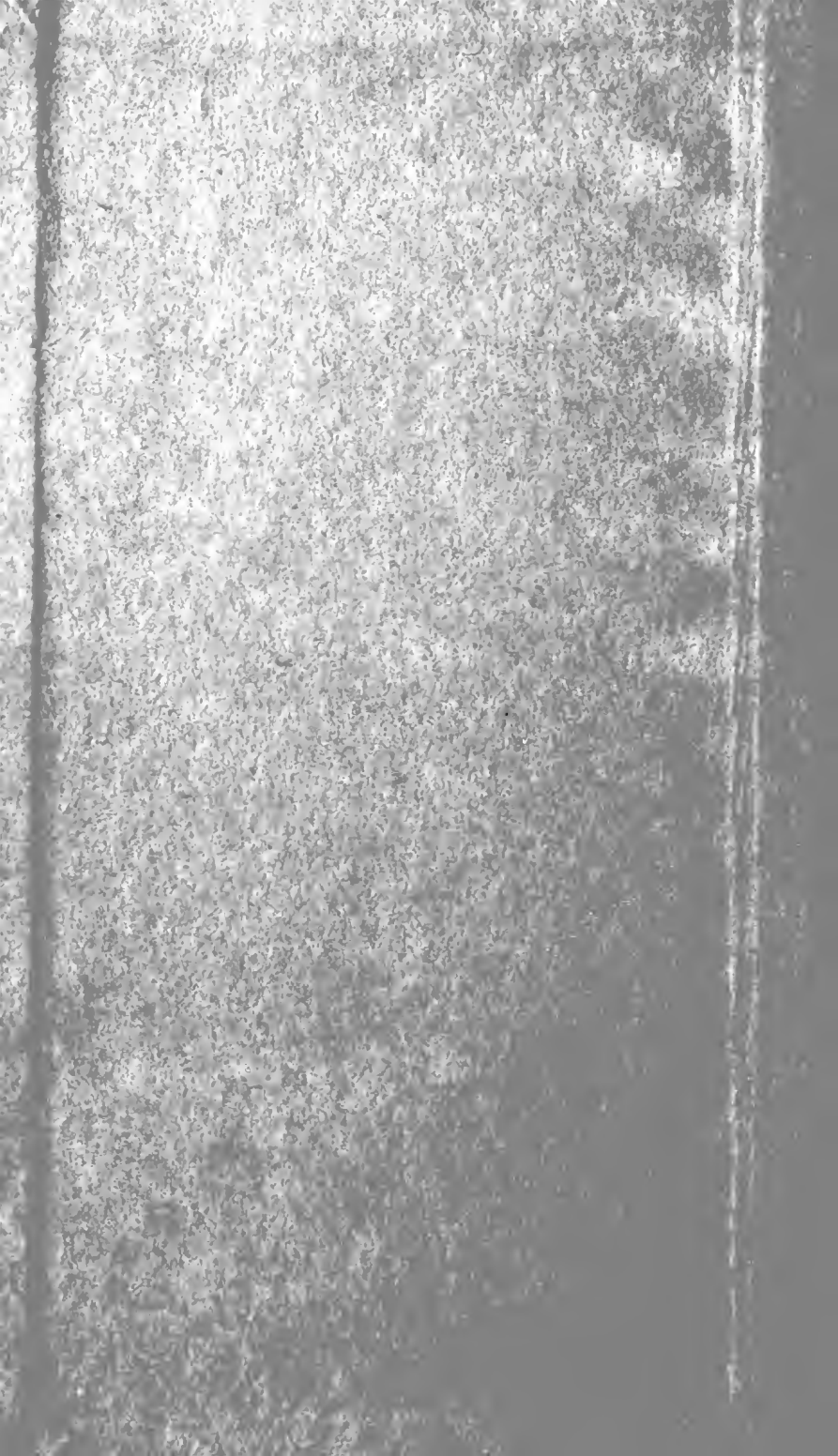


NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES

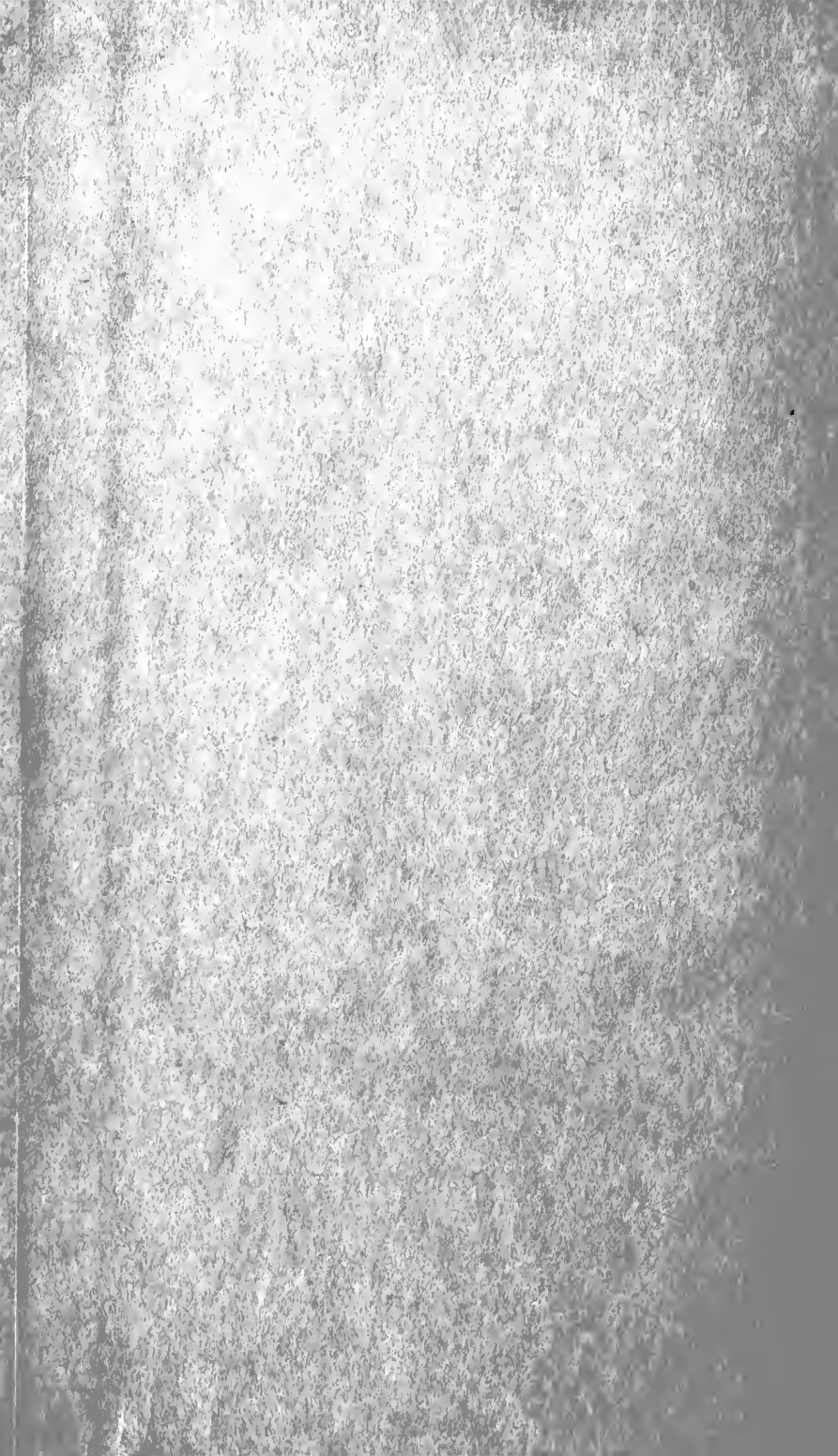


3 3433 08190934 7

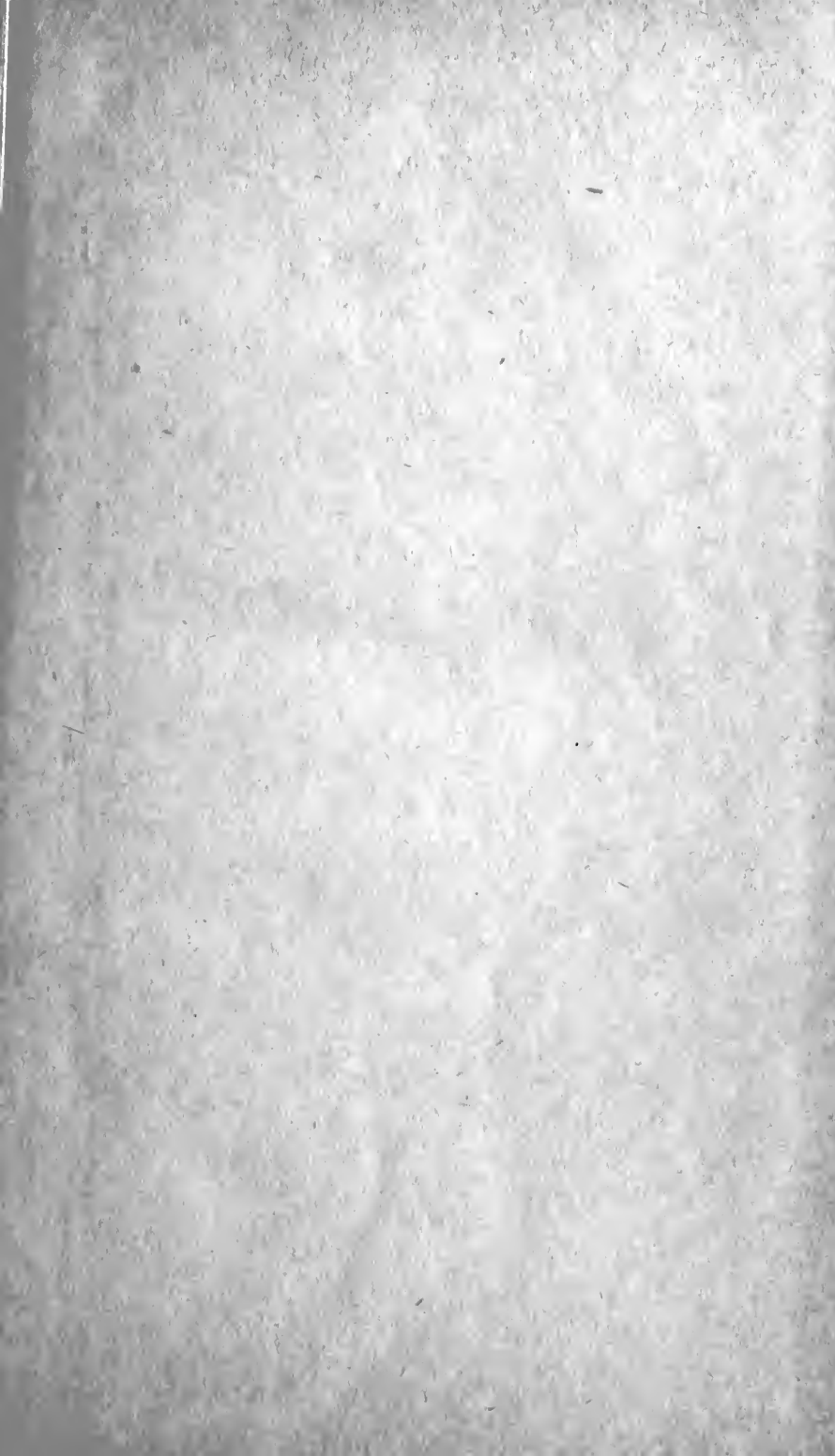




IQH  
(Cambridge)









Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2008 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation

The Rev. President Willard,

with the respectful regards of

The Author.

Sidney Willard.

The Rev. Government

of the Department of

the Interior.

THE  
HISTORY

OF

CAMBRIDGE.



BY ABIEL HOLMES, A. M.

A MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



8164  
—forfan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

VIRC.

---

Printed by SAMUEL HALL, in Cornhill, BOSTON.

1801.  
MAY



THE *present time*, in this History, refers to the year 1800, the time of its compilation.



3929

---

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
C A M B R I D G E.

---

*A topographical Description of Cambridge.\**

CAMBRIDGE is a shire town, in the county of Middlesex. It lies in  $42^{\circ} 23'$  north latitude, and  $71^{\circ}$  west longitude from London. It is bounded on the north-east by Charlestown; on the north-west by Lexington; on the west by Watertown; on the south-west by Newton; on the south by Brookline, and on the south-east and east by Cambridge bay to Charlestown line.

It is about three miles distant from Boston, on a right line; eight miles, as measured on the road leading through Brookline and Roxbury; about four miles and a half through Charlestown; and three miles, one quarter, and sixty rods from the old state-house, by the way of West-Boston bridge.

The soil is various. In the south-west part of the town, within a mile of Charles river, the land is hilly, and abounds in springs. The soil is loamy, and natural to grass. In the

---

\* For this *Description*, I am principally indebted to my worthy friend, and respectable parishioner, CALEB GANNETT, Esquire.

the north-west part of the town, the land is hilly, and similar to that in the south-west part. The hills, in each part, afford large quantities of stone for mason's work. From the foot of the hills on the south side of Charles-river, excepting a quantity of marsh of about 300 acres on each side, the soil is mostly light, and intermixed with loam, lying upon a stratum of clay, at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, though at some places it runs to or near the surface. The soil is the same through the first parish, and Menotomy plains. On the sides of the rivulet, which divides the first and second parishes, there is a large quantity of meadow land, producing but little grass, and of an inferior quality. This meadow, however, abounds with peat, which is used by the poorer inhabitants for fuel.

The original growth of the land was oak, walnut, and pine. The orchards, planted by the first settlers, flourished greatly. The few ancient trees now remaining, being of a much larger size than any planted within half a century, denote vegetation to have been much more vigorous in former than in later years. From this cause, the quantity of fruit is greatly diminished.

The plains, though not fruitful in grass, are well adapted to the raising of Indian corn, winter rye, and the common esculent vegetables.

From the hilly and diversified surface of several parts, and the passage of Charles river through the middle, of the town, it might be supposed that the air is very pure. Experience confirms the supposition. Many of the inhabitants have attained great longevity; and invalids, from other towns, have realized the beneficial effects of a salubrious air from a temporary residence in the town. Persons afflicted with chronic disorders have also received additional advantages, and sometimes effectual relief, by the use of the waters in a chalybeate spring in the south-west parish.

The largest river in Cambridge is Charles river, which is navigable to the bridge leading to Brookline, for vessels of ninety tons, and for lighters to Watertown.

Three ponds head a rivulet, which divides the first and second parishes, and which empties itself into Mystic river. The fish, usually to be found in fresh rivers and ponds,  
may

may, in their season, be caught in these waters. Anciently, the alewife fishery was of considerable value. Exclusive of the purpose of exportation, the fish were used as manure for the land.\* This fishery is, at present, of little consequence.

In the north-west parish, in Cambridge, on a small brook, which originates in Lexington, and empties itself into Mystic river, there are one saw mill, and three grist mills. Persons, transporting their grain from the north-west part of the state to Boston, might avail themselves of these mills, with convenience, to convert it into meal; and thus render it more saleable in the market.

In the same parish, there is a card manufactory which does great honour to American ingenuity. The machine, used in this manufactory, by a simple operation, bends, cuts, and flicks the card teeth. It was invented in the spring of 1797, by Amos Whittemore, of Cambridge; and, on the first of September, 1799, William Whittemore and company commenced business. Twenty-three machines, now in operation, stick two hundred dozen pairs of cards, on an average, every week. Forty persons, male and female, employed in this manufactory, complete the above-mentioned number, weekly, for sale. The building, in which the whole work is done, is 46 feet square; and the average price of the cards is 7 dollars per dozen pairs.

About fifty rods below the bridge leading to Brookline, there is a very commodious wharf, owned by William Winthrop, Esquire, at which great quantities of wood and lumber are annually unladen, to the great convenience of the mechanical interests, and to the general accommodation of the town. The breadth of Charles river here, is twenty-two rods.

West-Boston bridge, connecting Cambridge with Boston, is a magnificent structure. It was erected at the expense of a company incorporated for that purpose; and cost

76,700

---

\* This singular species of manure appears to have been much used in the infancy of the country. An early writer, in reference to the first settlers of Concord, observes: "The Lord is pleased to provide for them great store of fish in the spring time, and especially alewives, about the bigness of a herring: many thousands of these they used to put under their Indian corn." *Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New-England.*

76,700 dollars. The causeway, on the Cambridge side, was begun July 15, 1792; the wood work, April 8, 1793. The bridge was opened for passengers, November 23, 1793, seven months and an half from the time of laying the first pier. It is very handsomely constructed; and, when lighted by its two rows of lamps, extending a mile and a quarter, presents a vista, which has a fine effect.

It stands on 180 piers, and is - 3483 feet long.

Bridge over the gore, 14 do. - 275 do.

Abutment, Boston side, - - - 87 $\frac{1}{2}$

Causeway - - - - - 3344

Distance from the end of the causeway

to the first church in Cambridge - 7810

Width of the bridge - - - - 40

It is railed on each side, for foot-passengers. The sides of the causeway are stoned, capstaid, and railed; and on each side there is a canal, about 30 feet wide. A toll is granted to the proprietors for 70 years.

The distance from the first church in Cambridge to the old state-house in Boston, over this bridge, is three miles, one quarter, and sixty rods; and to the new state-house about three miles.

The erection of this bridge has had a very perceivable influence on the trade of Cambridge, which, formerly, was very inconsiderable. By bringing the travel from the westward and northward through the centre of the town, it has greatly invigorated business there. It, at the same time, has given rise to a thriving trade in the vicinity of the bridge, where several houses and stores have already been built, and where a rapid progress of trade and commerce may rationally be expected. The land, on each side of the road to Boston, from the farm formerly Inman's (lately Mr. Jarvis's) to the bridge, is divided into small lots, accommodated to the purpose of houses and stores; and has recently been sold.\* This sale will, probably, be introductory to a compact and populous settlement.

There are five edifices for public worship in the town: within the limits of the first parish, a Congregational and an Episcopal church; in the second parish, a Congregational and a Baptist church; and in the third, a Congregational church.

\* January, 1801.



There are five College edifices belonging to Harvard University: 1. *Harvard Hall*, (standing on the site of old Harvard, which was burnt in 1764) containing a chapel, and dining hall, the library, and museum; a philosophy chamber, and an apartment for the philosophical apparatus; built in 1765:

2. *Massachusetts Hall*, of 4 stories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 studies; built in 1720:

3. *Hollis Hall*, of 4 stories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 studies; built in 1763:

4. *Holden Chapel*, lately converted into lecturing and reciting rooms, for the use of the professors and tutors; built in 1745. These 4 buildings are of brick.

5. *College House*, a wooden building, of 3 stories, containing 12 rooms with studies. This building stands without the college yard, having been originally built, about 1770, for a private dwelling-house, and purchased, about two years afterward, by the Corporation of Harvard College.

*Stoughton Hall*, which stood nearly on a line with Hollis, on the south, was a brick building, built in 1698, and taken down in 1781. An extensive and beautiful common spreads to the north-west of the colleges, and adds much to the pleasantness of this central part of the town.

A few rods to the south-west of the first church, stands a county court-house, where the judicial courts are holden, and the public business of the town is transacted. At the south-west corner of Market Square, is the jail, an ancient wooden building, not much used, for the confinement of criminals, since the erection of a stone jail at Concord, (the other shire town of Middlesex) in 1789.

A little to the westward of the Episcopal church is the grammar school-house; where a town school is kept through the year. Besides this, there are six school houses in the town; two in each of the three parishes.

During this summer, a bath was erected at brick-wharf, principally for the benefit of the students of the University. It was made under the superintendance of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, and happily unites ornament with utility.

The gardens of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, are universally admired,

admired, for the justness of their design, and for the richness, variety, and perfection, of their productions. In no part of New-England, probably, is horticulture carried to higher perfection than within his inclosure. A mall, adjoining his grounds, made in 1792, and shaded by handsome rows of trees, is a work of neatness and taste; and is, at once, convenient and ornamental to the town.

On the road leading to Watertown, there are several elegant seats, which attract the notice, and delight the eye, of the traveller. One of these seats, now owned by Mr. Andrew Craigie, was the place of General WASHINGTON'S residence, while he was with the American army at Cambridge.

It is generally conceded, that this town eminently combines the tranquillity of philosophic solitude, with the choicest pleasures and advantages of refined society.

	Acres.	rods.
The First Parish in Cambridge contains	2851	60
The Second	4345	118
The Third	2660	81

In October, 1798, the number of dwelling-houses in the First Parish, and within the town, was	148
In the Second	85
In the Third	68

Total houses in Cambridge, 301

The present number of inhabitants in Cambridge is	2445
In 1790, the number was	2115

Increase in 10 years - 330

### *The History of Cambridge.*

THE settlement of Cambridge commenced in 1631. It was the original intention of the settlers to make it the metropolis of the Province of Massachusetts. Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, and the Assistants, having examined the territory lying contiguous to the new settlements, upon view of this spot, "all agreed it a fit place for a beautiful town, and took time to consider further

ther about it.”\* On the 29th of December, 1630, “after many consultations about a fit place to build a town for the seat of government, they agree on a place N. W. side of Charles river, about three miles W. from Charlestown; and all, except Mr. Endicot and Sharp (the former living at Salem, and the latter purposing to return to England) oblige themselves to build houses there the following spring, and remove their ordnance and munition thither, and first call the place *NEWTOWN*.”† The town was laid out in squares, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. One square was reserved for the purpose of a market; and remains open, to this day, still retaining the name of *Market Place*.‡ The street, leading by the Town Spring to the southward, was called *Creek Street*. The street, parallel to this, leading from the College to the Causeway, *Wood Street*. The street, parallel to this, leading from the First Church to Marsh Lane, *Water Street*. The street eastward, and parallel to this, leading from Braintree Street to Marsh Lane, *Crooked Street, or Lane*.§ The street, from the Parsonage to Wood Street, *Braintree Street*. The street southward, and parallel to this, running from the Town Spring to Crooked Lane, *Spring Street*. The street, parallel to this, and farther south, running from Creek Street to Crooked Lane, *Long Street*. South of this a lane on the margin of the marsh, called *Marsh Lane*. A lane leading from Crooked Street or Lane into the Neck, called *Back Lane*. Back Lane was narrow and crooked, and is now discontinued and inclosed; and, in its stead, a new street, 45 feet wide, and straight, has been laid out a few rods to the southward of that lane.

According to agreement, the Deputy-Governor, Secretary Bradstreet, and other principal gentlemen, in the spring of 1631, commenced the execution of the plan, with  
a view

---

\* Gov. Winthrop's Journal, printed at Hartford, in 1790.

† Prince's Chronology, vol. II. 8. Three numbers only of a second volume of this Chronology were ever published.

‡ For the original names of the streets of Cambridge, I am indebted to WILLIAM WINTHROP, Esquire, (a descendant of Governor Winthrop) who, in some other particulars, has obligingly contributed to the correctness of this history.

§ This street was straightened the present year.

a view to its speedy completion. The Governor set up the frame of a house where he first pitched his tent ; and the Deputy-Governor finished his house,\* and removed his family. / On some considerations, however, “ which at first came not into their minds,” the Governor, in the ensuing autumn, took down his frame, and removed it into Boston, with the intention of making that the place of his future abode ; greatly to the disappointment of the rest of the company, who were still resolved to build at Newtown. Having promised the people of Boston, when they first sat down with him there, that he would not remove, unless they should accompany him ; they now petitioned him, “ under all their hands,” that, according to his promise, he would not leave them. About this time, also, Chicketaubu, the Chief of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Newtown, visited the Governor with high professions of friendship ; which rendered him less apprehensive of danger from the Indians, and less solicitous for a fortified town. Together with these considerations, to influence the Governor to this new resolution, Boston was now “ like to be the place of chiefest commerce.”†

Various orders of the Court of Assistants shew, however, that Newtown, still designed for the metropolis, was taken under legislative patronage. On the 14th of June, 1631, the Court, in consideration of “ Mr. John Masters’ having undertaken to make a passage from Charles river to the New Town, 12 feet broad, and 7 deep, promises him satisfaction.” On the 5th of July, the Court ordered; “ that there be levied out of the several plantations £.30, for making the Creek from Charles river to Newtown.”‡ In the course of the same year, a thatched house, in Boston, taking fire from the chimney, and becoming burnt down ; “ for prevention whereof,” observes the Deputy-Governor, “ in our *New Town*, intended to be built this summer, we have

---

\* It stood on the west side of Water Street, near its southern termination at Marsh Lane.

† Belknap’s American Biography, II. 339. Hubbard’s MS. Hist. of N. Eng.

‡ Prince, II. 30, 31. This creek, or passage, which is still open, extends from the river, in a northerly direction, to the upland on the west side of Water Street, where it is intersected by Marsh Lane.

have ordered, that no man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch.\* On the 3d of February, 1632, the Court ordered, "that £.60 be levied out of the several plantations, towards making a palifado about the New Town."†

An historian, who was in New-England, at this time, and who left it the year following, observes: "Newtown was first intended for a city, but, upon more serious considerations, it was thought not so fit, being too far from the sea; being the greatest inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New-England, having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of them are very rich."‡

In some of the first years, the annual election of the Governor and Magistrates of the Colony was holden in this town. The people, on these occasions, assembled under an oak tree, which long remained a venerable monument of the

\* Prince, II. 23.

† Prince, II. 57. This fortification was actually made; and the fosse, which was then dug around the town, is, in some places, visible, to this day. It commenced at Brick Wharf, (originally called Windmill Hill) and ran along the northern side of the present Common in Cambridge, and through what was then a thicket, but now constitutes a part of the cultivated grounds of Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis; beyond which it cannot be distinctly traced. It enclosed above 1000 acres.

‡ Wood's New-England's Prospect.

*Note for page 8.*

Chicketawbu was the sagamore of Neponcett, which could not have been far from Boston, for, on the 14th of February, 1632, "the Governor and some other company went to view the country as far as Neponcett, and returned that night." The first mention of this Indian chief, within my knowledge, is March 23, 1631, when "Chickatabot|| came with his sannops and squaws, and presented the Governor with a bushel of Indian corn." In April, he "came to the Governor again, and he put him into a very good new suit from head to foot; and, after, he sat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed." He died, of the small pox, in November, 1633, when that disorder occasioned "a great mortality among the Indians," and carried off many of his people. *Wintrop's Journal*, 24, 26, 32, 56.

|| Thus spelt by Gov. Wintrop.



the freedom, the patriotifm, and the piety, of the ancestors of New-England. §

The first considerable accession to the fociety appears to have been in August, 1632, when “the Braintree company which had begun to fit down at Mount Woolafton by order of Court, removed to Newtown. Thefe were Mr. Hooker’s company.” || Mr. Hooker, however, having not yet come to New-England, they were ftill deftitute of a fettled minifter. But a preparation for the privilege of the public miniftry, and of the ordinances of the gofpel, was an immediate

§ This venerable oak flood on the northerly fide of the Common in Cambridge, a little weft of the road leading to Lexington. The ftump of it was dug up not many years fince.

|| Winthrop’s Journal, 42. It is highly probable, that this company came from Braintree, in Effex county, in England, and from its vicinity. Chelmsford, where Mr. Hooker was fettled, is but eleven miles from Braintree : And Mr. Hooker “was fo efteemed as a preacher, that not only his own people, but others from all parts of the county of Effex flocked to hear him.”—The names of this company, conftituting the first fettlers of the town of Cambridge, are preferved in the records of the Proprietors, under the date of 1632, and are as follow :

Jeremy Adams	Richard Lord
Matthew Allen	John Mafter
John Benjamin	Abraham Morrill
Jonathan Bofwell	Hefter Muffey
Mr. Simon Bradftreet*	Simon Oakes
John Bridge	James Olmfted
Richard Butler	Capt. Daniel Patrick
John Clarke	John Prat
Anthony Couldby; or Colby	William Pentrey
Daniel Dennifon	Joseph Redinge
Thomas Dudley, Efq.	Nathaniel Richards
Samuel Dudley	William Spencer
Edward Elmer	Thomas Spencer
Richard Goodman	Edward Stebbins
William Goodwin	John Steele
Garrad Hadden	Henry Steele
Stephen Hart	George Steele
John Haynes, Efq.†	Samuel Stone
Thomas Heate	John Talcott
Rev. Thomas Hooker	William Wadfworth
Thomas Hofmer	Andrew Warner
Richard Harlackenden	Richard Webb
William Lewis	William Weftwood
	John White.

\* *Afterward Governor of Massachusetts.*

† *Afterward Governor of Connecticut. His houfe flood on the weft fide of Market Place. For his character, fee Trumbull’s History of Connecticut, I. 223.*

immediate and primary object of their pious attention. This year, accordingly, they "built the first house for public worship at Newtown, with a bell upon it."\*

The removal of the Governor into Boston having occasioned a misunderstanding between him and the Deputy-Governor; "the ministers, for an end of the difference, ordered, that the Governor should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute some towards his maintenance for a time; or if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the Deputy, towards his charges in building there, £.20." The Governor accepted this order, and promised a compliance with it. The Deputy-Governor, however, on the reception of one part of the order, returned it to the Governor, professing so full a persuasion of the Governor's love to him, and so high an estimation of it, that "if he had given him £.100, instead of £.20, he would not have taken it." Notwithstanding the variance, which had subsisted between these venerable men, "yet they peaceably met about their affairs, without any appearance of any breach or discontent; and ever after kept peace and good correspondence together in love and friendship."†

The

---

\* Prince, II. 75. This church stood on the west side of Water Street, and south of Spring Street, near the place where these streets intersect each other, about 30 rods south of where the congregational church now stands.

† Winthrop's Journal.—Governor WINTHROP is characterised, by Morton, as "singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit; as a man of unbiaſſed justice, patience in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving, earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good." Dr. Belknap justly observes, that "he was eminently qualified for the first office of government, in which he shone with a lustre, which would have done him honour in a larger sphere, and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as governor, of an infant plantation." His house, in Boston, stood a few rods north of the Old South church, where the pile of brick stores has been recently built. The late John Winthrop, Esq. Hollis Professor of Math. and Nat. Philos. was his descendant of the fourth generation; and James and William Winthrop, Esquires, now living in Cambridge, are descendants, of the fifth generation. Gov. Winthrop died in 1649, ætat. LXIII. *Amer. Biog.* II. 337. *Magnalia*, II. 8.

THOMAS DUDLEY, Esq. is characterised as "a man of sound judgment in matters of religion, and well read, bestowing much labour that way;

way;

The recent settlers of Newtown had, while in England, attended the ministry of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, who, to escape fines and imprisonment for his non-conformity, had now fled into Holland. To enjoy the privilege of such a pastor, they were willing to migrate to any part of the world. No sooner, therefore, was he driven from them, than they turned their eyes towards New-England. They hoped that, if comfortable settlements could be made in this part of America, they might obtain him for their pastor. Immediately after their settlement at Newtown, they expressed their earnest desires to Mr. Hooker, that he would come over into New-England, and take the pastoral charge of them. At their desire he left Holland; and, having obtained Mr. Samuel Stone, a lecturer at Torcester in Northamptonshire, for an assistant in the ministry, took his passage for America, and arrived at Boston September 4, 1633. With him came over the famous Mr. John Cotton, Mr. John Haynes, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Goff, and two hundred passengers of importance to the Colony.\* “They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for, to have been brought into the High Commission; but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuants attended there, and the mean time the said ministers were taken in at the Downs.”† Mr. Hooker, on his arrival at Boston, proceeded to Newtown, where he was received with open arms, by an affectionate and pious people. He was now chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher, of the people at Newtown; and on the 11th of October, 1633, after solemn fasting and prayer, they were ordained to their respective offices.

The

way; as a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion—the supreme virtues of a good magistrate. He was exact in the practice of piety in his person and family all his life. He was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of Massachusetts; and, several times, Governor and Deputy-Governor of that Province. He was a principal founder of the town of Newtown, [Cambridge] being zealous to have it made the metropolis.” On Mr. Hooker’s removal to Hartford, he removed from Newtown to Ipswich, and afterward to Roxbury, where he died, in 1653, ætat. LXXVII.

*Wonder working Providence. Morton’s Memorial. Prince. Mather.*

\* Trumbull, I. 11.

† Winthrop’s Journal.

The fame of the removal of these eminent men to America invited over vast numbers of Puritans, who could not find rest under Archbishop Laud's severe administration; "inſomuch that, for ſeveral years, hardly a veſſel came into theſe parts, but was crowded with paſſengers for New-England."<sup>†</sup>

An hiſtorian of this early period piously notices "the admirable acts of Providence" toward the people of Newtown, in this infancy of their ſettlement. "Although they were in ſuch great ſtraites for foode, that many of them ate their bread by waight, and had little hopes of the earths fruitfullneſſe, yet the Lord Chriſt was pleaſed to reſreſh their ſpirits with ſuch quickning grace, and lively affections to this temple-worke, that they did not deſert the place. And that which was more remarkable, when they had ſcarce houſes to ſhelter themſelves, and no doores to hinder the Indians acceſſe to all they had in them; yet did the Lord ſo awe their hearts, that although they frequented the Engliſhmens places of aboade, where their whole ſubſtance, weake wives and little ones lay open to their plunder, during their abſence, being whole dayes at Sabbath-Aſſemblies, yet had they none of their food or ſtuffe diminifhed, neither children nor wives hurt in the leaſt meaſure, although the Indians came commonly to them, at thoſe times, much hungry belly (as they uſe to ſay) and were then in number and ſtrength beyond the Engliſh by far."<sup>\*</sup>

As early as May, 1634, it appears that the number of inhabitants at Newtown had become diſproportioned to the townſhip. "Thoſe of Newtown," ſays Governor Winthrop, "complained of ſtraitneſs for want of land, eſpecially meadow, and deſired leave of the Council to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted; whereupon they ſent men to ſee Agawam [Ipfwich] and Merrimack, and gave out they would remove."<sup>†</sup> In July, ſix inhabitants of Newtown went paſſengers in a veſſel "bound to the Dutch plantation, to diſcover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither."<sup>§</sup>

At the General Court, which ſat at Newtown in September,

<sup>†</sup> Neal.

<sup>\*</sup> Wonder-working Providence.

<sup>†</sup> Winthrop's Journal.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid.

ber, "many things were agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle-Island, Dorchester and Charlestown; with divers other matters. But the main business, which spent the most time, and caused the adjourning of the Court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave the last General Court to look out for some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut." The subject was largely and warmly debated; "the whole Colony being affected with the dispute." When the question was put to vote, fifteen of the Deputies voted for leave of departure, and ten against it; the Governor and two Assistants voted for it; but the Deputy-Governor, with all the other Assistants, voted against it; so a legal act could not be obtained. Hence arose a great difference between the Governor and Assistants, and the Deputies, concerning the negative voice. "So when they could proceed no further, the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord," which was kept, accordingly, in all the congregations. The Court met again soon after; but before it proceeded to business, Mr. Cotton (on Mr. Hooker's declining) preached from Hag. ii. 4. "And it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully;—and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Waretown."\* This first enlargement was, doubtless, in breadth, to the southward and westward. When the first settlers erected "the New Town," between Charlestown and Waretown, it was "in forme like a list cut off from the broad-cloath of the two fore-named towns."†

The people of Newtown manifesting a persevering determination to remove into Connecticut, and those of some neighbouring towns concurring, at the same time, in the wish and project of removal to other places; the General Court, in May, 1635, gave them leave to remove whither they pleased, on condition that they should continue under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

In October, Mr. Thomas Shepard, whose name holds a  
conspicuous

\* Winthrop's Journal, 70. † Wonder-working Providence, 61.



conspicuous place in the annals of New-England, arrived at Boston, together with the people who were to form his pastoral charge. On the first of February, 1636, the first permanent church was gathered at Newtown. Mr. Shepard, and "divers other good christians," intending to form a church, communicated their design to the magistrates, who gave their approbation. Application was also made to all the neighbouring churches, "for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown, when they should constitute their body." A great assembly accordingly convened, and the church was organized in a public and solemn manner.\* The ordination of Mr. Shepard probably took place soon after this organization of the church; but the precise time cannot now be ascertained. "It was deferred," says Dr. Mather, "until another day, wherein there was more time to go through the other solemnities proper to such an occasion."

Early in the summer of 1636, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, composing the whole of Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, left Newtown; and travelled above a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to Connecticut. "They had no guide but their compass; made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them."†

They

\* For the form of the organization of this church, and the religious exercises on the occasion, see Winthrop's Journal, 95, 96. This was the eleventh church, gathered in Massachusetts. The order of the churches was as follows:

The first church was gathered	at Salem,	in the year	1629
The second	at Charlestown,		1631
The third	at Dorchester,		1631
The fourth	at Boston,		1631
The fifth	at Roxbury,		1631
The sixth	at Linn,		1631
The seventh	at Watertown,		1631
The eighth (Mr. Hooker's)	at Newtown, [Cambridge]		1633
The ninth	at Ipswich,		1634
The tenth	at Newbury,		1634
The eleventh (Mr. Shepard's)	at Newtown, [Cambridge]		1636

† Trumbull, I. 55. Winthrop's Journal, 100.

They drave with them 160 cattle, and subsisted on the milk of their cows, during the journey. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter. This little company laid the foundation of Hartford, now a very flourishing city in Connecticut.

Their removal was very opportune for Mr. Shepard and his company, who purchased the dwelling-houses and lands, which they had owned at Newtown; and thus enjoyed the advantage (which fell to the lot of few of the early colonists) of entering a settlement already cultivated, and furnished with comfortable accommodations.

This year (1636) the General Court contemplated the erection of a Public School at Newtown, and appropriated four hundred pounds for that purpose; which laid the foundation of Harvard College.\*

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very extraordinary woman, commencing a religious teacher, about this time, and holding lectures for the propagation of her peculiar tenets, attracted a numerous audience, and gained many adherents. "The whole Colony was soon divided into two parties, differing in sentiment, and still more alienated in affection. They siled each other Antinomians and Legalists."† Such was the warmth of the controversy, that it was judged advisable to call a Synod to give their opinion on the controverted points. A Synod was accordingly holden at Newtown on the 30th of August, 1637, at which "all the teaching elders through the country," and messengers of the several churches, were present. The magistrates, too, attended as hearers, and spake occasionally, as they saw fit. Of this Synod Mr. Shepard, who opened it with prayer, "was no small part."‡ After a session of three weeks, the Synod condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, which had become disseminated in New-England. The proceedings of this Synod appear to have been conducted with fairness and ability. "Liberty

---

\* "After God had carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civill government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity: dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

*New-England's First Fruits, published in 1643.*

† Adams's History of New-England.

‡ C. Mather.

erty was given to any man to dispute *pro* or *con*, and none to be charged to be of that opinion he disputed for, unless he should declare himselfe so to be.—The clearing of the true sense and meaning of any place of scripture, it was done by scripture.” An historian, who lived at that period, says : “ Four sorts of persons I could with a good will have paid their passage out, and home againe to England, that they might have been present at this Synod, so that they would have reported the truth of all the passages thereof to their own Colledges at their return.” These were “ the Prelates” ; “ the godly and reverend Presbyterian party” ; “ those who with their new stratagems have brought in so much old error” ; and “ those who derided all sorts of scholarship.” §

The vigilance of Mr. Shepard was blest for the preservation of his own church, and of the other New-England churches, from the Antinomian and Familistical errors, which began at this time to prevail : “ And,” according to Dr. Mather, “ it was with respect to this vigilancy, and the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a *College* was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary.”\*

A contemporary historian closes “ the dismall yeare of fixteene hundred thirty-six,” with the following story, illustrative, at once, of Mr. Shepard’s preaching talents, and of the spirit of his times. A person, who had come to New-England, “ hoping to finde the powerful presence of Christ in the preaching of the word,” was encountered, at his first landing, by some of Mrs. Hutchinson’s disciples, who were zealous to profelyte him to their doctrine. Finding that “ hee could not skill in that new light, which was the common theame of every man’s discourie,” he tooke himself to a narrow Indian path, which soon led him “ where none but fencelesse trees and echoing rocks make answer to his heart-easeing mone.” After a perplexed and pathetic soliloquy, in this deep recess, he formed a resolution “ to hear some one of these able ministers preach, whom

§ Wonder-working Providence.

\* Magnalia, III. 87. Wonder-working Providence, 164.

whom report had so valued," before he would "make choice of one principle," or "cross the broad seas back againe. Then turning his face to the sun, he steered his course toward the next town, and after some small travell hee came to a large plaine. No sooner was hee entred thereon, but hearing the found of a drum, he was directed toward it by a broad beaten way." Following this road, he enquired of the first person he met, what the signal of the drum meant. The answer was, "they had as yet no bell to call men to meeting, and therefore made use of a drum."\* Who lectures, said he, at this town? "I see you are a stranger, new come over," replied the other, "since you know not the man. It is one Mr. Shepard." "I am new come over," said the stranger, "and have been told since I came, that most of your ministers are legall preachers, onely if I mistake not they told me this man preached a finer covenant of works than the other. However, I shall make what haste I can to hear him. Fare you well." Hastening to the place, he pressed through the thickest crowd into the church, "where having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed." He was frequently melted into tears, during the service, and overwhelmed with gratitude to God, whose "blessed spirit caused the speech of a poore weake pale complexioned man to take such impressiion in his soul." The preacher "applied the word so aptly, as if hee had been his privy counsellor; clearing Christs worke of grace in the soule from all those false doctrines, which the erroneous party had afrighted him withall." Finding that there was here not only a zeal "for the truth of the discipline, but also of the doctrine," of the gospel, "he now resolves (the Lord willing) to live and die with the ministers of New-England."†

The Reverend John Harvard, of Charlestown, in 1638, added to the sum, appropriated by the Legislature to the public

---

\* The town records confirm Mr. Prince's account, that the church had a bell at first; for they shew that the town meetings were then called by the ringing of the bell. A drum, for what reason does not now appear, was afterwards substituted in its place; for I find an order of the townsmen, in 1646, for the payment of fifty shillings to a man "for his service to the towne, in beating the drum."

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XLIII.

public school at Newtown, about eight hundred pounds. Thus endowed, this school was exalted to a college, and assumed the name of its principal Benefactor: and *Newtown*, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education, was now denominated CAMBRIDGE.

In 1639, the first printing press, erected in New-England, was set up at Cambridge, "by one Daye at the charge of Mr. Glover," who died on his passage to America.\* The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack made for New-England by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre.†

The ecclesiastical fathers of New-England, dissatisfied with Sternhold and Hopkins' version of the Psalms, then in common use, resolved on a new version. Some of the principal Divines in the country, among whom were Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester, undertook the work. Aiming, as they well expressed it, to have "a plain translation, rather than to smoothe their verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase;"

and

---

\* "The Reverend and judicious Mr. Jos. Glover, being able both in person and estate for the work, provided, for further completing the colonies, in church and commonwealth, a printer," &c. *Wonder-working Providence, X.*—Mrs. Glover (probably the relict of this gentleman) bought Gov. Haines' house and estate, situated at Market Place, in Cambridge, in 1639.

Nothing of Daye's printing is to be found. The press was very early in the possession of Mr. SAMUEL GREENE, who was an inhabitant of Cambridge, in 1639, and who is considered as the *first Printer* in America. His descendants, in every succession to this day, have maintained the honour of the typographic art. The present printers, of that name, at New-London, and New-Haven, in Connecticut, are of his posterity. The first press was in use at Cambridge, about half a century. The last thing I can find, which issued from it, is the second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible, in 1685. Some reliques of this press, I am informed, are still in use, in the printing office at Windsor, in Vermont.

Mr. Samuel Hall, printer to the Historical Society, printed the New-England Chronicle at Cambridge, from the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1775, to the removal of the American army from Cambridge. A new printing press was set up in this town, the present year, by Mr. William Hilliard, a son of my worthy predecessor in the ministry.

† Winthrop's Journal.

and regarding "conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry," their version, it seems, was too crude to satisfy the taste of an age, neither highly refined, nor remarkably critical. Hence, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, addressed them with this monitory verse :

"Ye *Roxbury* poets, keep clear of the crime  
Of missing to give us very good rhyme :  
And you of *Dorchester* your verses lengthen,  
But with the texts own words you will them strengthen."

This Version was printed at Cambridge in 1640 : but requiring, as it was judged, "a little more art," it was committed to President Dunster, a great master of the oriental languages, who, with some assistance, revised and refined it, and brought it into that state in which the churches of New-England used it for many subsequent years.\*

In 1639, the town ordered, that some person, chosen for the purpose, should register every birth, marriage, and burial, and, "according to the order of the Court, in that case provided, give it in once evrie yeare to be delivered by the deputies to the Recorder."

In 1641, (Dec. 13) the town chose two men, whom they directed to "take care for the making of the towne spring, against Mr. Dunster's house, a sufficient well, with timber and stone fit for the use of man, and wattering of cattel."†

In 1642, according to an order of the last General Court, "for the townsmen to see to the educating children," the town was divided into six parts, and a person appointed for each division, "to take care of all the families" it contained.

The first Commencement was holden at Cambridge in 1642, at which time nine Students took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.‡ "They were young men of good  
hope,

\* The Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, observed, that, when he was last in England, in 1717, he found this Version "was by some eminent congregations there preferred to all others in their public worship." I find the eighteenth edition of this Version printed with the Bible at Edinburgh, in 1741 ; and the twenty-third (I suppose New-England) edition printed at Boston, in 1730. The Rev. Mr. Prince revised and improved this New-England Version, in 1758.

† May not this be the town well, still in use, a little southwesterly of the first church ?

‡ There are now one hundred and ninety-one Students in this ancient and very respectable seminary ; and, for several preceding years, there



hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts.”\* Most of the members of the General Court were now present; “and dined at the college with the scholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students encouragement—and it gave good content to all.”†

In 1643, the General Court,—which had previously committed the government of the College to all the magistrates, and the ministers of the three nearest churches, with the president,—passed an act for the well ordering and managing of Harvard College, by which all the magistrates, and the teaching elders of the six nearest towns, [Cambridge, Wattertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester] and the president for the time being, were appointed to be forever governors of this Seminary. They met at Cambridge, for the first time, by virtue of this Act, on the 27th of December, 1643, “considered of the officers of the college, and chose a treasurer.”‡

How early the Grammar School was established at Cambridge does not appear : but it seems to have been nearly coeval with the town, and to have been an object of great care and attention. As early as 1643, a writer observes : “By the side of the Colledge is a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they

have been upwards of two hundred.	Since the year 1642, there have graduated at this College	3674
	Of whom have died	2113
	Now living	1561
	The whole number of ministers who have graduated here, is	1158
	Of which number have died	787
	Now living	371

The observations of Mr. Oakes are worthy of perpetual regard : “Think not that the Commonwealth of Learning may languish, and yet our Civil and Ecclesiastical State be maintained in good plight and condition. The wisdom and foresight, and care for future times, of our first Leaders was in nothing more conspicuous and admirable, than in the planting of that Nursery : and New-England is enjoying the sweet fruit of it. It becomes all our faithful and worthy Patriots that tread in their steps, to water what they have planted.”

*Address to the General Court, in his Election Sermon, 1673.*

\* Winthrop's Journal.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole : Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youths under him."†

This school, some years after, received a liberal donation from Edward Hopkins, † Esquire, Governor of Connecticut, who died in England, in 1657. This charitable and pious man gave, by his last will, the principal part of his estate to his father-in-law, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, and others, "in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it, according to" his "true intent and purpose." This purpose is declared to be, "to give some encouragement in those Foreign Plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful Youth in a way of learning both at the Grammar School and College, for the public service of the Country in future times." Five hundred pounds of his estate in England, appropriated to the college and grammar school in Cambridge, were laid out in real estate in the town of Hopkinton, and now constitute a respectable fund. Three fourths of the income of this estate are applied, according to the instruction of the will of the donor, to the maintenance of five resident Bachelors of arts, at Harvard College, and the other fourth "to the Master of Cambridge Grammar School, in consideration of his instructing in Grammar Learning

---

† New-England's First Fruits. See Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 243. Mr. Corlet appears to have been a man of learning, of piety, and respectability ; and it is to the honour of Cambridge, that, in the infancy of the town, great exertions were made for his steady and permanent support. He was master of the Grammar School, in this town, between 40 and 50 years. He had the tuition of the Indian scholars, who were designed for the College, and, "for his extraordinary paines in teaching" them, received compensation from the Society for propagating the Gospel. In the accounts, transmitted from New-England to that Society, he is repeatedly, and very honourably, mentioned. [See Hazard's Hist. Coll. II.] Dr. C. Mather (who has inserted in his *Magnalia* a biographical sketch of the Rev. Mr. Hooker, drawn by Mr. Corlet) styles him "that memorable old School-master in Cambridge ; from whose education," he adds, "our College and Country has received so many of its worthy men, that he is himself worthy to have his name celebrated in our Church History."

† See his character in Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 241.



Learning five boys, § nominated by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and the Minister of Cambridge for the time being, who are, by the Will, constituted "Visitors of the said School." They make an annual visitation, the week before the commencement, "to see that so many children are taught," and that they "give proof of their proficiency in learning." Two shillings on the pound, or a tenth part as much as each Bachelor receives, is applied to "buy books and reward the industry of such under-graduates, as distinguish themselves by their application to their studies."

In 1644, Mr. Daniel Gookin removed from Virginia, with his family, and settled at Cambridge; "being drawn hither by having his affection strongly set on the truths of Christ and his pure ordinances." † His arrival was very opportune for the Reverend Mr. Eliot, the Indian apostle, who was now preparing himself for his great work of evangelizing the Indians. Mr. Gookin, animated with an apostolical zeal for the promotion of this pious design, vigorously co-operated with Mr. Eliot, in its execution. He himself informs us,\* that Mr. Eliot "was his neighbour, and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprize," and communicated to him his design. In Mr. Eliot's evangelizing visits to the Indians, Mr. Gookin so often accompanied him, that he is said to have been "his constant, pious and persevering companion." ‡ In  
1646,

---

§ The Legislature of Massachusetts has made such an addition to this very useful fund, that six bachelors may now reside at the College, and seven boys be instructed at the Grammar School.

† Wonder-working Providence: Magnal. III. 120.

\* Hist. Collect. of the Indians in New-England.

‡ Homer's Hist. of Newtown, in Coll. of Hist. Soc. vol. V. 253.—  
Soon after Mr. Gookin's arrival, he was appointed captain of the military company in Cambridge; and a member of the house of deputies. In 1652, he was elected assistant; and, four years after, was appointed by the General Court superintendant of all the Indians, who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts; in which office he appears to have continued, with little interruption, till his death. In 1662, he was appointed, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, one of the licensers of the printing-presses in Cambridge. In 1681, he was appointed major-general of the Colony. He is characterized by the writers, who mention his name, as a man of good understanding, rigid in his religious  
and

1646, Mr. Eliot, having acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, began to preach to the Indians at Nonantum, then lying within the limits of Cambridge. From this time, for many years afterward, great pains were taken, and large sums expended, to educate Indian youth for the ministry. Several were maintained, a number of years, at the grammar school, with a view to the completion of their education at the college in Cambridge. Such, at this early period, was the zeal of our pious ancestors for the christianization of the Indians; and so sanguine were their hopes of rendering the Indian youth auxiliary to the design, that, in 1665, a brick edifice, 30 feet long, and 20 feet broad, was

and political principles, but zealous and active, of inflexible integrity, and exemplary piety, disinterested and benevolent, a firm patriot, and, above all, uniformly friendly to the Indians, who lamented his death with unfeigned sorrow. He died in 1687—a poor man. But, such was the estimation of his character and services, that a decent monument was erected over his grave. It stands on the south-east side of the burying-ground in Cambridge, and has this inscription :

Here lyeth interred  
the body of Major Genl  
Daniel Gookins aged 75 yeares  
who departed this life y<sup>e</sup> 19 of March  
1686—7

Mr. Eliot's apostolical labours among the Indians are justly celebrated in Europe and America. His Indian bible will remain a perpetual monument of his patient diligence, and pious zeal. "The whole translation," Dr. C. Mather says, "he writ with but one pen." The first edition of it was published as early, at least, as the year 1668, and a second in 1685. Both editions were printed at Cambridge. The title of this bible is :

Mamuffe  
Wunneetupanatamwe  
U P - B I B L U M G O D  
Naneefwe  
NUKKONE TESTAMENT  
Kah Wonk  
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

*The Lord's Prayer* is as follows :

Nooshun kesukqut, quttianatamunach koowefuonk. Peyaumooutch kukketaffootamoonk nen nach ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeet-fuongash asékéfukokish affamainneau yenyeu kesukok. Kah ahquoan-tamainnean nummatcheseongash neane matchenchukqueagig nutah-quotamounnonog. Ahquc sagkompagunaiinnean en qutchhuaongaint webe pohquohwuffinmean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtaunn ke-taffootamoonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumoonk micheme. Amen.

was erected at Cambridge, for an Indian College. Several Indians entered college, of whom, however, one§ only ever attained the academical honours. “The design,” says Mr. Gookin, “was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual.”—“The awful providences of God, in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were designed to be for teachers unto their countrymen,” are noticed, with great sensibility, by this historian,† who, amidst all discouragements, retained his zeal for the promotion of this pious design, till the very close of his life.

A Bill having been preferred to the General Court in 1646, for the calling of a Synod, for the purpose of composing and publishing a platform of church-discipline, a “motion” was made by the Court to the churches, to assemble such a synod. It was, accordingly, convened at Cambridge that year, and protracted its session, by adjournments, till 1648. This synod composed and adopted the *Platform of Church-Discipline*, called “The Cambridge Platform,” which, together with the Westminster Confession of Faith, it recommended to the General Court, and to the churches. The churches of New-England, in general, acceded to this platform for more than thirty years: and it was recognized and confirmed by a synod at Boston, in 1679.\*

The thriving state of the herds,† belonging to this town, together

§ Caleb Cheescaumuck, (anciently written Cheeshahteaumuck) in 1665.

‡ Gookin’s Historical Collections, chap. V.

\* Adams’s Hist. of N. England. Neal’s Hist. of N. England, II. 33.

† By an estimate of the number of persons, and of the estate, in Cambridge, taken by the Townsmen, [Selectmen] by order of the General Court, in 1647, it appears, that there were then in town,

Persons (rateable)	- - - - -	135	
Houses	- - - - -	90	
Cows, (valued at £.9 pr. head)	- - - - -	208	
Oxen, (at £.6 pr. head)	- - - - -	131	
Young cattle	- - - - -	229	
	Total head of cattle	- - - - -	568
Horses, (at £.7 pr. head)	- - - - -	20	
Sheep, (at £.1 10 pr. head)	- - - - -	37	
Swine, (at £.1 pr. head)	- - - - -	62	
Goats, (at 8s. pr. head)	- - - - -	58	

together with the confidence reposed in *Waban*† (an influential Indian, recently converted to christianity by the apostolic Eliot) appear in the following compact, dated April 12, 1647: “Bargained with Waban, the Indian, for to keepe about *six score beade* of dry cattle on the south side of Charles River, and he is to have the full some of eight pound, to be paid as followeth, viz. 30<sup>s</sup>. to James Cutler, and the rest in Indian corne at 3 sh. bushel, after micheltide next.—He is to bargain to take care of them the 21 day of this present month, and to keepe them untill 3 weeks after michelmas; and if any be lost or ill, he is to send word unto the towne, and if any shall be lost through his carelessness he is to pay according to the value of the beast for his defect.

his  mark.

Waban.”

In 1648, “it was agreed, at a generall meeting, when the whole towne had speciall warneing to meete for the disposing of Shawshine, that there should be a farme layde out, of a thousand acres, to be for a publick stocke, and improved for the good of the Church, and that part of the Church that here shall continue; and every person or persons, that shall from time to time remove from the Church, doe hereby resigne up their interest therein to the remaining part of the Church of Cambridge.”\*

The same year, it was ordered, “That there shall be an eight peny ordnary provided for the Townsmen [Selectmen] every second munday of the month upon there meeteing day; and that whosoever of the Townsmen faile to be present within half an houre of the ringing of the bell (which shall be half an houre after eleven of the clocke) he shall both lose his dinner, and pay a pint of sacke, or the value, to the present Townsmen.”

Among the town-officers for the following year, three commissioners were chosen, “to end small causes under forty shillings.”

Mr. Shepard died in 1649, and was succeeded in the  
ministry

† Waban lived at Nonantum, a part of Cambridge Village, now Newton. When Mr. Eliot made his first evangelizing visit, Oct. 28, 1646, “Waban met him at a small distance from the settlement, and welcomed him to a large wigwam on the hill Nonantum;” and became one of the first fruits of his mission.

*Homer's Hist. of Newton.*

\* Town Records.

ministry by the Reverend Jonathan Mitchel. In the interval between Mr. Shepard's death, and Mr. Mitchel's ordination, the pulpit was supplied by President Dunster, and Mr. Richard Lyon, who lived at the President's in the capacity of a private tutor to an English student.

A vote of the town to repair the old church "with a square rooffe, and covered with shingle," passed Feb. 18, 1650, was rescinded, in March; and the committee, now ordered to "desist from repairing" the old house, was instructed to "agree with workmen for the building of a new house, about forty foot square, and covered as was formerly agreed for the other. It was also then voted, and generally agreed, that the new meeting-house shall stand on the Watch house hill." This is believed to be the hill on which the present congregational church stands. The second church was, doubtless, erected about this time; for, in February, 1651, the town voted, "That the Townsmen shall make sale of the land whereon the old meeting house stood."

In 1650, the General Court gave the College its first charter, appointing a Corporation, consisting of the President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer. This board, and that previously mentioned, *now* denominated the board of Overseers, constitute the legislature of Harvard University.\*

Cambridge appears, at this time, to have bestowed some attention on navigation; for an early historian mentions "a ship, built and set forth by the inhabitants of Cambridge,"

\* PRESIDENTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

<i>Access.</i>		<i>Exit.</i>
1640	Rev. Henry Dunster, resigned	1654
1654	Rev. Charles Chauncy, died	1672
1672	Rev. Leonard Hoar, M. D. resigned	1675
1675	Rev. Urian Oakes, A. M. died	1681
1682	John Rogers, A. M. died	1684
1685	Rev. Increase Mather, S. T. D. resigned	1701
1701	Rev. Samuel Willard, A. M. Vice-President, died	1707
1708	Hon. John Leverett, A. M. S. R. S. died	1724
1725	Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, A. M. died	1737
1737	Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M. died	1769
1770	Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. resigned	1773
1774	Rev. Samuel Langdon, S. T. D. resigned	1780
1781	Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D. L. L. D.	

bridge," in 1649, as being "split and cast away." The same historian, who composed his history in 1652, says of Cambridge: "This town is compact closely within itselfe, till of late yeares some few stragling houfes have been built. The liberties of this town have been enlarged of late in length, reaching from the most northerly part of *Charles* river, to the most southerly part of *Merrimeck* river.\* It hath well ordered streets and comly compleated with the faire building of Harvard Colledge.—The people of this Church and Towne have hitherto had the chiefeft share in spirituall blessings, the ministry of the word by more than ordinary instruments:—Yet are they at this day in a thriving condition in outward things, also both corne and cattell, neate, and sheepe, of which they have a good flocke, which the Lord hath caused to thrive much in these latter dayes than formerly." †

The first license for an inn, in Cambridge, appears to have been given in 1652, when "the townsmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to sell beare and bread, for entertainment of strangers, and the good of the towne." ‡

The inhabitants of Cambridge Village had become so numerous, by the year 1656, as to form a distinct congregation for public worship; and an annual abatement was made of "the one halfe of their proportion to the ministries allowance, dureing the time they were provided of an able minister according to law." §

The same year, the inhabitants of Cambridge consented to pay each his proportion of a rate to the sum of £.200, "towards the building a bridge over Charles River." || A bridge was erected, about the year 1660, and, for many years,

---

\* Cambridge appears, in the first instance, to have contained merely a sufficient tract of land for a fortified town. Hence the early tendency of its inhabitants to emigration. By this second enlargement, it appears to have included the territory constituting the principal part of the present township of *Billerica*, and the whole township of *Lexington*; the former of which was incorporated May 29, 1655, and the latter, March 20, 1712. Cambridge Village was incorporated, by the name of *Newton*, December 8, 1691.

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XXVIII.

‡ Town Records.

§ Town Records. The first church in Cambridge Village [now *Newton*] was gathered July 20, 1664.

|| Town Records.

years, was called "The Great Bridge." Not long after its erection, it was ordered that it should be "layd in oyle and lead."\*

About this time, there was built in the town, "a house of correction;" which, in conjunction with other facts, indicates the early care of our ancestors to repress idleness and vice, and to encourage industry and economy. In 1656, certain persons were appointed by the selectmen, to execute the order of the General Court, for the improvement of all the families within the limits of this town, in spinning and cloathing.† The year following, James Hubbard had "liberty granted him to fell some small timber on the common, for the making him a loome."‡

Orchards must have been successfully cultivated, as early as the year 1662; for Mr. Mitchel was then "granted a tree for a cider presse;" and James Hubbard "timber for fencing his orchard."||

In September, 1665, five Mohawk Indians, "all stout and lusty young men," came, in the afternoon, into the house of Mr. John Taylor, in Cambridge. They were seen to come out of a swamp not far from the house. Each of them had a firelock gun, a pistol, a helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about his neck, and a pack, well furnished with powder, and bullets, and other necessary implements. The family giving immediate notice to the authority of the town, a constable, with a party of men, came to the house, and seized them without any resistance, and, by authority, committed them to prison. The English had heard much of the Mohawks, but had never seen any of them before. "At their being imprisoned, and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected; but, as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake." Within a day or two after, they were removed from Cambridge to Boston prison, and were repeatedly examined by the Court, then in session. They alleged that they came not with any intention to do the least harm to the English, but to avenge themselves of the Indians, their enemies. The Court, at length,

---

\* A phrase, supposed to mean "painted."

† Town Records.      ‡ Ibid.      || Ibid.



length, dismissed them, with a letter to their chief sachem, the purport of which was, to forbid the Mohawks, for the future, to kill any of the Indians under the protection of the English, and to come armed into any of the English towns. With this letter, and a convoy of horse to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were dismissed, and were heard of no more.\*

To the moral and religious education of the children and youth in Cambridge, there appears to have been a regular and systematic attention. In 1668, some of the most respectable inhabitants were chosen "for katechising the youth of this town."†

Mr. Mitchel died in 1668. "At a public meeting of the Church and Town," in 1669, "to consider of supply for the ministry, it was agreed, That there should be a house bought or built, to entertain a minister."‡ For this purpose, the parish, the same year, sold "the church's farm," of six hundred acres, in Shawshin, (Billerica) for £.230 sterling. Four acres of land were, soon after, purchased; on which, in 1670, a house was erected thirty-six feet long, and thirty feet wide, "this house to remaine the church's, and to be the dwelling place of such a minister and officer, as the Lord shall be pleased to supply us withall, during the time he shall supply that place amongst us."||

The Church and Society now invited Mr. William Stoughton\* to become their minister; "but they were denied."

\* Gookin's Hist. Collect. † Church Records. ‡ Ibid.

|| Church Records. All the ministers, since Mr. Mitchel, have resided at the Parsonage. The front part of the present house, at the Parsonage, was built in 1720.

\* The Honourable William Stoughton, Esquire, was a preacher of the gospel for several years. His Sermon, at the annual Election, has been ranked among the very best, delivered on that occasion. His Epitaph (which Mr. Clap, the late venerable town-clerk of Dorchester, told me, in his cautious manner, he believed *may have been* written by the Rev. Mr. Mather, of Dorchester) ascribes to him these traits;

Religione Sanctus,  
Virtute clarus,  
Doctrina Celebris,  
Ingenio Acutus,

— — — — —  
Impietatis & Vitii Hostis acerrimus.  
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,  
Hunc Pii venerantur Austerum.

With



denied."—"After some time of seeking God by prayer, the Lord was pleased to guide the church to make their application to Mr. Urian Oakes in Old England." Mr. William Manning was sent as a messenger with a letter from the church, and with another letter "sent by several Magistrates and Ministers, to invite him to come over and be an officer amongst them."† Mr. Oakes accepted the invitation, came to America, and was inducted into office, in 1671. In 1675, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, and was inducted into that office the same year. The charge of his flock, however, he did not entirely relinquish till his death.

In 1675, the selectmen appointed certain persons "to have inspection into families, that there be noe by drinking or any misdemenor wheareby fine is committed, and persons from there houses unseasonably."‡

At a town meeting, in 1676, called "to consider about fortifieing of the towne against the Indians," it was judged necessary, "that something bee done for the fencing in the towne with a stockade, or some thing equivalent." Materials were, accordingly, prepared: but king Philip's war being soon after terminated, the town ordered that the selectmen should "improve the timber, that was brought for the fortification, for the repairing of the Great Bridge."\* This bridge was rebuilt in 1690, at the expense of Cambridge and Newton, with some aid from the public treasury.

The extent of the town, and the provident and pious attention of its inhabitants to the support of the ministry, appear by a vote of January 8, 1682: "That 500 acres of the remote lands, lying between Woburn, Concord, and our head line, shall be laid out for the use and benefit of the ministry of this town and place, and to remain for that use forever."§

Mr.

With these excellent qualifications, however, he was never settled in the ministry. But, in civil life, he was eminently useful to the Commonwealth. He was repeatedly chosen its Lieut. Governor; and, for some years, was Commander in chief. He was a generous benefactor to Harvard College. Stoughton Hall was erected at his expense. See his Epitaph entire in Hist. Collections, II. 10.

† Church Records.

‡ Town Records.

\* Town Records.

§ Ibid.

Mr. Oakes died in 1681. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, who had been employed by the society as his assistant, during the latter part of his ministry, was now chosen his successor. He was ordained in 1682. He died in 1692.

Not long after his death, the church and society unanimously invited the celebrated Dr. Increase Mather to succeed him, in the ministry : but the reluctance of his people, (among whom he had then ministered 36 years) with other obstacles, prevented his acceptance of the invitation.

The Reverend William Brattle was, at length, chosen to this office ; and was ordained in 1696. During his ministry, a formal and public relation of religious experiences, as a qualification for church fellowship, was, by a vote of the church, declared unnecessary ; the business of examination was referred to the pastor and elders ; and the consent of the church to the admission of a member was signified by silence, instead of a manual vote.

In 1700, the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge gave the high way on the south side of Charles river, from the river to the road now leading to Roxbury, "for the use of the ministry in this town and place."† This highway lay to the eastward of the present one, on the south side of the river. Before the erection of the first bridge over Charles river, there was a ferry, from the wharf at Water street, in Cambridge, to this highway.

In 1706, the third church was erected in Cambridge, a little in front of the spot where the present church stands ; and the first divine service was performed in it on the 13th of October.

On the petition of the farmers, "that they might be dismissed from the town, and be a township by themselves ;" leave was given them, on certain conditions : and Cambridge Farms were incorporated, by the name of *Lexington*, in 1712.\*

Mr. Brattle died in 1717 ; and was succeeded by the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, who was ordained the same year.

A farm of 500 acres, lying at a remote part of Lexington, toward Bedford, "given in former time by the proprietors

---

† Town Records.

\* Ibid.

prietors of the town for the use of the ministry in this town and place," was sold in 1719; and the avails (excepting £.130 for the erection of a new parsonage house) were appropriated to the establishment of an accumulating fund, for the purpose originally designed by the donation. It was Mr. Appleton's proposal, (which has been carried into effect) that the minister should receive two thirds of the interest, and that the other third should be added to the principal, that it might be "a growing estate." This fund, by its own accumulation, and by the addition of the product of ministerial lands, sold in 1795, has become greatly auxiliary to the support of the ministry.

In 1732, the inhabitants of the north-westerly part of Cambridge were, by an act of the Legislature, formed into a distinct and separate Precinct. On the Lord's-day, September 9, 1739, a church was gathered in this precinct, by the Rev. Mr. Hancock, of Lexington: and, on the 12th of the same month, the Reverend Samuel Cooke was ordained its pastor. On this occasion, the first church in Cambridge voted, that £.25 be given out of the church stock to the second church in Cambridge, "to furnish their communion table in a decent manner."\*

In 1734, the town received £.300 from the General Court, toward defraying the expence of repairing the Great Bridge over Charles river; and, together with a vote of thanks to the Court, voted thanks to Jacob Wendell, Esquire, and Mr. Cradock, for their kindness in procuring and collecting a very bountiful subscription for the same purpose.†

In 1736, a committee, chosen by the church to consult with the pastor respecting measures to promote a reformation, proposed and recommended to the church, as what they "apprehended might be serviceable for reviving religion, and suppressing growing disorders," that there be a number of wise, prudent, and blameless Christians chosen among themselves, whose special care it should be, to inspect

---

\* Church Records. The Rev. Mr. Cooke, "in whom," as his epitaph justly states, "were united the social friend, the man of science, the eminent and faithful clergyman," died June 4, 1783, in the 75th year of his age, and 44th of his ministry. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, who was ordained April 23, 1788.

† Town Records.

spect and observe the manners of professing Christians, and such as were under the care and watch of the church. The proposal was adopted, and a committee was appointed, for the purpose expressed in the recommendation. This committee, which was a kind of privy council to the minister, though without authority, appears to have been very serviceable to the interests of religion ; and it was renewed annually, for the space of about fifty years.

In 1756, the present Court House in Cambridge was built.

The present church, in the First Parish in Cambridge, which is the fourth, built in this parish, was raised November 17, 1756 ; and divine service was first performed in it July 24, 1757. The bell, now in use, was given to the society, by Captain Andrew Belcher, in the year 1700 ; at which time the town gave " the little meeting-house bell to the farmers," or Lexington. The bible, for the pulpit, was the gift of the Honourable Jacob Wendell, Esquire, of Boston, in 1740. The present clock was procured by subscription in 1794.

In 1761, five or six gentlemen, each of whose income was judged to be adequate to the maintenance of a domestic chaplain, were desirous to have an episcopal church built, and a missionary fixed, at Cambridge. This year, accordingly, a church was erected : and the Reverend East Apthorp took charge of it, as missionary from the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.\*

---

\* This church, called *Christ Church*, was opened October 15, MDCCLXI ; and is considered, by connoisseurs in architecture, as one of the best constructed churches in New-England. Its model is said to have been taken from Italy. On its corner-stone is the following INSCRIPTION :

DEO. ÆTERNO.  
PATRI. FILIO. SPIRITVI. S.  
HANC. AEDEM.  
SUB AVSPICHS. ILLUSTRISS. SOCIETATIS.  
PROMOVENDO. EVANGELIO.  
IN. PARTIBUS. TRANSMARINIS.  
INSTITUTAE.  
CONSECRABANT. CANTABRIGIENSES.  
ECCLESIAE. ANGLICANAE. FILII.  
IN:  
CHRISTIANAE. FIDEI. ET. CHARITATIS.  
INCREMENTVM.  
A. D. MDCCLX.  
PROVINCIAM. PROCURANTE.  
V. CL.  
FRANCISCO. BERNARDO.

Mr.

The inhabitants of Cambridge early discovered a zealous attachment to the liberties of their country. On the occasion of the memorable *Stamp Act*, it was voted, October 14, 1765, "as the opinion of the town, That the inhabitants of this Province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their distance from Great-Britain, and that the Stamp Act is an infraction upon these rights." After stating its oppressive tendency, the vote proceeds: "Let this Act but take place, Liberty will be no more; Trade will languish and die; our Medium will be sent into his Majesty's exchequer; and Poverty come upon us as an armed man. The Town, therefore, hereby advise and direct their representatives by no means whatsoever to do any one thing that may aid said Act in its operation; but that, in conjunction with the friends of liberty, they use their utmost endeavours that the same may be repealed: and that this vote be recorded in the Town Books, that the children yet unborn may see the desire that their ancestors had for their freedom and happiness."\*

At a meeting of the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge, in 1769, "all the common lands, belonging to the proprietors, fronting the college, commonly called the Town Commons, not heretofore granted or allotted to any particular person, or for any special or particular use," were "granted to the town of Cambridge, to be used as a Training Field, to lie undivided, and to remain for that use forever."†

The election of counsellors for the Province of Massachusetts was holden at Cambridge, in May, 1770, by order of Governor Hutchinson; in opposition to the Charter, and to the sense of the whole Province.

On the imposition of a duty on teas imported to America, by the East-India Company, several spirited resolves of the town of Cambridge, November 26, 1773, were closed  
with

---

Mr. Apthorp was educated at Jesus College, in the University of Cambridge, in England, of which he was afterwards a Fellow. He proceeded A. B. in 1755, and has since received the degree of D. D. from one of the English Universities. Within a few years after his settlement at Cambridge, he went to England, and became settled in London, where he is still living.

\* Town Records.

† Proprietors' Records.

with the following: "That this Town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston, and other towns, in any measures that may be thought proper, to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery."\*

On the great question, "Whether, if Congress should, for the safety of the Colonies, declare them independent of Great-Britain, the town would support them in the measure:" the inhabitants of Cambridge, May 27, 1776, unanimously and solemnly engaged such support, with their lives and fortunes.†

From the commencement of hostilities at Lexington, April 18, 1775, the tranquillity of Cambridge was, for several years, interrupted, by the tumult of war. Many of the inhabitants left the town, and retired into the interior parts of the country. The Seat of the Muses was now occupied by soldiers. It was at Cambridge that General Washington fixed his first encampment; and this was the place of the head-quarters of the American army, till the evacuation of Boston, by the British troops, in 1776. During this period the college was assembled at Concord.

On the capture of General Burgoyne, in 1777, he, and his captured troops, were located at Cambridge, under the superintendance of General Heath, as prisoners of war.

The present Constitution of Massachusetts was framed at Cambridge, in 1779, by a Convention chosen by the several towns in the Commonwealth. It was referred to the consideration of another Convention. The inhabitants of Cambridge, after proposing several amendments, gave an example of a liberal patriotism, essential to every republican government, which must rest on the will of the majority, "Willing to give up their own opinion in lesser matters, in order to obtain a government whose authority might not be disputed, and which they wished might soon be established;" they instructed their representative to the Convention, "in their name and behalf, to ratify and confirm the proposed form, whether the amendments be made, or not."‡

In 1780, the church members on the south side of Charles river in Cambridge presented a petition to the church,

---

\* Town Records.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.



church, "signifying their desire to be dismissed, and incorporated into a distinct church, for enjoying the special ordinances of the gospel more conveniently by themselves." The church voted a compliance with their petition; and they were incorporated on the 23d of February, 1783. The Reverend John Foster was ordained to their pastoral charge, November 4, 1784.

In 1783, in consideration of the "very advanced age, and growing infirmities," of Dr. Appleton, a day of fasting and prayer was observed by the church and congregation, "to seek of God divine direction and assistance in the important affair of procuring a more fixed and settled preaching and administration of the word and ordinances among them." A few days after, "at the general desire of the brethren of the church, as well as in compliance with his own inclination and earnest wishes," Dr. Appleton appointed a meeting of the brethren of the church, for the purpose of choosing a colleague, for his assistance in the ministry. The church, accordingly, chose the Reverend Timothy Hilliard: and, the society concurring in the choice, he was installed the same year.

The aged and venerable Dr. Appleton, having, agreeably to his desire, lived to see his country again blest with peace, and his church furnished with a worthy pastor, departed this life, with calmness and resignation, early in the year 1784.

In 1786, the present alms-house, in Cambridge, was purchased, repaired, and devoted to the use of the poor of the town.

The conduct of the town of Cambridge, in the memorable Insurrection of 1786, was highly to its honour. A letter was directed to the Selectmen of Cambridge, written by desire of a meeting of Committees from several towns in the county of Middlesex, "requesting their concurrence in a County convention to be held at Concord on the 23d of August, in order to consult upon matters of public grievances, and find out means of redress." The letter being laid before the town, a vote was passed, "That the Selectmen be desired to answer said letter, and express the attachment of this town to the present constitution and administration of Government, and also to express our aver-  
sion

sion to use any irregular means for compassing an end which the constitution has already provided for; as we know of no Grievances the present system of Government is inadequate to redress."\*

Mr. Hilliard died in 1790. He was succeeded in the ministry by the Compiler of this History, in 1792.

A "Friendly Fire Society," consisting of twenty-eight persons, was formed in this town, in 1797. The object of this association is, to prevent, or mitigate, the evils occasioned by fire. It annually chooses a Chairman, Treasurer, Clerk, and Wardens; and already possesses a decent fund.

The Kine-Pox was introduced at Cambridge, this present year, by Professor Waterhouse, who imported the matter from England. The first who was inoculated for this disorder, in America, was Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, a son of the Professor.

#### FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE.

Succession of Ministers.	Time of settlement.	Time of decease.	Age.
Rev. Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone	at Camb. Oct. 11, 1633; removed with their chh. to Hartford, 1636.	July 7, 1647 July 2, 1663	61
Thomas Shepard	1636	Aug. 25, 1649	44
Jonathan Mitchel	Aug. 21, 1650	July 9, 1668	43
Urian Oakes	Nov. 8, 1671	July 25, 1681	50
Nathaniel Gookin	Nov. 15, 1682	Aug. 7, 1692	34
William Brattle, F. R. S.	Nov. 25, 1696	Feb. 15, 1717	55
Nathl. Appleton, D. D.	Oct. 9, 1717	Feb. 9, 1784	91
Timothy Hilliard	Oct. 27, 1783	May 9, 1790	44
Abiel Holmes	Jan. 25, 1792		

#### A BIOGRAPHICAL *Sketch of the* MINISTERS of CAMBRIDGE.

##### MR. HOOKER.

THE Reverend THOMAS HOOKER, the first minister of Cambridge, and the father of the colony, as well as of the churches, of Connecticut, was born at Marfield, in Leicestershire, in 1586. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in England, where he was afterwards promoted to a fellowship, in which office "he acquitted himself with such

\* Town Records.



such ability and faithfulness, as commanded universal approbation and applause." Upon his leaving the University, he preached occasionally for some time in London; till, at length, in 1626, he was chosen Lecturer at Chelmsford. Here he preached, with great success, for several years, and was so well beloved by the neighbouring clergy, that, when the Bishop of London silenced him for Nonconformity, forty-seven of them signed a petition in his favour, testifying, *That Mr. Hooker was orthodox in doctrine, honest and sober in his life and conversation, of a peaceable disposition, and no ways turbulent or factious.* But this petition had no effect on the imperious and inexorable *Laud*. Mr. Hooker was constrained to lay down his ministry; and he set up a Grammar School at a village in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford. At the next visitation, however, he was cited by the Bishop to appear before the High Commission Court. Thus cruelly persecuted, he absconded, and went to Holland, where he lived two or three years, preaching sometimes at Delft, and sometimes at Rotterdam.

In 1633, he came to New-England\* ; and, though he had been "ordained a presbyter by a bishop in England," he was ordained "then again by the brethren at Newtown."† He was a man of "the most exemplary piety, self-denial,

\* The reasons of Mr. Hooker's removal to New-England are stated in a letter of the Rev. Mr. Cotton, preserved in Gov. Hutchinson's "Collection of Papers."—"The questions you demand, I had rather answer by word of mouth, than by letter, yet I will not refuse to give you account of my brother Hooker's removal and mine owne, seeing you require a reason thereof from us both. We both of us concur in a 3 fold ground of removal. 1. God havinge shut a doore against both of us from ministringe to him and his people in our wonted congregations, and calling us by a remnant of our people, and by others of this countrye, to minister to them here, and opening a dore to us this way, who are we that we should strive against God and refuse to follow the concurrence of his ordinance and providence together, callinge us forth to minister here. If we may and ought to follow God's callinge 3 hundred myles, why not 3 thousand? 2. Our Saviors warrant is in our case, that when we are distressed in our course in one country (nequid dicam gravius) we should flee to another. 3. It hath been noe small inducement to us, to choose rather to remove hither, than to stay there, that we might enjoye the libertye, not of some ordinances of God, but of all, and all in purity."—See the reasons more fully stated in Mr. Cotton's letter: Hutch. Coll. p. 54.

† President Stiles's Election Sermon, second edition, 103.

self-denial, patience, and goodness.—In his day, he was one of the most animated and powerful preachers in New-England. In his sermons, he was searching, experimental, and practical." In disputation he was eminent. During his residence in Holland, he became intimately acquainted with the celebrated Dr. Ames, author of *Medulla Theologiae*, who declared, that "though he had been acquainted with many scholars, of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching, or for disputing."† In prayer he excelled. "In conversation he was pleasant and entertaining, but always grave. He was exceedingly prudent in the management of church discipline.—He was affable, condescending, and charitable; yet his appearance and conduct were with such becoming majesty, authority, and prudence, that he could do more with a word, or a look, than other men could do with a severe discipline." It was not uncommon for him to give away five or ten pounds, at a time, to persons in indigence. He died of an epidemical fever, July 7, 1647, ætat. LXII. "He had for many years enjoyed a comfortable assurance of his renewed estate, and when dying said, *I am going to receive mercy*. He closed his own eyes, and appeared to die with a smile on his countenance."\* He published, in his life time, several practical treatises; and his friends, after his death, published several of his sermons, which were well received. "Mr. Hooker's books (says a contemporary writer) are of great request among the faithful people of Christ." His principal work, entitled, "A Survey of the summe of Church-Discipline," was transcribed "under the eye and exact review of the eminently accomplished author himselfe," and sent over to be published in England, about a year before his death. "But it was then buried," says Dr. Goodwin, "in the rude waves of the vast ocean, with many precious saints on their passage hither." Another copy of it, however,

† Magnalia, III. 61. Dr. Ames designed to follow Mr. Hooker; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker's removal from Rotterdam. His widow and children came afterward to New-England, where they found in Mr. Hooker, a faithful friend and beneficent patron.

The great Mr. Cotton pronounced Mr. Hooker *Vir solertis ingenii, atque acerrimi judicii*.

\* Trumbull's Hist. Connecticut. See, also, Mather's Magnalia, B. III. p. 58—68.

ever, was sent to England, and published in 1648, under the inspection of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, (a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and some time President of Magdalen College in Oxford) who says, "As touching this Treatise and the worthy author of it—to preface any thing by commendation of either were to lay paint upon burnished marble, or add light unto the sun."—There is no inscription on Mr. Hooker's tombstone. An historian,† who, in general, is not entitled to credence, says truly: "The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence."

### MR. STONE.

The Reverend SAMUEL STONE, Mr. Hooker's assistant in the ministry, was educated at Emanuel College, in Cambridge. "He was eminently pious and exemplary; abounded in fastings and prayer; and was a most strict observer of the christian sabbath.—His sermons were doctrinal, replete with sentiment, concisely and closely applied. He was esteemed one of the most accurate and acute disputants of his day. He was celebrated for his great wit, pleasantry, and good humour. His company was courted by all gentlemen of learning and ingenuity, who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him."\* After a ministry of thirty years, he died July 20, 1663.

### HIS EPITAPH.

New England's glory and her radiant crown  
 Was he who now in softest bed of down  
 Till glorious Resurrection morn appear  
 Doth safely, sweetly sleep in Jesus here.  
 In nature's solid art and reasoning well  
 Tis known beyond compare he did excell  
 Errors corrupt by sinnewous dispute  
 He did oppugne and clearly them confute.  
 Above all things he Christ above prefer'd:  
 Hartford! thy richest Jewel's here interr'd.

MR.

† Peters.

\* Trumbull's History of Connecticut, I. 326: and New-England's Memorial, 179. For a more particular account of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, see Mather's Magnalia, III. 58 & 116.

## MR. SHEPARD.

The Reverend THOMAS SHEPARD was born in Worcester, near Northampton, in Great-Britain, November 5, 1605. He was the son of Mr. William Shepard, who called him *Thomas*, because his birth was supposed to be at the very hour, when the Gunpowder Treason was designed to be perpetrated; a plot, concerning which he observed, "This child of his would *hardly believe* that ever such wickedness could be attempted by the sons of men." At the age of fifteen, he became prepared for the university, and entered Emanuel College in Cambridge. Here, after a residence of about two years, he was impressed with very powerful convictions of his misery in unregeneracy, which, though occasionally suspended, were effectually renewed through the instrumentality of that celebrated Divine, Dr. Preston, in 1624. From this time, he gave himself to daily meditation, which he attended every evening before supper.—Having proceeded A. M. at Cambridge, he accepted an invitation to Earl's Coln, where he held a lecture, supported by the pious charity of Dr. Wilson, for three years. At the close of this term, the inhabitants of Earl's Coln were so reluctant to part with him, that they raised a salary among themselves for his support; and prevailed on him to continue with them. Although he was yet a young man, there was an unusual majesty and energy in his preaching, and a holiness in his life, which rendered him eminently useful to his own people, and to the towns in the vicinity, from which several afterwards accompanied him to New-England, to enjoy the benefit of his ministry.

When Dr. Laud became bishop of London, Mr. Shepard was silenced for his Puritanism. Being invited into Yorkshire, he officiated there, for some time, as a private chaplain, in the family of Sir Richard Darly, whose near kinswoman he afterwards married.—To that family and neighbourhood he appears to have been a great blessing. Bishop Neal refusing him liberty for his ministry without *subscription*; he removed to Heddon, in Northumberland, where his labours were very successful. But the zeal of the bishop

bishop reached him, even in this remote corner of the kingdom, and prohibited him from preaching here any more.\*

The removal of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and others, to America had already excited many pious people, in various parts of England, to contemplate a similar removal. Several of Mr. Shepard's friends, in New-England, and others who purposed a removal, uniting their solicitations, at this juncture, he resolved to repair to this new plantation. Having, accordingly, preached his farewell sermon at Newcastle, he went in disguise to Ipswich, and thence to Earl's Coln; whence, accompanied by Mr. Norton, he went to Yarmouth, intending to embark there for New-England. Pursuivants, however, were employed to apprehend him. These pursuivants, having discovered Mr. Shepard's quarters, had, by a sum of money, obtained a promise, from a boy belonging to the

---

\* The following extract from Mr. Shepard's MS. Diary, furnishes an interesting specimen of the barbarous treatment, which our pious ancestors received, under the inquisitorial domination of bishop Laud: "Dec. 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the Diocese of London, by Doctor Laud, bishop of that Diocese. As soon as I came in the morning, about 8 of the clock, falling into a fit of rage he asked me, *What degree I had taken at the University?* I answered him, I was a Master of Arts. He asked, *Of what College?* I answered, Of Emanuel. He asked, *How long I had lived in his Diocese?* I answered, Three years and upwards. He asked, *Who maintained me all this while?* charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant Faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he look'd as tho' blood would have gush'd out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an Ague Fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extream malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me: He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, *You prating coxcomb! Do you think all the Learning is in your brain?* He pronounced his sentence thus: *I charge you, that you neither Preach, Read, Marry, Bury, or exercise any Ministerial Function in any part of my Diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.* I besought him not to deal so, in regard of a poor Town; and here he stopt me in what I was going on to say, *A poor Town! you have made a company of seditious factious Bedlams; and what do you prate to me of a poor Town?* I prayed him to suffer me to catechise in the Sabbath Days in the afternoon: He replied, *Spare your breath, I'll have no such fellows prate in my Diocese, get you gone, and now make your complaints to whom you will.* So away I went; and blessed be God that I may go to him."

the house where he lodged, to open the door for them at a certain hour of the night. But by the singular providence of God, the design was frustrated. Some serious expressions of Mr. Shepard being uttered in the hearing of this boy, he was struck with horror at the thought, that he should be so wicked as to betray so good a man; and, with tears, discovered the whole plot to his pious master, who took care immediately to convey Mr. Shepard out of the reach of his enemies.

Toward the close of the year 1634, Mr. Shepard embarked at Harwich; but in a few hours the ship was driven back into Yarmouth road, where arose one of the most tremendous storms ever known. The ship was almost miraculously saved, but so materially damaged that the proposed voyage was relinquished.\* Mr. Shepard, after spending the winter at Bastwick, went, in the spring, to London, where, by a removal of his lodgings, he again narrowly escaped his pursuivants. In July, he sailed from Gravesend, and, on the third of October, 1635, after a hazardous voyage, he arrived at Boston. His friends at Newtown [Cambridge] soon conducted him to that infant settlement, destined to be the field of his future labours.

After a diligent, laborious, and successful ministry, he died of the quinsy, August 25, 1649, ætat. XLIV. On his death-bed, he said to the young ministers around him, "That their work was great, and called for great seriousness;" and mentioned to them three things concerning himself: "That the study of every sermon cost him tears; That before he preached any Sermon he got good by it himself; and, That he always went into the pulpit, as if he were to give up his accounts to his Master."

He is said to have been "a poore, weake, pale complexioned man." He was distinguished for his humility and piety; and as a preacher of evangelical truth, and an author on experimental religion, he was one of the foremost of

---

\* "In the meane time the master, and other seamen, made a strange construction of the fore storme they met withall, saying, their ship was bewitched; and therefore made use of the common charme ignorant people use, nailing two red hot horse shoos to their maine mast."



of his day.† He was an influential patron of learning, as well as of religion, and was zealous in promoting the interests of the infant college, as well as those of the infant church, at Cambridge.† “By his death, not only the church and people at Cambridge, but also all New-England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the gospel profitably and successfully, but also left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul toward God.” ||

Mr.

† President Edwards styles Mr. Shepard “that famous experimental divine;” and, in his very judicious and elaborate “Treatise concerning Religious Affections,” makes a greater use of his writings, particularly of his “Parable of the Ten Virgins,” than of any other writings whatever.

Johnson, who wrote a few years after Mr. Shepard’s death, says: “Thousands of souls have cause to bless God for him even at this very day, who are the seal of his ministry, and hee a man of a thousand, indued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himselfe and others.”\*—Later writers have not overlooked Mr. Shepard’s antiquated merit. Dr. Mayhew, in one of his controversial essays, mentions him as a person of great note in his day, and a learned man. Dr. Chauncy, in his “Seasonable Thoughts,” quotes him with great respect, styling him, in different parts of his work, “the memorable,” “the celebrated,” “the famous” Shepard.

† In 1644, he wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, representing the necessity of further assistance for needy scholars at Cambridge; and desired them to encourage a general contribution through the colonies. The Commissioners approved the motion, and recommended it to the consideration of the Legislatures of the several colonies, which adopted the recommendation; and an annual contribution was, accordingly, made through the United Colonies, for many subsequent years. *Trumbull’s Hist. Connect.* I. 148. *Hazard’s Hist. Collections*, II. 17, where Mr. Shepard’s Proposition to the Commissioners is preserved entire.

|| Morton.—Mr. Shepard’s monument is not now distinguishable among the tombs. In the burying ground in Cambridge, there are several monuments, of hard stone, with incisions, evidently designed to admit a softer stone with an inscription. By the ravages of time, or of sacrilegious hands, these inlet stones are now removed, and the inscriptions are unhappily lost. But for this injury, we might, perhaps, now have the melancholy pleasure of visiting the monuments of the pious and

\* *Wonder-working Providence*, xxxiv. This very scarce and valuable book, (obligingly put into my hands by the venerable antiquarian Judge Cranch, of Quincey,) was first published without the author’s name; and, afterward, erroneously ascribed to sir F. Gorges. The real author was Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in N. England. See Preface of Prince’s Chron. ii.



Mr. Shepard's printed works are: *Theses Sabbaticæ*, "in which he hath handled the morality of the sabbath, with a degree of reason, reading, and religion, which is truly extraordinary." [C. Mather.]

A Discourse, in which is handled the controversy of the Catholic visible church, "tending to clear up the old way of Christ, in the churches of New-England."

A Letter on "The church membership of children, and their right to baptism." *This letter was printed at Cambridge, 1663.*

A Letter, entitled, "New-England's Lamentation for Old England's errors."

A Sermon, entitled, "Cautions against spiritual drunkenness."

A Treatise, entitled, "Subjection to Christ, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our liberty;" to which is subjoined another Treatise, "Concerning ineffectual hearing of the Word."

"The Sincere Convert," which the author called his ragged child, on account of its incorrectness, it having been surreptitiously published.

"The Sound Believer," which is a discriminating Treatise on Evangelical Conversion.

"The Parable of the Ten Virgins," a posthumous work, in folio, transcribed from his sermons, preached at his Lecture from June 1636 to May 1640; concerning which the venerable divines Greenhil, Calamy, Ash, and Taylor observed, "That though a vein of serious, solid and hearty piety run through all this author's works; yet he hath reserved the best wine till the last."

"Singing of Psalms a Gospel-Ordinance," which, in the title-page, is said to be "By John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston in New England;" but which was really, in substance, the work of Mr. Shepard. On a blank leaf of the copy now before me, there is the following memorandum, probably written by the Rev. Thomas Shepard,

---

and renowned SHEPARD and MITCHEL, and of others, of revered memory.—The slab, which covered the grave of the great President Chauncy, is broken into three pieces; and the fragments are *carefully* laid aside. A line of Horace would form an apposite inscription for the tomb of many a great and good man:

Oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis.

ard, of Charlestown, whose name is on the book: "Mr. Edward Bulkley, pastor of the church of Christ in Concord, told me Sept. 20, 1674, that when he boarded at Mr. Cotton's house at the first coming forth of this book of singing of Psalmes, Mr. Cotton told him that my father Shepard had the chief hand in the composing of it, and therefore Mr. Cotton said, I am troubled that my brother Shepard's name is not prefixed to it."—It is a quarto, of 72 pages, and was printed at London, in 1647.

"The clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel upon the Indians," published in London 1648.

Neal mentions a work of Mr. Shepard, entitled, "Evangelical Call," as one of his most noted Treatises. I find no notice of it elsewhere.

"Select Cases resolved:" "First Principles of the Oracles of God, or, Sum of Christian Religion:" "Meditations and Spiritual Experiences," extracted from Mr. Shepard's Private Diary. These three were published by the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, (the last of them from the original MS.) in 1747. The Select Cases and First Principles were published together, first at London, and then at Edinburgh, in 1648; and have, since, passed through several editions.

#### MR. MITCHEL.

The Reverend JONATHAN MITCHEL was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in Great-Britain, in 1624. His parents were exemplary Christians, who, by the impositions and persecutions of the English hierarchy, were constrained to seek an asylum in New-England, in 1635; at which time they brought over their son Jonathan, then eleven years of age. Their first settlement was at Concord, in Massachusetts; whence, a year after, they removed to Saybrook, in Connecticut; and, not long after, to Wethersfield. Their next removal was to Stamford; where Mr. Mitchel, the father, died in 1645, ætat. LV.

The classical studies of his son Jonathan were suspended for several years, after his arrival in America; but, "on the earnest advice of some that had observed his great capacity," they were, at length, resumed, in 1642.\*

\* C. Mather. Dr. Increase Mather ascribes this measure to his father's influence. "After Mr. Mitchel was arrived in New-England,

In 1645, at the age of twenty-one, he entered Harvard College. Here, he became religiously impressed, under Mr. Shepard's ministry, which he so highly estimated as, afterward, to observe, "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder, than for those four years," spent at the University. He was an indefatigable student, and made great acquirements in knowledge and virtue. His extraordinary learning, wisdom, gravity, and piety, occasioned an early application of several of the most considerable churches, for his services in the ministry. The church at Hartford, in particular, sent for him with the intention of his becoming successor to the famous Mr. Hooker. He preached his first sermon at Hartford, June 24, 1649; and, on the day following, was invited to a settlement in the ministry, in that respectable town. Having, however, been previously importuned by Mr. Shepard, and the principal members of his society, to return to Cambridge, free from any engagement, with a view to a settlement there; he declined an acceptance of the invitation at Hartford, and returned to Cambridge, where he preached for the first time August 12, 1649. Here a providential opening was soon made for his induction into the ministry. Mr. Shepard died on the 25th of the same month; and, by the unanimous desire of the people of Cambridge, Mr. Mitchel was now invited to become his successor. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained August 21, 1650.

Soon after his settlement, he was called to a peculiar trial. President Dunster, who had formerly been his tutor, about this time imbibed the principle of antipedobaptism; and preached some sermons against the administration of baptism to any infant whatever. Mr. Mitchel, young as he then was, felt it incumbent on him openly to combat this principle; and conducted, in this delicate and difficult case, with such judgment, moderation, and *meeckness of wisdom*, as would have well become the experience and improvement of advanced age. Although this controversy

---

he employed his son Jonathan in secular affairs; but the spirit of the child was strongly set for learning, and he prayed my father to persuade his father that he might have a learned education. My father's persuasions happily prevailed."

fy occasioned the President's removal from Cambridge; yet Mr. Mitchel continued to cultivate an esteem for him, and, after his decease, paid a respectful tribute to his memory; in an elegy, replete with expressions of that noble and catholic spirit, which characterized its author.\*

Such were his literary acquirements, and so respectable his character, that, so early as the year 1650, he was chosen a Tutor and a Fellow of Harvard College.†

He was a very influential member of the Synod, which met at Boston in 1662, to discuss and settle an interesting question concerning church-membership and church-discipline, and chiefly composed the Result of that synod. "The determination of the question at last," says Dr. Mather, "was more owing to him than to any man in the world." The divine Head of the church "made this great man, even while he was yet a young man, one of the greatest instruments we ever had of explaining and maintaining the truths relating to the *church-state* of the *posterity* in our churches, and of the *church-care* which our churches owe to their posterity."‡—He was a man of singular acuteness, prudence, and moderation; and was, therefore, eminently qualified to discern the truth, in difficult and perplexing cases, and to adjust the differences of disputants.§ Hence, in ecclesiastical Councils, to which he was frequently invited, and in weighty cases, where the General Court frequently consulted the ministers, "the *sense* and *hand* of no man was relied more upon than his, for the exact result of

---

\* The conduct of both parties, on this occasion, does them singular honour; and furnishes an example worthy of imitation in the present age, an age which is frequently censuring the bigotry of the pious ancestors of New-England, in contrast with its own catholicism. President Dunster "died in such harmony of affection with the good men, who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he, by his Will, ordered his body to be carried to Cambridge for its burial, and bequeathed legacies to those very persons."

*Magnalia*, III. 100. IV. 158.

† Mr. Samuel Mather and Mr. Mitchel were the first that were elected Fellows in this seminary. In the infancy of the institution, a Tutor was, *ex officio*, a Fellow of the college.

‡ *Magnalia*.

§ The celebrated Mr. Baxter said of him, "If an Œcumenical Council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its Moderator."

*C. Mather.*

of all." The great President Chauncey, though much older than he, and though openly opposed to him at the Synod, said, at the very height of the controversy: "I know no man in this world that I could envy so much as worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the great holiness, learning, wisdom, and meekness, and other qualities of an excellent spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him."

Morton, who was contemporary with Mr. Mitchel, says: "He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; \* surpassing in public spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth against all opposers of it." †

Dr. Increase Mather, who was personally and intimately acquainted with him, says: "He was blessed with admirable natural as well as acquired parts. His judgment was solid, deep, and penetrating; his memory was strong, and vastly capacious. He wrote his sermons very largely; and then used, with enlargements, to commit all to his memory, without once looking into his bible, after he had named his text; and yet his sermons were scriptural."

As a preacher, he was distinguished for "an extraordinary invention, curious disposition, and copious application." His voice was melodious, and his delivery is said to have been "inimitable." He spoke with "a transcendent majesty and liveliness," and toward the close of his discourses, his fervency rose to "a marvellous measure of energy."

He was pastor of the church of Cambridge about eighteen years; and "was most intense and faithful" in his work. "He went through a great part of the book of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of

Genesis,

---

\* Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the Judges of king Charles I. on the day of their arrival in New-England, July 1660, came to Cambridge, where they resided till February following, and were treated with the kindest hospitality and friendship by Mr. Mitchel, who admitted them to the sacrament, and to private meetings for devotion. *Hatchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts*, I. 215. *President Stiles's Hist. of Three of the Judges of Charles I.* 28.

† New-England's Memorial, 201.

Genesis, and part of Exodus, and delivered many fruitful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John." He held, also, a monthly Lecture, which was "abundantly frequented," by the people of the neighbouring towns, as well as by his own society. "His race was but short, but the work he did was very much."—Just after he had been preaching on these words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and unto the house appointed for all the living*, as he came out of the pulpit, he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life July 9, 1668, in the forty-third year of his age, and eighteenth of his ministry.

Dr. I. Mather says, he "never knew any death that caused so great a mourning and lamentation generally: He was greatly loved and honoured throughout all the churches, as well as in Cambridge, and admired by the most competent judges of real worth."

Very few of his writings were ever published. I can obtain notice of the following only:

A Letter of counsel to his brother, written while he resided at the University;

An Election Sermon, on Nehem. ii. 10, entitled "Nehemiah upon the wall;" preached May 15, 1667; and printed at Cambridge;

A Letter concerning the subject of Baptism, printed at Cambridge, 1675;

"A Discourse of the Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ," printed at London, after his death, with the Letter to his brother affixed; and reprinted at Boston, in a duodecimo volume, in 1721.

#### MR. OAKES.

The Reverend URIAN OAKES was born in England about the year 1631; and was brought to America in his childhood. From this early period, he was distinguished for the sweetness of his disposition, which characterized him through life. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1649. While very young, and small, he published, at Cambridge, a set of *Astronomical Calculations*, with this apposite motto:

Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua gratia parvis.

Soon

Soon after his graduation, he went to England, where, after having been some time a chaplain to an eminent personage, he became settled in the ministry at Titchfield. Being silenced, however, in 1662, in common with the nonconformist ministers throughout the nation (by Act xiv. Car. 2); he resided a while in the family of Colonel Norton, a man of great merit and respectability, who, on this occasion, afforded him an asylum. When the violence of the persecution abated, he returned to the exercise of his ministry in another congregation, as colleague with Mr. Simmons. Such was his celebrity for learning and piety, for ministerial abilities and fidelity, that the church and society of Cambridge, on the decease of Mr. Mitchel, were induced to invite him to their pastoral charge. They sent a messenger to England, to present him with the invitation; which, with the approbation of a council of ministers, he accepted. After repeated delays, occasioned by the sickness and death of his wife, and by a subsequent personal illness, he came to America, and commenced his ministry at Cambridge, November 8, 1671.

So distinguished was he for his learning and abilities, and for his patronage of the interests of literature, that, in 1675, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, as successor to President Hoar. He accepted the invitation; and officiated as President, still retaining the charge of his flock, for about six years, when his useful life was suddenly brought to a close. He had been subject to a quartan ague, which often interrupted his public services. A malignant fever now seized him, and, in a day or two, proved mortal. His congregation, assembling on a Lord's-day, when the Lord's Supper was to have been administered, were affectingly surprised to find their respected and beloved pastor in the pangs of death. He died July 25, 1681, in the fiftieth year of his age, and tenth of his ministry at Cambridge.

He was eminent for his knowledge and piety, and was a very engaging and useful preacher. "Considered as a scholar, he was," says Dr. C. Mather, "a notable critic in all the points of learning; and well versed in every point of



of the *Great Circle*.\*—“He did the service of a President, even as he did all other services, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably.” Dr. Increase Mather, whose characters appear to be drawn with more exact discrimination than those of his son Cotton, says: “An age doth seldom produce one so many ways excelling, as this Author† was. If we consider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*, as a *Christian*, it is hard to say in which he did most excel. I have often in my thoughts compared him to Samuel among the prophets of old; inasmuch as he did truly *fear God from his youth*, and was *betimes* improved in *holy ministrations*, and was at last called to be *Head of the sons of the prophets*, in this New English Israel, as Samuel was President of the College at Naioth. In many other particulars, I might enlarge upon the parallel, but that it is inconvenient to extend such instances beyond their proportion.

—*Heu, tua nobis*

*Morte simul tecum solatia rapta!*

It may, without reflection upon any, be said, that he was one of the greatest lights, that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to arise in our horizon.”

The only publications of Mr. Oakes, of which I find any account, are:

An Artillery Election Sermon, on Rom. viii. 37, preached June 3, 1672;

An Election Sermon, on Deut. xxxii. 29, preached May 7, 1673;

An Elegy on the Rev. Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the church in Charlestown, [son of Mr. Shepard, minister of Cambridge] who died Dec. 22, 1667. [They were all  
printed

---

\* Dr. C. Mather, who was educated under his presidency, has preserved, in one of his publications, a specimen of his Latin composition, which is very classical and elegant. In his judgment, “America never had a greater master of the true, pure, Ciceronian Latin,” than President Oakes. He appears to have had a poetical genius. An Elegy, of considerable length, written by him on the Rev. Mr. Shepard, of Charlestown, rises, in my judgment, far above the poetry of his day. It is of Pindaric measure, and is plaintive, pathetic, and replete with imagery.

† This paragraph is extracted from the Preface of Dr. Increase Mather to a Discourse of Mr. Oakes, published soon after the Author's decease.

printed at Cambridge, by Samuel Green; and are preserved in the Library of the Historical Society.]

His epitaph, though not now distinctly legible on his tomb-stone, is preserved in Mather's *Magnalia*, and is as follows :

URIANI OAKESII,  
Cujus, quod reliquum est,  
clauditur hoc tumulo ;  
Exploratâ integritate, summa morum gravitate,  
Omniumque meliorum Artium insigni Peritiâ,  
Spectatissimi, Clarissimique omnibus modis Viri,  
Theologi, merito suo, celeberrimi,  
Concionatoris vere Melliflui,  
Cantabrigiensis Ecclesiæ, Doctissimi et Orthodoxi Pastoris,  
In Collegio Harvardino Præsidis Vigilantissimi,  
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundiæ Laudem  
Adepti ;  
Qui repentinâ morte subitò correptus,  
In JESU sinum efflavit animam,  
Julii xxv. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.  
Memoriæ.  
Etatis suæ L.  
Plurima quid referam, fatis est si dixeris Unum,  
Hoc Dictu fatis est, *Hic jacit OAKESIUS.*

### MR. GOOKIN.

The Reverend NATHANIEL GOOKIN was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1675. On Mr. Oakes' acceptance of the presidency in 1679,\* the church gave "a Call to Mr. Gookin to be helpful in the ministry, in order to call him to office in time convenient."† After Mr. Oakes' decease, the church invited him to the pastoral office. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained November 15, 1682. He was a Fellow of Harvard College. After a ministry of scarcely ten years, he died on the Lord's-day, August 7, 1692, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his ministry.

The

---

\* His previous election, in 1675, was *pro tempore*.

† Church Records.

The shortness of Mr. Gookin's ministry, and the imperfection of the early records of the church, leave us very deficient in the means of obtaining his history and character.

He was a son of Major-General Gookin, whose distinguished character, and eminent services, have been noticed in the preceding history. Tradition informs us, that he lies interred in the south-east corner of the burying ground, beneath a brick monument, covered with a stone slab, the inscription of which is not now legible. He left a son, of his own name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1703, and was, afterward, settled in the ministry at North-Hill, a parish in Hampton, New-Hampshire. This Mr. Gookin is represented, by a contemporary minister, as a man, "whose qualifications for the work of the ministry, and whose fidelity, industry and skill in prosecuting it, as well as exemplary caution and prudence, were too well known to need any attestation."\* He died in 1734, *Ætat.* XLVIII, leaving a son of his name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1731, and succeeded his father in the ministry, at Hampton, Oct. 31, 1739. This son is represented as one, "who, upon many accounts, beside his own personal worth, ought to be near and dear" to his society, "being both ways descended from those who have been stars of the first magnitude."† He died in 1766.

### MR. BRATTLE.

The Reverend WILLIAM BRATTLE was born in Boston, about the year 1662; and educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1680. He was, afterward, chosen a Tutor, and a Fellow, in that seminary, and officiated in each of these capacities for several years. Dr. Colman, who was a student, while Mr. Brattle was in the tutorship, says,

---

\* The Rev. Mr. Shurtleff's Sermon, at the ordination of Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, in 1739.

† Mr. Shurtleff informs us, (*Ordin. Serm.*) that the Rev. Seaborn Cotton was this Mr. Gookin's great grandfather. I suppose the second Mr. Nathaniel Gookin (son of the minister of Cambridge) married a daughter of John Cotton, (his predecessor in the ministry) who was a son of Seaborn, (his predecessor) who was a son of the renowned John Cotton, one of the first ministers of Boston.

says, "He was an able, faithful and tender Tutor. He countenanced virtue and proficiency in us, and every good disposition he discerned, with the most fatherly goodness; and searched out and punished vice with the authority of a master. He did his utmost to form us to virtue and the fear of God, and to do well in the world; and dismissed his pupils, when he took leave of them, with pious charges and with tears." One memorable instance of his humanity, and christian heroism, while in the tutorship, is recorded as worthy, if not of imitation, of admiration. When the small-pox prevailed in the college, although he had not had that terrible disorder, instead of a removal, he staid at his chamber, visited the sick scholars, and took care that they should be supplied with whatever was necessary to their safety and comfort. "So dear was his charge to him, that he ventured his life for them, ministering both to their souls and bodies; for he was a skilful physician to both." At length, he was taken ill, and retired to his bed; but the disorder was very mild, and he was soon happily restored.

He was ordained Pastor of the church in Cambridge, November 25, 1696. On this occasion he preached his own ordination sermon, from 1 Cor. iii. 6; the Rev. Increase Mather gave the charge; and the Rev. Samuel Willard, the right hand of fellowship. On the same occasion, the Rev. Increase Mather preached a sermon, from Rev. i. 16.

Mr. Brattle was polite and affable, courteous and obliging, compassionate and charitable. His estate was very large; and, though he distributed it with a liberal hand, "secret and silent" were his charities. His pacific spirit, and his moderation, were conspicuous; and "he seemed to have equal respect to good men of all denominations." He was patient of injuries, and placable; and said, after trials, he knew not how he could have spared any one of them. With humility he united magnanimity; and was neither bribed by the favour, nor over-awed by the displeasure, of any man. "He was of an austere and mortified life"; yet candid and tolerant toward others. He was a man of great learning and abilities; and, at once, a philosopher and a divine. It is no small evidence of his attainments

attainments in science, that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. "He was a generous patron of learning, and long a father of the college" in Cambridge. He placed neither learning, nor religion, in unprofitable speculations; but in such solid and substantial truth, as improves the mind, and is beneficial to the world. Possessing strong mental powers, he was "much formed for counsel and advice"; and his judgment was often sought, and highly respected.

His manner of preaching may be learnt from Dr. Colman; who, comparing Mr. Brattle with Mr. Pemberton, observes: "They performed the public exercises in the house of God with a great deal of solemnity, though in a manner somewhat different; for Mr. Brattle was all calm, and soft, and melting; but Mr. Pemberton was all flame, and zeal, and earnestness." Mr. Brattle's ministry appears to have been successful; and the church, while under his pastoral care, became very greatly enlarged. Although he attained a greater age than either of his famous predecessors, Shepard, Mitchel, and Oakes; yet he was often interrupted in his ministerial labours, "by pains and languishments," and died February 15, 1717, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-first of his ministry.

The baptisms of children, during his ministry, were seven hundred and twenty-four; and the admissions to the fellowship of the church three hundred and sixty-four.

"They that had the happiness to know Mr. Brattle, knew a very religious good man, an able divine, a laborious faithful minister, an excellent scholar, a great benefactor, a wise and prudent man, and one of the best of friends. The promoting of Religion, Learning, Virtue and Peace, every where within his reach, was his very life and soul; the great business about which he was constantly employed, and in which he principally delighted. Like his great Lord and Master he went (or sent) about doing good. His principles were sober, sound, moderate, being of a catholick and pacifick spirit.—For a considerable time before his death, he laboured under a languishing distemper, which he bore with great patience and resignation; and died with peace and an extraordinary serenity of mind. He was pleased in his last Will and Testament to

bequeath to Harvard College two hundred and fifty pounds, besides a much greater sum in other pious and charitable legacies.”\*

The funeral of Mr. Brattle was attended on the 20th of February, a day rendered memorable by *The Great Snow*: “He was greatly honoured at his interment;” and the principal magistrates and ministers of Boston and of the vicinity, assembled on this occasion, were necessarily detained at Cambridge by the snow for several days.†

He appears to have published scarcely any of his writings; though many of them were, doubtless, very worthy of publication. His grandson, Thomas Brattle,‡ Esquire, favoured me with the perusal of some of his Sermons, in manuscript, which are written very fairly and correctly, and are remarkably clear, and concise, sententious and didactic.

Jeremiah Dummer, Esquire, a gentleman of respectability, having, while an agent in England, procured some printed sermons, by desire of Mr. Flint, observes:—“I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in the matter, or brightness in the style; I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses which Mr. Brattle gives you every week.”§

The

---

\* Boston News-Letter, No. 671.

† A few particulars concerning this memorable Snow may gratify curiosity. The Boston News-Letter of February 25, 1717, has the following paragraphs: “Besides several Snows, we had a great one on Monday the 18th current; and on Wednesday the 20th it begun to snow about noon, and continued snowing till Friday the 22d. so that the Snow lies in some parts of the streets about Six foot high.”—“Saturday last was a clear Sunshine, not a cloud to be seen till towards evening. And the Lord’s-Day, the 24th, a deep Snow.”—“The extremity of the weather has hindered all the three Posts from coming in; neither can they be expected till the roads (now impassable with a mighty Snow upon the ground) are beaten.” The News-Letter, of March 4, has this paragraph: “Boston; February ended with Snow, and March begins with it, the Snow so deep that there is no travelling.”

‡ This very worthy and respectable man departed this life, since this History was committed to the press, February 7th, 1801, ætat. LIX. His father, Brigadier-General William Brattle, was the only child of the Rev. William Brattle, who lived to mature age.

§ Coll. of Hist. Soc. for 1799, p. 79.

The only publication of Mr. Brattle, which has come to my knowledge, is a system of Logic, entitled, "Compendium Logicæ secundum Principia D. Renati Cartesii plerumque efformatum, et catechisticè propositum." It was long recited at Harvard College, and holden in high estimation. An edition of it was published as late as the year 1758.

Mr. Brattle lies interred in a tomb, on the south-east side of the burying yard, with this inscription :

Depositum  
GULIELMI BRATTLE  
nuper Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiensi  
N. A. Pastoris Rev<sup>di</sup> Senatûs Collegii  
Harvardini Socij Primarij,  
Ejusdemque Curatoris Spectatissimi,  
et R. S. S. qui obiit xv<sup>o</sup> Febr<sup>ii</sup>  
Anno Domini MDCCXVII, et Ætatis  
Suxæ LV. Hic requiescit in spe  
Beatæ Resurrectionis.

#### DR. APPLETON.

The Reverend NATHANIEL APPLETON was born at Ipswich, December 9, 1693. His father was the Honourable *John Appleton*\* ; and his mother was the eldest daughter of President Rogers. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1712. On the completion of his education, his uncle, an opulent merchant, offered to set him up in trade ; but he declined the offer, that he might pursue his theological studies, preparatory to the work of the ministry.

Soon after the death of Mr. Brattle, the church in Cambridge chose Mr. Appleton to succeed him in the ministry ; and he was ordained its pastor, October 9, 1717. On this occasion, Dr. Increase Mather preached a sermon from Ephes. iv. 12, and gave the charge ; Dr. Cotton Mather

gave

---

\* He was one of the King's Council ; and, for more than twenty years, a Judge of Probate for the county of Essex ; he was a man of sound judgment, and unimpeached integrity. It was remarked, that, during the long period in which he was in the Probate Office, there was never an appeal from his judgment.



gave the right hand of fellowship ; and the Reverend Mr. Angier, of Watertown, and the Reverend Mr. Rogers, of Ipswich, joined with them in the imposition of hands. The same year, in which he was ordained, he was elected a Fellow of Harvard College ; which office he sustained above sixty years ; † and, by his assiduous attention to its duties, together with his prudent counsels, which were greatly respected by the government of the university, he essentially contributed to the interests of that important seminary. ‡ As a testimonial of the estimation of his academical services, as well as of his theological character, and public usefulness, the University of Cambridge, at the commencement in 1771, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This degree was conferred by the University but once previously to this ; and that was conferred on the Reverend Increase Mather, about eighty years before.\*

Dr. Appleton, if venerable for his age, was more venerable for his piety. His religion, like his whole character, was patriarchal. Born in the last century, and living till nearly the close of this, he brought down with him the habits of " other times." In his dress, in his manners, in his conversation, in his ministry, he may be classed with the Puritan ministers, of revered memory, who first came to New-England. His natural temper was cheerful ; but his habitual deportment was grave. Early consecrated to God, and having a fixed predilection for the ministry, he was happily formed, by the union of good sense with deep seriousness, of enlightened zeal with consummate prudence, for the pastoral office.

He preached the gospel with *great plainness of speech*, and with primitive simplicity. Less concerned to please, than to instruct and edify, he studiously accommodated his discourses to the meanest capacity. To this end, he frequently borrowed similitudes from familiar, sometimes from vulgar,

---

† He resigned his Fellowship in 1779.

‡ President Wadsworth, speaking of Mr. Appleton, says : " I have often thought, it is a great favour not only to the Church and Town of Cambridge, but also to the College, and therein to the whole Province, that he is fixed in that public post and station, assigned by Providence to him." Preface to *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man.*

\* President Stiles's Literary Diary.

vulgar, objects : but his application of them was so pertinent, and his utterance and his air were so solemn, as to suppress levity, and silence criticism.

“ Dr. Appleton was possessed of the learning of his time. The scriptures he read in the originals. His exposition, preached in course on the sabbath, comprehended the whole New Testament, the prophecy of Isaiah, and, I believe, Daniel, and some of the minor prophets. It was chiefly designed to promote practical piety ; but on the prophetical parts, he discovered a continued attention, extent of reading, and depth of research, which come to the share of but very few. He not only gave the Protestant construction, but that of the Romish expositors, in order to point out the defects of the latter.”\* He carefully availed himself of special occurrences, whether prosperous or adverse, whether affecting individuals, families, his own Society, or the community at large, to obtain a serious attention to the truths and duties of religion ; and his discourses, on such occasions, were peculiarly solemn and impressive. Vigilantly attentive to the state of religion in his pastoral charge, he marked prevailing errors, and sins, and pointed his admonitions and cautions against them, both in public and private, with conscientious yet discreet fidelity. The discipline of the church he maintained with parental tenderness, and pastoral authority. The Committee, for inspecting the manners of professing Christians, appointed originally by his desire, and perpetuated for many years by his influence, evinces his care of the honour and interests of the church, of which he was the constituted overseer. So great was the ascendancy which he gained over his people, by his discretion and moderation, by his condescension and benevolence, by his fidelity and piety, that, while he lived, they regarded his counsels as oracular ; and, since his death, they mention not his name but with profound regard and veneration.

*His praise*, not confined to his own society, is in all the churches of New-England. In controversial and difficult cases, he was often applied to for advice, at ecclesiastical Councils. Impartial yet pacific, firm yet conciliatory, he was specially qualified for a counsellor ; and in that character

---

\* James Winthrop, Esquire.

after he materially contributed to the unity, the peace, and order of the churches. With the wisdom of the serpent he happily united the innocence of the dove. In his religious principles, he was, like all his predecessors in the ministry, a Calvinist. Towards persons, however, who were of different principles, he was candid and catholic. "Orthodoxy and Charity" were his motto,\* and he happily exemplified the union of both, in his ministry, and in his life.

His public usefulness, though diminished, for a few of his last years, by the infirmities of age, did not entirely cease but with his life. He died February 9, 1784, in the ninety-first year of his age, and sixty-seventh of his ministry:—and New-England can furnish few, if any, instances of more useful talents, and of more exemplary piety, united with a ministry equally long and successful.

The baptisms of children, during his ministry, were	2048
_____ of adults	90
Admissions to the fellowship of the church	784

His publications are :

- The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man, 12mo. 1728 ;  
 Discourses on Romans viii. 14. 12mo. 1743 ;  
 8 Funeral Sermons ;  
 6 Ordination Sermons ;  
 2 Thanksgiving Sermons ;  
 2 Fast Sermons ;  
 A Sermon, at the Artillery Election, 1733 ;  
 \_\_\_\_\_ at the General Election, 1742 ;  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Convention of Ministers, 1743 ;  
 \_\_\_\_\_ on the difference between a legal and evangelical righteousness, 1749 ;  
 \_\_\_\_\_ at the Boston Lecture, 1763 ;  
 \_\_\_\_\_ against prophane Swearing, 1765.

Dr.

\* His portrait, taken by Copley, represents him holding a volume of Dr. Watts, entitled "Orthodoxy and Charity." This portrait, which is said to be an excellent likeness, is now in the possession of Mrs. Appleton, relict of the late Nathaniel Appleton, Esquire, who was a very worthy and respectable son of the minister of Cambridge. It was rescued from the fire in Boston, in 1794, in which Dr. Appleton's MSS. then in the hands of his son, were consumed.

Dr. Appleton's Epitaph :

Sub hoc marmore conduntur,  
Cum MARGARET conjugis suæ dilectissimæ reliquiis  
Exuviæ viri illius reverendi  
NATHANIEL APPLETON, S. T. D.  
Christi ecclesiæ  
Apud Cantabrigienses primæ  
Per Annos LXVII  
Pastoris  
Docti, fidelis, vigilantis, benevoli.  
Majoribus opibusque ornatus,  
Sacrum hoc munus  
Omnibus aliis præoptavit.  
Verbi divini præconis partes sanctè, fervidè, perspicuè  
Integritatè eximiâ  
Peregit.  
Principis Pastoris monitu incitatus  
Oves agnosque gregis sedulò pavit,  
Et circumspexit.  
Fideles in Christo omnes,  
Quantumcunque a se diversè senserint,  
Amicè complexus est.  
Rebus Academicis ex officio, suisque familiaribus,  
Cautè ac prudentèr invigilavit.  
Ab omnibus dilectus et observatus,  
Vixit,  
Et spe resurgendi Christiana suffultus,  
In JESU obdormiit  
Die Februarii nono, anno Christi MDCCCLXXXIV,  
Ætatis suæ XCII.

*"They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament,  
And they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."*

MR. HILLIARD.

The Reverend TIMOTHY HILLIARD was born in Kensington, New-Hampshire, in 1746; and, in 1760, entered Harvard College. "His natural abilities were such, as gave him a facility in acquiring knowledge; and, while he was a student, he made such advances in the various branches  
of

of useful learning, as laid the foundation for that eminence in his profession, to which he afterward attained.\*—When he entered the desk, he was judged not only to have “just views of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity,” but to have “experienced their power and efficacy on his own heart.”—“His pulpit performances, from the first, were very acceptable,” wherever he was providentially called to preach the gospel.

In 1768, he was appointed chaplain of Castle William; and, after officiating in that capacity a few months, he was elected a tutor in Harvard College. Having continued about two years and a half in the tutorship, “the duties of which he discharged with diligence and fidelity,” he was invited to settle in the ministry at Barnstable; where he was ordained, April 10, 1771. “He continued his ministry in that place about twelve years, and was in high esteem among his people; both for his preaching, and for all his parochial conduct; at the same time he was greatly valued in all that part of the country. He loved the work of the ministry, and was faithful in the discharge of all its duties.”

Finding his health materially injured by the sea air, he was, at length, constrained to remove from Barnstable.† On the confirmation of his health, by a change of air, he became capable of resuming the public services of the ministry; and, after preaching a short time at Cambridge, was invited to the pastoral charge, as colleague with the aged and venerable Dr. Appleton. He accepted the invitation, and was installed, October 27, 1783. On this occasion, he preached a sermon from Titus, ii. 15; the Reverend Dr. Cooper, of Boston, gave the charge; and the Reverend Mr. Cushing, of Waltham, gave the right hand of fellowship.

Placed, by Providence, in this conspicuous station, his sphere

---

\* President Willard’s Sermon, at the funeral of Mr. Hilliard; from which this character is selected. The President was contemporary with Mr. Hilliard as a student, and a tutor, and had “a peculiar intimacy with him, for many years.”

† “The air in this town is affected by the neighborhood of the sea on each side, from which it derives a dampness and frequently a chill which is disagreeable, if not unfriendly to tender nerves.” The Rev. Mr. Mellen’s description of Barnstable, in the collections of the Historical Society, III. 12.

isphere of usefulness became much enlarged, his labours being now extended to the University.† For this new sphere he was peculiarly qualified. "His pulpit talents were excellent. He was pleasing in his elocution. In prayer he was exceeded by few, being ready in his utterance, pertinent on every occasion, and devotional in his manner. His discourses from the desk were never such as could be said to have cost him nothing, but were well studied, pure in the diction, replete with judicious sentiments, clearly and methodically arranged, instructive, serious, practical, and truly evangelical; so that his public services were useful and edifying to all ranks of men, both learned, and unlearned." He was "ever viewed by the Governors of the University, as an excellent model for the youth under their care, who were designed for the desk; and they considered his introduction into this parish, a most happy event."

Though he was diligent in acquiring useful knowledge, in its various branches; yet he principally devoted himself, as became his profession, to the study of theology. "In the treatment of difficult points in divinity, he was rational and perspicuous; but he was not frequent in handling subjects of doubtful disputation. To inculcate repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a hearty conformity to the practical precepts of the gospel, he considered of the first importance; and such was the general tenor of his preaching."

To the sick and afflicted he was tenderly attentive. "His mind was formed to sympathy and goodness; benevolence was in his heart; the law of kindness in his tongue; and he was always ready, by day and by night, to serve his flock." He was amiable in his temper; prudent and conciliatory in his deportment.

Though firm in the maintenance of his own religious sentiments, he was "eminently candid, and ready to embrace all good men." In public and in private life, he was exemplary for virtue and piety.

His ministrations were very acceptable to the churches in the vicinity of Cambridge. "His excellent talents and ministerial

---

† Ever since the foundation of Harvard College, its officers and students have attended public worship in the first church in Cambridge.

ministerial qualifications became more and more known ; and his reputation was increasing," till his death. He was " frequently employed in ecclesiastical councils, and had much weight and influence in them."—His printed sermons did him " much honour."—" There was no minister among us," said President Willard, " of his standing, who, perhaps, had a fairer prospect of becoming extensively useful to the churches of Christ in this Commonwealth."

" He was peculiarly engaged in promoting the interests of the University in this place, of which he was a watchful Governor. He was constantly seeking its utility and fame, and was an attentive and active member of that branch of its legislature to which he belonged ; and his judgment was always of weight.

" Formed by nature with a delicate sensibility, kindness of heart and gentleness of manners, and endowed with a good understanding, a ready mind, respectable acquirements, and a facility and pertinency in conveying his sentiments upon every occasion, his company was pleasing, and his conversation improving. His social intercourse with his brethren in the ministry was always agreeable, and he gained their universal love and esteem."

In his last illness, which was very short, he was supported by the Christian hope, which gave him a religious superiority to the fear of death. Just before he expired, " he expressed his full confidence in God, and said that he enjoyed those consolations, which he had endeavoured to administer to others. He mentioned his flock with affection, and observed, with grateful satisfaction, *That he had not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God, having kept nothing back through fear, or any sinister views.*" He died on the Lord's-day morning, May 9, 1790, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

His publications are :

A Sermon at a Public Fast ;

———— at the Ordination of the Rev. Bezaleel Howard, at Springfield ;

———— at the Ordination of the Rev. John Andrews, at Newburyport ;

———— at the Execution of White and others, at Cambridge ;

———— at the Dudleian Lecture.

Mr.



Mr. Hilliard's Epitaph :

In Memory  
of  
The Reverend TIMOTHY HILLIARD, A. M.  
Who  
For more than twelve years, was a gospel Minister  
Of the first church of Christ  
In Barnstable,  
And for more than six years,  
Broke the bread of life to the Christian society  
In this place.  
Having been, in private life,  
Cheerful, affable, courteous, amiable,  
In his ministerial character,  
Instructive, serious, solemn, faithful,  
In full belief of the truths he preached to others,  
He fell asleep in Jesus, May ix, MDCCXC,  
In the XLIV<sup>th</sup>. year of his age,  
In the Christian hope  
Of rising again  
To ETERNAL LIFE.

This monument was erected by the bereaved affectionate flock  
MDCCXC.



Mr. William Hilliard

In Memory

of

The Reverend TIMOTHY HILLIARD, A. M.

Who

For more than twelve years was a good Minister

Of the first church of Christ

In Fairfield

And for more than 40 years

Broke the bread of life to the Christian Society

In this place

Having been in various parts of the world

In his ministerial character

Industrious, zealous, faithful

In full belief of the truths he preached to others

He fell asleep in Jesus, May 15, 1800

# MONTEAGUE INDIANS

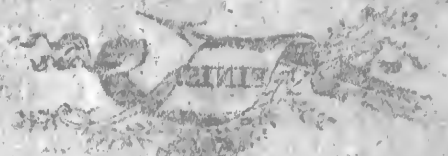
Of their saying

TO ETERNAL LIFE

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR MDCCLXXIV.

The manuscript was copied by the benevolent abolitionist

MS. B. 1. 1. 1.



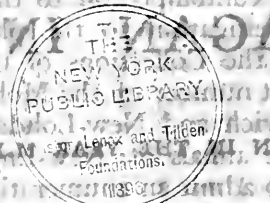
A  
M E M O I R  
OF THE  
MOHEAGAN INDIANS.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR M.DCCC.IV.

A MEMOIR OF THE MOREAGAN INDIANS

TO THE COMMITTEE OF PENSIONS FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY MERRILL M. MERRILL



MEMOIR OF THE MOREAGAN INDIANS

---

A MEMOIR OF THE MOHEAGAN INDIANS.

---

TO THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATIONS FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

EVERY document, which elucidates the numbers, characters, or condition, of any of the Indian tribes of North-America, at whatever period, is doubtless worthy of preservation. The entire extirpation of some tribes, and the gradual diminution of the rest, furnishes a subject of affecting contemplation to the man of feeling, and of curious investigation to the philosopher. I offer you, therefore, for the Collections of the Society, an account of the present number of the Moheagan tribe, situated between Norwich and New-London; a tribe once distinguished in the annals of New-England, but now so reduced, as easily to admit an enumeration of the individuals who compose it. On the authenticity and correctness of this account you may entirely rely; for, in passing through Moheagan, the last September, I obtained it of JAMES HAUGHTON, Esquire, one of the Overseers of this tribe, who lives within its limits. To this paper, which is exactly copied, I have nothing to add, respecting the *present* state of the Moheagans, but what that gentleman related to me: That the land belonging to these Indians, consists of about 2700 acres; that it was holden by them in common, till the year 1790, when it was divided to each family, by the legislature of Connecticut; that a convenient school house has been built for the benefit of their children, by the legislature; that John Cooper, the richest man in the tribe, possessing a yoke of oxen and two cows, was then their religious teacher; that there were not more than 80 persons of this tribe remaining; and that

that, with all their advantages for improvement in agriculture and other useful knowledge, they were still distinguished by the characteristic indolence, intemperance, and improvidence of Indians.

A. HOLMES.

Feb. 1, 1804.

THE FAMILIES OF THE TRIBE OF MOHEAGAN, AND NUMBER OF EACH FAMILY.

		[Brought up . . . 39	
Henry Qurququid's family	2	Eunice Occom and her mother	2
Moses Mazzeen and Hannah Mazzeen	2	Joseph Shentup's family	4
Ezekiel Mazzeen's family	5	Joshua Shentup's family	5
John Tantequiggen's family	3	Henry Shentup's family	2
Martha Johnson	1	Moses Shentup's family	2
Lucy Tocomwos	1	Hannah Shentup & her daughter	2
Ifaiah Hofcoat's family	2	Martha Tantequiggen's family	4
Josiah Hofcoat & Anne Hofcoat	2	John Cooper's family	4
Robert Ashpo's* family	3	Jacob Cooper's family	2
Hannah Ashpo, Samuel's widow	1	John Cooper, jun.'s family	2
Andrew Ashpo's family	3	David Tantequiggen's children	2
Jenne Ashpo's family	3	Solomon Cooper's family	2
Noah Uncas's family	3	John George	1
Benoni Occom's† family	3	Eliz. Cooper, Sam's widow	1
Jonathan Occom	1	Great Lucy Cooper & her daughter	2
John Uncas	1	Simon Jorjoy	1
Hannah Uncas	1	Joshua Cooper's family	5
Elizabeth Uncas, John's widow	1	Joseph Johnson	1
Elizabeth Uncas, Samuel's widow	1	Anne Robins	1
	39		84

Indians belonging to Moheagan, in the year of our Lord 1799.	3 families of 5 each	-	-	15
	3 of 4	-	-	12
	6 of 3	-	-	18
	13 of 2	-	-	26
	13 single ones	-	-	13
				84

\* One of this name and tribe, Samuel Ashpo, accompanied the Rev. Mr. Kirkland on his first mission into the Indian country. See Narrative of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon, 55, 56.

† The celebrated minister, Mr. Samson Occom, was a Moheagan of this family.

ADDITIONAL MEMOIR OF THE MOHEAGANS, AND OF  
UNCAS, THEIR ANCIENT SACHEM.

IF the number of the Moheagans, at the time of the first settlement of New-England, has been recorded by any of the early historians, it is not now recollected. Some judgment may be formed of it from a remark in a State Paper, published by the Commissioners for the United Colonies in 1645, by which it appears, that Uncas, the Moheagan Sagamore, at the time of his great battle with Myantonomy, in 1643, had between four and five hundred warriors.\* Supposing him to have had four hundred and fifty, and allowing the proportion of the warriors to the whole number of inhabitants to have been as three to ten, which was the proportion of the warriors to the whole number of inhabitants in the Powhatan confederacy, at the first settlement of Virginia; † the whole number of  
Moheagans

---

\* "Myantonomy without any provocacon from Uncas (unlesse the disapoyntment of former plotts provoaked) and sodainely without denouncing warr, came upon the Mohegans *with nine hundred or a thousand men*, when Uncas *had not half so many* to defend himself."

*Hazard's Historical Collections*, II. 47.

This account has the sanction of the commissioners; for it is extracted from "A Declaracon of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrohiggansets, with their confederates, wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing warr are opened and cleared." Published by order of the Commissioners for the United Colonies at Boston, the sixth of the vith month, 1645.

See also Mather's *Magnalia*, VII. 44. Callender's *Century Sermon*, 72.

A MS. quoted by Dr. Trumbull, represents Miantonimoh (so the word is often spelt) as having 900, and Uncas 600 men. *History of Connecticut*; I. 131. But the Doctor does not insert this in the text.

† Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, under Query XI. Dr. Trumbull does not allow so great a number of warriors to the whole number of Indians in Connecticut. "The Pequots, Moheagans, and Nehanticks could, doubtless, muster a thousand men. The Pequots only were estimated at seven hundred warriors. Upon the lowest computation we therefore find, at least three thousand warriors on the river Connecticut, and in the eastern part of the colony. If we reckon every third person a bowman, as some have imagined, then the whole number of Indians, in the town and tract mentioned, would be nine thousands; but if there were but one to four or five, as is most probable, then there were twelve or fifteen thousands." *Hist. Connect.* I. 29. This ratio would make the number of the Moheagans much larger, than I have computed, in the text.



Moheagans under Uncas must have been 1500. If we suppose Uncas to have had 500 warriors; his tribe, by the same ratio, must have contained nearly 1700 people.

In an account of the State of Connecticut, given by the General Assembly of that colony in 1680, in answer to inquiries of the lords of the committee of colonies, the "Indian neighbours of Connecticut" are estimated to be about 500 fighting men.\* But what Indians, beside the Moheagans, might be included in this account, cannot probably, at this distance of time, be ascertained. In 1705, the Moheagans are said to have "consisted of a hundred and fifty warriors, one hundred of whom had been in the actual service of the country that very year."† It also appears, that there was about the same number of fighting men in 1725, within the memory of the late secretary Wyllys of Connecticut.‡

In 1774, when a census of the inhabitants of Connecticut was taken, there were in that colony 1363 Indians. Among the answers returned, that year, by the governor and company, to the heads of inquiry, relative to the state and condition of Connecticut, the answer to Question XVII. [What number of Indians have you; and how are they inclined?] was, "There are thirteen hundred and sixty-three; many of them dwell in English families; the rest in small tribes in various places: they are in peace, good order, and inclined to idleness." By the "account of the number of inhabitants in the colony of Connecticut," taken in 1774, and published the same year by order of the General Assembly, it appears, that of the 1363 Indians in the colony, 842 were within the county of New-London. The return of Indians for that county is as follows:

\* Chalmers' Annals, I. 307—310.

† Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, I. 448.

‡ President Stiles' MS. Itinerary.

TOWNS.	Indian Males under twenty.	Indian Females under twenty.	Indian Males above twenty.	Indian Females above twenty.	Total Indians.
Groton,	55	36	39	56	186
Lyme,	21	18	23	42	104
Killingworth,	6	2	4	2	14
NEW-LONDON,	64	48	35	59	206
Norwich,	16	14	11	20	61
Preston,	11	9	1	9	30
Saybrook,	3		1		4
Stonington,	73	80	28	56	237
	249	207	142	244	842

In this enumeration, Moheagan was doubtless included in the township of New-London. If all the Indians within this township be set to Moheagan, the entire number is but 206. The Indians at Moheagan, therefore, instead of constituting "the greater part," as it has been affirmed,\* were not one sixth part of the whole number of Indians then in the colony.

The Pequot and Moheagan country lay to the south and east of the Nehanticks [in Lyme], from Connecticut river to the eastern boundary line of the colony, and north-east or north to its northern boundary line. This tract was nearly thirty miles square, and included the counties of New London, Windham, and the principal part of the county of Tolland.† Historians have treated of the Pequots and Moheagans as two distinct tribes; and have described the Pequot country as lying principally within the three towns of New-London, Groton, and Stonington. All the tract above this, as far north and east as has been described, they have represented as the Moheagan country. Most, if not all, of the towns in this tract hold their lands by virtue of deeds from Uncas, or his successors, the Moheagan sachems. Dr. Trumbull, however,

\* Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 210.

† Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 28. His authorities are President Clap's MSS. and Chandler's map of the Moheagan country.

however, the accurate and judicious historian of Connecticut, thinks it very doubtful whether the Moheagans were a distinct nation from the Pequots. "They appear to have been a part of the same nation, named from the place of their situation."† On the conquest of the Pequots by the English, the Moheagans claimed most of the Pequot country as their hereditary right; either on account of this affinity, or because that territory, which they claimed, had been wrested from them by the Pequots; or, because Uncas their new sovereign, was originally a Pequot, and assisted too, in the conquest of the common enemy. When the Moheagan country was surveyed in 1705, a map of it was drawn, by which the boundaries were as follow: "From a large rock in Connecticut river, near eight mile island in the bounds of Lyme, eastward, through Lyme, New-London, and Groton, to Ah-yo-sup-suck, a pond in the north-eastern part of Stonington; on the east, from this pond northward, to Mah-man-suck, another pond; thence to Egunk-sank-a-poug, whetstone hills; thence to Man-hum-iqueeg, the whetstone country. From this boundary, the line ran south-west, a few miles, to Acquiunk, the upper falls in Quinibaug river. Thence the line ran a little north of west through Pomfret, Ashford, Willington, and Tolland, to Mo-she-nup-suck, the notch of the mountain, now known to be the notch in Bolton mountain. From thence the line ran southerly, through Bolton, Hebron, and East Haddam, to the first mentioned bounds." This, it appears, was the Pequot country, "to the whole of which," says Dr. Trumbull, "the Moheagans laid claim, after the conquest of the Pequot nation, except some part of New-London, Groton, and Stonington, which had been the chief seat of that warlike tribe. The Moheagans claimed this tract as their hereditary country; and the Wabbequasset territory, which lay north of it, they claimed by virtue of conquest."\*

The

† Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 28.

\* Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 443, 444. The last mentioned territory was conquered from the Nipmuck Indians, whose principal seat was about the great ponds in Oxford, in Massachusetts; but their territory

The occasion of this survey was, a claim brought forward, in 1704, by Owaneco, the son of Uncas, to certain lands in Connecticut. The Masons and others, on this occasion, preferred a petition and complaint to queen Anne, in favour of the Moheagan Indians. The Masons claimed the lands, purchased by their ancestor deputy governor John Mason, in virtue of a deed given to him by Uncas, in 1659, while he acted as agent of the colony; and denied the legality of his surrender of them to the colony, in the General Assembly, the next year. They insisted, that it respected nothing more than the jurisdiction right, and that the title to the soil was vested in their family, as guardians or overseers of the Indians. This celebrated "Moheagan Case" was kept in agitation nearly seventy years. It was always, on a legal hearing, determined in favour of the Colony. The final decision was by king George III. in council, just before the late revolutionary war.†

The Assembly of Connecticut, in 1722, confirmed a purchase, made six or seven years previously from the Moheagan Indians, upon the Moheagan hills, part of their reserved lands, to governor Saltonstall, major Livingston, Dennie, Rogers and Bradshaw. This was constituted the North Parish of New-London.\*

UNCAS, whose name is still retained in the Moheagan tribe, though without any pre-eminence of rank or power, made a conspicuous figure in the early colonial annals. He was a uniform, and very important friend of the English, at the time of their first settlement in Connecticut, and for many subsequent years.† He was a Pequot, by birth, and of the royal line, both by his father and  
mother;

---

tory extended southwardly into Connecticut more than twenty miles. This was called, The Wabbequasset and Whetstone country; and sometimes, The Moheagan conquered country, as Uncas had conquered and added it to his sachemdom. Trumbull, *ibid.* I. 31. His authorities are President Clap's MSS. and Chandler's Map of the Moheagan country.

† Trumbull's Hist. I. 434—449. \* Douglass' Summary, II. 197.

† The Moheagans, while under Uncas, were sometimes *insolent* toward the English; but never, as a body, actually hostile. In 1647, these Indians, as well as the Narragansets, by new *insolencies*, obliged the English to demand satisfaction. Mather's *Magnalia*, VII. 45.

mother ; and his wife was a daughter of Tatobam, one of the Pequot sachems. He appears to have been a captain, or petty sachem, under Saffacus the great prince of the nation. When the English first came to Connecticut, he was in a state of rebellion against him, in consequence of some misunderstanding between them ; and his power and influence among the Indians were inconsiderable. Having revolted from his tribe, he had been expelled his country. § In these circumstances of degradation and infamy, it must have required no common enterprise and talents, to obtain the sovereignty of another tribe, and to fix the supreme power in his own family. Uncas, however, found means to effect these aspiring projects. He soon became the sagamore of the Moheagans ; and he transmitted the sovereignty of this tribe to his own descendants.

On the extermination of the Pequots in 1637, the English divided the miserable remnant of that devoted tribe between the Moheagans and the Narragansets ; and those of them, who fell to the lot of the Moheagans, became subject to the government of Uncas.\* He seems, however,

§ Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 28, 449.

\* Neal's New-England, I. 182. Chalmers' Annals, I. 291. Increase Mather's Troubles in New-England, by reason of the Indians, 39. The number of Pequots, who survived the famous Swamp Fight, was about 200, beside women and children. Of this number the English gave 80 to Miantonimoh ; 20 to Ninnigret ; and the other 100 to Uncas ; to be received and treated as their men. This division was made at Hartford in September 1638 ; at which time, among other articles, it was covenanted, That the Pequots should never more inhabit their native country, nor be called Pequots, but Narragansets, and Moheagans. *Trumbull's Hist. Connect.* I. 87.

Ninnigret was one of the two chief sachems of the Narraganset Indians, and was at the head of the Nianticks. His principal seat was at Westerly, which formerly belonged to Stonington, but is now a town in Rhode-Island. By refusing to join the other Narraganset Indians, in king Phillip's war, he preserved his lands for his posterity. A few Indians of his tribe were living on these lands, when Mr. Callender preached his Century Discourse, in 1738. Few, if any, of the Narragansets were at that time remaining in Rhode-Island Colony. "They do now," says this writer, "in a manner cease to be a people." *Callender's Century Discourse*, 78. Trumbull's Hist. Conn. I. 360. I find, in President Stiles's Itinerary, an anecdote about Ninnigret, which is inserted

ever, to have swayed the sceptre with a heavy hand ; for the Pequots withdrew themselves from his dominion, and the Commissioners found it necessary, in one instance to fine him,† and repeatedly to admonish him, for his tyranny.§

He was a resolute and brave warrior ; and, if oppressive to his subjects, he was proportionably formidable to his enemies. On the murder of one of his principal Indians, by some of the men of Sequassen, a sachem on Connecticut river, he demanded satisfaction of that chief. It was refused. Uncas and Sequassen fought. Sequassen was overcome. Uncas killed a number of his men, and burned his wigwams.

---

serted here, because illustrative of the Indian customs. Ninnegret married a Pequot, of high blood. Awaking, one night, after intoxication, and finding his sunck [queen] lying near another Indian, he, in a fit of jealousy, took his knife, and cut three strokes on each of her cheeks, in derision for adultery, and sent her home to the Pequots. This appears to have been the Indian mark of infamy, for unfaithfulness to the marriage bed, if a woman were of royal blood. This stigma on the wife of Ninnegret took place about 45 years before Dr. Stiles was informed of it in 1761. A lady told him that she had often seen Ninnigret's squaw with those marks of her divorce.

† Hazard's Collect. II. 93. The fine was 100 fathoms of wampam.

§ Ibid. II. 89—91. Obachickquid one of the chief men of the Pequots, in 1647, complained to the Commissioners, that Uncas had taken away his wife. They generally, at that time, complained, that he was unjust and tyrannical ; that he drew wampam from them from time to time on new pretences ; that, in their play, if a Pequot won of a Moheagan, he could not get payment if he complained ; that " Uncas carried it partially to the Moheagans, and threatened the Pequots." See the complaints of the Pequots, and the orders of the Commissioners entire, *ibid.*—The Commissioners ordered, that Uncas should restore Obachickquid his wife, and " that he be duly reprov'd for any passage of tyrannicall government over the Pequatts, soe far as they may be proved, and seriously enformed that the English Colonies cannot own or protect him in any unlawful much lesse treacherous and outrageous courses, but they are not so far satisfied in those Pequatt complaynts as to justify their disorderly withdrawinge." *Ibid.* Two years afterward (1649) the Complaints of the Pequots being again brought before the commissioners, they required Foxon, " who wayted at their meeting on the behalfe of Uncas," to signify, " that it is the mind of the English, that hee carry himself towards them in a loving way, and doe not tyrannise over them. *Ibid.* 131, 132. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 186, 187. In 1654, it was ordered, that all the Pequots, licensed in 1647 " to sett downe at Pequatt, may yet continew there, under the obeidience of Uncas." *Ibid.* 326.

wigwams. [Trumbull's Hist. Con. I. 129. Winthrop's Journal.] His challenge to the Narraganset sachem to a single combat, shews his bravery and patriotism. Christian duellists (what a solecism!) have no just pretensions to the honour, or even to the humanity, of this Pagan chief.\*

Uncas, with his Moheagans, assisted the English in their grand expedition against the Pequots, in 1637. So terrible was the name of Saffacus, the Pequot sachem, and so desperate the valour of his tribe, that most of the Narragansets (who were also auxiliaries to the English in that expedition), on approaching the Indian forts, fled, and returned home. The Moheagans were intimidated; but Uncas animated them to battle, and they staid to witness, and to aid, the catastrophe of that eventful day.†

Uncas appears to have pushed his conquests in different directions, beyond the river Connecticut. About the year 1654, he had a quarrel with Arrhamámet, sachem of Muffaúco [Simsbury], which brought on a war. Uncas sent one of his warriors, to take and burn an out wigwam in the

---

\* "Uncas before the battaile [see the first note in this *Memoir*] tould Myantenomy, that hee had many wayes fought his life; and for the sparing of blood offered by a single combatt betwixt themselves to end the quarrell: but Myantenomy presuming upon the number of his men, would have nothing but a battell; the yssue fell contrary to his expectation, his men were routed, divers of his considerable men slayne, and himself taken prisoner." Uncas, soon after, by the advice of the Commissioners for the colonies, cut off Myantenomy's head.

Haz. Coll. II. 9, 47, where are the reasons of the advice. Winthrop's Journal, 305, 306. Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars, 45. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 132—135.

† Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 71—78.

"The dreadful sound of great Sasacus name," fills the Indians with such terror,

"That suddenly they run, and seek to hide,

Swifter than leaves in the autumnal tide.

The Narragansets quit the service clear,

But the Moheagans followed in the rear."

*Gov. Wolcott's Poem, in Coll. of Hist. Soc. IV. 231.*

The Narragansets said, "Saffacus is all one God; no man can kill him." *Trumbull's Hist. I. 31.*

When the English first arrived, Saffacus had under him 26 sachems, or principal war captains. The Pequots, at that time, were estimated at 700 warriors. Their chief places of residence were New-London and Groton. New-London was called Pequot. *Trumbull, ibid. 28, 29.*



the night, kill and burn, and leave the marks of Mohawks. His orders were executed. Arrhamamet ascribed the mischief to the Mohawks, and went in search of them to the north-west. Uncas gained time to equip his men; and afterward subjugated Arrhamamet. Podunk, ever after, was tributary to Uncas.\* We shall presently find that he, thirteen years before this period, granted lands to the English in the southern part of the State, far beyond the river.

The name of Uncas often occurs, in the conveyance of lands in Connecticut, and in various compacts between the Indians and the English. In 1638, articles of agreement were made at Hartford between Uncas and the English people of Connecticut.† In 1640, Uncas, on receiving presents to his satisfaction, "by his certain writing," granted to the governor and magistrates of the English on Connecticut river all his lands, called by whatever name, to dispose of as their own, reserving only the ground then planted by him for himself and the Moheagans.‡ In 1641, he granted to Henry Whitfield, William Leet and others, certain lands "east of the East River" [somewhere near Guilford], "in consideration of 4 coats, 2 kettles, 4 fathoms of wampum, 4 hatchets, and 3 hoes."§ In 1659, "Uncas and Wawequay, sachems of Moheagan," granted all their lands, with all their corn, &c. to major John Mason, who, the next year, surrendered it to the colony of Connecticut.||

Uncas was very inimical to the Christian religion. Gookin, the Indian historian, informs us, that when he was at Wabquisset, with Mr. Eliot the Indian apostle, in 1674, Uncas, by an agent, claimed this place, and remonstrated against their attempts to christianize its inhabitants.

\* President Stiles's Itinerary. Podunk was in the neighbourhood of Hartford. See Coll. of Hist. Soc. V. 167—170; & Trumbull, I. 27.

† Gov. Trumbull's MS. "State and Origin of Connecticut," in the Historical Society. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 424.

‡ Gov. Trumbull's MS. and Trumbull's Hist. I. 115. Colchester was conveyed by this deed. *Ibid.* 424. § Pres. Stiles's Itinerary.

|| Gov. Trumbull's MSS. Trumbull's Hist. I. 424. A repetition of grants was not unusual with Indians. "The colony not only bought the Moheagan country of Uncas, but afterwards all the particular towns were purchased again, either of him or his successors, when the settlements in them commenced." Trumbull, I. 114.

tants.\* The Commissioners for the Colonies endeavoured to reclaim him. In 1672, they wrote a letter to him, "to incourage him to attend on the Minnestry."† Whatever effect this letter may have had on his exterior deportment, it seems not to have reached his heart. Two years afterward (1674) Mr. Fitch, the minister of Norwich, mentions him, as manifesting some appearances of respect to the Christian ministry, but with an entire distrust of his sincerity.‡ About two years afterward, however, when all

\* "We being at Wabquissit, at the sagamore's wigwam, divers of the principal people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent a good part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations. There was a person among them, who sitting mute a great space, at last spake to this effect: That he was agent for Unkas, sachem of Mohegan, who challenged right to, and dominion over, this people of Wabquissit. And, said he, Unkas is not well pleased, that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God."

*Collections of Hist. Soc. I. 190, 191.*

Wabquissit is the south-west corner of Woodstock, now in Connecticut, and is, to this day, called Wabbequasset. This is the territory, which the Mohegans claimed by virtue of conquest.

† Haz. Coll. II. 528.

‡ "Since God hath called me to labour in this work among the Indians nearer to me, where indeed are the most considerable number of any in this colony, the first of my time was spent upon the Indians at Mohcek, where Unkas, and his son, and Wanuhö, are sachems. These at first carried it teachably and tractably: until at length the sachems did discern, that religion would not consist with a mere receiving of the word; and that practical religion will throw down their heathenish idols, and the sachems' tyrannical monarchy: and then the sachems, discerning this, did not only go away, but drew off their people, some by flatteries, and others by threatenings: and they would not suffer them to give so much as an outward attendance to the ministry of the word of God. But at this time, some few did shew a willingness to attend. These few I began meetings with about one year and a half since.—The number of these Indians is now increased to above thirty grown persons, men and women, besides children and young ones.—For the settlement and encouragement of these Indians, I have given them of mine own lands, and some that I have procured of our town, above 300 acres of good improveable lands, and made it sure to them and theirs, so long as they go on in the ways of God. And at this time Unkas and his sons seem as if they would come on again to attend upon the ministry of the word of God. But it is no other but in envy against these, and to promote some present self design."—*Mr. Fitch's Letter to the Hon. Daniel Gookin, Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 208, 209.*

Mr. Gookin calls Unkas "an old and wicked, wilful man, a drunkard, and otherwise very vitious; who hath always been an opposer and underminer of praying to God." *Ibid.*

all other means had failed of success, a providential event made such an impression on the stubborn mind of the Pagan chief, as gave this pious minister good hope of his conversion, or at least of his sincere conviction of the truth of Christianity. Mr. Hubbard, who published his Narrative of the Indian Wars in 1677, speaking of Uncas, and of his fidelity to the interest of the English, observes : " It is suspected by them who knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English of their religion, than the rest of his countrymen, and that it hath been his own advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him, as formerly against the Pequods, so of late against the Narrhagansets ; yet hath he not long since been convinced of the truth of our religion, and vanity of his own ; as himself hath solemnly confessed." In proof of what he alleges, he adduces the testimony of the reverend Mr. Fitch, who had lately given so discouraging an account of Uncas to General Gookin, of Cambridge. In the preceding summer (1676) there was a great drought in New-England, which was extremely severe at Moheagan, and in the neighbouring country. In August, the corn was dried up ; the fruit and leaves fell off, as in autumn ; and some trees appeared to be dead. The Indians came from Moheagan into Norwich, and lamented that they had not rain ; and that their powawes could get none in their way of worship ; desiring Mr. Fitch, that he would seek to God for rain. He appointed a fast day for that purpose. The day proved to be clear ; but at sun set, at the close of the service, some clouds arose. The next day was cloudy. Uncas went to the house of Mr. Fitch, with many Indians, and lamented the great want of rain. If God shall send you rain, said Mr. Fitch, will you not attribute it to your powawes ? He answered, No ; for we have done our utmost ; but all in vain. If you will declare it before all these Indians, replied the minister, you shall see what God will do for us ; remarking, at the same time, their repeated and un-failing reception of the blessing of rain, in answer to fasting and prayer. Uncas then " made a great speech" to the Indians, confessing, that if God should then send rain, it could not be ascribed to their powawing, but must be acknowledged

acknowledged to be an answer to the Englishmen's prayers. On that very day, the clouds became more extended; and, the day following, there was such a copious rain, that their river rose more than two feet in height. §

Whether Uncas *died in faith*, or not, I am unable to say. It is agreeable, however, to find him at last acknowledging the God *who is above*, and paying homage to the religion of his Son. He must now have been an old man; and I do not recollect any subsequent notice of him in history. The same year (1676) Oneco, a son of Uncas, commanded a party of Mohegans, in an expedition with captains Denison and Avery, against the Narragansets.\*

The Rev. Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, informs me, that the last sachem of the Mohegan tribe, † Isaias Uncas, was his pupil in Dr. Wheelock's school, at Lebanon. He was a fat fellow, of dull intellectual parts, as was his father before him, whom also the Doctor well remembers. The race of Uncas, if we may trust the following Epitaph, was peculiarly obnoxious in Colonial History.

#### EPITAPH on a Stone at Moheag.

“ Here lies the body of SUNSEETO  
 “ Own son to Uncas grandson to ONEKO  
 “ Who were the famous sachems of MOHEGAN  
 “ But now they are all dead I think it is Werheegen.” †

Although several tribes of Indians, in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, had attended to the gospel, and a number of churches had been gathered and maintained among them, for nearly a century; yet very small impression was made on the Mohegans, till about the year 1744; “ though much pains had before been taken to win them

§ Hubbard's Indian Wars, 274—276, Worcester edition. See the excellent character of the Rev. Mr. Fitch in Trumbull's Hist. I. 502.

\* Hubbard, *ibid.* 182. Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 360.

† Among the Connecticut Indians, and among all the Indians in New-England, the crown was hereditary, always descending to the eldest son. Trumbull, *ibid.* I. 40.

‡ Ind. “ All is well,” or “ Good News.” President Stiles's Itinerary.

them to embrace the gospel." The zealous, but erratic, Mr. Davenport, at that time directed his zeal toward their conversion; and the pains which he took, "to incline them to receive instruction," are said to have been eminently blessed.\* To the converts, gained at this time, Dr. Trumbull probably refers, when he says, "Some few of the Moheagans have professed Christianity, and been, many years since, admitted to full communion in the north church in New-London."†

About the year 1786, a few Indians went from Moheagan with Mr. Samson Occom§ the celebrated minister, to the country of the Oneidas. A considerable number of their brethren emigrated to that country, at the same time, from

---

\* Prince's Christian History, 21, 154.

† Hist. Connect. I. 495.

§ Mr. Samson Occom was the first Indian pupil educated by the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, and the first Indian preacher of the gospel ever in Great-Britain. Soon after he emerged from Pagan darkness he went to live at Lebanon, with Mr. Wheelock, afterwards President of Dartmouth College; in whose family, and under whose instructions, he continued for several years. He afterwards kept a school on Long Island, during some years, and at the same time officiated as public teacher of the Indian tribe at Montauk on that island, till he received ordination by the hands of the Suffolk Presbytery. He was afterwards employed on several missions to various tribes of Indians, and his services were well received and approved. At his first entrance on the ministry, and for a considerable time after, he was esteemed and respected in his Christian and ministerial character. He was judged to be "well accomplished and peculiarly turned to teach and edify his savage brethren." Nor was he neglected by the polished inhabitants of the capital towns. Though for many years he was without polite conversation and destitute of a library, yet he preached to good acceptance in New-York, Boston, and other populous places.

By the best judges he was said to be an excellent preacher in his own language, and his influence among the Indians was for a long time great. In 1765 or 1766, he accompanied Rev. Mr. Whitaker to London, for the purpose of soliciting benefactions for the support of Mr. Wheelock's school, instituted at Lebanon for the education of Indian youth to be missionaries and schoolmasters for the natives of North-America.\* For the last years of his life, Mr. Occom resided with the Indians at New-Stockbridge, State of New-York, and died in July, 1792. Rev. Mr. Kirkland, Missionary to the Oneidas, preached his funeral sermon.

\* *A Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut.* Print. Lond. 1766.

from Farmington, Stonington, Groton, and Nehantick, † in Connecticut; from Long-Island; and from Charlestown in Rhode-Island. ‖ The inducement to this removal was a tract of excellent wild land, given to them by the Oneidas. These emigrants, being most of the scanty remnant of the Muhhekaneok Indians, called formerly, “The Seven Tribes on the Sea coast,” constitute what are now called, “The Brotherton Indians;” whose entire number, in 1791, was 250, and, in 1796, 150 only. § On their first emigration, they were under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Occom. ¶

Overtaking, at Moheagan, an Indian belonging to the place, I made inquiry of him concerning his tribe. From an account which I had seen in the Historical Collections, † I was led to ask him, Whether a great part of the tribe did not go to Oneida with Mr. Occom. “No,” he replied; “there didn’t hardly any go—Mr. Occom and a few more.” Why did not you accept the offer of the Oneidas? “O, live well enough here—land enough—and good fishing!” This same Indian, however, I found was on his way to New-London, for the purpose of taking passage to Albany, meaning to proceed thence to Oneida. His fiddle was slung on his back; and, if one might judge of his disposition, from his easy and fauntering air, he had no real attachment to any one spot of earth, in preference to another.

---

THE preceding Memoir relates peculiarly to that part of the Moheagan tribe, which dwelt at Moheagan.\* The branches of this tribe appear to have been numerous and extensive; but, at what periods they were separated from the original stock, cannot now be ascertained. If we may judge of the numbers and extent of this tribe, from the extent

‡ The eastern part of Lyme. Trumbull’s Connect. I. 332.

‖ The four last of these places were affirmed by the Indian, hereafter mentioned, to be parts, from which the emigration proceeded. He said it with such promptitude and confidence, that I venture to assert it.

§ Collect. of Hist. Soc. IV. 68; & V. 13.

¶ Ibid.

† Vol. I. 210.

\* This Indian town is on the east side of the road from Norwich to New-London, nearly four miles from Norwich Landing.

extent of its *language*, it was one of the largest, if not the very largest, in North-America. On this language a few remarks shall be subjoined. To these the just observations of two respectable writers may properly be prefixed. "It is much to be lamented," says the one,† "that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature, of those which must be present to every nation barbarous or civilized, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the old world to compare them with these, now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race."

"It is to be desired," the other writer|| observes, "that those who are informed, would communicate to the public what information they may possess, relating to this matter. Perhaps by such communication and by a comparison of the languages of Asia, it may appear, not only from what quarter of the world, but from what particular nation, these Indians are derived."—The HISTORICAL SOCIETY, it is respectfully suggested, is a very suitable depository for such communications.

Dr. Edwards remarks, That the *Muhhekaneew* or Stockbridge Indians,‡ as well as the tribe at New-London, are,  
by

---

† Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. Query XI.

|| The Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College, at Schenectady, in his "Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians;" communicated to THE CONNECTICUT SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, and published at the request of the Society in 1788. This tract was republished at New-York in 1801; and is very respectfully noticed; together with its Author (who died that year), in *The American Review and Literary Journal*, Article XII. Vol. I.

‡ These Indians migrated from Hudson's river, about the year 1734, and settled at Stockbridge in Massachusetts. Between the years 1785 and 1787, they removed to Oneida. Before their removal, they wasted  
away,



by the Anglo-Americans called *Mohegans*, which is a corruption of *Muhbekaneew*, in the singular, or *Muhbekaneok* in the plural. This language is spoken by all the Indians throughout New-England. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, that of Farmington, that of New-London, &c. has a different dialect; but the language is radically the same. Mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible is in a particular dialect of this language.\* The languages of the Delawares,† in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots bordering on Nova-Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanese on the Ohio, and of the Chippewaus at the westward of lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan.‡ The same is said concerning the languages of the Ottowaus, Nanticooks, Munsees, Minomonees, Messifaugas, Saukies, Ottagaumies, Killistinoes, Nipegons, Algonkins, Winnebagoes, &c. That the languages of the several tribes in New-England, of the Delawares, and of Mr. Eliot's Bible, are radically the same, Dr. Edwards asserts from his own knowledge. He had good authorities

---

away, like other Indians. Fifty years ago, there were about 150 families. In 1791, they were reduced to 280 persons, and about 40 warriors. *Coll. of Hist. Soc.* I. 195; IV. 67; and *Pref. to Dr. Edwards' Observations*.

\* See the *Lord's Prayer* in this dialect, *Hist. Coll.* VII. 24.

† "The Delaware tribe is called *Poh-he-gan*, or *Mo-hee-gan* by themselves; and *Auquitsaukon*. It is dispersed into three divisions. *O-hé-yewh*, or *Ohéo* [French *Ohio*], is the largest." President Stiles' *Itinerary*.

‡ Carver divides the principal languages of North-America into four classes, "as they consist of such as are made use of by the nations of the Iroquois towards the eastern parts of it, the Chipeways or Algonkins to the north-west, the Nawdowessies to the west, and the Cherokees, Chickasaws, &c. to the south."—"But of all these," he adds, "the Chipeway tongue appears to be the most prevailing; it being held in such esteem, that the chiefs of every tribe, dwelling about the great lakes, or to the westward of these on the banks of the Mississippi, with those as far south as the Ohio, and as far north as Hudson's Bay, consisting of more than 30 different tribes, speak this language alone in their councils, notwithstanding each has a peculiar one of their own." *Carver's Travels*, Chap. XVII.

If the Chipeway and Mohegan languages are radically the same, Carver's observation does not contradict, but confirm, the sentiment of Dr. Edwards, respecting the extent of the Mohegan language.

authorities for what he says of the rest. He proceeds to illustrate the affinity between the *Mohegan*, the *Shawanee*, and the *Chippewau* languages, by exhibiting a short list of words selected from each of them. The affinity is obviously close; and whoever wishes for the proof, is referred to the pamphlet itself.

The Mohawk language, which is the language of the Six Nations, Dr. Edwards remarks, is entirely different from that of the Mohegans. Between these two languages he also institutes a comparison, by giving a list of words from each; but they have not the smallest resemblance to each other. Hutchinson adds confirmation to this account. "The language of the Indians, from Piscataqua to Connecticut," he remarks, "was so nearly the same, that they could tolerably well converse together. Labials they used with freedom. It is observed of the western Indians, particularly of the Six Nations, that they have no labials in all their language, and they and the Nipnets, who lived little more than one hundred miles from them, could not better understand one another than the English and Chinese."\*

In the year 1788, Dr. Edwards, who was then prosecuting his inquiries on this subject, communicated to me (at that time living in the state of Georgia) a number of questions, for the purpose of instituting a comparison between the Mohegan language and the languages of the Southern Indians. The Creek Indians being then at war with Georgia, no knowledge of *their* language could be obtained. From an intelligent Negro, however, who lived several years, while a boy, among the Chactaws,† I obtained

---

\* Hist. of Massachusetts, I. 479.

† Du Pratz says, their own pronunciation is *Chat-kas*:—"la grand nation des Chat-kas, suivant la prononciation des ces Peuples, que les François nomment Chactas ou Têtes plates." Hist. Louisiane, II. 216.—This author, from the resemblance of names, thinks it probable, that they came from Kamtschatka, in Asia. "Il paroît très-vraisemblable que les Chatkas de la Louisiane, ne sont autres que ce peuple qui est à l'extrémité de l'Asie près l'Isthme dont j'ai parlé, & qui se nomme *Kam-Chat-kas*, ce qui signifie Royaume de Chat-kas." *Ibid.* III. 132.—That the Indians of America are of Asiatic origin, is an opinion which seems every day to gain new confirmation. See *American Review*, *ut supra*.

obtained some scanty information concerning the Chactaw language, which I communicated to my much respected correspondent. Of the questions, which were nine in number, I find no copy; but they may be inferred from the answers which were as follow:

“ 1. Specimens of the Chactaw language.

Earth	Yaukanah
Water	Auquawh
Hatchet	Schefauh
Brother	Baubfaleeh
Fellow	Yaukook

“ 2. Their pronouns are

I, or we	Aunuh
Thou, or you, he	Chifnooh

“ The second person singular, of the pronoun, is not distinguished from the third.\*

“ 3. Their pronouns are neither prefixed, nor suffixed, to their nouns; but

Aunu schefauh is, my hatchet.  
Chifnooh schefauh, your or his hatchet.

“ 4. Verbs.

Eat	Impah
Give	Cuahpetah
Fight	Manhoh
Love	Saupoolah

“ Their pronouns are not affixed to their verbs; but

Aunuh impah,	is	I eat.
Chifnooh impah,		You eat, or, he eats.
Chifnooh saupoolah,		You I love; or, him I love; or, him you love.

“ 5. I cannot find that this language has any variety of tenses. The verb retains the same form, where there is a difference of time.

Aunuh	nenauh	manhoh
We	yesterday	fought.

“ There

---

\* ADAIR, I now find [1804], confirms the correctness of this account. “*A-nó-wah* [is] the first person, and *Ish-na*, the second person singular; but they have not a particular pronoun for the third.” *History of the American Indians*, 69, 70.

“ There is a word, I think, to denote *to-morrow*, but the word *manbob* is not varied.

“ 6. I cannot find a distinction of moods.

“ 7. They express the qualities of things by adjectives.

Nuquauh                      He [is] vexed.

Yankooch nequauh        That fellow is vexed.

Chifnooh coopahsaw      He is (or, you are) cold.

Chifnooh istooh            He is (or, you are) hot.

“ 8. I cannot find that this language has any passive voice. Instead of, *I am loved*, they say,

I and you [are] brothers

Aunuh menuh baubsaleeh

I (or we) tired.

Aunuh toopauh.

“ 9. They have no verb substantive.

“ The *Chaataw* language, I am informed, is nearly the same as the *Chickasaw*. The *Chaataws* and *Chickasaws* are thought to have been formerly one tribe.”\*

Dr. Edwards, in his answer to my letter, made the following remarks: “ By the specimen you have sent me, it seems the *Chaataw* language is totally different from the *Mohegan*, the most general language of North America, and from that of the *Six Nations*. In all North America, from the *St. Lawrence*, to the *Wiondots*; and from *Nova-Scotia*, to *Lake Superior*, I am persuaded there are

\* ADAIR, I find, confirms also the truth of this account. Speaking of the *Chickasaw* (so he spells the word), he observes: “ Their tradition says, they had 10,000 men fit for war, when they first came from the west; and this account seems very probable, as they and the *Choktah* (so he spells it), and also the *Chokchooma*, who in process of time were forced by war to settle between the two former nations, came together from the west as one family.” *Hist. of American Indians*, 352.

“ The most southern old town, which the *Chickasaw* first settled, after the *Chokchoomah*, *Choktah*, and they, separated, on our side of the *Mississippi*, into three different tribes, they called *Yanèka*.” *Ibid.* 66.

The *Chickasaw* are now settled between the heads of two of the most western branches of *Mobile* river. The *Choktah* country lies in about 33 and 34 deg. north lat. Their western lower towns, according to the course of the *Indian* path, are situated 200 miles to the northward of *New-Orleans*.

*Ibid.* 352, 282. and the *Map* prefixed.

are but two original languages, the Mohegan and that of the Six Nations. I send you a small publication on the Indian language. Perhaps this may give you an opportunity to compare the Mohegan and the Chaſtaw language ſo far, as to obtain full ſatisfaction, that they are radically different languages. If ſo, I ſhall be much favoured by the communication of the reſult of the compariſon.”—— It was not in my power, however, to purſue the inquiry ; for my Negro inſtructor, very ſoon after my interview with him, was carried off by a party of Creek Indians ; and I never afterward found means of farther information on the ſubject.

By the aſſiſtance of ADAIR, I can ſomewhat enlarge my vocabulary. A few examples of a compariſon of the Chaſtaw language with the Mohegan, may be ſufficient, to prove their entire diſſimilitude.

<i>English</i>	<i>Chaſtaw</i>	<i>Mohegan</i>
The ſun	Neetak-Haſſéh*	Keefogh
The moon	Neennak-Haſſéh	Nepauhauck
Spring	Otoolpha	Thēquan
Summer	Tóme pallet†	Nēpon
Autumn	Aſhtóra móona‡	T'quauquuh
Winter	Aſhtóra	'Hpoon
Water	Auquawh	'Nbey
He	Chiſnooh	Uwoh
A hill	Nannè	Gh'aukoock
A mountain	Unchàba	W'chu

The Chickaſaw and the Chaſtaw exactly agree in the above names of the four ſeaſons ; and in ſome of the other examples here given. Both theſe nations count in the following manner :

*Chaſtaw*

---

\* Theſe Indians have no proper name for the ſun and moon. One word, with a note of diſtinction, expreſſes both. The Chickaſaws and Chaſtaws term the one, “The day moon, or ſun,” and the other, “The night ſun, or moon.” *Neetak* ſignifies *a day* ; and *Neennak*, *a night*.

† *Toméh* ſignifies “the ſolar light ;” and *palle*, “warm,” or “hot.”

‡ *Aſhtóra*, “winter,” *moona*, “preſently.”

<i>Chaſtaw</i>	<i>Engliſh</i>	<i>Moheagan</i>
Chephpha	One	Ngwittoh
Toogàlo	Two	Neefoh
Tootchēna	Three	Noghoh
Ooſta	Four	Nauwoh
Tathlābe	Five	Nunon
Hannāhle	Six	Ngwittus
Untoogàlo	Seven	Tupouwus
Untootchēna	Eight	Ghufooh
Chakkāle	Nine	Nauneeweh
Pokoole	Ten	Mtannit

When the Chickafaws, or Chaſtaws, count beyond ten, they ſay, *Pokoole Aawa Chephpha*, “ten and one.” The Chickafaws term twenty, *Pokoole toogàlo*, “two tens.”

For ſeveral of the *Moheagan* words, in the laſt compariſon, I am indebted to my worthy friend, Mr. WILLIAM JENKS, who lately procured the annexed ſpecimen of this language from a young and intelligent Indian, of the Stockbridge tribe.\* Among other things, it ſhews, that the pronunciation of that tribe does not, at this time, eſſentially differ from what it was fifty years ago, when Dr. Edwards learned the language.

The ſpelling is chiefly according to the mode adopted by the preſent ſecretary of the Grand Council of the tribe (who was educated at Dartmouth College) in their public records; and the vocabulary was in fact moſtly written by the young Indian himſelf, in order to preſerve as much accuracy as poſſible.

Specimen

---

\* “John Konkapot, jun. Nhu’h kekit Ochuch Anquiquoi you, maſhenaunetatfeh, auſtou Ich naſkmuch.” Such are his name and titles, as lately given by himſelf at Cambridge, in the *Moheagan* tongue. He is, by his own account, a grandſon of the famous old warrior, HENDRICK, the Chief of the Mohawks, who was killed in the French war, 1758. This young Indian ſays, that his grandfather Hendrick was the ſon of a *Moheagan* Chief (called the Wolf), by a Mohawk woman; and that Hendrick alſo married a Mohawk woman, Hunnis, a daughter of the Chief of the Mohawks.

Specimen of the MOHEAGAN language, taken at Cambridge, February 28, 1804.

GOD PAUTAUMOUWOTH	fire, 'tbtourw,
created <i>kecetaun</i>	air, <i>aurwon,</i>
the world <i>nooh keeyh</i>	water, <i>m'ppēh,</i>
and all things 'n'don <i>maww</i>	the earth, <i>nooh keeyh,</i>
<i>kauquoi</i>	the sun, <i>kesogh,</i>
in time, <i>kenawwewēnoquicq,</i>	the moon, <i>nepauhauck,</i>
place, <i>w'keceghtaun,</i> gh gut-	a star. <i>anauquauth.</i>
tural,	Heat, 'Ksetaurwow,
order, <i>kenawweghtaun,</i>	light, <i>wauthaujouw,</i>
and number. 'n'don <i>autgh-</i>	cold, <i>t'hautbu,</i>
<i>ainnoikack.</i>	wind, 'kfaughon,
Of time. <i>Neenoquicq.</i>	a rainbow, <i>anuquaun,</i>
Time <i>Kenawwewēnoquicq</i>	thunder, <i>pautquauban,</i>
is divided into <i>m'ghnaunnoi-</i>	smoke, <i>quusautaurwow,</i>
<i>keeh t'gheghan</i>	a cloud, <i>m'taucq,</i>
an hour, <i>hour,</i> from the	a river, <i>thēpow,</i> th sounded
English,	as in <i>thing,</i>
a day, <i>waukaumaww,*</i>	the sea, 'ktaunnauppēh, <i>see</i>
a month, <i>kesogh,</i>	<i>water,</i>
a year. <i>kētoon.</i>	a lake, 'pquaughon,
In a day are <i>Neeb waukau-</i>	ice, <i>m'quaameeh,</i>
<i>maww oikeeh</i>	snow, <i>m'sauneeh,</i>
the dawn, <i>pautaupon,</i>	rain, <i>thocknaun,</i>
the morning, <i>naujaupawwew,</i>	an island, <i>m'naubān,</i> hence
the evening, <i>t'paughesfu,</i>	perhaps <i>Monahigan,</i> or "isl-
the night. <i>p'quaunaujoub.</i>	and of the Mobeagans."
In a year are <i>Neeb kētoon</i>	a hill, <i>gh'aukoock,</i>
<i>oikeeh</i>	a mountain, <i>w'chu,</i> hence
the spring, <i>thēquan,</i> th found-	probably <i>Wachusett,</i>
ded as in <i>thing,</i>	a rock, <i>thaunaumku.</i>
summer, <i>nēpon,</i>	Of man. <i>N'neemanāoo.</i>
autumn, <i>t'quauquuh,</i>	an infant, <i>chacq sefeet,</i>
winter. <i>poon.</i>	a boy, <i>penaupahthub,</i>
Greater bodies are <i>Aunōu-</i>	a girl, <i>peesquāhthub,</i>
<i>wew maumaugh-</i>	a young man, <i>eeowthkenooh,</i>
<i>quequicq oikeeh</i>	a man, <i>neemanāoo,</i>
the heaven, <i>'thpummuck,</i>	a woman, <i>p'ghainoom,</i>
the sky, <i>onawwauk,</i>	an old man, 'kchee,

\* Wakkamaw is the name of a river in South Carolina.



an old woman, <i>weenauthoob,</i>	a grandmother, <i>óhmán,</i>
a husband, <i>w'ghán,</i>	an aunt, <i>óhméthán</i>
a wife, <i>wecwone,</i>	a King, <i>Kioweenoo,</i>
a father, <i>ó'ghán,</i>	a Chief, <i>Wauyauwághou,</i>
a mother, <i>ó'kegán,</i>	a house, <i>wecwom,</i> hence <i>wig-</i>
a son, <i>w'tiyomán,</i>	<i>wam,</i> as spelt by Wood.
a daughter, <i>ó'toofán,</i>	“ N. E. Prospect.”†
a brother, <i>ó'ghéihmán,</i>	a bow, <i>'thkenághoo,</i>
a sister, <i>wecetaunphooán,</i>	a shield, <i>authkétuck,</i>
an uncle, <i>ooféthán,</i>	a book, <i>Oothoohégán.‡</i>
a grandfather, <i>máhghomán,</i>	

In this short specimen it is remarkable that we find neither an *l* nor an *r*, nor indeed the sound of *f*. This remark was also made by Wood on the language of the *Aberginians*, of which he gives a vocabulary at the end of his “New-England’s Prospect,” printed in London, 1639. Wherever *gh* occurs in the above, the pronunciation is extremely guttural, and appears to be a strong characteristic of the language, hardly imitable by us.

† Spelt *Weekumubm* by Dr. Edwards.

‡ They have no word, it is said, to express paper.





2931

A MEMOIR OF  
*STEPHEN PARMENIUS OF BUDA;*

WITH A

LATIN POEM,

COMPOSED BY HIM, IN M.D.LXXXIII.

AND

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

M.DCCC.IV.

*As of 1896*

---

**S**TEPHEN PARMENIUS, the author of the following POEM, was born, about the middle of the sixteenth century, at Buda, the capital of Hungary, at that time in possession of the Turks. His genius probably procured him patronage; for some literary men in Hungary assisted him to a liberal education. For its completion, he visited the European universities. During his residence in England, he was singularly pleased with the people, the government, and the country; the flattering attentions of the literati of London contributing, doubtless, to this partiality. Here he became acquainted with Mr. RICHARD HAKLUYT, the celebrated author of *Voyages and Discoveries of the English nation*, who introduced him to Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, at the very time when he was preparing to embark with a colony for America. Delighted with this gentleman, and with his enterprize, he celebrated both in this poem. At the time of composing it, in

VOL. IX. H March,

March, 1583, he had no intention, it seems,\* of coming to America. He, however, did actually embark with Sir H. Gilbert and the English adventurers, on the 11th of June, the same year. Expecting that great discoveries would be made, or great actions performed, by this colony, he intended to compose a history of them in the Latin language, which he wrote with great elegance. The admiral, however, made but a very short stay in America; and did nothing more, than take possession of Newfoundland for queen Elizabeth. Returning to England, he was lost in a violent storm, on the 9th of September, and with him the learned Hungarian. This catastrophe is thus related by Mr. Edward Haies, a gentleman, who was "principal actor in the same voyage," and "who alone continued unto the end, and by God's special assistance, returned home with his retinue safe and entire"—"This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraughted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the cite of Buda, called thereof Budæius, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests† and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time."‡—Beside this poem, I find no composition of Parmenius, excepting a letter in Latin, to Mr. Richard Hakluyt, dated at St. John's port, Newfoundland, August 6, 1583; which gives a brief account of the voyage from England, and of taking

---

\* O mihi fœlicem si fas conscendere puppim !

See the Poem, from line 157 to 164.

† *Gests*, from the Latin *gesta* [*exploits*]. The same word is used in another part of this writer's account of the same voyage :—"as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered." *Hakluyt's Voyages*, I. 680; & III. 144.

‡ *Ibid.* I. 692; & III. 156.

taking possession of Newfoundland ; and a description of this island. §

To the Poem is prefixed a Preface, and both are here translated. In the translation, no freedom has been intentionally used with the original, excepting to deprive queen Elizabeth of her poetical divinity.\* Poets and painters have great licence by prescription ; but it had a pagan origin, and Christians ought to contribute nothing toward perpetuating their idolatry. The classical reader of this poem will be too much entertained with the elegant original, to disquiet himself about any imperfection in the translation.

It seems but just, to say one word concerning the illustrious person, to whom the poem is addressed. Sir Humphrey Gilbert having procured an ample patent of queen Elizabeth,

§ Ill fated Poet ! the country furnished thee but a barren theme. The most fertile one was the cod fishery. “ Nunc, narrandi erant mores, regiones, et populi. Cæterùm quid narrem, mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video. Piscium inexhausta copia : inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onestus est.”—In the account of the climate, the facts of the historian form a very sober contrast to the description of the poet. || “ Cælum hoc anni tempore ita fervidum est, ut nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui invertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm frigidum sit, magnæ moles glaciæ in medio mari nos docuere.” *Letter to Mr. Hakluyt.* It is inserted entire in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, I. 697—699 ; & III, 161—163.

\* See lines 179th and 225th. Such impious compliments were frequent in the Augustan age. [See Virg. *Georg.* I. 24—42. Hor. *Carm. Lib. IV.* ode V. Lucan, *Lib. I.*] The classical writer is in great danger of the sin of deification.—*Æternùm cupiunt* [line 204th.] are suffered to pass. The thought was, perhaps, borrowed from the *Thebaid* of Statius [Lib. I. 31—33], where Cæsar is thus addressed :

“ Tuque . . . . .

*Æternum sibi Roma cupit.*”

“ Oh ! bless thy Rome with an eternal reign,

Nor let desiring worlds entreat in vain.” *Pope's translation.*

Budæius was not alone. Buchanan, one of the purest and finest of modern writers, who was his contemporary, concludes a poem, addressed to Henry VIII.—which ascribes to that king all the virtues that he ever had, and some which he had not—with these lines :

“ Hæc tua te virtus dis immortalibus æquum  
Efficit, atque hominum supra fastigia tollit.”

|| See the Poem, line 299 to 303.

Elizabeth, in 1578, with full powers to undertake the discovery of the northern parts of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands, which were at that time unfetled by any Christian princes, or their subjects, he sailed, not long after, to Newfoundland. After continuing here a short time, he was compelled, by adverse occurrences, to return to England. Not discouraged, however, by this disappointment, he prosecuted the design with steady and resolute perseverance. The queen was so well pleased with his conduct, that she gave him, as a mark of her peculiar favour, an emblematical jewel, being a small anchor of beaten gold, with a large pearl at the peak, which he wore ever after at his breast. He and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh\* were the parents of the English plantations in America, and laid the foundation of the trade and naval power of Great-Britain. Sir Walter Raleigh was a joint adventurer with his brother, and, the very year in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished, took out a new patent for the same purposes, and of the like tenure with that of Sir Humphrey; upon which he immediately proceeded, and sent a colony at his own expence, to settle on the American continent. This opened the way to the settlement of Virginia.—“As to the person of this brave and wise man [Gilbert], it was such as recommended him to esteem and veneration at first sight; his stature was beyond the ordinary size; his complexion sanguine; and his constitution very robust.” In the British Biography, he is highly celebrated for courage and prudence; for genius and learning; for eloquence and patriotism; and for the estimable virtues of private life. “His life and death were a continual commentary on his own generous maxim, *That he is not worthy to live at all, who for fear or danger of death shunneth his country’s service, or his own honour; since death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal.*”†

A. H.

---

\* After the death of Sir H. Gilbert’s father, his mother married Walter Raleigh of Fardel, Esquire; and by him was the mother of the famous Sir Walter Raleigh.

† See Hakluyt’s Voyages, III. 135—162. Biographia Britannica, Art. *Gilbert*; and Belknap’s American Biography, I. 196—205.

NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE POEM.

Line 75—82. *Dacis*—inhabitants of Transylvania, &c. “Dacia, regio Scythiæ Europææ quæ ad Septentrionem Carpato monte è Sarmatia dividitur. Dacia hodie divisa est in Transylvaniam,” &c.

*Æmathiis*—Æmathia was the ancient name of Macedonia.

*Hebrus*, &c.—Thrace.

*Pannoniæ*—Pannonia was a part of Hungary. “Hungaria—Danubius medium interfluit, atque in partes nempe in citeriorem & ulteriorem scindit. Citerior est ea ubi olim Pannoniæ fuerunt. Hujus citerioris Hungariæ caput est Buda regni fedes.”

*Liburnis*—Liburnia is now called Slavonia. “Liburnia—quam hodie Slavoniam appellant.”

*Sarmaticas gentes*—Inhabitants of Poland, Russia, and Tartary. “Sarmatia—quem tractum hodie tenent, quos Polonos, Ruthenos, & Tartaros appellamus.”

*Vide Caroli Stephani Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, &c.*; also the VIIth. Map in Blair’s Chronology, which gives the ancient names of these countries.

Line 113—115. *Belgæ—Hibernia*.—For the suppression of the Irish rebellion, Gilbert was raised to the rank of Colonel, which seems to have been, at that time, a title of supreme command; for his troops consisted of 100 horse, 400 regular foot, and a certain number of that kind of Irish militia, distinguished by the name of Kerns. When he was sent over to Holland, to the assistance of the Dutch, he had the same title, and is reported to have been the first Englishman, who bore it in that service.

*Biog. Britan. Art. Gilbert.*

Line 120. *Sequana* was the ancient name of the river Seine in France. “Sequana—Lutetiam Parisiorum mediam interfecans, unàque cum Matriona Belgas à Celtis dividens.”

*See Stephan. Diction. & Blair, ut supra.*

*Line*



*Line 127. Aucheriam*—The wife of Sir H. Gilbert. He married, from the court of queen Elizabeth, a lady of distinguished birth and fortune, Ann, the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent,\* who, with his son, behaved in the noble manner, described by the poet, at the reduction of Calais by the French, in 1558.

*Line 163. Istri, &c.*—The wars of Germany. Ister was formerly the name of the Danube.

*Lines 237, 238.* New Albion was discovered by Sir Francis Drake in 1578; and the principal king of the country invested him with his principality.

*Line 272.* Sir Hugh Willoughby, on a voyage for the discovery of a passage to India by the North West, having proceeded to 72° north latitude, perished, with all his mariners, in 1554.

*Line 276.* Sir Martin Frobisher made three voyages to the north, for the same discovery, in 1576, 1577, and 1578. In translating the 277th. and 278th. lines, regard was had to Forster's account of these voyages. In a part of Greenland, discovered by Frobisher, "in hard winters, masses of ice, of an astonishing size, are generated by the mountains of snow, which are blown down from off the high rocks, and in the spring, in consequence of the thaws, of heavy rains, and of the sea water dashing upon them, are converted into ice."

*See Forster's Voyages. 277, 278.*

*Line 281.* Sir Anthony Jenkinson made his last voyage to Russia in 1571. For a proof and illustration of his wonderful enterprises in the East; see *Hakluyt's Voyages*, I. 426—436. See also *Camdeni Rerum Anglic. et Hib. Annales*, regn. Eliz. 126, 155.

*Line 284.* Sir Francis Drake commenced his voyage round the world in 1577, and completed it in 1580.

*Line 297.* John and Sebastian Cabot discovered the continent of North-America in 1497. More than sixty

\* Biog. Brit. Art. *Gilbert.*

years elapsed, however, before the English availed themselves of this discovery. This remarkable neglect historians ascribe to the frugal maxims of Henry VII. and the unpropitious circumstances of the reigns of Henry VIII. of Edward VI. and of the bigoted Mary; reigns peculiarly adverse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation. The honour of commencing the colonization of North-America was reserved for the vigorous and splendid reign of queen Elizabeth.

---

DE NAVIGATIONE ILLUSTRIS & MAGNANIMI EQUITIS  
AURATI HUMFREDI GILBERTI, AD DEDUCENDAM IN NO-  
VUM ORBEM COLONIAM SUSCEPTA, CARMEN ΕΠΙΘΑΤΙΚΟΝ  
STEPHANI PARMENII BUDÆII.

*Ad eundem illustrem equitem auctoris præfatio:*

REDDENDA est, quàm fieri potest brevissimè, in hoc vestibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo novus & exterus, in tanta literatissimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata est, versandum in hoc argumento mihi putaverim: ita enim tu, fortissime Gilberte, foetum hunc nostrum in lucem exire voluisti. In servitute & barbarie Turcica, Christianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquam etiam ætatis partem educatus; postquam doctissimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ nostræ, tum imprimis salvæ adhuc earum reliquiæ florescunt, in literis adolevissem, more nostrorum hominum, ad invisendas Christiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non solum complura Musarum hospitia, sed multas etiam sapienter institutas respublicas, multarum Ecclesiarum probatissimas administrationes introspeximus, jam fermè triennio ea in re posito. Fuerat hæc nostra profectio ita à nobis comparata, ut non tantum mores & urbes gentium videndum, sed in familiaritatem, aut saltem notitiam illustriorum hominum introendum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, ut hoc à nobis sine invidia dici possit, (certè enim taceri absque malicia nullo modo potest) non locus, non natio, non respublica, ulla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcumque in partem eventum

eventum consilii mei considerem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis civibus, quibuscum aliqua consuetudo mihi contigit, tanta passim humanitate acceptus essem; ut jam (sit hoc salva pietate à me dictum) suavissimæ Anglorum amicitiae fermè abolerint desiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ob causas cùm sæpenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostræ hujus voluntatis & existimationis edendi; accidit utique secundùm sententiam, ut dum salutandis & cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclarissimo tuo de ducenda propedièm colonia in novum orbem instituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoscere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum sempiterna posteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnovi profectò, eaque tali ac tanta observantia prosequi cæpi; ut cum paulò post plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus gestis passim audissem, tempus longè accommodatissimum existimarem esse, quo aliqua parte officii studiique nostri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc est primum ovum, unde nostrum επιβατικὸν originem ducit. Reliquum est, ut eas & redeas quàm prosperrimè, vir nobilissime, & benevolentia tua, autoritate, ac nomine, tueare studium nostrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis, 1583.

---

A POEM OF STEPHEN PARMENIUS OF BUDA, IN CELEBRATION OF THE VOYAGE OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND VALIANT KNIGHT, SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, UNDERTAKEN FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONDUCTING A COLONY TO THE NEW WORLD.

*The Preface of the Author to that illustrious knight.*

HERE, at the threshold, the reason of my attempt must be given as briefly as possible; and I must tell wherefore I, so great a stranger and a foreigner, in such a throng of literary characters, as that with which England is blest, should think of meddling with this subject; for it was you, most noble Gilbert, who chose that this my imperfect production

production should see the light. Born in Turkish servitude and barbarism, yet, through the great goodness of God, of Christian parents, and by them partly educated; afterward, by the aid of learned men, with whom Hungary then abounded, and even yet abounds so far as its reliques are preserved, having grown up in letters, I was sent, after the manner of my countrymen, to visit the universities in Christendom. In my travels, I not only beheld many seats of the muses, but also many wisely constituted republics, and admirably conducted churches; nearly three years being devoted to that object. This journey I so contrived, that I took care not merely to observe the manners and cities of different nations, but to obtain the familiar acquaintance, or at least, the knowledge of eminent men. But, to speak without envy (for it cannot be suppressed without malice), no place, no nation, no republic, pleased me equally in every respect, with your Britain. It so happened, that, beyond all my expectation, I was received every where by all your citizens, with whom I had the least familiarity, with such politeness, that already (let me say it without the violation of patriotism) the very delightful friendships of Englishmen have almost obliterated the love both of the Hungarians and of my Buda, to which I owe the name of country. When, for these reasons, I had often wished to give some expression of this my affection, it happened, according to my wish, that, while I was taking pains to pay my respects to the excellent men in London, and to become acquainted with them, my very accomplished and learned friend Richard Hakluyt introduced me to you, explaining to me, at the same time, your most noble design of shortly conducting a colony into the new world. In the mean time I could perceive, that that body and spirit of your's were worthy of the perpetual remembrance of posterity, and hence began to attend to them with such respect, that when, soon after, I every where heard more concerning your virtues and exploits, I thought it the most favourable time possible, to discharge some part of my duty, and to express somewhat of my regard, toward you and your nation. This is the primary origin of my poem. For

the rest, may you prosperously go and return, most noble  
 fir, and secure my regard by your benevolence, authority,  
 and renown. Farewell. March 31, 1583.

---

AD THAMESIN.

*AMNIS, inoffensa qui tam requiete beatus  
 Antipodum quæris jam tibi in orbe locum :  
 Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis  
 Fecimus, et rauca carmina prima tubæ.  
 Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,  
 Ornatu perages gaudia festa novo.*

TO THE THAMES.

*RIVER, who, happy in thy harmless course,  
 Seek'st thy antipodes in yon new world ;  
 Thy meed of praise I now have scarce begun,  
 And simply founded the first trump of fame.  
 When Argo thou restor'st, whom now we loose,  
 Thy festal joys shall claim a nobler song.*

---

*QUÆ nova tam subitò mutati gratia cæli ?  
 Unde graves nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras ?  
 Diffugiunt nebulae, puroque nitentior ortu  
 Illustrat terras, clementiaque æquora TITAN ?  
 Nimirum posuere NOTI, meliorque refurgit  
 EURUS, et in ventos solvuntur vela secundos,  
 Vela quibus gentis decus immortale BRITANNÆ*

---

*WHAT wondrous favour this of alter'd heaven ?  
 Whence do big storms dissolve to gentlest gales ?  
 The clouds disperse, a brighter orient sun  
 Illuminate the earth, and seas affuag'd ?  
 The SOUTH WINDS, fure, are laid ; the better EAST  
 Rises ; to prosperous winds are loos'd the sails,  
 Sails, borne by which, GILBERT, BRITANNIA's pride,*

Tendit ad ignotum nostris majoribus orbem  
 Vix notis GILBERTUS aquis. Ecquando licebit  
 Ordiri heroas laudes, et facta nepotum 10  
 Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cæpta filendum est  
 Illa, quibus nostri præcis ætatibus audent  
 Conferri, et certare dies: quibus obvia plano  
 Jamdudum FORTUNA solo, quibus omne per undas  
 NEREIDUM genus exultat, faustoque tridenti 15  
 Ipse pater NEREUS placabile temperat æquor.  
 Et passim Oceano curvi Delphines ab imo  
 In summos saliunt fluctus, quasi terga parent  
 In quibus evectæ fulcent freta prospera puppes.  
 Et quasi diluvium, tempestatesque minatur 20  
 Follibus inflatis inimica in vela physter.  
 Et favet ÆGÆON, et qui NEPTUNIA PROTEUS  
 Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.  
 Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat  
 Sceptra CHALÉDONIDUM: seclis modò fata futuris 25  
 Pandit, et ad feros canit eventura minores.

Goes to a new world, to our fires unknown,  
 On waters scarce explor'd. When shall we care  
 To sing heroic praises, and the deeds 10  
 To astonish future ages? If designs,  
 That, by our age achieved, with former times  
 Dare bold comparison, must not be sung:  
 Deeds now by FORTUNE favoured, deeds which all  
 The race of NEREIDS, on the Ocean's waves, 15  
 Exults to foster, while great NEREUS' self  
 With kindly trident smooths the yielding sea.  
 From Ocean's depths e'en the curved dolphins leap  
 On highest waves, as though with backs upreared  
 To bear the ships far o'er the prosperous seas;  
 And the dread whale a flood and tempests threats 20  
 With windy blasts against unfriendly sails.  
 Propitious is ÆGÆON, PROTEUS too,  
 Who NEPTUNE'S herds feeds in the deeps below:  
 And he, who lately praised for ancient worth  
 The GALEDONIAN sceptre, now unfolds 25  
 To future ages fate's great destinies,  
 And sings to late descendants things to come.

Ut pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto  
 Infula OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi;  
 Postquam opibus dives, populo numerosa frequenti,  
 Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe; 30  
 Non incauta fui, ne quando immensa potestas  
 Pondere sit ruitura suo; nova mænia natis  
 Quærat, et in longum extendat sua regna recessum:  
 Non aliter, quàm cum ventis sublimibus aptæ  
 In nidis crevere grues, profiscitur ingens 35  
 De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILUM.

Euge, sacrum pectus, tibi, per tot secula soli  
 Servata est regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.  
 Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata  
 Margine, et audacem quarto dignata COLUMBUM; 40  
 Jam quintâ lustranda plagâ tibi, jamque regenda  
 Imperio superest, EUROPAM ASIAMQUE relinque,  
 Et fortunatam nimium, nisi sole propinquo  
 Arderet; LYBYEN: illis sua facta viasque  
 Terminet ALCIDES: abs te illustranda quiescit. 45  
 Parte alia tellus, quam non BABYLONIA scepra,

In the vast Ocean lifts her head erect  
 Above the spacious earth a well known Isle,  
 In peace and war far famed, pride of the world,  
 ENGLAND; for wealth, for numbers, deeds, renown'd. 30  
 Aware that time may come, when power immense  
 By its own weight may fall; new walls she seeks,  
 And stretches far, for her own sons, her realms:  
 So when in nests storks firmly fledged have grown  
 Fit for the lofty winds; in flocks they move 35  
 Forth from our climate to the tepid Nile.

Hail, noble soul, thus long for thee alone  
 A land is kept by tyrants never ruled.  
 The earth, erst bounded by a triple line,  
 And honouring bold COLUMBUS with a fourth; 40  
 Reserves her fifth for thee, and for thy sway.  
 EUROPE, and ASIA leave, and AFRIC's clime  
 Too happy, but for burning suns; ALCIDES  
 Their deeds and bounds may fix: far hence remains  
 For thy survey a land, which not the rod 45  
 Of BABYLON; nor MACEDONIAN might,



Non MACEDUM invictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus  
Attigit, aut unquam LATIÆ feriere secures.

Non illo soboles MAHOMETI mugit orbe :

Non vafer HISPANUS, cœlo, superisque relictis,  
Sacra PAPÆ humano crudelia sanguine fecit.

50

Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago ;

Sive illi nostræ veniant ab origine gentis,

Seu tandem à prisca FAUNORUM stirpe supersint

Antiqua geniti terra, sine legibus urbes

55

Sylvæque et pingues habitant civilibus agros :

Et priscos referunt mores, vitamque sequuntur

ITALIÆ antiquæ, et primi rude temporis ævum :

Cum genitor nati fugiens SATURNUS ob iram

In LATIO posuit sedem, rudibusque regendos

60

In tenues vicos hominès collegit ab agris.

Aurea in hoc primum populo cæpisse feruntur

Secula, sicque homines vitam duxisse beati ;

Ut simul argenti percurrens tempora, et æris,

Degener in durum chalybem vilisceret ætas ;

65

Rursus in antiquum, de quo descenderat, aurum

---

Nor PERSIC bravery ever yet has reached,

Nor LATIAN axes yet have ever ruled.

Not there the sect of MAHOMET hath roared ;

Nor subtil SPANIARD, first his God renouncing,

Offered the HOLY FATHER human blood.

50

There mortals, and a race of men unknown,

Whether from our own lineage first they sprung,

Or of the stock of Faunus yet remain,

Derived from mother earth, cities possess,

55

Though lawless, and the woods and fertile fields.

Old manners they revive, the life pursue

Of ancient ITALY, and earliest time ;

When father SATURN, fleeing Jove's dread ire,

In Latium fixed his seat, and into towns

60

Brought from rude fields the subjects of his sway.

Here first, 'tis said, commenc'd the golden age,

And men thus learned to live a happy life ;

Yet still this age, at length to silver fallen,

And next to brass, to iron hard at last ;

65

Again to ancient gold, from which it sunk,

(Sic perhibent vates) ævo vertente rediret.  
 Fallor, an est tempus, revolutoque orbe videntur  
 Aurea pacificæ transmittere secula gentes?  
 Fallor enim, si quassatas tot cladibus urbes 70  
 Respicio, et passim lacerantes regna tyrannos:  
 Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LYBIAMQUE cruento  
 Marte premi, domitaque jugum cervice subire:  
 Jamque per EUROPÆ fines immane tribunal  
 BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQUE, PELASGISQUE 75  
 ÆMATHISQUE, omnique solo quod dividit HEBRUS,  
 Et quondam bello invictis, nunc MARTE sinistro  
 Angustos fines, parvamque tuentibus oram  
 PANNONIÆ populis, et prisca in gente LIBURNIS.  
 Tum verò in superos pugnas sine fine cieri 80  
 Patribus AUSONIIS: ardere in bella; necesseque  
 SARMATICAS gentes: et adhuc à cæde recenti  
 HISPANUM sancto GALLUMQUE madere cruore.  
 Non sunt hæc auri, non sunt documenta, sed atrox  
 Ingenio referunt ferrum, et si dicere ferro 85  
 Deteriora mihi licet, intractabile saxum.

(So prophets tell) would finally revert.  
 Mistake I, or is this the eventful time,  
 When peaceful nations form this golden age?  
 Yes, I mistake, if cities I behold, 70  
 Shattered by force, and realms by tyrants torn;  
 If ASIA, AFRIC, prest in bloody war  
 By SARACENS, bend to the servile yoke;  
 And through all EUROPE a barbarian power  
 Is tremblingly ador'd, by DACIANS, GREEKS, 75  
 ÆMATHIANS, and the realm that HEBRUS parts,  
 PANNONIANS, once in war invincible,  
 Now, sad reverse! guarding their small domains,  
 And the LIBURNIANS, anciently renowned.  
 Then too against high powers perpetual wars, 80  
 Caus'd by AUSONIAN priests: SARMATIAN tribes  
 Ardent for battle; and yet warm with slaughter,  
 The GAUL and SPANIARD drenched in holy blood.  
 These, these, no proofs of gold, they rather prove  
 Atrocious iron, and, if worse than this 85  
 Aught may be named, the stone intractable.

At verò ad niveos alia si parte BRITANNOS  
 Verto oculos animumque, quot, ô pulcherrima tellus,  
 Testibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?  
 Namque quòd hoc fumum colitur tibi numen honore 90  
 Quo superi, atque omnis geniorum casta juvenus  
 Illius ad sacra jussa vices obit, arguit aurum.  
 Quòd tam chara DEO tua scepra gubernet AMAZON,  
 Quàm DEA, cum nondum cœlis ASTRÆA petitis  
 Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum. 95  
 Quòd colit haud ullis inclusas mænibus urbes  
 Aurea libertas, et nescia ferre tyrannum  
 Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum.  
 Quòd regio nullis injuria gentibus, arma  
 Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete, 100  
 Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.  
 Quòd gladii, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd hastæ  
 In rastros abiere, et bello afflueta juvenus  
 Pacem et amicitias dulces colit, arguit aurum.  
 Denique si fas est auro connectere laudes 105  
 Æris, et in pacis venerari tempore fortes;

But if the eye and thought I hence advert  
 To snow-white BRITONS; O thou loveliest land,  
 What proofs resistless of thy life of gold!  
 For, that the sovereign DEITY by thee 90  
 Is worshipp'd as divine, and thy chaste youth  
 Regard his sacred mandates, argues gold.  
 That, dear to God, a queen thy sceptre sways,  
 As if the goddess, yet not fled to heaven,  
 ASTRÆA ruled o'er mortals, argues gold. 95  
 That golden freedom unwall'd cities rears,  
 And that the land, which tyrant never bore,  
 Is ever safe, and tranquil, argues gold.  
 That, to no nation's harm, a region here  
 Bears arms, all reddened with the rust of peace, 100  
 But arms to neighbours dreadful, argues gold.  
 That swords, and darts, that javelins too, and spears,  
 To ploughshares turn, and youths inured to war  
 Seek peace and joys domestic, argues gold.  
 In fine, if meet the praise of brass to blend 105  
 With gold, and in mid peace to extol the brave,

Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris  
 Pectora? sint testes procerum tot millia, testes  
 Mille duces, interque duces notissima mille  
 Illa cui affurgunt MŪSÆ, quam conscia PALLAS 110  
 Lætior exaudit, GILBERTI gloria nostri.  
 Illius auxilium, et socialia prælia amici  
 Mirantur BELGÆ, et quamvis injustus IBERUS  
 Commemorat justas acies, domitasque per oras  
 Martia victrices formidat HIBERNIA turmas. 115  
 Illum oppugnatae quassatis turribus arces,  
 Illum expugnatae perruptis mænibus urbes,  
 Fluminaque et portus capti, hostilique notatum  
 Sanguine submersæ meminere sub æquore classes.  
 Hic ubi per medios projectus SEQUANA CELTAS 120  
 Labitur, et nomen mox amissurus, et undas.  
 Omnia si desint, quantum est ingentibus ausis  
 Humani generis pro pace bonoque pacisci  
 Tam varios casus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?  
 Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulcissima sacri 125  
 Oscula conjugii, numerantemque ordine longo

What heroes born for war, what brazen hearts  
 Thou rearest? Let the thousand chiefs attest,  
 The thousand veterans, and mid them most famed  
 Our GILBERT's glory, which the MUSES greet, 110  
 And conscious PALLAS gladly deigns to hear.  
 His aid, and federate battles, BELGIC friends  
 Admire, and the IBERIAN, though unjust,  
 Praises his arms; and, through her subject coasts,  
 Martial HIBERNIA dreads his conquering bands. 115  
 Him battered castles, with their shaken towers,  
 Him cities, gained by storm, with broken walls,  
 And streams, and captured ports, full well have known,  
 And fleets submerg'd beneath the briny deep:  
 Here, where SEQUANA, pouring through the CELTS, 120  
 Glides, soon to lose at once his name, and waves.  
 Were all things wanting, yet how great the emprise  
 To brave, for human peace and weal alone,  
 Chances so great, such seas, such perils dire?  
 To leave a tender offspring, and the sweets 125  
 Of wedlock, and Aucheria numbering o'er

AUCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille  
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos  
AUCHERIOS exempla suos, fratremque patremque ;  
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem et virtute sequuntur, 130  
Obsessi in muris foli portisque CALETI,  
Præposuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus urbem,  
Et decus ALBIONUM, turpi supereffe salute.

Quòd si parva loquor, nec adhuc fortasse fatenda est  
Aurea in hoc iterum nostro gens vivere mundo, 135  
Quid vetat ignotis ut possit furgere terris ?  
Auguror, et faveat dictis DEUS, auguror annos,  
In quibus haud illo secus olim principe in urbes  
Barbara plebs coëat quàm cum nova saxa vocaret  
AMPHION THEBAS, TROJANA ad mænia PHOEBUS. 140  
Atque ubi sic ultrò junctas sociaverit ædes,  
Deinde dabit leges custoditurus easdem ;  
In quibus ignari cives fraudumque, dolique,  
A solida affuescant potius virtute beari ;  
Quàm genio et molli liquentia corpora vita 145  
In Venerem ignavam, pinguemque immergere luxum :

In long array, the dangers of the seas,  
And, midst a few examples, her own kin  
AUCHERIAN, both her brother and her fire,  
Who, in their country's cause, for virtuous praise, 130  
Alone besieg'd in CALAIS' walls and gates,  
Would rather die, than basely live with those,  
Who, with the city, Albion's fame betrayed.  
But, if small things I tell, nor yet confess  
A golden race within our world revives, 135  
What hinders it to rise in lands unknown ?  
I augur, HEAVEN fulfil ! I augur years,  
When, under this their chief, the barbarous throng  
Shall into cities crowd, as when of old  
AMPHION call'd to THEBES the rugged stones ; 140  
Or PHOEBUS, to the lofty walls of TROY.  
When he shall thus the social compact form,  
Laws he shall give, laws which himself shall guard ;  
By these the citizens, in frauds unskilled,  
May learn from virtue to derive their bliss,  
Rather than seek it in voluptuous ease, 145

Quàm nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores  
 Vivere ad arbitrium stolidæ mutabile plebis.  
 Non illic generi virtus, opibusque premetur  
 Libertas populi, non contra in deside vulgo 150  
 Oppugnabit opes civis sub nomine pauper :  
 Quisque suo partem fælix in jure capeffet.  
 Tum sua magna parens ingenti fænore tellus  
 Exiguo sudore dabit bona : cura juventam  
 Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet, 155  
 Quo minus è virtute petant sua commoda cives.  
 O mihi fælicem si fas conscendere puppim :  
 Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignosce) relicta  
 Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores  
 Mecum unâ AONIAS, illic exordia gentis 160  
 Prima novæ ad seros transmittere posse nepotes !  
 Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ  
 Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miserabilis ISTRÏ  
 Invitum retrahunt. His his me fata reservent :

And riot in the luxuries of life ;  
 Rather than gain pursue, and for renown  
 Live at the will of a capricious mob.  
 There virtue ne'er shall be by birth oppress'd,  
 Nor by enormous wealth the people's freedom ; 150  
 Nor yet in vulgar sloth, affecting rights,  
 The wretch invade by force his neighbour's wealth ;  
 Each happy shall his own by right enjoy.  
 Then parent earth with rich increase shall yield  
 Her products without pains : no care shall drive 155  
 Youth to old age ; nor toil so banish ease,  
 But that from virtue men shall seek their boon.  
 O might I in the happy ship embark,  
 And (Piety forgive !), my country left,  
 The distant sea explore, and in my train  
 The AONIAN sisters, there the earliest rise 160  
 Of a new nation might I but convey  
 In song heroic down to latest time !  
 But me the fates forbid, and, tuned to sing  
 Great deeds in verse sonorous, back recall,  
 Reluctant, to the wretched ISTRÏAN wars.  
 For these, for these, me destiny reserves :

Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe 165  
Aut veteres populos, aut nostra incognita cœlo  
Munera naturæ ; dum spreto HELICONE manebit  
Illa AGANIPPÆIS sacrata OXONIA Musis.

Dum loquor in viridi festinant gramine Nymphæ,  
Impediuntque comas lauro, et florentis olivæ 170  
Frondebis armantur, dominatricemque frequentes  
Oceanî immensî longè venerantur ELISAM.  
Illa autem ad gelidum celsis de turribus amnem  
Prospicit, et jamjam TAMESINO in patre tuetur  
Paulatim obliquis GILEBERTUM albescere velis. 175  
Sic dea Peliaco spectasse è vertice PALLAS  
Fertur Iasonios comites, ad PHASIDOS undas  
Vix benè dum notis committere carbasa ventis.  
DIVA fave, nutuque tuo suscepta parari  
Vela juva ; si sola geris dignissima totum 180  
Talibus auspiciis proferri sceptrâ per orbem.  
Propterea quia sola tuos ita pace beasti  
Tranquilla populos, ut jam te principe possint

But ne'er shall be a poet wanting, who, 165  
In that new world, may ancient people sing,  
Or nature's blessings, to our sky unknown ;  
While, HELICON disdained, OXFORD remains  
To AGANIPPÆAN Muses consecrate.

While I yet speak, Nymphs on the verdant grass  
Haste, and with laurel their fair locks entwine, 170  
Their brows with never fading olive deck,  
And in thick bands extol ELIZA's name,  
The mighty empress of the boundless deep.  
She from the lofty turrets looks the while  
To the cold stream, and in old THAMES beholds  
GILBERT with sails flow whitening to the view. 175  
Thus erst the goddess PALLAS viewed from heaven  
The band of Jason at fam'd COLCHIS' waves,  
Unfurl their canvass to the untried winds.  
Great QUEEN, be thou propitious, aid the sails  
By thy own patronage thus far prepared ;  
Since thou a sceptre dost alone sustain 180  
Worthy, with omens such, to rule the world.  
As thou alone hast Britons blest with peace,  
Let them beneath thy princely sway have power



Augere imperii fines. Quia sola videris  
 Quo niveæ CHARITES, quo corpore DELIA virgo 185  
 Pingitur, et justo si fit pro teste vetustas.  
 Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos  
 SEMIDEOS homines : tali est de sanguine magnus  
 Sive HECTOR genitus, sive HECTORE major ACHILLES :  
 Duntaxat sine fraude ulla, sine crimine possint 190  
 Ulla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum,  
 Quæ sexum factis superas, quæ patribus audes,  
 NYMPHA, diis dignas laudes æquare LATINIS.  
 Mentior infælix, nisi sic in corpore virtus  
 Lucet formoso, ceu quæ preciosior auro est 195  
 Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.  
 Mentior, et taceo, nisi sola audiris ubique  
 Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter et omnes  
 Securam requiem peragis tutissima casus :  
 Dum reliqui reges duro quasi carcere clausi 200  
 Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur  
 Terrificis monstris furtiva per ocia fomno.

To stretch the bounds of empire. Thou alone  
 Seem'st like the snow white GRACES, or the form 185  
 In which, if ancient story claim belief,  
 The DELIAN virgin is exactly drawn.  
 Once, we are told, from matrons such as these  
 Sprung DEMIGODS : from blood like this great HECTOR,  
 Or famed ACHILLES, greater still than he.  
 Yet without fraud, or crime, let any names 190  
 Of ancient matrons be compared with thee,  
 Who in great deeds thy sex surpass'ed, who,  
 O NYMPH, darest rival even LATIAN fires,  
 And claim renown, full worthy of their gods.  
 Hapless I err, unless in a fair form 195  
 Shines virtue, as the gem, worth more than gold,  
 Is set in gold, that yet alike will please.  
 I err, and own my fault, unless alone  
 Thou art of potentates the fear, or love,  
 And, midst all hazards, safely hast repose :  
 While other princes, as in prison pent, 200  
 Partake their dainties charged with deadly fear,  
 And sleep, at furtive moments, terror filled.

Mentior et taceo, solam nisi vivere cives  
 Æternùm cupiunt : quando nec verbere torvo,  
 Nec cædis-pœnæve thronum formidine firmas : 205  
 Sed tibi tot meritis majestas parta, et inermis  
 Ad patulos residet custos clementia postes :  
 Ut quot penè rei justum meruere tribunal,  
 Tot veniam grato narrent fermone clientes.  
 Nec tamen admittis, nisi quod justumque piumque 210  
 Agnoscit probitas, et quæ potes omnia, folis  
 Legibus usurpas cautas sanctissima vires.  
 Nec mala formidas : si quidem quasi fune ligatur  
 Consilio fortuna tibi : Nullum impia terret  
 In castris **BELLONA** tuis : Quin pronus adorat 215  
**GRADIVUS** tua jussa pater, sequiturque vocantem  
 Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plausu.  
 Dumque fores aliis, vitamque et regna tuetur  
 Janitor externus, cingunt tua limina cives :  
 Dumque aliis fordet sapientia regibus, almo 220  
**PEGASIDUM** tu fonte satur, tot **APOLLINIS** artes

I err, and own my fault, unless thy subjects  
 Wish thou mayst live forever ; since thy throne  
 Thou strengthenest not by sanguinary dread ; 205  
 But merit gains thee power, and Clemency  
 Sits guardian at the open gates, unarmed :  
 And numbers of the guilty, justly doomed,  
 Their pardon grateful to the world proclaim.  
 But nought, save that which probity approves 210  
 As just and pious, thy indulgence gains ;  
 And thou, who hast all power, with sacred heed,  
 Drawest all thy vigour from the laws alone.  
 Nor evil fear'st thou : fortune to thy prudence  
 Is close allied : **BELLONA** in thy camps 215  
 Impious scares none : Prostrate her father **MARS**  
 Reveres thy mandates, and where'er thou mov'st,  
 Victory, with glad applause, thy steps pursues.  
 While foreign guards at other palace doors  
 Heedful their monarch's life and realm protect,  
 Thy threshold thy own citizens surround :  
 And while to other kings wisdom imparts 220  
 A niggard portion, thou, at the fair fount

Aurea vaticina fundis quasi flumina lingua.  
 Nil nostri invenere dies, nil prisca vetustas  
 Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis  
 CHRISTIADUM gentes, quas te, divina virago, 225  
 Justius AONLÆ possint jactare forores.  
 Audiit hæc mundus, cunctisque in finibus ardet  
 Imperio parère tuo : et quæ fortè recusat  
 Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua sceptrā  
 Incurva MAHOMETIGENÆ cervice salutant : 230  
 Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera GALLI :  
 Dumque sibi metuit toties tibi victus IBERUS,  
 Nescia ROMANO GERMANIA Marte domari  
 Quærit amicitias BRITONUM : procul oscula mittit  
 Virgineis pedibus LATIUM, longèque remoti 235  
 PANNONES in tutos optant coalescere fines.  
 Quinetiam quæ submisso diademate nuper  
 Obtulit invictis fascesque fidemque BRITANNIS,  
 Nonne vides passis ut crinibus horrida dudum  
 Porrigit ingentem lugubris AMERICA dextram ? 240

PEGASIAN fill'd, pour'ft from prophetic tongue  
 Arts APOLLONEAN as in golden streams.  
 Nought have our days discovered, nought past time  
 Produc'd, the CHRISTIAN nations in no tongues 225  
 Commerce maintain, which, noble heroine,  
 The AONIAN band may better boast than thee.  
 This knows the world, and in all regions longs  
 To obey thy empire ; and what land perchance  
 Denies, admires, thy power. Thy sceptre hence  
 With neck unbent the SARACENS salute : 230  
 Hence warring FRENCHMEN hasten to thy leagues :  
 And while the SPANIARD dreads thy oft felt force,  
 GERMANIA, loth to yield to ROMAN power  
 Seeks BRITAIN'S friendship : distant LATIUM sends  
 Kisses for virgin feet ; and, far remote, 235  
 PANNONIANS wish within safe bounds to press.  
 Yea more : Seest thou not how, with lowly crown,  
 AMERICA, who late her faith hath pledged,  
 And scälty, to BRITONS unsubstued,  
 Even now, all horrid with dishevelled hair,  
 Mournful to thee her huge right hand extends ? 240

Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, foror ANGLIA, nostras  
 Respicias, et dura nobiscum in sorte gemiscis ?  
 An vero nescisse potes, quæ tempora quantis  
 Cladibus egerimus ? postquam infatiabilis auri,  
 Nam certè non ullus amor virtutis IBEROS 245  
 In nostrum migrare solum, pietasve coëgit.  
 Ex illo, quæ sacra prius væsana litabam  
 Manibus infernis, sperans meliora, tuumque  
 Discere posse DEUM, jubeor mortalibus aras  
 Erigere, et mutas staturas truncosque precata 250  
 Nescio quod demens ROMANUM numen adoro.  
 Cur trahor in terras ? si mens est lucida, puris.  
 Cur DEUS in cœlis rectâ non quæritur ? aut si  
 A nobis cœlum petitur, cur sæpe videmus  
 Igne, fame, ferro subigi, quocumque reatu 255  
 Oenotriæ sedis majestas læsa labascit ?  
 Non sic relligio, non sic me iudice gaudet  
 Defendi sua regna DEUS, quòd si optimus ille est ;  
 Quòd si cuncta potest, et nullis indiget armis.

ENGLAND, my sister, dost thou nought regard  
 Our tears, she cries, nor groanest at our lot ?  
 Canst thou a stranger be to those drear times  
 Deathful we pass'd ? since the insatiate love  
 Of gold, for sure not love of virtue, urged, 245  
 Or piety, the SPANIARDS to our soil.  
 Since I the magic rites have ceas'd to pay  
 To powers infernal, hoping better things,  
 Hoping thy GOD to learn, I am required  
 Altars to raise to mortals, and entreating  
 Dumb stocks and statues I, infatuate, 250  
 Some Roman god, I know not what, adore.  
 Why am I dragg'd to earth ? If pure the mind,  
 Why is not GOD directly sought in heaven ?  
 Or if heaven right we seek, why do we see  
 Oppressions caus'd by famine, fire, and sword ; 255  
 Whene'er a crime offends the Papal throne ?  
 Not thus religion, not thus GOD delights,  
 If right I judge, his kingdom to defend,  
 If of all beings he indeed is best ;  
 Or if omnipotent, he needs not arms. 26

Mitto queri cædes, exhaustaque mœnia bello : 260  
 Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora fervos  
 Abjecta, immanique jugum Busride dignum.  
 Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus :  
 Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus urbes,  
 Ut nisi in excelsum crescant, cœloque minentur 265  
 Ædes aëriæ ; quanquam latissima, desit  
 Terra tamen populo : Si tot tua flumina nigrant  
 Turrigeras arces imitatae môle carinæ,  
 Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.  
 Si tibi jam sub sole jacens penetratus utroque est 270  
 Mundus, utroque jacens peragrata est terra sub axe.  
 Ni frustra gelidam vectus WILLOBEIUS ad arcton  
 Illa in gente jacet, cui dum sol circinat umbras,  
 Dimidio totus vix forsitan occidit anno :  
 Ni frustra quæsit iter, duraque bipenni 275  
 Illo FROBISERUS reditum sibi in æquore fecit,  
 Horridum ubi semper pelagus, glacieque perenni  
 Frigora nativos simulant immitia montes.

I pass by slaughters, and towns drained by war : 260  
 I pass by numerous freemen turned to slaves,  
 And a hard yoke worthy Busris dire.  
 Thee let thy fortune, thee thy valour rouse,  
 Since now thy cities are so closely filled,  
 That, if not upward built, and airy seats 265  
 Threaten the sky ; the earth, however broad,  
 For people would be scant : Since all thy streams  
 By ships are darkened, ships, like lofty towers,  
 More numerous than the swans, those streams that swim.  
 Since in both hemispheres there lies a world 270  
 By thee explored, and regions now remain  
 Survey'd already underneath each pole.  
 Unless in vain, borne to the frozen north,  
 WILLOUGHBY lies, where, measuring the shades,  
 The sun scarce sets entire for half the year.  
 Unless in vain hath FROBISHER his course 275  
 Distant pursued, and with the hardy steel  
 His passage opened back, in yonder sea,  
 Where is perpetual horror, and where snows  
 From mountains hardened by perennial ice.

Ni frustra per CIMMERIOS, sylvisque propinqua  
 Flumina RIPHÆIS eoa profectus ad usque est 280  
 Moenia JENCISONUS, PERSASQUE et proxima PERSIS  
 BACTRA, et BACTRORUM confines regibus INDOS.  
 Ni frustra, quod mortali tot secla negarant,  
 Hâc tuus immensum nuper DRACUS ambiit orbem,  
 Quâ patri OCEANO clausas circumdare terras 285  
 Concessit natura viam, mediâque meare  
 Tellure, et duplici secludere littore mundos.  
 Jam si fortuna, jam si virtute sequare  
 Digna tua; sunt monstra mihi, sunt vasta gigantum  
 Corpora, quæ magno cecidisse sub HERCULE non sit 290  
 Dedecus, OGYGIUS non quæ aspernetur IACCUS.  
 Quæ si indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata  
 Averfare meos multo ut tibi sanguine fines  
 Invidiosa petas: est nobis terra propinqua,  
 Et tantum bimari capiens discrimen in ISTHMO. 295  
 Hanc tibi jamdudum primi invenere BRITANNI,

Unless in vain hath JENKINSON advanced  
 Through the CIMMERII, and the rivers near 280  
 RIPHÆAN forests, even to eastern walls,  
 To PERSIA, and to BACTRIA, PERSIA nigh,  
 And INDIA, bordering on the BACTRIAN realms.  
 Unless in vain, what numerous ages past  
 To mortal had denied, of late thy DRAKE  
 The world immense hath compass'd, where heaven gave 285  
 A passage to old Ocean to surround  
 The enclosed lands, and midway pass the earth,  
 And by a double shore to part the world.  
 If deeds worthy thy fortune thou pursue,  
 Worthy thy valour; know that I have monsters,  
 Vast forms of giants, which 'twere no disgrace 290  
 Even had they fallen beneath great HERCULES,  
 And which OGYGIAN BACCHUS would not spurn.  
 But if thou deem'st these base, and, blest with peace,  
 Thou wouldst not for thyself my borders seek  
 At price of blood: near us a region lies  
 And by an ISTHMUS only separate. 295  
 This first the BRITONS long since found for thee,  
 What time the valiant CABOT in our world,

Tum cum magnanimus nostra in regione CABOTUS  
 Proximus à magno ostendit sua vela COLUMBO.  
 Hæc neque vicina nimium frigescit ab areto,  
 Sole nec immodico in steriles torretur arenas : 300  
 Frigus et æstatem justo moderamine servat,  
 Sive leves auras, grati spiracula cæli,  
 Seu diæ telluris opes, et numeræ curas.  
 Pone age te digno tua sceptræ in honore, meoque  
 Junge salutarem propius cum littore dextram. 305  
 Sit mihi fas aliquam per te sperare quietem,  
 Vicinoque bono lætum illucescere solem.  
 Quod si consiliis, superùm fatisque negatum est  
 Durare immensum magna infortunia tempus :  
 Quod si de immerita justum est cervice revelli 310  
 Ignarum imperii dominum, populique regendi ;  
 Quod si nulla unquam potuit superare potestas,  
 Nî pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis  
 Obsequium. A miti quæsitæ potentia CYRO  
 Amissa est sævæ soboli. Parcendo subegit 315  
 Tot reges MACEDUM virtus, tot postera sensim

Next to the great COLUMBUS shew'd his sails.  
 This neighbouring region neither chills with cold,  
 Nor yet by heat to sterile sands is burnt : 300  
 Just temperature it equably preserves,  
 Whether the gentle airs, sweet breath of heaven,  
 Or earth's best gifts and products are thy choice.  
 Come, stretch thy sceptre where its regal sway  
 Befits thine honour, and thy right hand join 305  
 Kindly propitious to my distant shore.  
 Through thee let me indulge some hope of rest,  
 And a glad sun-beam on thy neighbour's bliss.  
 But the high counsels and decrees of Heaven  
 Permit not mighty evils long to last :  
 And just it is, that from the guiltless neck 310  
 Be torn the tyrant lord unskill'd to rule ;  
 Nor ever could an empire long endure,  
 Where clemency paternal did not win  
 To flexile reins obedience. That large power,  
 By the mild CYRUS gained, was lost entire 315  
 By his fierce offspring. Whatsoever kings  
 By generous valour MACEDON subdued,



Abscidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.  
Et quod ROMULEIS crevit sub patribus olim  
Imperium, diri semper minuere NERONES.

319

All these succeeding rigour gradual  
Cut off, at length, from the acquired realm.  
That empire, too, reared by the ROMAN fires,  
The barbarous NEROS rapidly reduced.

319

Abdidi a parte tandem ineluctantia regno.  
Et quod Nerva est crevit sub patribus olim  
imperium, diu super minere Nerva.

All these succeeding rigour gradual  
Cut off at length, from the required realm.  
That empire, too, reared by the Roman lines,  
The barbarous Nerva rapidly reduced.

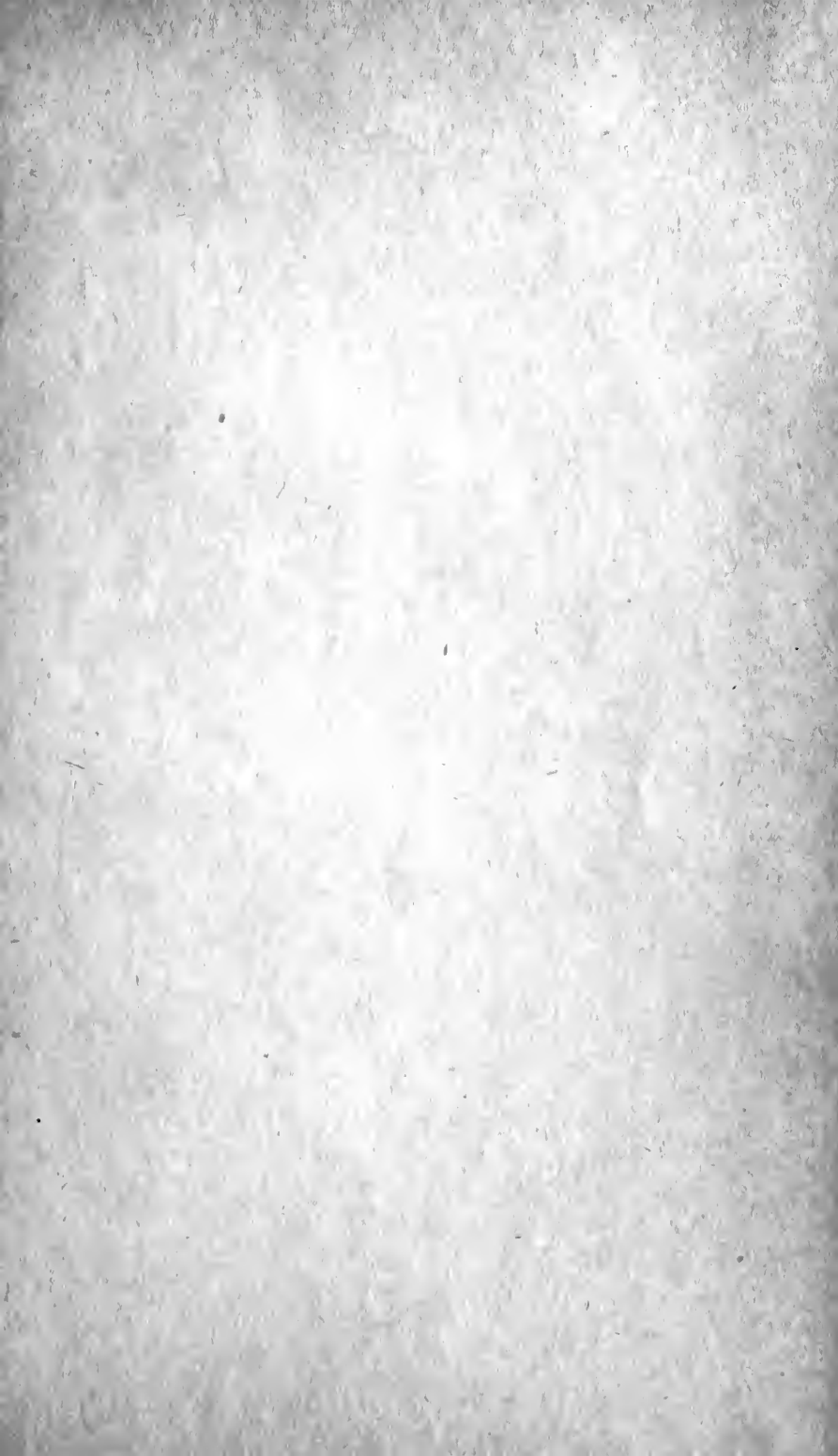
20

319

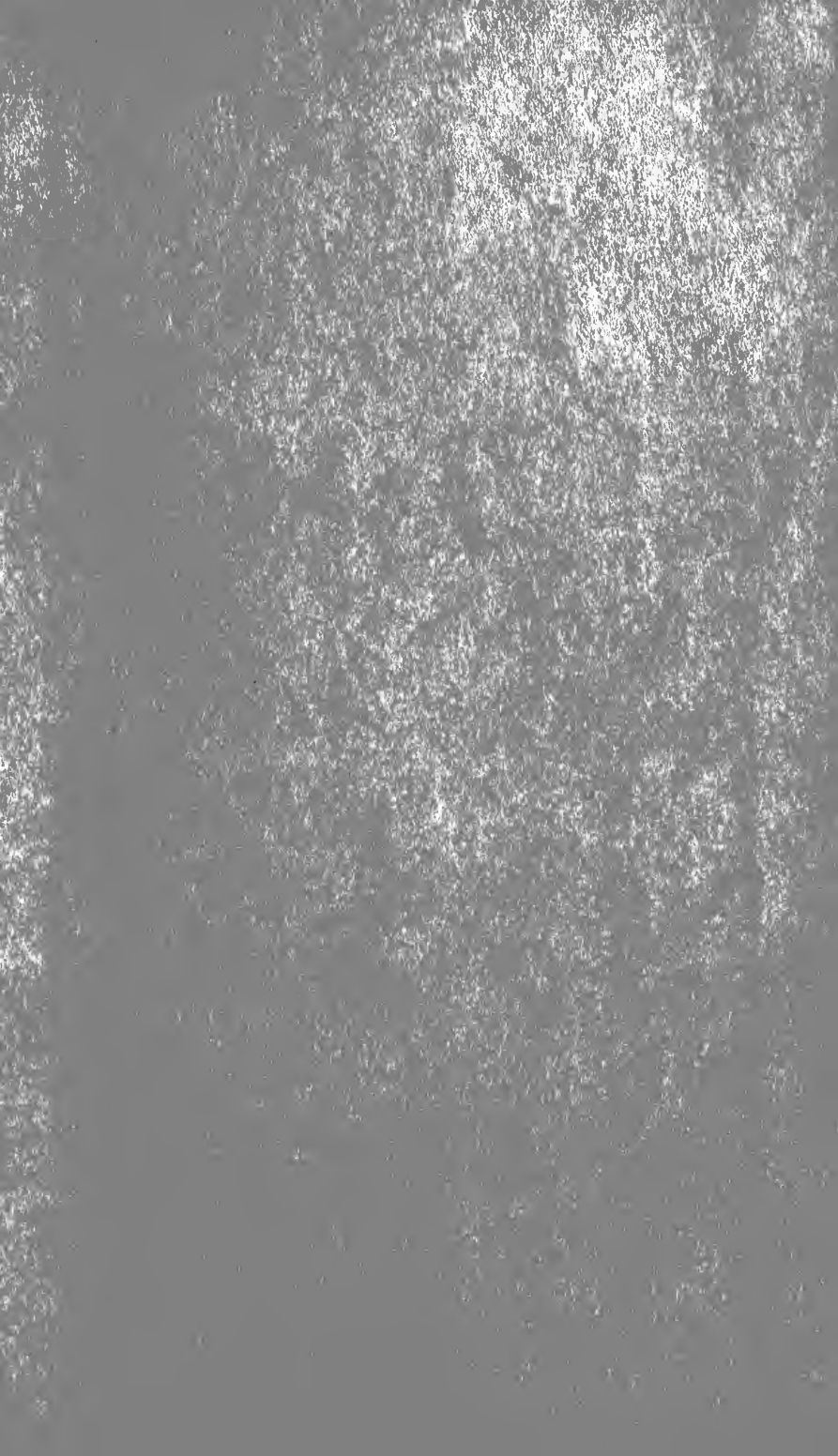
318



1111  
20











AUG 20 1943

