse, to which he refers, is a quotation from Clark's narrative, viz. “Sowams is the neck since called Phebe's Neck, in Barrington.” We have, therefore, the opinions of both Clark and Callender, as to the location of Sowams. They are both worthy of consideration; the former from its antiquity, and the latter from the fact of his having been the assistant minister at Swanzea, from 1728 to 1730.* These two authorities agree in placing Sowams somewhere on the shores of Warren river, no intimation having been made by either of

* Mr. Callender had an aunt buried on New Meadow Neck, on whose grave-stone is the following inscription:—“Sarah, wife to Edward Luther, Esq. daughter of Ellis and Mary Callender, of Boston. Died June 2, 1711, aged 27 years.”

The *earliest* accounts do not locate Massasoit's residence at either of those places. His dwelling is *always* stated as being at Sowamset or Pokanoket;—the latter a general name for the territory occupied by his tribe; and the former the name of the particular village of his residence.* The facts tending to prove this statement, and also that the present village of Warren was formerly Sowamset, will now be noticed.

them, as to Sowams being at Kickemuit or Mount Hope, or at any other place. At the time when they wrote, probably but very little importance was attached to the residence of Massasoit, and Winslow's narrative was probably but little known out of England, where it was published.

The small island mentioned (called *Little Island*) is about 500 feet in length by about 150 in breadth. The soil is a mere swamp; the salt grass is cut from it yearly, and this constitutes its only use. Ordinary tides nearly cover it, and extra high tides completely overflow it. Any person acquainted with the island, would at once decide, that it never was, and never could be, the residence of a human being. Of course, there is no spring of water upon it, nor is there one to be found on the southern part of New Meadow Neck.

Now if it can be established (of which we have no doubt) that Massasoit's residence was upon the east side of Warren river, then the testimony of these two authors must be considered as in favor of the location which we indicate.

* "Massasoit, they brought down to the English, (at Plymouth,) though his place was at forty miles distance, called Sowams, his country called Pokanoket."—Hubbard's *History N. E.*, p. 59.

In the summer of 1621, Governor Bradford concluded to send a deputation to Massasoit, on a friendly visit, to make him a present, to learn the exact place of his residence, to see the country, to confirm the former treaty, and to procure seed corn. Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 3d of July, 1621, Mr. Edward Winslow, subsequently Governor of Plymouth colony, Mr. Stephen Hopkins and an Indian named Squanto, Squantum or Tisquantum, for a guide, commenced their journey, and from Mr. Winslow's narrative, we can easily trace the course of their route. Their first day's travel brought them to a spot now called Titicut, a village on Taunton river, in the north-west part of Middleboro', where they passed the night. The next morning, Wednesday, July 4, they proceeded six miles by the river, on the south side, to a well-known wading place, where they crossed over, and proceeding on, arrived that afternoon at Pokanoket, the residence of Massasoit. They remained with him two nights, and the intervening day of Thursday, July 5, lodging in his dwelling. This day 'Massasoit brought two fishes that he had shot.'*

* Probably Bass, as those fish swim near the surface.—R. Williams, in his "Key," says of the Indians, "They kill Basse, (at the fall of the water,) with their arrows." And "Purchas" says, "They will with arrowes kill birds flying, fishes swimming, beasts running."

On Friday morning, July 6, before sunrise, they departed for home : they passed the following night at the same place they passed the first night out, and the next day, Saturday, July 7, arrived home, " wet, weary and surbated." They reported the distance as about 40 miles from Plymouth, speak of a number of rivers that they waded through, but not a word is said of crossing an unfordable river, especially at the close of the journey, or at their leaving, (" before sunrise") for home, which they must have done, if they crossed Warren river into Barrington. So obvious is this, that no person in this vicinity, either of Barrington or Warren, entertains the least idea that these travelers could have passed Warren river.

In March of the year 1623, Mr. Winslow was again sent on a visit to Massasoit ; he was accompanied this time by Mr. John Hamden, and an Indian named Hobbamock, for a guide. The narrative of this journey is given by Winslow more minutely than the former, both of which were originally published in London in 1622 and 1624, respectively, and have been correctly republished, for the first time, in 1841, by Rev. Alexander Young, in his work entitled, "Chronicles of the Pilgrims." The incidents of this expedition to Sowamset in Pokanoket, possessing greater interest than the former, and bearing directly upon the points to be estab-

lished in this investigation, will here be transcribed almost entire.* It commences ;—

“ News came to Plymouth that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity ; therefore it was thought meet, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom ; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch. To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure, the Dutch tongue, the Governor again laid this service upon myself, having one Master John Hamden for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket.† The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Conbatant’s country.‡ There they told us that Massasowat was dead, and that day buried ; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get

* The points of abridgment are not marked in this extract from Winslow’s Journal.

† Now Middleborough, Mass.

‡ This ferry was across Taunton river.

thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank, but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. Considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst, his dwelling place, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the Sachims thereabout, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course [which] might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst. In the way, Hobbamock brake forth into these speeches: "My loving sachim, my loving sachim! Many have I known, but never any like thee." And turning him to me, said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he ofttimes restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech with signs of unfeigned sorrow.

At length we came to Mattapuyst; and went to the sachim's place; but Conbatant, the sa-

chim, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The sachim's wife gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massasowat; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before sunsetting, the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon, the Dutchman departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, Who was come? They told him. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he

said twice, " Art thou Winslow ?" I answered, yes. Then he doubled these words, " O Winslow, I shall never see thee again." Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massasowat that the Governor sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good, and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him ; which he desired ; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, &c. on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it ; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, after which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desiring to drink, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour, this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after, his sight began to come to him, which gave him and us good encouragement. I inquired how he slept, and they said he slept not in two days before. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way,

in breaking a bottle of drink, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter.

He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this, his sight mended more *and more*; also he took some rest; insomuch

as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation.

That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me. After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could. So I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered. So we returned forthwith, and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time.

About an hour after, he began to be very sick, cast up the broth, and began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Concluding now he would die, they asked me what I thought of him. I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life; for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted.—Not long after, his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours. When he awaked, I washed his

face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But on a sudden, he chopped his nose in the water, and drew up some thereof, and sent it forth again with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope; but we perceived it was but the tenderness of his nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed.

Many, whilst we were there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place not less than an hundred miles. To all that came, one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw. Upon this, his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately revealed the plot before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us, saying himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform

the Governor thereof, at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him ; who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves for our labor and love ; the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, through the earnest request of Conbatant, who till now remained at Sawaams, or Puckanokick, we lodged with him at Matapuyst. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them. The day following, in our journey, Hobbamock told me of the private conference he had with Massasowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, as I showed before ; which having done, he used many arguments himself to move us thereunto. That night we lodged at Namasket, and the day following arrived at home."

Although these narratives sufficiently establish the locality of Sowams, and therefore the residence of Massasoit, we can refer to other portions of history, corroborative of them.

Tradition, confirming our conclusion, is yet extant among the people of Warren ; elderly persons now living, quote their predecessors as having received this testimony, from the first white people who settled in this vicinity. A map of New-England, originally published in 1677, republished in 1826 and prefixed to Davis' edition of Morton's Memorial, although

very imperfect in many respects, has a crown marked upon it, evidently to denote the residence of the principal Sachem. This crown is not placed on the seaward end of Mount Hope, or any other Neck, nor is it on the west side of Warren river, but exactly where Warren stands.

In the "judgment" of the Court of Commissioners, held in Providence, to decide the boundary question between Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, dated June 30, 1741, is this passage: "That the place where the Indian called King Philip lived, near Bristol, was called Pauconoket, and that another place near Swanzea, was called Sowams or Sowamsett." From this extract it is evident that Sowams was between Bristol and Swanzea, and nearest the latter;—as these two townships adjoin, and a point near the division line would seem to be intended; which is precisely where we decide it to have been.

Mr. Morse, in the first volume of his Geography, 5th octavo edition, 1805, in a description of Warren, expressly states, "This was also the dwelling place of Massasoit, afterwards called Osamequin, an Indian Sachem, who was the great friend of the Plymouth pilgrims in the infancy of their settlement. His spring, near the margin of the river, still bears his name."

The Rev. Alex. Young, from whose book, "*Chronicles of the Pilgrims*," the preceding

narrative of Winslow's Journal is extracted, expressly states on page 208, where Winslow describes his arrival at the residence of Massasoit, "They arrived at Warren, R. I."

From the foregoing, and other historical writings, the following statements may be considered as established facts:

1. That the Indians invariably gave names to all varieties of land and water, as necks, hills, rivers, springs, villages, countries, &c.*

2. That the first settlers generally retained those names, however uncouth, until the places named were occupied by the English, and often after.

3. That "Mount Hope" had a name, and although it was known for many years previous to 1676, while in actual possession of the natives, yet no Indian name has ever been mentioned except *Mont-haup*, and therefore that was its Indian name.†

4. That *Mont-haup* was readily *Anglicised*, and for no other reason, the English, at once, called it Mount Hope.

5. That in consequence, the whole neck, including Bristol and Warren village, was called Mount Hope neck, Mount Hope lands, &c.

6. That "*Pokanoket*" was a name for the territory occupied by the Wampanoags, includ-

*R. I. Hist. Soc. ed. of Callender's Hist. Disc.p.88.

† It was called Mount Hope at least as early as 1662. Mort. Mem. 287.

ing Bristol, Warren, Barrington in R. Island, and parts of Swanzea and Seekonk, Mass.‡

7. That there was a place in Pokanoket, called *Sowams*, or *Sowamset*, and that was the place of Massasoit's residence.‡

8. That Pokanoket and Sowams are spoken of, by the earliest writers, synonymously, as being the residence of Massasoit; but Mount Hope and Kikemuit, are neither so spoken of, but the contrary is plainly the fact respecting them.§

9. That in going to Sowams twice and back; Mr. Winslow mentions crossing, and particularly describes, Taunton river; that he left Massasoit's residence once "before sunrising," and arrived there once "late within night," yet he says nothing of crossing a deep, wide, rapid and unfordable river, just at the termination of his journey out; and that therefore he did not cross Warren river, and consequently, Sowams was not in Barrington.

10. The Indian name for the southern part of Barrington neck was *Popanomscut*, while the northern part was called *Wannamoisett*; *Sowams* therefore could not have been in Barrington.

11. That Massasoit lived "some five or six miles" from Mattapuyst (Mattapoiset, or Gardner's Neck, in Swanzea) that Mount Hope is

‡ Mort. Mem. 55.

§ Mort. Mem. 169.

nine miles from Mattapoiset; and therefore, Mount Hope was not Sowams.

12. That Kikemuit was on Kikemuit river; that said river is shoal, difficult and dangerous of access to a stranger, hardly suitable for sloop navigation, and only then at high water; therefore a "Dutch ship" and a stranger would not and could not sail up it; that Kikemuit was its original Indian name, and therefore not Sowams.

13. That Sowams was on Sowams river; (now Warren river, on the opposite side of the town from Kickemuit river) which river is navigable for ships of 500 tons to Warren; the channel being crooked, a "Dutch ship" might readily, at that time, have run aground.

14. That Massasoit lived where a Dutch ship run aground "right before his dwelling;" and therefore it was Warren river, and not Kikemuit river, that the Dutch ship went up.

15. That if Winslow, who is peculiarly minute in his descriptions, had gone to Mount Hope, he would have described that remarkable elevation; his not mentioning it, is proof that he did not visit it.

16. That the Indians always settled around running springs, and therefore Massasoit did the same; and that the spring and location we decide as having been his, are in every respect suitable, the former sending out a large stream

of pure water, the latter attractive and well adapted as a place of residence.*

17. That the only spot that conforms to all the conditions of the testimony, that reconciles all the different statements, and that agrees with all the ancient descriptions (especially those of Winslow) of Massasoit's residence, is at the spring called Massasoit's spring, near Baker's wharf, in Warren.

This town being the residence of the principal Sachem, was the place first occupied by the English, of any in the State. Four years before Roger Williams settled upon the Mooshausick, or Blackstone upon the Sneehtacqnet, and six years before Coddington upon Aquidneck, an English house was established in the year 1632, and Englishmen resided (probably for trade) at Sowamset. In Gov. Winthrop's journal is the following statement :

“ April 12, 1632. The Governor received
“ letters from Plymouth, signifying that there
“ had been a broil between their men at Sowamset and the Narragansett Indians, who
“ set upon the English house there, to have taken Owsamequin, the Sagamore of Packanocott, who fled thither, with all the people, for
“ refuge; and that Capt. Standish being gone thither, to relieve the three English which
“ were in the house, sent home in all haste for

* *Young's Chron. Pil.* p. 207.

“ more men and other provisions, upon intelligence that Canonicus, with a great army, was coming against them; on that, they wrote to our Governor for some powder, to be sent with all possible speed; for it seemed they were unfurnished. Upon this, the Governor presently despatched away the messenger with so much powder as he could carry, viz. 27 pounds. The messenger returned and brought a letter from the Governor (Bradford) signifying that the Indians were retired from Sowamsett to fight with the Pequots.”

Capt. Standish remained some time at Sowamsett; for Gov. Winthrop received a letter from him at that place, on May 1.

The location of Warren being ascertained to have been the place of Massasoit's residence, it is rendered proper that some notice should here be given of the character and history of a man, who, though a heathen, proved himself true to the dictates which the light of nature suggested. He possessed all the elements of a great mind and a noble heart. With the advantages of civilized life, and the light which a pure Christianity would have supplied, he might have achieved a brilliant destiny, and occupied a high niche in the temple of fame. This chief never has had full justice done to his character.* In all the memorials of Indian

* Trumbull, Ind. Wars, p. 43, says of Massasoit, “ He seems to have been a most estimable man. He

character which have come down to us, Massasoit's character stands above reproach. No one has ever charged him with evil. Other Indian chiefs appear on the page of history, as noted for some one great act, or distinguishing quality, mostly of a warlike, but occasionally of an amiable or benevolent nature; yet after a brief space, betrayed into some act of weakness, or guilty of cruelty and want of fidelity. But from the time when Massasoit repaired to Plymouth, March 22, 1621, to welcome the Pilgrims and to tender to them his friendship, till the time of his death, in 1661, a period of more than forty years, when the Pilgrims were weak and defenceless, encountering sickness, want and death, when at almost any moment Massasoit could have exterminated them, in no one instance did he depart from those plain engagements of treaty which he made when he plighted his faith to strangers. He was not only their uniform friend, but their protector, at times when his protection was equivalent to their preservation. It was well for the Pilgrims that Massasoit lived between them and the powerful tribe of the Narragansetts, under Canonicus, on the western side of the Bay, who early showed a determination to attack and expel them, and were prevented only by Massasoit.

was just, humane and beneficent, true to his word, and in every respect, an honest man."

A suitable character is also given him in *Thatcher's Ind. Biog.* Vol. I, pp. 132—140.

There can be no doubt, that the faithful character and the unusually amiable disposition of Massasoit, combined with the singular sickness which so extensively prevailed among the Indians between Narragansett Bay and Cape Cod, in 1617, were preparations made by Divine Providence for the reception of the Pilgrims.

The only account of the personal appearance of Massasoit, which we have, is found in Davis' edition of Morton's Memorial, p. 66. "The king is a portly man, in his best years, grave of countenance, spare of speech." The exact time of his death is unknown;* but from certain historical facts, it is rendered quite certain that he died some time in the autumn of 1661. Assuming his age, at the arrival of the pilgrims, to have been about 40 years, (he being "a portly man, in his best years,") he must have been upwards of 80 at his decease. Some years previous to his death, he associated Mooanam, alias Wamsutta, alias Alexander, with him in his government; and in the few last years of Massasoit's life, we notice that Alexander acts occasionally in his own name.

* Published documents prove Massasoit to have been alive in May, 1661, and very probably so late as in September of the same year. (See Drake's Book of Indians, Art. Uncas; and Thatcher's Ind. Biog. Vol. I, p. 291) and on the 13th of Dec. 1661, we find by a letter of Roger Williams, that Massasoit was dead: under that date he writes,—“Ousamaquin, the Sachem aforesaid, also deceased.” Knowles' Mem. Rog. Williams, p. 406.

The pilgrim fathers entertained the greatest regard for Massasoit, and the account of their reception of him at his first visit is curious and interesting. On Thursday, the 22d of March, 1621, only 101 days after the pilgrims had landed at Plymouth, Massasoit, accompanied by his brother Quadequina, and sixty of his warriors,—all armed with bows and arrows, their faces painted “some, black, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses and other antic works; some had skins on them and some naked: all strong, tall men in appearance,”—approach Plymouth, in order to form a friendly league. Having first sent word to the English of his coming, he suddenly made his appearance with his warriors, in imposing array, upon a hill, (now called Watson’s hill) a short distance from the new settlement. In the rear of the hill, is seen the valley through which Massasoit wound his way, in order not to be seen until he arose upon the hill and arranged his company of picked men, in the best manner to impress the pilgrims. Immediately the pilgrims essayed to make a show, to produce an effect upon the barbarians; but, alas! sickness and death had spread such havoc among them, in that most distressing winter, that nearly half of their number were now no more, and of the remaining number, few were prepared for any pressing emergency. But a crisis had now come, and something must be *done*. First of all, Edward Winslow went to

the imposing company of heathen strangers, carrying a pair of knives, a chain and a jewel for Massasoit, and a knife and jewel for his brother ; also a pot of strong water, with some biscuit and butter for a treat, which were readily accepted. Winslow remaining as a hostage, Massasoit with twenty unarmed men, descended the hill, towards the pilgrims. Capt. Standish mustered his company ; but so reduced had they become at this time, that only six musketeers composed it. The captain made his best display ; deep-toned orders were given, followed by facings and wheelings, and handling of matchlocks.* Shade of Baron Steuben ! we have been accustomed to refer to you as the *ne plus ultra* of old fashioned tactics ; but the style of those used on this occasion, was a century and a half old in your day !—Capt. Standish marched with his company to the brook at the foot of the hill, to meet Massasoit, and gave him a military salute, which was politely responded to ; the distinguished visitor was then conducted to an unfinished building, hastily

* The musket, at that time, was the matchlock ; the lighted match was attached to a spring ; to fire the piece, the pan called the "touch pan" was previously opened, and on springing the match, its lighted end would be brought in contact with the powder in the pan. Matchlock muskets were first used in 1521. Bayonets were first attached to muskets about 1630. Flint locks were first used about 1700.

prepared with "a green rug and three or four cushions" Then Gov. Carver approached, followed by the band, consisting of a drum and a trumpet, and the military company. The governor and the king saluted each other by kissing hands, when Carver took a seat and called for "strong water" and "fresh meat," of which they all partook, and then proceeded to treat of peace and mutual protection. A plain and short treaty was agreed upon and signed, which was afterwards *kept* for fifty years. After signing the treaty, Gov. Carver conducted his guest back to the brook, and took leave of him. Then Quadequina and others came down the hill, were received and treated in the same manner, and then dismissed.

The place of Massasoit's residence having been ascertained, it becomes an inquiry of peculiar interest, to know something concerning his family. His family was numerous, consisting, so far as is known, besides his wife, of two brothers, Quadequina and Akkompoin; three sons, Mooanum, alias Wamsitta, alias Alexander; Pometacom or Metacom, alias Philip, and a son named Sunconewhew; a daughter, of whose name we are ignorant; Alexander's wife, Namumpum or Weetamoe, Philip's wife, Wootonekanuske, and Philip's son.

QUADEQUINA "was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance." (Young's Chron. Pil. 195.) We have already mentioned his visit to the Pilgrims on March

22d, 1621, with Massasoit ; he appears to have filled some high station in his brother's government. On Sept. 13, 1621, he, with eight other principal men, signed a "Treaty of Amity" with the Pilgrims.

AKKOMPOIN, is best known in history as counsellor to king Philip, in his war ; his name is occasionally seen attached to deeds of land, made by Philip. It is also found on several treaties made by Philip with the English ; among which were those made at Plymouth, August 6, 1662 ; at Taunton, April 10, 1671, and Plymouth, Sept. 29, 1671. In the year 1668, Philip and "Uncompawen" claimed a part of New Meadow Neck in Barrington, upon the ground that it was not included in the grand deed of 1653, made by Massasoit and Alexander. "Although it appears," says the record at Plymouth, "pretty clearly so expressed in said deed, yet that peace and friendship may be continued, Capt. Willett, Mr. Brown, and John Allen, in behalf of themselves and the rest," agreed to give Philip and Uncompawen the sum of £11 in goods (Drake III, 15.)

On Sunday the 30th of July, 1676, twenty Bridgewater men, learning that Philip, with his officers, warriors, wife and son, were prowling about in their vicinity, proceeded to hunt for him ; they came upon a party of the enemy at "a certain place" upon Taunton river, attacked and killed ten of them, one of whom was Akkompoin.

MOOANAM, alias Wamsitta, alias Alexander, the eldest son of Massasoit, and his heir apparent, was associated with his father in the Wampanoag government for a number of years previous to his father's decease. The deed of 1653 was made in the joint names of himself and Massasoit. Alexander married Weetamoe, "queen of Pocasset."

In 1662, soon after the death of Massasoit, Wamsitta and his brother Metacom, repaired to Plymouth, and "professing great respect," requested that English names might be given them, when the Court named them respectively, Alexander and Philip. Soon after this, Gov. Prince of Plymouth, learning that Alexander was plotting rebellion against the English, sent Major Winslow with ten armed men, to take him and bring him down to Plymouth, to answer to the charge; on arriving there, he was taken sick, returned home, and died in a few days.

Thus Alexander became Chief Sachem and died within a year, and was succeeded in the sachemship by

POMETACOM, or Metacom, alias Philip.

Few of the aboriginals occupy so conspicuous a position in history, as this noted chief. "King Philip's war" has immortalized his name, and although one hundred and seventy years have since passed away, it is yet a subject of frequent and common remark. He married Wootonekanuske, own sister to Weet-

amoe, his brother Alexander's wife. Of her we know nothing, only that she was taken prisoner by Col. Church, on the 31st of July, 1676.

In 1665, Philip, according to an Indian law or custom in such a case, with an armed force, repaired to Nantucket, to kill an Indian named Assasamcogh, who had spoken disrespectfully of his father Massasoit. The Indian fled, but Philip would not leave the island until the English had paid a large ransom for him. (Nine years after, that same Indian was a preacher to a native church of 30 members.)

From his contiguity of residence, Philip was intimate with the first settlers of Warren. In 1669, he sold to Hugh Cole and others, 500 acres of land in Swanzea. This tract was on the west side of Cole's river, which took its name from Mr. Hugh Cole, who resided thereon previous to 1675. At the breaking out of the Indian war, two of Hugh Cole's sons were made prisoners by the Indians and taken to Philip's head-quarters, at Mount Hope. Philip, from his friendship for their father, sent them back with a message, that he did not wish to injure him, but as his younger warriors might disobey his orders, advised him to repair to Rhode-Island for safety. Mr. Cole immediately made ready and started with all his family. They had proceeded but a short distance, when he beheld his house in flames. After the war, Mr. Cole returned and located on the east side

of Towiset Neck, on Kikemuit river, in Warren. The farm, and the well he made in 1677, are yet in possession of his lineal descendants. Philip also performed a similar act of kindness in protecting the family of Mr. James Brown, one of the constituent members of the Swanzea church.

On the 12th of August, 1676, King Philip was surprised and killed by Col. Church, at a little knoll on the south-west side, at the foot of Mount Hope. Church had him beheaded and quartered; his head and scarred hand he gave to *Alderman*, the Indian who shot him, to exhibit through the country. The remains of his corpse were left suspended from four different trees.

NAMUMPUM, alias Weetamoe, Queen of Pocasset (now Tiverton) was the wife of Alexander; and from all accounts she was an arrogant and consequential woman. Several times she entered complaints at Plymouth Court, against her husband, mostly on account of his not paying her the portion of proceeds of lands which she claimed. She lived on a hill a little north of Howland's ferry bridge. After the death of Alexander, we find her the wife of Peter Nannuit, who was the first person to inform Col. Church of the certainty of war, and that Philip had promised his men that the next Lord's day, when the people were at church, they might commence killing cattle, &c. In the war of 1675, Weetamoe and her husband were at va-

riance, she taking sides with the Indians, and he fighting under Col. Church against her people. At the commencement of the war, she was driven from her own territory by Col. Church; and not long afterwards, we hear of her by the celebrated Mrs. Rowlandson (wife of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson) who was taken captive at the burning of Lancaster by the Indians, on the 10th Feb. 1676. In the narrative of her captivity, she states that she was purchased by a Narragansett chief, named Quinnapin (nephew to Miantonomo) who had three wives, one of whom was Weetamoe, whom she (Mrs. Rowlandson) served as a slave. She observes, "A severe and proud dame she was; bestowing every day, in dressing herself, near as much time as any of the gentry of the land;—powdering her hair and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears, and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads." On a particular occasion, Mrs. R. says she was dressed in "a kersey coat, covered with girdles of wampum. Her arms from her elbows to her hands, were covered with bracelets; there were handfuls of necklaces about her neck, and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes, her hair powdered, and her face painted red, that was always before black."

Weetamoe finally returned with Philip to

the vicinity of her former home, and on the 6th of August, 1676 (six days before Philip was killed) fleeing towards her home in Pocasset, before a party of Englishmen, who were out in pursuit of herself and her company, she arrived at Mattapoiset, and attempting to cross over to Pocasset on a raft, she failed in her effort, and was drowned, and her body washed ashore at Mattapoiset, where the English discovered it, and cut off the head, which they carried to Taunton, and stuck upon a pole, without knowing (as Cotton Mather says) whose head it was; but some Indian prisoners there saw it, and "made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, and fell into such hideous howlings as can scarce be imitated, crying out that it was their queen's head." What became of Peter Nannuit, the second husband of Weetamoe, we know not; but her last husband, Quinnapin, was taken prisoner, carried to Newport, tried by a Court Martial on the 24th of August, 1676, and shot the next day.

SUNCONEWHEW, was the third son of Massasoit. Of him we know but little. His name appears attached to a deed given by Philip, March 30, 1668, confirming the sale of the town of Rehoboth, made by his father in 1641. The signature is, "the mark of S. Sunconewhew, Philip's brother."

The *Daughter of Massasoit*. Of her, but little is known. Philip gives as a reason, in a letter to Gov. Prince, why he did not visit Ply-

mouth, that his "sister is verey sik." The letter is supposed to have been written about the year 1663. (Mass. Hist. Coll. 2d vol.) On Sunday, the 30th of July, 1676, she was taken prisoner by a company of Bridgewater soldiers, in the same skirmish in which her uncle Akkompion was killed.

The son of Philip, is the last person of the family we shall notice. His name is not given, but his fate is. Mrs. Rowlandson states, that during her captivity, she was requested by Philip to make some clothes for his son, for which he paid her. He was nine years old when he was taken prisoner, by Colonel Church, on the 31st of July, 1676, and carried to Plymouth. It became a question of great importance, as to what should be done with this son of Philip. The English doubtless considered that much more danger was to be apprehended from the son of Philip, than from any other of their prisoners, of whom they had many on hand, and among them was Philip's wife, the mother of the boy. We hear of no discussion as to the disposal of any but of him. It was obvious, that whatever punishment was inflicted upon him, could be only on account of his father's sins. As usual on doubtful occasions, the English sought the opinions of the clergy, to solve this question, which to them was so intricate. The replies of several ministers are extant, and were, on the whole, in favor of sparing the boy's life. Their decision

was founded upon the rule laid down in Deut. 24 : 16 ; and 2d Chron 25 : 4. He was finally shipped off, with a great number of his countrymen, in the spring of 1677, and sold into slavery, either in Spain, Bermuda or the West-Indies.

The village of Sowamset, having been the place of Massasoit's residence, was visited by Edward Winslow, shortly after the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth ; and about nine years afterwards by Miles Standish, and others, who had ventured to open there a trading establishment with the Indians. This spot had therefore probably become somewhat familiar, at a very early period, to the people of Plymouth, in their associations with Massasoit and his numerous subjects.

Accordingly, it seems most probable that the place now occupied by the village of Warren, was visited by Roger Williams, before any other part of the present territory of Rhode-Island. Mr. Williams had openly and fearlessly advanced his great doctrines of civil and religious freedom, shortly after his arrival in this country ; and his opposition to the prevailing opinions of his contemporaries at Boston and Salem, brought down upon him the stern visitation of the secular power, which these puritans had always thought, should be employed for the support and defence of religion. The views of Mr. Williams being so utterly uncongenial

with those of his puritan brethren, on matters of "soul liberty," and the personal accountability of each man for his religious opinions to his Maker alone, he was already disposed to leave the settlement at Salem, and seek an asylum for himself and friends, even before the last act of persecution was passed, which banished him from the colony. Several facts render it distinctly evident, that he had for some time before, contemplated a removal from Salem, to Massasoit's vicinity. We shall give a few prominent facts bearing upon the case, and express opinions which we think are fairly deducible from the premises.

Gov. Winthrop's journal gives an account of Mr. Williams' trial, and his sentence of banishment. He says,—“He had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narragansett Bay.” “A pinnace was sent (from Boston) to carry him aboard the ship, but when they came to his house, they found he had been gone three days before; but whither, they could not learn.” Between the time of Mr. Williams' departure from Salem, in the middle of January, 1636, till the last of the following April,—a period of about 100 days,—it is remarkable that there is no record of his situation, how or where he passed all that intervening time. A majority of writers on this subject, express their belief that he passed that

time in part with his old friend Massasoit, which of course must have been in the village of Sowams.

Several passages in Mr. Williams' letters, as well as in other authorities; prove that while contemplating a removal from Salem, previous to the act of his banishment, he had consulted Gov. Winthrop on the subject, had mortgaged his house, in order to raise funds and make suitable preparation; that his mind was directed towards Massasoit's neighborhood as a place of abode, and that he left Salem deliberately, and not in flight, as a fugitive before the immediate pursuit of a sheriff.

In a letter of Mr. Williams to Maj. Mason, dated Providence, 22d June, 1670, he says, "Gov. Winthrop privately wrote me to *steer my course* to the Nahigonset Bay." "I *steered my course* from Salem (though in winter snow, which I feel yet) unto these parts." "I was sorely *tossed* for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean."

In the same letter he again speaks of Gov. Winthrop as "my true friend Mr. Winthrop, the first mover of my coming into these parts." In a letter to the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1654, he says, "Upon the express advice of your ever honored Mr. Winthrop, deceased, I first adventured to begin a plantation among the thickest of these barbarians."

Most writers* on this subject have thought that Mr. Williams came on foot from Salem to Massasoit's residence, and account for the fourteen weeks after his banishment, on the supposition of his being a large part of that time, a fugitive in the wilderness. Mr. L. Bliss, Jr. in the History of Rehoboth, says, "His journey was by water, in the very heart of winter; and after suffering incredible hardships, from cold, and hunger and fatigue, for fourteen weeks, he arrived and pitched his tent at Seekonk." Various extracts from Mr. Williams' letters and depositions, exhibit expressions which show that he had friendship and regard about equally, for Massasoit, Canonicus, and Miantonomo. In one of his letters, he says, "In gifts to Ousamequin, yea, and all his, and to Canonicus, and all his, tokens and presents, many years before I came in person to the Narraganset, and when I came I was welcome to Ousamequin, and to the old prince Canonicus." In another letter he says, "I mortgaged my house in Salem, for supplies to go through." In a letter or deposition, dated "Providence, 13, 10, 61, so called," (13th of Dec. 1661) he states, "I testify and declare, that at my first coming into these parts, I obtained the lands of Seekonk of Ousamequin." From this deposition, it is rendered certain, that in whatever way Mr. Williams traveled from Salem,

* Knowles, Bancroft, Gammell.

he came first to Massasoit, and obtained his permission to settle at Seekonk. The peculiar phraseology in some of Mr. Williams' letters, obliges us to agree with Mr. Bliss, in the statement that he came by water, but it is incredible that he would be fourteen weeks on the passage. We know that Roger Williams was an excellent boatman;* but we do not find him using the terms and phrases of seafaring life on other occasions, except when the subject matter of his remarks has something of a marine character; and there is too much of this seafaring language in his letter to Major Mason, to suppose it merely as a figure of speech.†

The probability of Mr. Williams' having visited Massasoit by water, in his wandering from Salem, is greatly confirmed by considering that the only mode of transportation at that time, was by water. Boats frequently came from Massachusetts to Narragansett Bay, on trading voyages for corn, &c. Doubtless Mr. Williams had a long and tedious passage from Salem, and suffered much from the inclemency of the weather.

* Mr. Williams when 73 years of age, rowed himself in a boat from Providence to Newport, in one day, the 8th of January, 1673, a distance of 30 miles.—Knowles, p. 338.

† Besides the seamen's phrases above, Mr. Williams says to Major Mason, "I should not be molested and *tossed up and down* again."

After the arrival of Mr. Williams at the residence of Massasoit, he probably spent his time in exploring this vicinity of country, seeking an eligible site for his new settlement. It is with feelings of peculiar interest we reflect upon the time that Roger Williams was a guest of Massasoit, probably nearly all of the months of February and March of 1636, when Sowams was a thriving Indian village, the river banks dotted with Indian huts, and these native lords of the soil lived free from all the restraints of civilized and conventional life. We may imagine Roger Williams, accompanied by Massasoit, traveling about both by land and by water, visiting the many beautiful spots in the vicinity of Warren, and then returning to the hospitable dwelling of the chief. Massasoit, loved by his tribe, and the fame of Williams as the friend of the Indians having preceded him, both of them would be met and hailed wherever they went, with expressions of love and respect.

It was doubtless at this time, that Mr. Williams acquired that intimate knowledge of places, which enabled him, two years after, when John Clarke and others, seeking a place to found a settlement, called on him for advice, to direct their attention to the most eligible places, and he "readily presented two places before them, in the Narragansett Bay, the one on the main, called Sowwams, and Aquetneck, now Rhode-Island."

Having ascertained the town of Warren as the place of Massasoit's residence, and alluded to the various changes of ownership and government, to which this region of country has been subjected, we now propose to give a connected account of the several towns which were partitioned off from this vicinity of Massasoit's territory.

Rehoboth was the first permanently settled town in this immediate neighborhood. The Rev. Samuel Newman, with a large part of his congregation from Weymouth, and a number of persons from Hingham, settled upon a certain tract of land about ten miles square, in 1644, which they had previously purchased from Massasoit, in 1641. This first purchase then called Rehoboth, now constitutes the present towns of Rehoboth, Seekonk and Pawtucket, in Mass. The inhabitants of Rehoboth, afterwards at different times, made other purchases of lands lying contiguous to their town, from the Indians: and over these new purchases, as they became inhabited, the jurisdiction of Rehoboth was extended by act of the Plymouth Government. From these various purchases, several of the adjoining towns, including Warren, which were subsequently erected, were wholly or in part, partitioned off.

The second Rehoboth purchase of land, was Wannamoiset, in 1645, which now constitutes the northwestern part of Barrington Neck.

The third regular purchase, was of "Sowams

and Parts Adjacent.”* This embraced Barrington Neck, called by the Indians *Popanomscut*, being the southeastern part of that town ; and all the meadows around the various and several shores of Bristol, Warren, and New-Meadow Neck. These meadows or grass lands, included in this purchase, embraced a strip or border of land of unequal width, (as wide as the salt grass would grow from the river,) running all around the several Necks, viz, New-Meadow, Mount Hope, Popasquash, and both sides of Kikemuit river.

The fourth regular purchase, called the “ Rehoboth North Purchase,” was made of Wam-

* Although the Deed of this third purchase embraced all of Barrington Neck, called *Popanomscut*, the notoriety of Massasoit's residence rendered it sufficient at that time, to call all the tract by the general name of “ Sowams and Parts adjacent.” The whole of Barrington was allotted, taken up, and settled, under its original Indian names ; but *Sowams* is never mentioned as being on the west side of Warren river. In the Record Book of the “ Proprietors of Sowams and Parts adjacent,” Warren river is called *Sowams river*. (Page 11, under date of June 29, 1653.) In other places, in the same book, under various dates, the *Northwestern part of Barrington* is called *Wannamoissett* : the *Southeastern part* coming up to the line of the former, is called *Popanomscut* ; the extreme point, subsequently named *Rumstick*, is called *Chachapacasset* : *New Meadow Neck*, is first called by that name, June 29, 1653 : *Mount Hope Hill* and *Mount Hope Neck* are applied to those places, first under dates in 1651.

sitta alias Alexander, in 1661. This tract embraces what are now the towns of Attleborough, Mass., Cumberland, R. I., and a small part belonging to the present town of Rehoboth.

The town of *Seekonk* was taken from Rehoboth, and incorporated as a separate town in 1812, under its ancient Indian name of Seekonk. *Pawtucket* in Mass. was taken from Seekonk, and incorporated as a separate town in 1828. *Attleborough* was taken from Rehoboth and incorporated in 1694. *Cumberland* was taken from Attleborough, and incorporated in 1746. In 1667, *Swansea* was incorporated, and it then included Wannamoiset, all the rest of Barrington, with Somerset, Mass. and Warren, R. I. *Barrington* was separated from Swansea, and first incorporated in 1718; but in 1746, was included in the charter by which Warren was incorporated. *Somerset* was separated from Swansea, and incorporated in 1790. While it constituted a part of Swansea it was called the "Shawamet purchase."

We now come to the incorporation of Warren in 1746.

The question of the boundary line between Rhode-Island and Massachusetts, had been contested at various times, by different parties, ever since 1664, until 1729, when the Rhode-Island Legislature appointed commissioners, to act with others from Massachusetts, and were authorized to ascertain and settle the disputed line. Nothing having been accomplished by

this attempt, Gov. Wanton of R. I. in 1734, sent a petition to the King to have the question settled, which was replied to in 1738. This reply proposed a commission, to be appointed by the crown from the other colonies.

But to "save cost and altercation," both parties agreed to make another effort to settle the disputed question by mutual arbitration, without resorting to a higher tribunal. Even so early as in 1733, both of the rival Provinces, by acts of Assembly, had appointed each of them "three indifferent persons to decide the matter, with a power, if they could not agree, to name a seventh." These six Commissioners, thus appointed as a court of reference, met in Bristol, in 1739, but "they could neither agree in settling the boundaries, nor in the choice of a seventh person."

In 1740, according to the previous recommendation of the king, a commissioner from places without the two colonies, was appointed by the king in council, at the same time that committees were appointed by the contending parties, to appear before the Board of Commissioners.

The court met in Providence, in June, 1741. Cadwallader Colden, of New-York, was chosen president of the board. On the 30th of June, 1741, the court decided to transfer from Massachusetts to Rhode-Island, Attleborough Gore, Little Compton, Tiverton, Bristol, a great part of Barrington, and a portion of Swansea, em-

bracing forty-seven families.* From this decision of the court, Massachusetts dissented in whole, and Rhode-Island in part, and both parties appealed to the King in Council.

These appeals were brought before the king's council, December 11, 1744, and then referred to a committee, who made a report on the 28th of May, 1746, confirming the judgment of the Commissioners. This decision was received in this country in the same year. Immediately the Legislature of Rhode-Island passed an act incorporating the several towns under their respective names, as constituent parts of Rhode-Island. The concluding part of the act, is as follows :

“ And that part of the territory confirmed to Rhode-Island, which has heretofore been part of Swanzea and Barrington, with a small part of Rehoboth thereto adjoining, with the inhabitants thereon, be incorporated into a township by the name of Warren.”

The name of this town was given in honor of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who the year before, June, 1745, had commanded the En-

* It is evident that the people of Swanzea included within the disputed territory, preferred to be under the jurisdiction of Rhode-Island; as they passed a vote at a Town Meeting of Swanzea, on the 27th of March, 1741, that they were willing to come under the Rhode-Island Government, and expressed their apprehension that they belonged rightfully to Rhode-Island.

glish fleet, which in conjunction with the colonial army of 4,400 men, under the command of Gen. William Pepperell, captured Louisburg and the Island of Cape Breton, after a storming and siege of six weeks continuance.

In 1770, the inhabitants of the west part of the town, petitioned the Legislature to be set off by themselves, and incorporated into a town by the name of Barrington. This measure was opposed by the eastern portion of the people, embracing what is now Warren; but their opposition to the measure was without effect.—A part of the act of the Legislature, passed in 1770, is as follows :

“ All the lands on the westerly side of the river that extends from between Bristol and Rumstick, northerly to Miles' Bridge, is made into a township and called Barrington.”

The name of Barrington was thus revived and the town re-organized, after having been extinct for twenty-four years. Bristol, it will be seen, was not included in any of these changes and divisions through which these other towns have passed. Although the territory of Bristol seems to have been claimed by the Swanzea proprietors after Philip's war, it was decided to be conquered land, and therefore belonging to the crown; and it was first chartered as a town, under its present name, in 1680.*

* “Montaup, which became the subject of a dis-

The original deed from the Indians, of the territory, embracing a part of Warren, possesses considerable interest, as well from its intrinsic value as a legal instrument, as it also is supposed to be the last deed that Massasoit ever signed. At the time it was given, he insisted upon the English binding themselves "never to draw away any of his people to the christian religion." This was a point, however, which he subsequently yielded;† and if his rejection of Christianity was a sin, it was the fault of his ignorance, while by rejecting the Gospel he doubtless supposed he would be promoting the welfare of his people.

The following is a copy of this Deed, taken from the Record Book of the "Proprietors of Sowams and parts adjacent :"

THE GRAND DEED OF SAILE OF LANDS
from Osamequin and Wamsetto his son, dated
29th March, 1653.

TO ALL PEOPLE to whome these presents shall come, Osamaquin and Wamsetto his Eldest Sone Sendeth greeting. **KNOW YEE**, that wee the said Osamequin & Wamsetto, for & in Consideration of thirty five pounds sterling to us the said Osamequin and Wamsetto in hand payd By Thomas Prince Gent; Thomas Willet Gent: Miles Standish Gent: Josiah Winslow Gent: for Aud

pute between the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, was finally awarded to the latter, by a special decision of king Charles." Thatcher's Indian Biog. 1. 174.

† Thatcher's Ind. Biog. I. 139.

in the behalfe of themselues and diuers others of the Inhabitants of Plimouth Jurisdiction, whose names are hereafter specified, with which said summe we the said Osamequin and Wamsetto doe Acknowledge ourselues fully satisfied contented and payd, HAUE freely and absalutely bargained and Sold Enfeoffed and Confirmed and by these presents Doe Bargaine Sell Enfeoffe and Confirme from us the said Osamequin and Wamsetto, and our and Every of our haiers unto Thomas Prince, Thomas Willet, Miles Standish, Josia Winslow, Agents for themselues and William Bradford Sen^r Gent: Thomas Clark, John Winslow, Thomas Cushman, William White, John Adams and Experience Mitchell, to them and Every of them, their and Every of their haiers and assigns forever;—

All those Severall parcells and Necks of vpland, Swamps and Meadows Lyeing and being on the South Syde of Sinkhunch Els Rehoboth, Bounds and is bounded from a Little Brooke of water, called by the Indjans, Mosskituash Westerly, and so Ranging by a dead Swamp, Estward, and so by markt trees as Osamequin and Wamsetto directed unto the great River with all the Meadow in and about ye Sydes of bothe the Branches of the great River wth all the Creeks and Brookes that are in or upon any of the said meadows, as also all the marsh meadow Lying and Being wth out the Bounds before mentioned in or about the neck Called by the Indians Chachacust, Also all the meadow of any kind Lying and being in or about Popasquash neck as also all the meadow Lyeing from Kickomuet on both sides or any way Joyn-
ing to it on the bay on Each Side,

TO HAUE AND TO HOLD all the aforesaid

vpland Swamp Marshes Creeks and Rivers withe all their appurtinances unto the aforesaid Thomas Prince, Thomas Willett, Miles Standish, Josia Winslow and the rest of the partners aforesaid to theme, And Every of them their and Every of their haiers Executors And assignes for Ever And the said Osamequin and Wamsetto his Sone Covenant promise and grant, that whensoever the Indians Shall Remoue from the Neck that then and from thenceforth the aforesaid Thomas Prince Thomas Willet Miles Standish Josiah Winslow shall enter vpon the Same by the Same Agreement as their Proper Rights And Interest to them and their heirs for Ever To and for the true performance of all and Every one of the aforesaid severall Particulars wee the said Osamequin and Wamsetto Bind us and every of us our and every of our heirs Executors Administrators and Assignes firmly by these presents.

In Witness whereof wee haue hereunto sett our hands and Seales this twentieth day of March, anno Domini 1653.

The marke of OS

OSAMEQUIN & a (Seale.)

WAMSETTO W & (Seale.)

Signed Sealed & Delivered
in ye Presence of us

JOHN BROWNE

JAMES BROWNE

RICHARD GARRETT

There were eighteen dwelling-houses within the limits of Warren, previous to Philip's war, located at the northern and eastern part. These

houses were all burned down at the commencement of the war, and the residents dispersed, most of them going to Rhode-Island, where they remained a year or more. They were well received by the Islanders, and by permission planted and raised a crop of corn for their subsistence. (Callender.)

We next take an extract from the original charter of the town of Swanzea, as it is copied in the Town Records. "A True copy of the grant of this Town of New-Swansey, Lying upon Record at the Court of Plymouth, March 1, 1667: This Court have granted unto them; all such Lands that Lyeth betwixt the salt water Bay and coming up Taunton river, (viz.) all the land between the salt water, and river, and the bounds of Taunton and Rehoboth not prejudicing any man's particular Interest." These bounds, it will be seen at once, embrace the whole of the town of Warren.

What became of this charter is now unknown; but it would seem from a clause in the second charter, that the former was deemed imperfect or insufficient. The clause alluded to, refers to the first grant, and is as follows: "It may be now questioned whether y^o s^d grant, conveyance and surrender be sufficient, firm, authentic, sure in law to all intents according to the true meaning thereof, as is to be desired, for want of formality or rules of law,

usual or requisite in such cases. Now for y^e more and better," &c.

The second charter bears date July 23, 1689, in which the bounds of the town are thus expressed :

“ Butted and bounded according to Court grant towards ye West, upon ye great salt water Bay and River that goeth up towards ye Town of Providence ; even so farr up towards ye North as ye south line or bounds of ye Town of Rehoboth ; and upon that line towards ye East, upon ye Bounds of Rehoboth aforesaid ; and then Northerly untill it come to ye Bounds of ye Township of Taunton, on which it also bounds ; Along upon ye River called Taunton River ; & likewise towards ye South is bounded upon the North line of ye Towne of Bristol, that runneth cross Mount hope neck to ye River of Swansey afores^d towards ye West ; according to ye Grant of ye Court of New Plimouth afores^d”.

The precise time, when the first dwelling-house was built upon the spot now occupied by the village of Warren, we have no means of clearly ascertaining. The site of the village is named in the Swansea Town Records as Brooks' pasture, as early as 1671. At a town meeting Feb. 25, 1679, the following action was taken upon the distribution of this territory : “ It is voted that the whole Tract of Land called Brooks' Pas-

ture* up to the old fence by John Wheaton shall be divided in a distinct division, and a survey up to Swanzey Two Mile to be taken." Also, at a town meeting, Aug. 31, 1680, "It is ordered, concluded and agreed, that whereas the committee chosen for the survey of Brooks' Pasture the 25 of Feb. 1679, Have now brought in their report of it to be Three hundred acres, It is now ordered That convenient Highways be laid out in said land ;

That the Land for House Lots be laid out ;

That the remainder be laid out to each man according to his proportion as Rankt, and that each man draw his Lot when put in form."

The above mentioned drawing for the divided lots took place on April 10, 1682.

Town Meeting Oct. 19, 1681, is the following record, "That complaint be made to a Majestrate to panell a Jury to lay out a Highway through Brooks' Pasture to the Ferry to New Meadow Neck." All the above extracts are taken from the *Swanzea Town Records*. Turning to the *Proprietors' Records*, we find the following :—

At a meeting of the proprietors Apr. 1, 1718, "Then a vote was passed yt Brooks' Pasture and ye Island thereby, should be let out."

* The tract called *Brooks' pasture* is identical with nearly all the part of Warren that is now compactly built, as well as the eastward extension of the vicinity, on the Bristol line.

“ At a proprietors meeting on ye 29 of Feb. 1719-20, It was voted yt it should be put into a notification for ye laying out of Brooks' Pasture.”

“ At a proprietors meeting ye 16 of March, 1719-20, a vote was passed y't Brooks Pasture should be laid out.” At another meeting of the Proprietors, April 19, 1725, was enacted the following: “ By virtue of a warrant from one of his Majesties Justices of ye Peace for ye County of Bristol, Voted, That the land in Brooks' Pasture be all laid out in 102 lots, according to quantity and quality.”

These several votes, above enumerated, refer to different portions of the land to be divided, and became the basis of all the deeds of real estate, by which tenure in landed property is still held in Warren.

Having given some account of the various divisions of territory, and the successive governments, through which this territory has passed, it belongs to the history of Warren, to exhibit some of the leading events of *Philip's War*, which had its beginning within the limits of the town.

We shall give a short summary of the opening events of that bloody and destructive war. The field where Philip collected and arrayed his forces, “ on the upper part of the neck,” was within this town. The people of Plymouth were awakened to their danger, and the colony put on their guard, by the following deposition,

given at Plymouth a short time previous to the war, by one of the early citizens of Warren, " Hugh Cole, aged forty-three, or thereabouts, being deposed, saith; That in February last passed before the date hereof, he went to Shewamett, and two Englishmen more with him; and that their business was *to persuade the Indians to go to Plymouth*, to answer a complaint made by Hezekiah Luther. The Indians (saith he) seeing us, came out of the house towards us, being many of them, at the least twenty or thirty, with staves in their hands; and when the Indians saw there were but three of us, they laid down their staves again. Then we asked the Indians what they did with those staves in their hands? They answered, that they looked for Englishmen to come from Plymouth, to seek Indians, to carry them to Plymouth, but, they said, they were not willing to go. " And some time after, in the same morning, Philip the Chief Sachem, sent for me to come to him, and I went to Mount Hope, to him. And when I came to Mount Hope, I saw most of the Indians that I knew of Shewamett Indians, there at Mount Hope, and they were generally employed in making of bows and arrows, and half pikes, and fixing up of guns. " And I saw many Indians of several places repair towards Mount Hope. And some days after I came from Mount Hope, I with several others, saw one of Captain Willett's rangers coming on post on horseback, who told us,

that king Philip was marched up the neck, with about three score men; and Zacary Eddy, on his report, went to see if he could find them; and he found them towards the *upper part of the neck*, in several companies.

“One Caleb Eddy further saith, that he saw many there in arms; and I was informed by John Paddock, that he saw two several guns, loaded with bullets or slugs; and I further testify that those Indians that I saw coming towards Mount Hope, as aforesaid, came better armed than I usually have seen them; Further saith not.”*

Philip had been for some time suspected of making warlike preparations, and upon enquiries being instituted, an Indian named Sassaman, formerly Philip's secretary and counselor, was induced to reveal to the English, the fact of the Sachem's intention of commencing hostilities. Philip, exasperated at this, caused Sassaman to be killed, and his body put under the ice of Assawomset pond, in Middleborough, Mass.; and to induce the belief that he was accidentally drowned, his slayers left his gun and hat upon the ice. This event occurred, January 29th, 1675.—When the body was discovered, the neck was broken, and it had other marks of injury, which the English at once concluded must have been

* Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. 6. Thatcher's Ind. Biog. I. 159.

inflicted by other hands than his own. Besides this, an Indian testified his having seen the murder committed by four Indians. In the following June, three of the accused were arrested, tried and convicted by a jury at Plymouth. The jury was composed of twelve Englishmen and four Indians; and their decision was the following:—"Wee of the jury, one and all, both English and Indians, doe joyntly and with one consent, agree upon a verdict." Two of the condemned Indians were hanged on the 8th of June, and the other shot within a month. The Plymouth Court then sent an order to Philip to appear before them, and render an account for the part he had taken in the affair. Rather than obey this injunction, which involved so much risk to himself, he chose to commence the war at once.

He and his tribe immediately sent their wives and children over to the Narragansetts, on the west side of the Bay, for protection.— At this time, Philip resided at Mount Hope,*

* For the benefit of persons unacquainted with the location of *Mount Hope Neck*, we present a brief general description of it. Mount Hope Neck is about nine miles in length, two miles wide at each end, and narrowing to one mile, at a point about three miles from the northern extremity. About half of the neck projects into the bay; the remaining part is formed by the Kikemuit river on the east side, and Warren river (formerly *Sowams* river) on the west. About a mile and a half from the opening of the Warren river into the bay, it is divided by *Little Island* and *New Mead-*

where he was diligently engaged in gathering and preparing his forces. His available warriors, under his immediate command, including the tribe of his sister-in-law, Weetamoe, the Pocassets in Tiverton, were about 500 men, besides 1000 warriors whom he depended upon, by his league with the neighboring tribes.

The English settlements nearest to Philip's head quarters, were situated at the northern part of Warren.* On Sunday, the 20th of June, 1675, Philip's warriors marched up the neck, and plundered some of the colonists' houses, tenantless for the time, in consequence of their occupants being absent at church.— An express was sent to Gov. Winslow, at Plymouth, who immediately ordered the following Thursday to be observed as a day of Fasting and Prayer, at the same time that he issued orders calling out the troops, and notified the Governor of Massachusetts of the state of affairs in Swanzea. On Monday, June 21, the troops under Major Cudworth, left Plymouth, and they arrived at Swanzea as early, at least, as the 24th. It is stated by some authors that

ow Neck. About one mile of the northern end of the neck is in Swanzea; the next two and a half miles, including the "narrow of the neck," are in Warren; the remaining five and a half miles are in Bristol.

* "There was a settlement within Mount Hope Neck, appertaining to Swanzea. It contained eighteen houses, all destroyed." Morton's Memorial, Appendix, 463.

the troops could not have been in Swanzea on the 24th; but certain facts overlooked by these writers, show that the troops from Plymouth were quartered in some parts of Swanzea, when the Indians attacked the people returning from public worship, on the appointed fast day.— Captain Church, an actor in the war, states, the Plymouth troops were in Swanzea, on the 24th; and a letter from Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, in Morton's Memorial, p. 429, is dated the 25th of June, and speaks of the tragical affairs of the previous day: and continues "the forces here are dispersed to several places of the town, and some to Rehoboth, which this day we intend to draw into a smaller compass." The territory of the town of Swanzea was, at that time, of great extent, being not less than twelve miles in length. It seems, therefore, plainly evident that the troops from Plymouth, were quartered in detached companies, in different parts of this widely extended town. Not knowing the forces of the Indians, they considered it imprudent to pass down the Neck, to attack them at Mount Hope, till the Boston troops arrived. Hubbard says, respecting the first attacks of the Indians, especially that on the fast day, "all which outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make any resistance." The Indians had already killed the cattle of the English, in Swanzea, and on one occasion, one of them being refused liquor, and attempting to take it by force, was

fired upon and wounded. But on Thursday, June 24th, the day appointed for a fast, as the Swanzea people were returning from church, they were fired upon by the Indians, and one man was killed and another wounded. Two men going for a surgeon to attend the wounded man, were killed in the way. Six men were killed in another part of the town; and in a short time, so closely were the colonists beset, that the Indians would "shoot at all the passengers, and killed many that ventured abroad."*

* Most writers agree that the first English blood was shed on Thursday, the fast day, as we have mentioned above; but a passage in Hubbard's Indian Wars, which gives an account of the killing of the "six men," presents a different statement, and refers to "six men" who were killed before, and not intended as the same who were killed on the fast day. The express sent on June 20, to notify Governor Winslow, of the threatened danger pending over Swanzea, on its return the next day, passing through Bridgewater, left there a requisition for twenty well-armed men, to repair forthwith for the defence of Bourn's garrison at Mattapoiset in Swanzea, which contained seventy persons, including only sixteen men. Seventeen of the Bridgewater troops immediately started on horseback, "and were the first that were upon their march in all the country." On their way to Mattapoiset, they met many people of Swanzea, "newly turned out of their houses, making doleful lamentations and bewailing their losses." On the 22d of June, as a part of these Bridgewater troops had gone to escort Mr. Brown, their pilot, home, on their return from this duty, toward the garrison, they

On Saturday, June 26, a company of infantry, under Captain Daniel Hinchman, and a company of mounted troops under Captain Thomas Prentice, left Boston for Mount Hope. Captain Mosely, of Boston, also raised a large company of volunteers who left soon after.— On Monday, June 28, the above named three companies arrived together at Mr. Miles' house “within a quarter of a mile of the bridge leading into Philip's lands.” Here they joined the forces from Plymouth which had previously been quartered in various parts of Swanzea, but which were now drawn together into a smaller compass. The same day twelve of Capt. Prentice's troops passed over the bridge, and were attacked by the Indians, who killed one of the English, named William Hammond. Previously to this, the Indians had boldly ap-

came suddenly upon a party of Indians; but not being molested, and being unauthorized to fight, unless they were first assaulted, they passed on towards their garrison, where they found a party of the English going to a barn, about one fourth of a mile distant, for corn. The soldiers informed them that they had seen the Indians but a short distance back, and advised them not to go. Notwithstanding this advice, the English went, and were attacked at the barn by the Indians, and six of their number killed. The troops hearing the attack, immediately prepared their horses and rode to the barn, when the enemy fled. This tragical affair appears by the statement of Mr. Hubbard, to have occurred on Tuesday, the 22d of June, two days before the fast day.

proached, and shot two sentinels on duty at Miles' Garrison.

On Tuesday, June 29th, nine or ten Indians showed themselves near the garrison, upon which the horsemen and Mosely's volunteers pursued them for a mile and a quarter beyond the bridge, where they killed five or six of the Indians, and then returned to head quarters.— In consequence of this disastrous charge, Philip became alarmed, and in the following night, he with all his men, left Mount Hope Neck in their canoes, and passed over Taunton River to Pocasset.

On Wednesday, June 30th, the whole English forces marched down Mount Hope Neck towards Philip's abode. At the distance of "a mile and a half" from Miles' bridge, they came to some houses newly burned.* They also noticed a Bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered about. "Two or three miles further on, † at the narrow of the Neck," they saw the heads of eight Englishmen, stuck up on poles near the highway. These they took down and buried. Proceeding "two miles further," they found "empty wigwams and many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of

* This would bring them near Rock Raymond, or *Kings' Rocks*, as they are now called.

† This was doubtless near the Pound, on *Kicke-muit River*. The pound did not then exist, but was first built, as it now stands, in 1685.

the owners."‡ For a "half mile further on," they passed through fields of stately corn, and came to Philip's own wigwam. "Two miles further, they came to the sea-side," and Captain Cudworth, with some of the Plymouth forces, passed over to Rhode-Island.§

Major Savage and his command rested all through a rainy night in the open field. On the morning of Thursday, July 1, Major Savage's command returned to head quarters at Mr. Miles' house. On their way, they met many stray dogs without masters. On Friday, July 2, the troops scoured the country north of Miles' bridge, and killed four or five of the enemy. On Saturday, July 3, Capt. Mosely and his troops, with Capt. Page and his dragoons, again traversed Mount Hope Neck, to make sure of the departure of the enemy. On Sunday, July 4, Captain Cudworth returned from Rhode-Island to the garrison, having left forty men under the command of Captain Church, to build a fort on Mount Hope Neck.* On Mon-

‡ This was at Weypoiset, or the *narrows* of Kickemuit River, in Bristol.

§ The above marked quotations are from Hubbard's Indian Wars.

* The writer after diligent search, was fortunate enough to discover the remains of this Fort. They are situated opposite the *narrows* of Kickemuit river, in Bristol, on the top of the most south-western of several hills, on the north side of a cove. They consist now chiefly of the remains of the fire-place in

day, July 5, Capt. Hutchinson arrived from Boston, with new orders, and on the next day, July 6, all the troops except Captain Cudworth and his command, started for Narragansett to treat with that tribe, in order to prevent their taking part with Philip.

It does not belong to the object of these researches, to extend the history of the Indian war, any farther than to show the causes by which it originated, and to ascertain and define the particular localities in Warren and its vicinity, which were the scenes of the opening part of that tragical and distressing period.— After Philip had withdrawn his forces from Mount Hope Neck, the various Indian tribes

the fort. This fire-place was made by preparing a suitable excavation, and laying low stone walls at the sides and the end, for which flat stones were used, evidently brought from the adjoining beach.— The remains of these ruins are now beneath the surface of the ground, which at this place, is depressed several inches below the average surface of the ground in the immediate vicinity. The hill is fast wearing away, by the action of the water which washes its base. The wearing away has already reached the fire-place, from which the charcoal and burnt stones are often falling down the steeply inclined plane beneath. It was here that Captain Church, when on his singular and adventurous expedition to capture Annawan, roasted horse-beef for his men, on the 28th of August, 1676. Here, also, he confined several prisoners; he “had caught ten Indians; and they guarded them all night in one of the flankers of the old English garrison” Church’s Hist., p. 130.

in this part of New-England, mostly entered into league with him. The storm of war burst upon the devoted colonies; and it continued to rage with fearful violence for more than a year after Philip was first driven from Mount Hope Neck. Its consequences were disastrous in the extreme; it caused wide-spread and universal mourning throughout New-England.— As the result of this most distressing of all the Indian wars with the Colonists of New-England, at least six hundred of the inhabitants who were “the flower and strength of the country, fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy.” “Twelve or thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Rhode-Island, were utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged.” “About 600 buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were consumed with fire.” More than 100,000 pounds sterling were expended by the Colonists, besides an immense loss in the destruction of their goods and cattle. Among the houses burnt, thirty-four were in Swanzea, which left only six houses standing in the town at the close of the war.*

Philip's war had so reduced to ruins the town of Swanzea and the surrounding vicinity, that the whole neighborhood was nearly as desolate as a wilderness. Shortly afterwards, however, the scattered population gradually re-

* Judge Davis' Appendix to Morton's Memorial.

turned and settled upon the deserted territory. There being no Indians left on Mount Hope Neck, the settlements of the English soon occupied the sites of the former wigwams and villages of the natives.

The Plymouth government at a very early period had encouraged the organization of companies of Proprietors, or joint-stock companies, who were empowered to buy lands of the Indians, and then sell and divide such lands among themselves, on conditions of mutual agreement. These companies of Proprietors were required to keep a book of Records and Memorials, in which the various divisions of land were to be entered; and they were empowered to make choice of some one of their number as clerk, to enter and record the several divisions of their lands in due form and course of law. These entries thus became permanent records of real estate, "to be transmitted and remain to posterity,"—provided the entries of such lands should not infringe or hinder the entry of said lands in the records of the respective towns, within whose jurisdiction the territory of such company of Proprietors might happen to fall. The purchases of land from the Indians were recorded on parchment with great care and exactness; but when the Proprietors would come to subdivide these tracts among themselves, the only individual title of each owner *to his portion*, would consist of a recorded *vote*, passed at a regular Proprietor's meeting,

certifying that such a portion had been allotted to him. After the several towns in this vicinity had become incorporated, town meetings and Proprietors' meetings were frequently held, independently of each other, and it sometimes happened that the separate action of one of these bodies would be at variance with that of the others.

Soon after the close of Philip's war, by virtue of the grand deed of sale from Massasoit, authorized by the Plymouth court, the Sowams purchase, excepting the belt of meadow land bordering on the water courses, which had previously been apportioned, was divided into suitable tracts for farms and building lots, and thus were laid the foundations for the ownership of all the real estate in the town of Warren.

In the course of time, the Proprietors sold out portions of their lands to other people, who in selling again to one another, gave regular title deeds. We have already stated that Brooks' pasture, which included the site of the village of Warren, was laid out and divided among the Proprietors, in several portions, at different periods, extending from 1680 to 1725.

But the territory of Warren, being then a part of Swanzea, was subject to the legislation of that town, as a branch of the Plymouth colony; and the lands not owned and divided by the Sowams Proprietors, were distributed according to regulations adopted by the town of

Swansea, on the 7th of Feb. 1670. By these regulations, it was "ordered, that all lots and divisions of lands that are or hereafter shall be granted to any particular person, shall be proportioned according to the three-fold ranks underwritten, so that where those of the first rank shall have three acres, those of the second rank shall have two acres, and those of the third rank shall have one; and that it shall be in the power of the Selectmen for the time being, or Committee for admission of inhabitants, to admit of and place such as shall be received as inhabitants, into either of the said ranks, as they shall judge fit, till the number of three-score inhabitants shall be made up, and that when the said number of three score is accomplished, the lands that are already bought shall be divided, and proportioned according to the said three-fold ranks; that in the mean time, the said Selectmen or Committee shall have full power to grant lots unto such persons as may not be placed into any of the said ranks, until further order provided; the grants not to exceed nine acres to a man." [Then follow the three ranks of landholders in separate columns, as determined by the Committee.]

The legislation of Swansea, from its first incorporation in 1667, till the district of Warren ceased to be a part of it in 1746, was always characterized by the spirit of civil and religious freedom, which first led the fathers of the town to make it a safe asylum for those

who wished to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. And yet a careful distinction was preserved between lawlessness respecting civil and social duties, and that liberty of the soul in religion which they did not feel it their right to abridge or coerce. It was made the duty of every citizen to stand in his place, in providing measures for the safety and welfare of the town. At a town meeting, lawfully warned, Nov. 4, 1670, it was "ordered that whatsoever inhabitant of this town shall absent himself from any town meeting to which he shall at any time hereafter be legally warned, he shall forfeit for every such offence, four shillings." In so new and unsettled a state of the community, great care was taken to protect the rights of the citizens from trespass by each other, and also to guard against misunderstanding or collision with the Indians, who, till Philip's war, occupied the lands of Mount Hope Neck, south of the line now separating Warren from Bristol. To guard against trespass by each other's cattle upon the newly laid out farms, at a town meeting, June 14, 1672, "Jonathan Bosworth was approved of and appointed by the town to keep an *ordinary*; and to be Pound keeper, and for every beast that is pounded, he is to have three pence poundage." To render equal justice to the neighboring Indians, even so late as at the very eve of Philip's war, the town, in regular meeting, May 19, 1675, "ordered that Nathan-

iel Lewis and Caleb Eddy, do view the fence* between the Indians and the town, and return the defects thereof to the town, by the sixth day come seven night." Also, "ordered that every man shall fetch his cattle out of the Neck, within the fence, and that all cattle that are found there after the 3d of June, and brought to Pound, shall pay for every beast or horse, 2s. 6d."

An equitable assessment was levied upon all the citizens of the town, for charges incurred in purchases of land made by the town from the Indians, and also for expenses necessary for the common welfare. Thus, at a town meeting, lawfully warned, Nov. 18, 1672, it was "ordered that the committee chosen by the Town, for the management of the Prudential affairs of the Town, shall levy the several proportions of Pay due from the Inhabitants for the Land lately purchased from Philip Sachem, by Mr. Constant Southworth, and other charges relating thereunto."

At the same time that the authority of the town claimed no right of visitation or interference in matters of personal religious faith, it made provisions for the support of religious teaching, for the common moral welfare of the

* It seems that the fence running from Warren to Kickemuit rivers, on what is now the line between Warren and Bristol, had been the boundary between Swanzea and the Indians, for some time previous to 1675.

people. After the Baptist Church had seen the necessity of removing their first house of worship, near the borders of Rehoboth, to a more central and eligible location, at a meeting of the Townsmen, March 13, 1675, "there was granted unto Mr. John Miles, Pastor of the Church, one acre of land at the lower end of New Meadow Neck, viz : the south lot on the east side, for to build upon." At a town meeting lawfully held, Oct. 12, 1676, it was ordered, "according to a former agreement, that the meeting-house, if removed, shall be removed to the lower end of New Meadow Neck." In consequence of the dispersion of the inhabitants of this neighborhood during the war, Mr. Miles was probably induced for a season, to change his residence; and after preaching a considerable time in Boston, he was again prevailed upon by the people of Swanzea, to return to his former charge. While thus absent, and in anticipation of his return, at a town meeting, Sept. 5, 1677, John Allen, John Butterworth and Hugh Cole, were chosen to agree with a carpenter to build Mr. Miles a house of residence; and at Town meeting, May 27, 1678, John Allen and John Brown were chosen to draw up a letter in the behalf of Church and Town, to be sent to Mr. John Miles, Pastor of the church and Minister of the town, manifesting their desire of his return to them; and Thos. Easterbrooks was chosen to carry the Town's letter to Mr. Miles at Boston. After

much delay in attempting to remove their former meeting-house, and probably at last finding it an impracticable project, at length, at Town meeting, Sept. 30, 1679, it was "voted and ordered that a meeting-house of 40 feet in length, and 22 feet in breadth, and 16 feet between joints, be forthwith built; and a Committee be chosen for the letting out of said work and finishing the same, viz: John Allen, Hugh Cole, William Ingraham, Committee;" and at a Town meeting, legally warned, March 29, 1680, it was "voted that the meeting-house be set up at the lower end of New Meadow Neck, and that the Committee for said house appoint the individual place."

From this period onward, the town having recovered from the sad effects of the war, measures were taken to ensure the increase of business, and the welfare of the population, in the town of Swanzea, and especially in the district of the present town of Warren. At a town meeting, held March 29, 1680, it was voted and ordered that Miles bridge be re-built with all convenient speed. This bridge had probably been destroyed in the Indian war, and was of great importance, as the thoroughfare for travelers crossing the Warren river. At that time, there appears to have been no regular ferry at Warren, as the necessities of the public had as yet created no demand for one. But after the survey of Brooks' Pasture, in 1679, and the site of the present village there

on was laid out for house lots, it was ordered, Town meeting, Aug. 31, 1680, "that convenient highways may be laid out in said Land;" and at a subsequent meeting, October 19, 1681, a petition was made to a justice, "To impanel a jury to lay out such highways as are at present needful, namely, through Brooks' Pasture to the ferry, to New Meadow Neck." By this, it appears that the settlements at Warren, and the newly erected town of Bristol, and also, the overland traveling between Newport and Providence, required that a convenient ferry should be provided, affording a ready passage across the Warren river, at the lower end of New Meadow Neck. For this purpose, at a Town meeting, March 13, 1681, "It was voted that six acres of land be left perpetually to accommodate a person to keep the ferry, or to be improved for the use and benefit of the town, as they shall see fit, and that this land be laid out by the Committee formerly chosen by the town to lay out Brooks' Pasture, and that it be laid out as conveniently as may be."*

After the land comprising Warren and the other parts of Swanzea, had been divided among the various Proprietors, and all the remaining rights of the Indians to the soil had become extinguished, the town enacted, March 24, 1684, that all the deeds of purchases of lands from the Indians to the English, should

* In 1725 this ferry lot was reduced by authority of the town, to one acre and a quarter in size. z

all be called in, and if any were found not recorded at Plymouth, they should be recorded there with all convenient speed; and for the safe keeping of these records, they ordered a box to be procured, with three locks, which was to be kept for safety, wherever the town's committee might order. At a town meeting, May 22, 1699, it was voted, "that the keys of the town box for keeping the town records and writings shall be in the keeping of the Selectmen, appointed from year to year, provided the Selectmen chosen yearly be proprietors in the town of Swanzea."

By this time, the community began to be well organized, and the business of the neighborhood considerably increased. The spot occupied by the village of Warren, on account of the advantages of the deep water in the river, soon drew a portion of the population of Swanzea to its vicinity, for the purposes of ship-building and navigation. As early as Jan. 1, 1684, a majority of the town voted that "Timothy Brooks may keep entertainment for travelers;" while for the convenience of the public, scattered over the wide spread town, it was voted, although protested against by several citizens, Sept. 9, 1685, "that the place of all public meetings should be between Mr. Miles' house* and the great bridge; and a house be

* Probably Mr. Miles' old mansion house, near Miles' bridge.

there built for that end by a free contribution."

The people in this vicinity, in those early times, seem to have been duly mindful of the necessity of education and religion, as the only safe basis for the organization of society; though in respect to the modes of supporting religion by law, they were at that time an exception from the existing usages of the other towns in the colony. They allowed the church to hold its own doctrines, & to administer its own discipline, without interference by the secular authority.

On Aug. 28, 1693, a warrant having been read, from the Quarter Session of the colony, requiring the town to choose a minister according to law, the town meeting was addressed by a committee of the church, who desired the vote of the town, expressing their assent and approbation to the fact, "that they had a minister that they apprehended was according to law, viz. Elder Samuel Luther," and on the 17th of the following month, the town "voted and chose Elder Samuel Luther, minister of the town of Swanzea."

The people also provided for the education of their children at public expence; and on March 28, 1699, the town "confirmed the agreement made by the Selectmen with Mr. Jonathan Bosworth to be school-master for the town of Swanzea the year ensuing, and to teach school in the several places in the town by course, and to have for his salary £18 per year, one quarter in money, and the other three

quarters in provisions, at money price." To carry on the business of education, the Selectmen subsequently, January 12, 1702, agreed with Mr. John Devotion, school-master, to give him £12 current money of New-England, to be paid quarterly, and the town to "pay for his diet;" and he was ordered to remove, each quarter to different places in the neighborhood, while the Selectmen agreed with the school-master to allow him 20s. ster. to be paid by the town towards the keeping of his horse. Afterwards, at town meeting, Dec. 28, 1713, it was "voted and agreed that the school-master's abode (boarding) shall be paid after the rate of 4s. per week, in provisions at money prices." The inhabitants seem also to have cheerfully taxed themselves, for all the expenses necessary for the general improvement of the town and neighborhood.

At a town meeting, held March 23, 1707-8, it was agreed, "that if any of the inhabitants of this town shall at any time hereafter kill a grown wolf or wolves within this township, they shall be allowed ten shillings a head out of the town treasury, over and above the allowance of the law." At another time, March 3, 1708, the town taking into consideration the great destruction of Indian corn, by crows, blackbirds and squirrels, agreed that every householder in the town should kill or cause to be killed six of the great sort of blackbirds or six squirrels, and one crow should pass in law

for two blackbirds or squirrels; and they were to be killed and their heads brought in, by the 10th of the following June, to men appointed for the purpose of counting them; and if any householder should neglect or refuse this duty, as aforesaid, he shall for his defect, pay two pence for every head that is wanting of said number, at the 10th of June; and the committee appointed to count the heads were empowered by the town to prosecute the order and dispose the fines as the law directed.

It seems, however, that no assessment of taxes was more cheerfully paid by the people, than the raising of money for the defence of their civil and religious rights. The original foundation settlement, by which the charter of the town had at first been granted, allowed every man the undisturbed exercise of his own personal faith in matters of religion. Some interference with this religious liberty having been made by the court of Plymouth, the people at full town meeting, Oct. 24, 1712, by a unanimous vote, declared "that all the inhabitants of this town shall enjoy their conscience liberty, agreeable to the foundation settlement of said town, and are not obliged to uphold and maintain the worship of God elsewhere than where they choose respectively to belong or to assemble." They also voted to raise a fund of five hundred pounds, and as much more as might be necessary, to maintain and defend

the town's grant and foundation, at any court or place proper for such purpose. The town empowered its agents to send their grievances before her Majesty's Privy Council, if they could not enjoy their rights and privileges granted by the court at Plymouth, and confirmed by royal charter. The Selectmen were ordered and empowered to assess the inhabitants of the town according to a rateable proportion, and the money was to be supplied, if necessary by the following autumn.

As an evidence of the practical liberality and equity which distinguished this population at that time, is the fact, that while the ministry in the Swanzea Baptist church was supported by the town, in the mean time a Congregational church had been formed on the west side of New Meadow Neck, in Barrington, and some of these inhabitants adhering to the Congregational church, proposed in 1717, that the town should either raise a tax of £120 for the support of their minister, or allow them to be formed into a separate town or precinct. The people *again* declared their principles; & having read, at town meeting, the petition in question, with the charter on which they had at first been established, "after considerable fair and loving conference with said petitioners upon the premises," it was voted, "that all the inhabitants of the town should enjoy their conscience liberty, according to said foundation establishment of said town; and are obliged to uphold and

maintain the ministry and worship of God, only in the several churches or congregations where they respectively choose to belong or assemble, and not obliged to support any church but where they partake of its teaching.”

The year following this transaction, the territory west of Warren river was divided from Swanzea, and erected into a separate town, and so continued, till Warren and Barrington together became a single town in Rhode-Island, by the act which ascertained and settled the line of division between Rhode-Island and Massachusetts, in 1746.

At the time when Warren became a separate town, the population was still small, and the majority of its wealth, if not of its inhabitants, was on the Barrington side of the river. The attention of the people was at that time almost entirely given to navigation and ship-building. The first town meeting in Warren, after its separate organization, was held on the 10th of Feb., 1747, at the house of John Child, which stood on the north side of Market-street, near Allen's corner. At the same time a colony rate of £5000 being assessed on the State, £115 of that sum was levied on Warren as its proportionable share. Previous to 1747, two public Ferries had been in regular operation, the one leading from Main-street over the site of the present bridge owned by Mr. Kelly, the other leading from the foot of Washington-street across the river to Barrington.

In 1756, the only streets then laid out in the village, were *Main-street*, leading from Jolls' gate on the Bristol line to Kelly's ferry; and from *Main-street*, eastward, was the present *Market-street*; and leading westward toward the river, were *Miller-street*, *Church-street*, and *Washington-street*, leading to the ferry.*

In that year (1756,) the number of houses in the present village was about twenty-five,† and at the same time, there had been erected, and were in use, three of the present wharves, viz. those of John T. Child, Caleb Eddy, and Nathan Child.

From this period, till the revolutionary war, embracing a term of twenty years, the town continued to grow steadily in its population, and in the increase of its business. The chief dependence of the people was on maritime trade, in its various forms of ship-building;

* The names of these streets as now used were subsequently applied.

† The houses in the village of Warren, in 1756, were located and occupied as follows; *On Main-street*, by John Kelly, Amos Bowen, Allen Cole, Amos Thomas, John Wheaton, John Easterbrook, Amos Haile, James Bushee, Mr. Jolls, at the gate, & a blacksmith's shop; *On Market-street*, by John Child, & a school-house; *On Miller-street*, by Mrs. Lewin, Nathan Miller; *On Church-street*, Squire Maxwell, Caleb Turner; *On Washington-street*, by Caleb Carr (kept as a tavern) Samuel Miller, Benj. Easterbrook; *On the shore*, by Samuel Hicks, John Luther, Thomas Cole, and one or two stores.

coasting, West-India and Foreign navigation, and the whale fishery.

This community at that time, seem to have paid a due regard to matters of manners and morals. Repeated acts of the authorities of the town are on record, which show that the magistrate used not his office in vain, as a terror to evil doers, and as a praise to them that do well. Thus, in 1748, a fine of 10s. was levied upon an individual in the town, for disorderly behaviour, and the money paid into the town's treasury: and in 1752 and 3, two men were fined by the town, each £1, for cursing and swearing. To make such evil doers, and all other disturbers of the peace and morals of the community, a warning to others and a shame to themselves, the town ordered, April 19, 1769, the erection of a pair of stocks, in a convenient place in the compact part of the town, and another pillory, in a convenient place, on the west side of the river.*

The inhabitants of this village, for their religious welfare, had generally attended the

* The pillory, or pair of stocks in the village, was permanently located on the side-walk on the west side of Main-street, about a rod north of its corner with Jefferson-street. The punishment of the pillory was at that time considered a great promoter of good conduct, and to make the exposed culprit as conspicuous as possible, the stock frame of the pillory in this village, was placed across the side walk, so that it partly obstructed the passage on the side next to the street.

church in Swanzea, of which many of them were members, till in 1764, when the Baptist church in this town was organized, which, in connection with the Rhode-Island College, begun in this place the same year, and chartered in 1765, and with the Warren Baptist Association, formed at this place in 1767, soon afforded not only a religious home for the inhabitants, but became a centre of assemblage and a source of influence for the friends of religion and learning throughout a wide extent of country.

We have no certain means of ascertaining the population of Warren, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. When the territory embracing the six towns of Cumberland, Barrington, Warren, Bristol, Tiverton and Little-Compton, was set off from Massachusetts and became a part of Rhode-Island, the aggregate population of all these towns, was 4767, consisting of 4196 whites, 343 blacks and 228 Indians. But no adequate measures were taken to ascertain the census of these towns, singly and respectively, at least of the town of Warren, till it became necessary to number the population, in order to supply the requisite quota of soldiers created by the demands of the Revolutionary War. For a period of seven years before Barrington was separated from Warren, in 1770, the average recorded votes of the freemen of the town, for Governor, were 96 annually; and for seven years after that period, the average vote of the freemen

of Warren, was 46. The latter number, reduced so low by the division of the town, is also partly to be accounted for by the fact, that some of the citizens were absent from their homes, engaged in the war. The actual number of the population of Warren, as reported by a committee appointed by the town to take the census, on Feb. 22, 1777, was seven hundred and eighty-nine.

The people of this town were conspicuous and interested actors in the scenes of trial and suffering in the Revolutionary war. As early as Nov. 20, 1775, it was voted in town meeting that a military watch should be kept in the town; and that if any man refused to watch when notified, he should pay the sum of three shillings: on Feb. 5, 1777, the town voted that an Artillery company should be raised among their citizens, and Daniel Fisk was chosen captain, and Benjamin Cole, Lieutenant. On the 12th of the same month it was voted that Shubael Kinnicut should purchase two good fire-arms with bayonets and cartridge-boxes, for the use of the only two persons in the town who were unable to equip themselves.

As the time of struggle and suffering had now come, the town proceeded to adopt measures necessary for the accomplishment of their share of the common service. In town-meeting, assembled, May 6, 1776 it was voted that the town treasurer should employ suitable persons to make up the powder and ball into cartridges,

belonging to the town; and all persons that possessed lead or balls were desired to bring them to the town treasurer, who was directed to purchase them; and they also ordered that all the militia and alarm men should bring their guns to the town treasurer, in order that their cartridges might be made to suit the differently sized guns. The town having been required by the law of the State, to furnish a quota of ten men for military service, it was voted at town-meeting, Sept. 16, 1776, to send twelve, and that every soldier that should equip himself, complete with gun, bayonet, knapsack, cartooch-box and blanket, should have twenty shillings.

There being yet some doubt as to the principles of some in the community, in this time, which required every man to do his duty, the town required, Oct. 14, 1776, that every man in their midst should sign "the Test Act," or appear and give his reasons for refusing; and that the town clerk should ascertain the number of guns and all munitions of war belonging to the town, in the hands of the militia.

At this time, such had already become the scarcity of provisions, that the article of salt was sold as high as six dollars per bushel. But to prevent extortion by individuals, the State government took charge of the salt which had now become so high and scarce, and dealt it out to the different towns, at the low price of six shillings per bushel; and the town of War-

ren, by vote of July 1, 1776, divided and proportioned the article among their people at the price fixed by the State; while by vote of the 26th of the following October, they ordered that no person should be allowed to receive salt who refused to subscribe to the Test Act.

A committee consisting of Daniel Cole and William Barton, appointed to estimate the quantity of grain, and the number of inhabitants in the town, reported at town meeting, Feb. 22, 1777, the number of inhabitants as 789, and 14 refugees from the county of Newport; and the quantity of grain, as 1,202 bushels of Indian corn, and 80 bushels of rye, and not barley sufficient for seed grain. On the 12th of the following July, it was voted that a committee should receive the flour that was proportioned to the town, and deal it out to the soldiers' families, at £1.16s. per cwt.

On the 25th of May, about 500 British and Hessian troops, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Campbell, started from Newport by water, and arrived before day-break at a place about half a mile south of Peck's rocks, on the Bradford farm, in Bristol, when having landed, they immediately proceeded to Warren by the main road. On arriving at the village of Warren, they dispersed the inhabitants, disabled several pieces of cannon, and then hurried on with the greater part of their forces to the Kickemuit river, to a point just below the present

stone bridge, where a large number of boats had been collected by the Americans, to facilitate a contemplated expedition against the enemy. These boats the British piled into a heap and burned. They then returned to Warren, where they finished their work of destruction by burning the Baptist church, parsonage, powder magazine, and several other buildings, pillaging the houses, and taking a number of the citizens away as prisoners. Fearing an attack from the neighboring American militia, they departed in great haste.* On their route both ways, to and from Kickemuit river, they passed through Main and Market-streets.

* Aged people, still living among us, well remember the appearance of these soldiers, as they passed through the town. The British were dressed in old-fashioned red coats, cocked hats and small clothes, with a great display of laced trimmings, shoe and knee buckles. The Hessians wore enormous fur caps, and large, wide and loose boots, into which they thrust all kinds of articles pilfered from the houses; and these articles hanging over the tops of their boots, gave them a singularly grotesque appearance, as they left the town. A lady now living, and several others were at the time in the house, which was afterwards Bradshaw's bake-house, on the east side of Main-street. They saw the troops pass by in hasty retreat, and at a short distance in the rear, a single individual, encumbered with a big drum, unable to keep up with the main body. These heroic women ran out and surrounded him, and told him he was their prisoner, when he immediately surrendered, saying, he was glad of it, for he was faint and tired. This prisoner was afterwards exchanged for one of the citizens of Warren.

Early in the morning an express had been sent to Providence to inform the Americans of the attack upon Warren. General Barton immediately started with a party of mounted troops, in advance of a body of infantry, under General Sullivan, to the defence of his native town.* Before he arrived at Warren, the ene-

* General William Barton was born May 26, 1748, in the house on Towiset Neck, (in the east part of Warren,) which is now occupied by his grand nephew, Mr. Benjamin Barton. The graves of the General's parents are near each other, in the family burying ground, on the farm; and are inscribed as follows; Capt. Benj. Barton, died April 22, 1773, aged 70;— Mrs. Lydia, wife of Capt. Benj. Barton, died Oct. 9, 1808, aged 88.

The history of Gen. Barton is so connected with the general history of the country in the times of the revolutionary war, that it is unnecessary for us to enter minutely into the details of his eventful life. Immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill, he entered into the military service of his country, and received the commission of Colonel in the continental army, and Brigadier General of the Rhode-Island troops. His head was wise to plan, and his hand to execute the daring enterprizes of heroism. His capture of General Prescott displayed a firmness and an intrepidity rarely equalled on the page of history. Some time before, Major General Lee, of the American army, being separated from his troops, was betrayed by a tory into the hands of the enemy. As his services were in great demand by his country, General Barton conceived the bold design of capturing an officer of equal or superior rank, in order, by an exchange of prisoners, to effect the release of General Lee. Having determined to surprise and carry off General

my had fled; and following in pursuit, he came upon them near Bristol Ferry; but his party being too weak to attack their whole force, and the General receiving a severe wound from a

Prescott, he visited Warren to procure two whale boats, (as the people before the war had carried on the whale fishery,) which, with others obtained elsewhere, were taken to a place near Howland's Ferry, and prepared for the critical undertaking by muffling the oars and rowlocks with undressed sheepskins. Awaiting a favorable opportunity, he crossed the bay unobserved, on a dark night, to Warwick Neck, from which place he could take his points of observation; and, in the night of July 10, 1777, he succeeded in accomplishing his brilliant enterprize. The following account of the capture of Gen. Prescott is taken from the Providence Gazette, of July 12, 1777,—two days after the affair. "Thursday morning last, a party of 38 men of the Troops of this State, under the command of Lieut. Col. William Barton, of this town, accompanied by Major Adams, of the Train, Capt. Phillips, Lieuts. Potter and Babcock, and Ensigns Stanton and Wilcox, went in five boats from Warwick Neck, with a view to take Major General Prescott, Commander in Chief of the British and Foreign Troops on Rhode-Island, whose head quarters was then at a house about four miles from Newport. The Colonel and his party, after passing the enemy's ships and guard boats, landed, about 12 o'clock at night, and, with infinite address and gallantry, got to Prescott's undiscovered. A sentinel at the door hailed, but was immediately secured, and the party immediately, breaking the doors and entering the house, took the General in bed. His Aid-de-camp leaped from a window in his shirt, and attempted to escape, but was taken a few rods from the house. The party soon after returned to their boats, with their prisoners, and

musket ball in his right leg, the pursuit was abandoned. After the enemy had destroyed considerable property in Bristol, they re-embarked in their ship, which repaired from their first landing place to Bristol Ferry just in season to escape an attack from the Americans, who had now arrived under the command of General Sullivan.

Soon after this attack, a part of General Varnum's brigade was ordered to Warren. One regiment was encamped upon the field immediately south of the rocks upon the summit of *Windmill* or *Graves' Hill*; where are still to be seen the levelled and graded places where their tents were pitched. The following winter

some time after they had put off, the enemy fired rockets from their several posts, as signals for an alarm, but too late — the bird had fled. The prisoners were safely landed, about day break, at Warwick Neck. On receiving the intelligence here, a coach was immediately sent; and the General and his Aid. de-camp, attended by Col. Barton and some other officers, arrived in town at twelve o'clock. This bold and important enterprize must reflect the highest honor on Col. Barton and his little party. A Lieut. Colonel of the Horse, with at least 70 Light Dragoons, took Major General Lee, (betrayed by a Tory,) five miles from his troops. A Lieut. Colonel of Foot, with only 38 privates and 6 officers, has taken a Chief Commander, when almost encircled by an army and navy."

General Barton was the intimate friend of Washington and Lafayette. He died at Providence, Oct. 22, 1831, aged 85 years. y*

the troops stationed in Warren were quartered in stores upon the wharves and in private dwellings.

After the attack upon Warren, the people took still greater precautions than before, to prevent surprise by the enemy. The citizens fortified one of the bluffs on Burr's Hills; the breast-work, guard-house and sentry-box were upon the west end of the second hill from the north; here they kept a guard day and night, during the war. The expenses incurred by the town in these military services, were very great. In July of 1779, it was voted in town meeting, that the guard be continued in the town according to their first enlistment, and six hundred pounds were raised to pay the charges incurred; and on the 4th of the next month, the town again voted to raise a guard of 26 men, to have the pay and rations granted by the council of war; and Moses Turner was appointed to draft a petition to send to General Gates, for the supply of rations for the guard.

But the pressure of necessity becoming still greater, the resources of the people of this town were taxed to the utmost extent. With a patriotic zeal, that was unwearied and inexhaustible, the town voted, March 11, 1779, that Daniel Cole, Joseph Smith and William Barton, be a committee to ascertain what persons in the town had done more military duty than was their proportion, during the two expeditions against Rhode-Island, and to allow them such

sums of money as the committee might think just, in order to bring the military duty equal throughout the town ; while, at the same time, the town-treasurer was directed to hire 1500 dollars, to purchase grain for the use of the town. The State government having assumed the regulation of the prices of provisions, which had now become very scarce and dear, and these proceedings being a great occasion of complaint to those whose selfishness inclined them to practice extortion, and whose treachery inclined them to favor the enemy, the town voted, August 20, 1779, that they unanimously approved of the proceedings of the Convention of this State ; and on the 7th of the next month, they appointed a committee of correspondence and inspection, to be empowered to investigate the conduct, and receive complaints against all persons offending, and upon evidence of guilt obtained, to inflict punishment by advertising them as enemies to their country.

As the war approached to a close, the sufferings of want and poverty began to stare the people in the face. Nothing but the most enduring and patriotic zeal could thus have withstood "necessity's sharp pinch." Poor as the people had become, the town voted, July 3, 1780, that a proper person be appointed at the expense of the town, to carry such winter clothing as the friends and connections of such soldiers as may enter into the continental service at the present campaign, may provide for them.

On the first of the next month, the town appointed Henry Ormsbee to furnish their militia with camp furniture, viz. 21 mess pots, 21 mess pails, 21 mess bowls, 5 narrow axes, and 3 baggage carts; and at the same time, Sylvester Child was appointed to purchase 500 weight of beef, on the credit of the town, the price not to exceed 50s. per cwt. On the 14th of the same month, the town voted to raise the sum of ten thousand dollars as a town tax, one half to be raised in two, the other half in four months. The continental paper money having become much depreciated, the town raised, Feb. 2, 1781, £15, 13s. in silver and gold, to satisfy a request of the General Assembly, to pay for the town's proportion of beef. At the same town meeting, Nathan Miller was directed to pay the wages of the men enlisted for six months, at the rate of 40 shillings per month. During the last two years of the war, there are several recorded votes of the town, showing the care which the people took, for the soldiers who had gone from this town. Thus, March 19, 1781, the town directed John Child to purchase $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. of sugar, $\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of coffee, and one bushel of rye meal, for the soldiers doing duty on Rhode-Island, who went from this town. While they voted March 6, 1782, to appoint Capt. David Barton to enlist the town's proportion of men for the continental army, they at the same time appointed John Child to purchase fifty-six yards of tow cloth and eight

pairs of stockings, according to the act of the General Assembly, and to deliver these articles for their use, at East-Greenwich.

After the Revolutionary War was brought to a close, it was found that the sufferings of the people of Warren during those trying times, had been severe in the extreme. Business had been almost entirely driven away from the place, and the families of the soldiers especially, suffered severely from want of the necessary comforts of life. Besides the destruction of the military stores deposited here, and also the boats, &c. at Kickemuit, with the loss of the church, parsonage and college buildings, and several other houses, and the private property pilfered from the inhabitants, the following is a statement of the shipping lost during the war, up to January 1, 1783, belonging to the inhabitants of Warren.

Schr. Roby, Capt. Kingsly, cargo oil,	100 tons
Brig —, Mason, cargo oil,	120 "
Sloop U. States, Coddington,	45 "
Schr. Weasel, Paine,	15 "
Brig —, Mauran,	120 "
Schr. Moses, Miller, cargo sugar, &c.	60 "
Sloop Polly, Whiting,	45 "
Sloop Gen. Stark (privateer) Pearce,	120 "
Sloop George, Champlin,	60 "
Brig Gen. Wayne, Pearce,	120 "
Sloop Abigail, Miller,	45 "
Schr. Swordfish, Collins,	120 "
Sloop Rebecca, Champlin,	60 "
Schr. Hunter, Crawford,	60 "

Making a total of

1090 tons

ascertained to be lost up to that period, only ninety of which was insured.

As the chief dependence of the people was on the various branches of maritime business, the disastrous effects of the war were the most conspicuous in this department. The citizens, however, very soon commenced anew their former occupations, and ship-building was again carried on to a considerable extent. The Baptist church was rebuilt in 1785; the population began to grow in numbers and in wealth; and soon the village of Warren assumed an appearance of neatness and enterprise unknown before. While various branches of commerce were pursued to a considerable extent, for many years after the Revolutionary War, ship-building was the largest item of their business. Many of the ships built here were celebrated for their uncommon speed in sailing. One of these vessels was the U. S. frigate "General Greene," of 600 tons burthen, and arranged for 32 guns. This frigate was ordered by Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, and was to be commanded by Capt. C. R. Perry, the father of O. H. Perry, who to superintend the construction of the ship, removed with his family to Warren, in 1798. This ship was built in the yard of Messrs. Cromwell and Caleb Child, and cost the Government, when com-

pletely fitted for sea, \$105,492 32. She was launched and sailed in 1799.*

Another first-rate vessel, of very uncommon speed, built at this place, was the sloop of war "Chippewa." Commodore O. H. Perry, as agent for the U. S. Government, contracted with Capt. Caleb Carr to construct this ship in the shortest possible time; and, on March 15, 1814, only 57 days from the time her keel was laid, although there had been many stormy and snowy days, this ship of 411 tons burthen, and carrying 16 guns, was delivered to the Commodore, ready for her rigging and armament: and in a few days afterwards she went to sea, completely armed and rigged.†

In the course of a few years after the revolutionary war, the business of Warren considerably increased, and at the beginning of the present century it had acquired a basis of permanent success. From the latter period till the present time, the people have been variously engaged in trade; while no event of mate-

* In 1814, the "General Greene" was lying at the Washington navy yard, when that city was about to be attacked by the British; and in order to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, she was destroyed by the order of government.

† In the year before, the privateer "Macdonough," of 300 tons, which was so successful during the war, under the command of Capt. Wilson, was built in the same yard and by the same person as the Chippewa. She was also celebrated for her remarkable speed.

rial importance has disturbed its onward and gradual prosperity. The last war with Great Britain was felt as lightly by this town, as by almost any other commercial town, in proportion to its business and population, on our sea coast.

Before the Revolutionary war, the whaling business was carried on in Warren to some considerable extent; but after that period it altogether ceased,* till it was recommenced in July of 1821, when the ship *Rosalie* was purchased and fitted out for a whaling voyage to the Pacific ocean. Since that period there have been fitted out from this port 21 ships, 6 barks, and 3 brigs for whaling, amounting to 9000 tons. The present fleet in this service consists of 17 ships and 5 barques, amounting to 7161 tons. There have also been lost and condemned during this period of 24 years, 4 ships and two brigs; while one barque and one brig have been sold, all amounting to 1839 tons. There are also at present, belonging to Warren, in the merchant service, West India trade, freighting and coasting business, 2 ships, 6 brigs, 3 schooners, and 5 sloops, amounting to 2082 tons; which, together with the whaling

* In 1795, the only whaler belonging to the state of Rhode-Island, was the brig "Ranger," of 122 tons, of Providence. Besides this there was then no other whaler belonging to the country out of the state of Massachusetts.

business, make the present aggregate of tonnage belonging to this port 9243 tons.

The increase of the commercial business in this town, about the beginning of the present century, led to the organization of the Warren Insurance Company, which was incorporated Jan. 1, 1800, with a capital of \$40,000. This institution ceased from underwriting, July 1, 1844. Its earnings during the forty four and a half years of its existence, clear of all expenses, were \$455,250 63: total amount of its losses paid out, \$199,450 63: amount of dividends paid to the stockholders, \$255,800, averaging during the time, 14 per cent. per ann.*

The state of trade, and the increase of business, for successive periods during the last sixty-five years, may be represented by the following statement of additions by admeasurement and tonnage in the port of Warren; the account of which is furnished by Capt. Wm. Turner, for many years surveyor of the port.

Added:

From 1790	to 1800,	62	vessels,	5403	tons.
" 1800	to 1810,	45	"	4505	"
" 1810	to 1820,	31	"	4533	"
" 1820	to 1830,	39	"	7808	"
" 1830	to 1840,	28	"	4727	"
" 1840	to 1845,	14	"	3925	"

* For the account of the shipping statistics, and the Warren Insurance Company, the writer is indebted to Paschal Allen, Esq.

The increase of population in this town seems not to have varied much from the proportional increase of the general population of the state of Rhode-Island; though its present numbers show an unusually large addition within the last few years. The estimated population of the town in 1748, two years after its separation from Massachusetts, was 680, of which about 600 were whites, 50 blacks, and 30 Indians.

The population of Warren was		The population of Rhode-Island in 1701 was estimated at about	
In 1755	925*	In 1730	10,000
" 1770	979*	" 1748	17,935
" 1782	905	" 1755	34,128
" 1790	1122	" 1770	40,414
" 1800	1473	" 1770	59,678
" 1810	1775	" 1782	52,442
" 1820	1806	" 1790	68,825
" 1830	1806	" 1800	69,122
" 1840	2438	" 1810	76,931
" 1845 nearly	3000	" 1820	83,059
		" 1830	97,210
		" 1840	108,830

The following table of the thermometer, kept by Paschal Allen, Esq. shows the average temperature for 8 years, from 1837 to 1844 inclusive.

Average heat of 8 Autumns, (Sept. Oct. Nov.)	51. 16.
" " of 8 Winters, (Dec. Jan. Feb.)	30. 05.
" " of 8 Springs, (Mar. April, May,)	48. 93.
" " of 8 Summers, (June, July, Aug.)	70. 28.

*Then including Barrington.

Of these eight years, the average annual heat was 49. 35.
 Maximum was in 1839 50. 63.
 Minimum was in 1837 47. 79.
 Maximum, Autumn, 1840 52. 17.
 " Winter, 1842 34.
 " Spring, 1840 49. 14.
 " Summer, 1843 70. 16.
 Minimum, Autumn, 1842 49. 14.
 " Winter, 1844 25. 01.
 " Spring, 1843 42. 79.
 " Summer, 1837 67. 75.

The average number of deaths for 20 years ending 1834, was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole population of the town. Since that time the bill of mortality is as follows : *

	No. of deaths.	Over 70 years.
In 1834,	32	4
" 1835,	19	7
" 1836,	34	4
" 1837,	38	4
" 1838,	33	7
" 1839,	34	4
" 1840,	38	4
" 1841,	38	12
" 1842,	33	5
" 1843,	41	6
" 1844,	39	8

* Bill of mortality furnished by Capt. Wm. Turner.

Having given a general view of the leading facts in the history of Warren, during successive periods, it remains for us to exhibit some statements, besides those already given, of the present state of the town. The history of the Baptist church having been written in the former part of this volume, no notice of it need here be taken. We shall now present some facts in the history of the Methodist, and the Episcopal churches, beginning, in the order of time, with

THE METHODIST CHURCH.—The first Methodist sermon ever preached in Warren, was delivered by Rev. Daniel Smith, in the fall of 1789. The second was delivered by the Rev. Jesse Lee, the celebrated pioneer of Methodism in New-England, in July, 1790. In the following year he again preached in Warren, and was followed by Rev. Lemuel Smith and Rev. Menzies Rayner, who for six months preached alternately once a fortnight. At the expiration of that time, a class was formed under their direction, consisting of 12 or 14 members. In the fall of 1792, a church was organized by Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, preacher in charge of the circuit. The Rev. Philip Wager was the first regularly appointed minister to this station, in 1793. Until 1794, the Society held their meetings in a spacious barn, fitted up and rendered convenient for their accommodation, which stood near the north end of the

back road, between the old and the new roads leading from Warren to Swansea.

During the ministry of Rev. John Chalmers, the stationed preacher in 1794, the Society erected a neat church edifice in the village. This was the first church edifice belonging to the Methodist denomination in Rhode-Island, and next to the one in Lynn, Mass., which was the first in New England. The dedication sermon was preached from Haggai II: 9, on Sept. 14, 1794, by Rev. Jesse Lee.

This Society in its infancy encountered many trials. In the year 1800, its number was reduced to two members, both of whom were females. During the following year, about fifteen were baptized, and joined the church. In 1805, the church edifice was furnished with a pulpit, sounding-board, and 48 pews.

In 1833, the house was raised, and a tower, steeple, and basement story were added to it. In the January session of the General Assembly, in 1834, the church obtained a charter of incorporation. The church and congregation continued still to increase, so that in 1836, it became necessary to enlarge the building; and accordingly, 13 feet were added in length to the north end, and the old fashioned square pews were taken down, and replaced by modern slips. The number of pews under the new arrangement was 74.

In 1844, the numbers attending worship

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with this church, had so increased, that it again became necessary to enlarge the accommodations. It was therefore concluded to erect a new house, of greater dimensions; which determination was immediately carried into effect. This new church edifice is a very beautiful specimen of architecture. The length of the body of the house is 78 feet; the extreme length, including the piazza for the colonnade, is 91 feet, and its breadth is 62 feet. The height from the ground to a heavy projecting jet work, is 39 feet. The front elevation of the house is strikingly beautiful; from a granite base arise four Grecian Doric columns, 32 feet in height, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter at the base, supporting a heavy corresponding pediment; above this, from the roof rises a lofty steeple, of accurate proportions, the whole height of which from the ground is 130 feet. The building contains 132 pews on the lower floor, besides commodious galleries around three sides; and there is a basement story $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. The ceiling of the audience room is paneled and arched; which, together with the walls, are painted in Fresco, which gives a very pleasing and elegant effect. The interior arrangements, size, and general appearance of this building, place it in the front rank of New England churches. Its present church members are 231.

The next in order of time, in its organization, is

ST. MARK'S CHURCH.—For many years there had been several individuals and families residing in Warren and its vicinity, strongly attached to the Episcopal church, a part of whom attended worship at St. Michael's, Bristol. Mr. John Luther, a highly respectable citizen, gave by will, dated June 14, 1762, a lot of land for the erection of an Episcopal church, which land, however, afterwards became converted to another use.

The first Episcopal minister that ever preached in Warren, within the memory of the present inhabitants, was Rev. Mr. Henshaw, the present Bishop of the Diocese, in 1812, then a young man in Deacon's orders, and pursuing his theological studies at Bristol, under the care of the late venerable Bishop Griswold. A desire was then expressed, by several influential individuals, that an Episcopal Church might be established in the town; but the war with England existing at that time, caused so great a depression in the business prosperity of the town, that the project was, for the time, relinquished. In the autumn of 1828, the Rev. John Bristed commenced holding church service in Cole's hall, on Sunday afternoons; the Bishop expressed his approbation, and preached the first sermon.

In November of the same year, a church was organized, under the name and title of St. Mark's Church, Warren. During the following January session of the General Assembly,

a charter was obtained. The following persons composed the first Wardens and Vestry :

Wardens.—Geo. Pearse and Geo. Monroe.

Vestrymen.—Freeborn Sisson, William Carr, William Collins, John Stockford, Nathaniel Phillips, William Turner, Seth Peck, John Pearse, Amasa Humphrey, Charles Wheaton, and John R. Wheaton.

In 1829, the Church and Society erected, (with the exception of about \$800, obtained through the agency of Rev. Mr. Bristed, from abroad,) a neat and handsome church. This building, standing in the centre of a spacious quadrangular lot, bounded on three sides by public streets, and with its full Ionic front, is justly considered an ornament to the town; it was completely furnished, and provided with a small organ, the first ever introduced into Warren. The church was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Griswold, on the 15th July, 1830, and Rev. G. W. Hathaway appointed Rector.

In 1834, the congregation had so enlarged, that it was found necessary to add eighteen feet to the body of the church, affording room for twenty-four additional pews; at the same time a projection of ten feet was added for a vestry room. The length of the body of the building is eighty feet; the extreme length, including the vestibule and vestry, is one hundred feet, and it is forty-two feet in breadth. In 1836, the present powerful organ was set up, at a cost, including additions since made, of over two

thousand dollars. In 1839, the present bell, (two previous bells having been broken,) weighing above 1900 pounds, was put up, and the interior of the church has lately been elegantly finished and painted in Fresco.

The whole cost of the church and furniture has been about ten thousand dollars.

The church commenced with only one communicant belonging to the town, and two others in the vicinity; since then, under the successful instrumentality of the present and only Rector, two hundred and thirteen have been added; the present number being one hundred and fifty. One hundred and eighty-nine have been confirmed, and two hundred and thirty-eight have been baptized. Four of those admitted to the communion have been ordained to the ministry; and one female communicant dedicated herself to the Foreign Missionary work, and became a victim to the deadly climate of Africa. Connected with the church, is *St. Mark's Parish School*, which was established by a vote of the corporation of St. Mark's church, in 1845. It is designed more particularly for the accommodation of the families of the parish; though it is open to all who may wish to avail themselves of its advantages.

A new and commodious house, nearly opposite the church, has been purchased, and fitted up for its accommodation. The school is under the special supervision and direction of the

Rector, Wardens, and Vestry of the church; and is desiged to be made equal to the best schools in the country. Instruction is given in all the branches of an ordinary classical and ornamental education.

The instructors are Mr. Henry W. Pearse, Principal; Miss Sarah Collins, Miss Ann Frances Andrews, and Miss Elizabeth Burr.

Having described these churches and the Parish School connected with the latter, we next present an account of the other public institutions.

THE WARREN LADIES' SEMINARY.—This flourishing Institution for the education of young ladies, is pleasantly situated at the north end of the town, a little removed from the midst of the village. The seminary building is a large and commodious house of three stories in height, is forty-six feet in front, and including an extension of the rear, is seventy-eight feet in length. There is attached a large garden and playground, for the convenience of physical exercise. The property is owned by several gentlemen of the town, who have generously devoted its income to the cause of a liberal education. The present Trustees of the Institution are the following named gentlemen:—S. P. Child, H. H. Luther, C. Richmond, jun. Esqrs. and Rev. J. P. Tustin.

The school first commenced in May, 1834, under the tuition of Robert A. Coffin, A. M. assisted by Mrs. Coffin and three other ladies,

in the several departments of instruction. Mr. Coffin retained the charge till January 1, 1838. The present high degree of prosperity of this seminary has been attained by the indefatigable labors of A. M. Gammell, M. A., who for the last four years has presided over its interests, assisted by Miss Mary A. Reed, Miss Rebecca W. Gammell, Miss Mary A. Barry, and Miss Sarah H. Walker. The average number of pupils is about 70. There are connected with the Seminary an extensive chemical and philosophical apparatus, a library of well selected volumes, and a large cabinet of shells, minerals and other illustrations of natural science.—This Seminary is believed to offer the best facilities for female education.

Among the other Institutions of the town, are the following: Eleven Private schools, embracing about 300 scholars in average attendance, and three Public schools, with an average attendance of about 230 scholars.

The Warren Lyceum, commenced as a debating society by the name of the Social Club, in March, 1829, and was incorporated in 1831. In 1844, by act of the General Assembly, the name was changed to Warren Lyceum.—It now consists of upwards of one hundred members, and possesses a library of 700 volumes. During the winter season, it sustains a series of popular lectures.

The Philanthropic Society of Warren, formed for the common benefit of widows and or-

phans of its deceased members, was instituted January, 1794, and was incorporated February, 1799. The capital stock of this Society invested in 1845, is \$3400. It has about ninety members who are at present living.

The Washington Lodge of Free Masons, was instituted in 1798, and incorporated by act of General Assembly in the following year. A Royal Arch Chapter was authorized by a dispensation, on the 8th of February, 1809. The number of Masons connected with the Lodge at the present time, is fifty-six.

The Amity Lodge No. 6, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was instituted October 10, 1844, and now consists of fifty members.

The Warren Bank, was chartered in 1803, with a capital of \$135,000; shares \$50 each.

The Hope Bank, was chartered in 1822, with a capital of \$120,000; shares \$100 each.

In the active business of Warren, there is invested, in 1845, about,

\$500,000 in the Whale Fishery,
 \$200,000 in Foreign Trade,
 \$100,000 in Domestic Trade,
 \$100,000 in Manufactures.

The *Burial Places* belonging to Warren, in consequence of the antiquity of this, and the surrounding settlements, are objects of considerable historical interest, mainly in consequence of their being the resting place of several persons distinguished for the part they acted in

the scenes of former generations. These Burial Places will be noticed in the order in which they were first used for the purposes of sepulture.

1. The Burial Place upon New-Meadow Neck, was at one period within the limits of Warren, and is one of the most ancient grounds in this vicinity. The earliest inscription in it, is upon the stone that records the decease of Frances Low, in June, 1702, aged 70; but there are nearly an hundred graves, evidently of a more ancient date; many of them are nearly obliterated and are marked only by two rough stones without inscriptions. As this neighborhood was settled upon by the English, about the year 1670, it is probable that the ground was commenced as a burial place at, or near that time.

It is somewhat remarkable that there are but few monumental inscriptions, in New-England of a date previous to the year 1700. Even at Plymouth there are only some six; the earliest of which is dated 1681, and the others respectively, 1684, 1687, 1691, 1697 and 1699. The 100 unknown graves at New-Meadow Neck are doubtless those of the first settlers, in this vicinity. One of them is without doubt, the resting place of Rev. John Miles, the first minister of Swanzea; another that of the first Hugh Cole.

Of those whose names are inscribed, we have already noticed the grave of Rev. John

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Callender's aunt in this ground. There is one other that we shall notice, who deceased when that territory constituted a part of Warren. The inscription upon the grave-stone is as follows :—

“MRS. DESIRE KENT, w^{do} of Mr. Samuel Kent, of Barrington, was the first English woman's granddaughter, [born] on New England, died Feb. ye 8th, A. D. 1762, aged about 94 years.”

We learn from her descendants, that she was the grand-daughter of Mary Chilton, the first person of the Mayflower's passengers who stepped upon Plymouth Rock. Mary Chilton was married to John Winslow, the brother of Gov. Edward; their daughter, Sarah Winslow, was married to Edward Gray; their daughter, Desire Gray, is the Desire Kent above named.

2. The Second Burial Ground used in this vicinity, was on the Kikemuet river. The oldest inscription in it is that of John Luther, who died April 14, 1697, aged 34; and it is probable that the ground was commenced to be used about that time.

In this ground is buried one of the Governors of this State,—the Hon. Josias Lyndon; he married Mary Carr, a near relative of the ancestors of the families of that name, now residing in Warren. When the British took possession of the island of Rhode-Island, Gov. Lyndon fled with his family to Warren. The leading events in his life are alluded to in the inscription upon his tomb stone, which is as follows :

“In Memory of the Hon. JOSIAS LYNDON, Esq. He was born in Newport, on Rhode Island, on the 10th of March, A. D. 1704, and received a good education in early life. In the year 1730, he was chosen Clerk of the Lower House of Assembly, and of the Inferior Court of the County of Newport, and continued so with great applause, with the intermission of only two years, until his death. In the year 1768, to put an end to the violence of party rage, he was prevailed on to accept the place of Governor, which he filled with Reputation.

He died of the Small Pox, at Warren, on the 30th of March, 1778.

His manners gentle, and innocent his life,
 His faith was firm on Revelation built ;
 His parts were solid, in usefulness he shin'd,
 His life was long fitted up with doing good.”

3. The Warren North Burial Ground is located within the village. A grave stone in it has the following record ; “ John, son of Mr. John Thurber and Ruth his wife ; he died July 19, 1773, aged 1 year, 3 months, and 10 days : The first that was buried in this Burying Place.”

Upon another stone is this inscription : “ In memory of Mrs. Lillis, the wife of Ebenezer Cole, Esq., who departed this life March 8, A. D. 1775, aged sixty years. This is the second person buried in this ground.”

A monument in this ground commemorates the name of Nicholas Campbell, who was born in the island of Malta, Dec. 24, 1732 ; he came to this country previous to the Revolution, and

was one of the number who threw the tea overboard in Boston harbor, in 1773.

He discharged the duties of a good citizen, and was highly respected; he accumulated property by industry and upright dealing, and at his death, (which occurred in his 97th year, on July 21, 1829) he left by will about \$5000, as follows; "My will is that the residue of my estate shall be by my Executors placed in some public funds, the interest whereof to be appropriated to the schooling of indigent children, both male and female, of the Town of Warren, and for other charitable purposes."

He then directed that the above fund should be managed, *in perpetuum*, by his three executors, on the demise of one of whom, the survivors were to appoint another in his place, and so on forever.

4. The Warren South Burial Ground is established upon the modern plan, of making the resting-place of the dead an attractive resort to the living.

The proprietors of this ground, now numbering one hundred and thirteen, obtained a charter of incorporation in 1840. They purchased a piece of land, measuring over seven acres, and laid out about one half of it in 256 lots, of 16 feet square each, with avenues and alleys running at right angles with each other.

The nine avenues leading North and South are named alphabetically from A to I, commen-

cing on the west; and the lots in each avenue are numbered from 1 to 32, commencing at the north end, and alternating from side to side.

A Receiving Tomb was built the same year, at a cost of \$350.

The monument standing about two rods northwest of the Receiving Tomb, is upon the first grave made in this cemetery; it was made on the 27th of Feb. 1840.

The affairs of the corporation are managed by a board of trustees; and its plan requires that all funds received from the sale of lots, shall be expended upon the premises; any person purchasing a lot becomes thereby a member of the corporation, but a lot can qualify for membership only one person. On the demise of a member, the lot left by him must contain 250 square feet unoccupied, to qualify an heir or successor as a member; and if there is more than one heir, the trustees are to decide who of them is to represent the lot in the corporation.

The trustees can prosecute individuals for misdemeanor and trespass, and the members are competent witnesses in such suits.

In concluding this historical sketch of Warren, it is proper to remark, that allusions to the
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recent affairs of the town have been purposefully avoided, for the reason that it does not belong to the plan of this work so much to make a formal record of events familiar to the public, as it has been to disclose the sources of our past history. The materials for continuing the present and future history of the town will doubtless be preserved and easily obtained at any time hereafter, when they may be needed.

In the notices given in the first part of this treatise, of the earliest visits of foreigners to this vicinity, the assertion was made that the voyage of Verrazanno to Narragansett Bay, was the first ever made by white or civilized man to any portion of Rhode-Island. The writer has given due attention to the accounts of the alledged Ante-Columbian voyages of the Northmen to this country, and especially to those portions of their voyages which are supposed to refer to their passing in A. D. 1002 and 1008, through the east passage of Narragansett Bay to Mount Hope Bay. He is fully convinced that more historical light is requisite to ascertain the precise localities visited by them. It is obvious that the positive disagreements in these narratives completely outnumber and outweigh those parts of their descriptions which are in the least applicable to facts, as they are known by us. A few extracts will serve as specimens, to show that their statements are at variance with the conclusions attempted to be drawn from them.

These narratives, as published by Professor Rafn, say that the Northmen "sailed southwards, and arrived at a place where a river falls into the sea from a lake. Opposite to the mouth of the river, were large islands. They steered into the lake, and called the place *Hop*." This description, it is asserted, refers to a visit made by the Northmen to Mount Hope Bay, through the eastern or Seaconnet passage. But there are *no* islands "opposite to the mouth" of that passage. Professor Rafn himself says that "*Hop*" in the Icelandic language, means a small bay, or the land around it. Of course it does not mean *hill* or *mount*; and the theory which has supposed the term *Montaup*, as used by the Aborigines, to have been first applied by the Northmen to Mount Hope, is groundless.

The narratives state that "there were no houses in the country, but the people dwelt in holes and caverns; — that the people were sallow and ill-looking; had ugly heads of hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks." These accounts altogether disagree with the known habits and appearance of the aborigines, when visited by Verrazanno. The narratives further say that "Karlsefne and his company had erected their dwelling-houses a little above the bay, and there they spent the winter. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open fields." It

latitude so far north as Rhode-Island. Again: the description says, — “the Skrellings, (natives,) had a sort of war slings; they elevated on a pole a tremendously large ball, almost the size of a sheep’s stomach; this they swung from the pole upon land over Karlsefne’s people, and it descended with a fearful crash. This struck terror into the Northmen, and they fled along the river.” This account is not only inapplicable to all the native tribes on the American continent, but wears a shade of improbability and absurdity, with respect to *any* people.

Another account represents the Northmen as discovering a tribe of men “dressed in white.” From Mount Hope Bay, it is inferred by some writers,* that the Northmen proceeded to Massachusetts Bay; and there they saw “something at a distance which glittered.” This account of what they saw, bears such strong marks of being fabulous and incredible, that it materially vitiates the credibility of the whole narrative, and nullifies all the deductions which pretend to identify this vicinity with the places visited by the Northmen. We give this absurd story just as it stands in the narrative. The object which “glittered at a distance,” “was a uniped, who immediately betook himself to the bank of the river where the ship

* Northmen in New England; by Joshua T. Smith.

lay. Thorwald Eirekson was sitting near the helm. The uniped shot an arrow at him.—Thorwald died of the wound. The uniped subsequently retired. Thorfinn's crew pursued him. They presently saw him run into a neighboring creek. They then returned, and one of them sang,

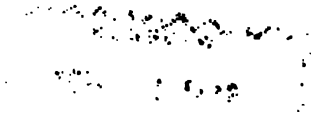
“Pursue we did,—
'Tis true, no more,
The uniped,
Down to the shore.
The wondrous man,
His course quite clear,
Through Ocean ran.”







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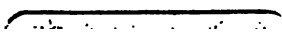
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