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He died at Concord, on the 2d of November, 1856. On a monument erected to his memory, in the cemetery of that town, is the following just and beautiful inscription:—

SAMUEL HOAR OF CONCORD.

Died in Concord, Nov. 2, 1856.

Born in Lincoln, May 18, 1778.

He was long one of the most eminent lawyers
And beloved citizens of Massachusetts.
A safe counsellor, a kind neighbor, a Christian gentleman,
He had a dignity that commanded the respect,
And a sweetness of modesty that won the affection,
Of all men.

He practised an economy that never wasted,
And a liberality that never spared.
Of proud capacity for the highest offices,
He never avoided obscure duties.
He never sought stations of fame or emolument,
And never shrank from positions of danger or obloquy.
His days were made happy by public esteem
And private affection.

To the latest moment of his long life,
He preserved his clear intellect unimpaired;
And, fully conscious of its approach, met death
With the perfect assurance of
IMMORTAL LIFE.

W. M.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this evening, Feb. 13, at half-past seven o'clock; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, England; Dartmouth College; John Appleton, M.D.; Mr. George Arnold; William T. Coggeshall, Esq.; Arial J. Cummings, Esq.; Hon. Charles P. Daly; Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D.; George Homer, Esq.; Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D.D.;

Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq. ; Messrs. James Munroe and Co. ; Rev. Edwin M. Stone ; and from Messrs. Deane, Hudson, Lincoln (S.), Metcalf, Park, Robbins (C.), Savage, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President presented a lithographed photograph of a beautiful design for a monument about to be erected to Columbus in his native city (Genoa), under the auspices of a distinguished Genoese nobleman, — the Marquis Brignole Sale. The original cast of this design had recently been sent out to the Boston Public Library by Mons. Vattermare, to whom it had been given, by the Marquis himself, for transmission to America.

The President said that our cabinet was getting to be rich in weapons of war. We already had the swords of Miles Standish and Governor Carver, and others of the Pilgrim Fathers. We had also the two memorable Bunker-Hill swords, which came to us from our lamented friend Prescott. And now, to-night, the sword of Sir William Pepperrell, the hero of Louisburg, was presented to us by our Corresponding Member, Dr. Usher Parsons, of Providence, R.I. The card accompanying this sword contained the following account of it:—

“ This sword was purchased by Judge Chauncy, administrator on the estate of Sir William Pepperrell ; and, after many years, he sold it in 1796 to Samuel Leighton, of York County, Me. ; who, after resigning his commission as general, presented it in 1852 to his kinsman, the present donor of it to this Society in 1862. It was worn at the siege of Louisburg, 1745.”

It was rendered the more interesting as coming to us from one who had not only evinced his appreciation of the heroism of others, in his excellent biography of

Sir William Pepperrell, but who had rendered personal service to his country, as a surgeon in the navy, under the gallant Commodore Perry.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be communicated to Dr. Usher Parsons for his valuable addition to our cabinet.

The President said that he had received a communication from Major-General John A. Dix, of the army of the United States, which would tell its own story, and which he proceeded to read, as follows:—

Head Quarters, BALTIMORE, June 23, 1862.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

SIR, — I have the pleasure of sending to you, for the Massachusetts Historical Society, the collection of secession emblems which I have made, and which I referred to in a former letter:—

First, A secession flag. This flag was taken from a party of men near North Point, where the British Army landed in 1814. They were on their way to the insurgent States. The flag was found in the carpet-bag of Mr. George A. Appleton, a young gentleman of this city, about eighteen years of age; a grandson of Colonel Armistead, who defended Fort McHenry at the time the "Star-spangled Banner" was written. Young Appleton was sent out of Fort McHenry, on the anniversary of the battle of North Point, for infidelity to the same flag; and was imprisoned for some time at Fort Columbus in the harbor of New York, and more recently at Fort Warren in the harbor of Boston. He is now in this city, awaiting the action of the Government in his case.

Second, A flag representing the arms of the Colony of Maryland. This flag was flying over a building which was a place of resort for certain disloyal members of the old Kane police, after their disbandment by the order of the Federal Government. They dared not use the secession flag, and this was adopted by them as a substitute. It was first noticed by Colonel Wyman of the Sixteenth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, who called the attention of the police to it.

I enclose a letter from George R. Dodge, Esq., Provost Marshal of Baltimore, concerning both these flags.

Third, A pair of secession slippers, taken, by the police in Baltimore, from a person on his way to the shoemaker to have them made up.

Fourth, A secession cap, taken from R. A. Bigger, a prisoner now in Fort Warren, who was taken into custody in Baltimore, while secretly recruiting for the insurgent army.

Fifth, A great variety of secession emblems, songs, envelopes, cockades, &c., &c.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. DIX, *Major-General*.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 12, 1861.

Major-General J. A. DIX.

DEAR SIR, — I send herewith two flags, captured by our police force. The white flag was captured by Lieutenant Carmichael and a squad, when flying from its staff on Gallows Hill, near Camp McClellan, at that time occupied by the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Wyman, who called my attention to it. It is the colonial flag of Maryland, representing the arms of the State, availed of by the secessionists when prevented by our police from hoisting the secession flag proper, considered by our loyal citizens as a secession dodge.

The other is the secession flag proper, got up at the time when eight States had seceded. Hence there are but eight stars in the field. It was captured by Sergeant Pryor and squad, near the spot where General Ross was killed Sept. 13, 1814, at the battle of North Point. Our force captured a party of twenty-one men, *en route* for the Confederate Army; and this flag was in their possession. It affords me much pleasure to present them to you, in order that they may be preserved, that posterity may observe the wretched tricks and devices availed of by traitors to bolster up the most causeless rebellion recorded in history. Please present it, in your own name, to such society as you may think proper.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

GEO. R. DODGE,

Provost Marshal, Baltimore.

Major-General J. A. DIX,
Com. Department of Pennsylvania, Baltimore.

The various articles accompanying the letters were then exhibited to the Society, and referred to the custody of the Committee appointed to collect memorials

of the Rebellion. Thereupon the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be communicated to Major-General Dix for making our Society the depository of so many interesting and curious illustrations of the lamentable disloyalty of others, and of his own patriotic vigilance.

The President communicated the following letter from the celebrated Robert Boyle, giving an account of the presentation of a copy of John Eliot's Indian Bible to Charles II., not long after his restoration to the throne:—

These for my hono^rd freind Mr. John Winthrop, the elder, the Governo^r of Connecticut in New england, present.

LONDON, Apr. 21, 1664.

S^r: The errand of these hasty lines is to giue the bearer D^r Sackuill, Physitian to his Majesty's Commissioners, an opportunity of growing acquainted wth you, and to recomend him to you, as a person that has been represented to me very ingenious and Inquisitiue, by a Gentleman of White-hall that is soe himself. And perhaps it will not be inconuenient for you to haue by his meanes an address at all times to the Commissioners, & an informatiō of y^e state of things here. there not being any thing to be soe much apprehended in their embassy (as I may soe call it) into New England as the easily euitable want of a right vnderstanding betwixt them & the planters. I waited this Day vpon the King wth your translation of the Bible, w^{ch}, I hope I need not tell you, he receued according to his custome very graciously. But though he lookd a pretty while vpon it, & shewd some things in it to those that had the honour to be about him in his bedchamber, into w^{ch} he carryd it, yet the Vnexpected comming in of an Extraordinary Enuoyé from the Empeour hindred me from receueing that fuller expression of his grace towards the translators and Dedicators that might otherwise haue been expected. But both he and my Lord Chancellor doe express themselues on almost all the occasions wherein I haue had the honour to heare them speak of the Collony of Newengland, in a

very fauourable manner, & my Lord Chancellor did very seriously assure me, & gaue me commissiō to assure some of yo^r freinds in the Cyty, that the King intends not any Injury to your charter, or the Dissolution of your siuil Gouernment, or the infringment of your Liberty of Conscience and that the doeing of these things is none of y^e business of the Commissioners. And his Lo:p was pleasd not only to tell me this betwixt him & me alone, But to be soe free wth me as to offer me, if I should Desire it, when his fitt of the gout was ouer, a sight of the Instructions themselues; w^{ch} by some accident I was hindred from calling vpon him for. The Bearer of this letter is to goe soe early in the morning, and 'twas soe late this night before I knew that he intended to doe soe, that I haue only time to add one word by way of freindly aduice, w^{ch} is that you would preuent the proposalls that you suspect may be made you by the Commissioners by doeing, as many of them [as] you think fitt to comply wth of yo^r owne [ac]cord, And soe make those things the expressi[on of] your loyalty and affection, rather then barely of your obedience, such a course being that w^{ch} would be much the most acceptable to the King, in the opinion of S^t

Your very affectionate humble seruant,

Ro: BOYLE.

I tooke an opportunity to Day to doe your Colony some good offices at Court, and to shew the exercises of yo^r indian scollars. If you please to assist D^r Sackuill, I may by both your fauours receiue such an information of those seuerall particulars (or some of them at least) wherein the Naturall history of New england or any part of it differs from ours, as will be very welcome to me.

Indorsed "Mr. ROBERT BOYLE, rec. July, 1664."

It appears that Eliot's Indian Bible was first dedicated to the Parliament in 1659; but, after the Restoration, it was dedicated afresh, by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to the king. Lord Clarendon was the chancellor alluded to by Boyle; and the "embassy," of which Dr. Sackville was the physician, was that of Colonel Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick.

Mr. LIVERMORE stated, that the reading of this letter recalled to his mind a circumstance connected with the publication of the second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible. In examining the copy of that work belonging to the Prince Library, deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society, he had found a letter of dedication addressed to the Hon. Robert Boyle, &c., which had not previously been noticed. Finding that this dedication was wanting in all accessible copies of that edition, he had caused a fac-simile of it to be printed, and sent to each library containing a copy of this ancient Bible. Shortly after, a duplicate of the original dedication was found among the miscellaneous papers in our own archives, and was inserted in its appropriate place in the Society's copy of the Bible. The dedication is as follows:—

To the Honourable Robert Boyle Esq: Governour, And to the COMPANY, for the Propagation of The Gospel to the Indians in New-England, and Parts adjacent in America.

Honourable S^{rs}. There are more than thirty years passed since the Charitable and Pious Collections were made throughout the Kingdom of England, for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Indians, Natives of His MAJESTIES Territories in America; and near the same time: Since by His late MAJESTIES favour of ever blessed Memory, the Affair was erected into an Honourable Corporation by Charter under the Broad Seal of England; in all which time our selves and those that were before us, that have been Your Stewards, and managed Your Trust here, are witnesses of Your earnest and sincere endeavours, that that good Work might prosper and flourish, not only by the good management of the Estate committed to You, but by Your own Charitable and Honourable Additions thereto; whereof this second Edition of the HOLY BIBLE in their own Language, much corrected and amended, we hope will be an everlasting witness; for wheresoever this Gospel

shall be Preached, this also that you have done, shall be spoken of for a Memorial of you; and as it hath, so it shall be our studious desire and endeavour, that the success amongst the Indians here, in reducing them into a civil and holy life, may in some measure answer the great and necessary Expences thereabouts: And our humble Prayer to Almighty God, that You may have the glorious Reward of your Service, both in this and in a better World.

We are Your Honours most Humble and Faithful Servants,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

JOSEPH DUDLEY.

PETER BULKLEY.

THOMAS HINCKLEY.

BOSTON Octob. 23.

1685.

Dr. HOLMES communicated the following paper, commenting upon and illustrating a manuscript written by an eminent physician in England, and found in the collection of Winthrop Papers in the possession of the President of this Society:—

The President of the Historical Society, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, sent me the following paper a few weeks since, which he proposed to me "as the theme of a little contribution to the Society."—"It is," he says in his note, "the original of a collection of recipes, in 1643, by some London physician, prepared for the benefit of Governor Winthrop here in New England. I have recently discovered it among some old papers."

For my worthy friend Mr Winthrop.

[1] *For Madnesse*: Take y^e herbe Hypericon (: in English S^t John's Wort) and boile it in Water or drinke, untill it be strong of it, and redd in colour: or else, putt a bundle of it in new drinke to Worke, and give it y^e patient to drinke, permitting him to drinke nothing else. First purge him well with 2 or 3 seeds (: or more, according to y^e strength of the partie:) of Spurge. Let them not eat much, but keepe dyet, and you shall see Wondrous effects in fewe dayes. I haue knowne it to cure perfectly to admiration in five dayes.

[2] *For y^e Falling Sicknesse* Purge first with y^e Extract of Hellebore (: black hellebore I meane :) and in stead of S^t Johns Wort, use pentaphyllon, (or meadow Cinquefoile :) use it as aboue is said of S^t Johns Wort, & God Willing he shall be perfectly cured in short or longer tyme, according as the disease hath taken roote.

[3] *For y^e Mother.* Give y^e patient as much as will goe upon 6 pens, or a shilling, each morning, of y^e powder of y^e great Bryonie roote.

[4] *For Implicat or mixt diseases, as Lethargie or Vertigo, &c.* Mixe either two or more of these above said in y^e patiens drinke.

[5] *For diseases of y^e Bladder.* Giue y^e partie to drinke (: if it be an Inflammation & heate of Urine :) emulcions made with barlie, huskt almonds, and y^e 4 great cold seeds, if his drinke hath beene strong before; but if small drinke and Water, giue him old Maligo & Canarie, such to drinke Warme either by it selfe, or mixt with Water : And applie to the region of his bladder, a poltis made with barlie meale, and y^e rootes or leaves of Aaron : make Injections of y^e decoction of Hypericon, y^e bark of a young Oake (: the Outward black skinn being taken off :) and linnseede : and by Gods grace he shall finde present ease and cure with continuance.

[6] *For y^e stopping of y^e Urine, or y^e Stone.* Give y^e partie to drinke of y^e decoction of maiden hayre, fennell rootes, and parsly rootes. Lett him drinke great quantitie. But before let him drinke 2 or 3 Ounces of y^e Oyle of Allmonds newly extracted, or more : Or let him swallow a quarter of a pound of new butter made into round bullets, and cast into faire Water to harden them.

[7] *For y^e Blooddie Flix :* Purge first with Rhubarbe torrified ; and giue the partie to drinke twice a day a pinte of this caudle following :

Take a dragme of y^e best Bole-Armoniak, a dragme of Santalum rubrum, a dragme of Sangvis draconis ; and a dragme of y^e best terra Sigillata of a yellow colour seal'd with a Castle : Make these into fine powder, and with a quart of red stiptick Wine, the yolks of halfe a dozen eggs, & a quantitie of Sugar, make a Caudle, boyling the powder in a pipkin with the Wine ; then adding y^e yolks of y^e eggs beaten, and lastly y^e Sugar. If his gutts haue bene fretted, give him y^e Injection for y^e bladder before mentioned, in a glistier ; and if you please you may adde to it the powders.

[8] *For the yellow Jaundise or Jaunders.* Boyle a quart of sweet milke, dissolve therein as much bay-salt, or fine Sal-peter, as shall make it brackish in taste : and putting Saffron in a fine linnen clout,

rubb it into y^e Milke, untill y^e Milke be very yellow; and giue it y^e patient to drinke.

[9] *For paines in y^e Brest or Limmes*: Weare a Wilde Catts skin on y^e place grieved.

[10] *For a broken bone, or a Joynt dislocated, to knit them*: Take y^e barke of Elme, or Witch-hazzle; cutt away the Outward part, & cutt y^e Inward redd barke small, and boyle it in Water, till it be thick that it Will rope: pound it very well, and lay of it hott, barke and all upon y^e Bone or Joynt, and tye it on: or with y^e Mus-silage of it, and bole Armeniack make a playster and lay it on.

[11] *My Black powder against y^e plague, small pox: purples, all sorts of feavers; Poyson; either by Way of prevention, or after Infection*. In the Moneth of March take Toades, as many as you will, alive; putt them into an Earthen pott, so y^t it be halfe full; Cover it with a broad tyle or Iron plate; then overwhelme the pott, so y^t y^e bottome may be uppermost: putt charcoales round about it and over it, and in the open ayre, not in an house, sett it on fire and lett it burne out and extinguish of it selfe: When it is cold, take out the toades; and in an Iron-morter pound them very well, and searce them: then in a Crucible calcine them so againe: pound & searce them againe. The first time, they will be a browne powder, the next time black. Of this you may give a dragme in a Vehiculum (or drinke) Inwardly in any Infection taken; and let them sweat upon it in their bedds: but lett them not cover their heads; especially in the Small pox. For prevention, halfe a dragme will suffice: moderate the dose according to y^e strength of the partie; for I have sett downe y^e greatest that is needfull. There is no danger in it. Let them neither eate nor drinke during their sweat, except now and then a spoonefull of Warme posset-drinke to wash their mouthes. keepe Warme and close, (for a child of 5 yeares, 10 graynes is enough in infection, for prevention 4 or 5 graynes.) till they be perfectly well; and eate but litle; and that according to rules of physicke.

The same powder is used playster wise with Vineger for a gangrene, or bite of anie Venemous beast. taking it likewise Inwardly: it is used likewise for all Cankers, Fistulas & old Ulcers & kings Evill, strewing it upon the sore, and keeping them cleane

[12] *An other for old Soares*. Take S^t Johns Wort, pound it small, and mingle it with as much quicklime: powre on it raine Water, that may cover it, six fingers deepe in a broad earthen Vessel: putt it to y^e sunne, and stirre it well once every day for a

Moneth: then filter and reserve the Water for your use. Wash y^e Soares with it; it cureth Wonderfully.

[13] *For Burning with Gunn powder or otherwise.* Take y^e Inner green Rine of Elder, in latine Sambucus, Sempervive, and Mosse that groweth on an old thackt howse top, of each alike; boyle them in stale [*lotium*], and sallet oyle, so much as may cover them 4 fingers: Let all the [*lotium*] boyle cleane away, & straine it very well; putt new herbes and [*lotium*] as before, boyle that likewise away, and straine it as before. Then to that oyle adde barrowes grease untill it come to be an Oyntment, with which anynt a paper, and lay it to y^e burning anynting the place also with a feather.

[14] *For Soare Brests* Take yolkes of eggs and honie alike, beat them till they be very thinn: then with wheat flower beat them, till it be as thick as hony: spread it upon flax, and lay it upon the Breast, defending the nibble with a plate of lead as bigg as an halfe crowne, and an hole in it so bigg as that y^e nibble may come out. renewe it every 12 houres: and this will breake and coole the Brest. Where it breakes, tent it with a salve made of rosin, wax & terpen-tine alike quantitie

[15] *For Breaking of any Biles or great Swellings.* If that pol-tis next above for the sore Brest doe not breake it, pound fox-glove, and lay it to it, and that will; then tent it, as for the sore Brest.

[16] *For a greene Wound.* Take salve of Clownes Wort, or Clownes all-heall prescribed in Gerrits Herball; or the Oyle of Hypericon and Ballsam.

[17] *For the King's evill.* Take 2 Toades & let them fast 2 or 3 dayes that they may spewe out their Earth, then boyle them in a pint of Oyle in a newe pipkin covered so long, till they be brought to a black Coale broken in peeces. presse out the Oyle, from the said Toades, reserve a 4th part, to the other three parts add halfe a pound of yellow wax, shavd small. let the wax melt in the Oyle in w^{ch} dippe linnen cloathes, that they may be well covered cerecloathes. with the 4th part of the Oyle left, annoynt all the places infected, & then strewe of my black powder of Toades (mentioned before for an Antidot agaynst the Plague) upon the sores or swellings, & then put on of y^e cerecloath.

dresse the running sores once everie 24 howres, but it will serve to dresse the swellings once in 4 dayes. Everie 4th day at furthest give of y^e said black powder to the partie & let them swet upon it. you may proportion the dos from 5 graynes to

a dragme according to the strength & constitution of y^e partie. if the partie be strong, it is the better that they swet everie day or everie second day.

By this Course ther is no doubt of the cure by Gods assistance.

Cautions in Phisick. 1 That you doe not let Blood, but in a pleurisie or Contusion, and that necessitated.

2 y^t in y^e beginning of all Feavers, you fast 2 or 3 dayes from meate and drinke, except y^e last day, and that so litle, as onely to sustaine Nature ; and afterward you come to your dyet by degrees.

3 y^t you purge to follow Nature, and not to contrarie her : as if the partie Vomit, you purge by vomit ; if the partie be loose, you purge downwards : if the partie bleed at y^e nose, you draw blood.

4 y^t in all purges you administer in long diseases, or to weake persons, you mixe Cordials, as Confectio Alchermes, etc. And y^t you purge with simples and not compounds, except the disease be mixt.

The best purgers : Rhubarbe, or rather y^e tincture of it for Choller.

Jallop for Watric humors.

Agarick for flegme

Extract of Scammonie, or black Hellebor, for melancholie.

Pine de Inde halfe a Kernell for mixt humors.

Crocus Metallorum well prepared for mixt humors,

Spurge seede for y^e head.

The Best Sudorificks being simples : Snake roote :

Contra yerva.

The best gumms for drawing Tackamahacka ;

Caranna, Kereman ; Burgundie pitch :

These may be used simple or mixt for old aches & paines.

Nota benè. No man can with a good Conscience take a fee or a reward before y^e partie receive benefit apparent : and then he is not to demand any thing, but what God shall putt into the heart of the partie to give him. And he is not to refuse any thing, that shall be so given him, for it commes from God.

A man is not to neglect that partie, to whom he hath once administered, but to visit him at least once a day, and to medle with no more, then he can well attend. In so doeing he shall discharge a good Conscience before God & Man.

These receipts are all experimented

LONDON May 6th 1643.

Governor Winthrop had been thirteen years in this country, and was fifty-six years of age, when this paper was sent out to him. It is remarkable that this is the very year in which Cotton Mather tells us his health began to fail. "While he was yet seven years off of that which we call *the grand Climacterical*, he felt the approaches of his *Dissolution*; and finding he could say, —

'Non Habitus, non ipse Color, non Gressus Euntis,
Non Species Eadem, quæ fuit ante, manet,' —

He then wrote this account of himself, *Age now comes upon me, and Infirmities therewithal, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this World is not far off.* But at last, when *that Year* came, he took a *Cold*, which turned into a *Feaver*, whereof he lay *Sick* about a Month; "and fell asleep on March 26, 1649." The biographer — whose leading merit is not, I believe, considered strict accuracy — could not resist the pleasing effect of making him die in the year of his grand climacteric; whereas he would not have begun his sixty-third year for nearly three months.

It seems not unlikely that this collection of recipes was sent to Governor Winthrop in consequence of a direct application to his friend Dr. Stafford for a list of remedies useful in common diseases. A paper so carefully drawn up would hardly be volunteered by a London physician to a person who had been long in a distant land, and of whose wants he would know little, unless he had been asked for it.

It was said of Governor Winthrop in his last illness, by "the venerable Cotton" (not Mather), that, among his other merits, he has been "*Help for our Bodies by Physick.*" It may be conjectured that the Governor wrote to Dr. Stafford, that he was in the habit of prescribing among his neighbors: otherwise the London physician would hardly have laid down those professional rules which are found at the end of the paper, under the head "*Nota bene.*"*

* I have assumed that this paper was written for Governor Winthrop, the father, and not for his son, the Governor of Connecticut; there being no positive evidence on this point.

Who was this physician? The singular autograph, of which a fac-simile is given above, is read, by those who are more skilled than myself in deciphering old manuscript, *Ed: Stafford*. All that relates to the writer, so far as my present means of information extend, must be gathered from this document.

The manuscript consists of three sheets of coarse paper, about six by seven inches in size. A little more than eight pages and a half are written over; and it is inscribed on the back, "For my worthy friend Mr Wintrop." A different and probably later hand has also written on the back, "Receipts to cure various Disorders." The seventh page is not in the same handwriting as the rest. The margins are ruled as if with a *lead pencil*. Lead pencils are said not to have been in use so far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth; that is, forty years before this date.* The handwriting, with the exception of the seventh page, is very neat, small, but perfectly legible. The punctuation is very carefully attended to; the comma, semicolon, and colon being employed with discrimination. The spelling, as was to be expected, is not very well fixed; the same word being differently spelled in different places. Yet the writer meant to be exact; and, in one instance, takes the trouble to strike out "breast," and re-write it "Brest." Some very curious archaisms or vulgarisms occur, — as "Flix" instead of "Flux," and "Jaunders" for "Jaundise;" the reader being allowed to choose between these two last. The technical names are used as by a person familiar with them. The brief ethical rules at the end of the paper are in the best spirit, and expressed with dignity. It is evident that "Ed: Stafford" was a man of culture, and well trained in the knowledge of his time, such as it was.

What was the condition of medical knowledge at that time? We can get some light upon this by recalling the

* New Am. Cyc., art. "Graphite."

names of a few authors who were publishing at about this date. Ten years before this paper was written, Thomas Johnson had given to the English world his new edition of that very curious and interesting work, "Gerard's Herball." This is the only authority which is cited by Dr. Stafford; who spells the name "Gerrit," but seems to have been familiar with the book. It is a great collection of pictures and descriptions of medicinal plants, of remarkable merit, notwithstanding the errors and wild fancies of the time which it contains. Americans, however, can hardly forgive the author for saying that Indian corn is "more convenient for swine than for men." Probably this treasure-house of simples was a chief reliance of Dr. Stafford for information concerning those vegetable remedies to which he mainly trusted.

In the same year (1643) in which this manuscript was written, Schenck published his vast work, "Observationes Rariores," in which all the wisdom and folly of the preceding centuries was represented; a pudding-stone in which the matrix of lie is as hard as the pebble of truth. The observations and speculations of Van Helmont made their appearance in various treatises, from the year 1621, until they were printed collectively, as the "Ortus Medicinæ," in 1648. Sir Kenelm Digby's "Discourse concerning the Cure of Wounds by the Sympathetic Powder," — the Homœopathic folly of its time, — was given to the credulous world in 1644. Two years later, Riverius, professor of medicine at Montpellier, dedicated his book of signal cures to Vautier, late physician of Maria de' Medici; in which work the astrological sign for Jupiter may be seen alternating with the **R** for *recipe*, in which it has since been decently merged. And, in this same year (1646), Sir Thomas Browne sent forth his work on "Vulgar Errors;" in spite of which, ten years later (1656), Schröder reproduced the fantastic doctrine of signatures, with infinite other fancies, in his "Pharmacopœia." In 1661, Robert Lovell, Oxoniensis, φιλοθεολογιατρονομος, excreted

his "Panzoölogicominalogia," in which all the nonsense that had ever been uttered about animals and minerals was brought into portable shape by this polysyllabic scavenger. In the mean time, Nich. Culpeper, the quack, who thought very justly that he was as good as any of them,— "Nich. Culpeper, gent., student in physick and astrology," as he calls himself in his title-page, — was composing variations to the London Pharmacopœia in terms like these:—

"*Colledg.* Take of Hog's grease washed in juice of sage a pound, quicksilver strained through leather killed with spittle," etc. etc. etc.

"*Culpeper.* A learned art to spoil people, hundreds are bound to curse such ointments, 'tis not enough for a man to be plagued with the —, but he must be worse plagued with preposterous medicines."

The charlatan saw the absurdities of the "Colledg," and made use of them for his own glory and profit. Which was the greater quack of the two parties, an impartial posterity might find it difficult to decide.

But the dawn of a new day in English medical practice was just showing itself. In 1666, Sydenham published his first treatise. He was a man of observation and good sense, rather than of book-learning; and, of course, threw all the learned fools of his time into a spasm of hysteric horror and apprehension by his use of these two unpopular qualities. Dr. Stafford — who was young enough to have a very keen eyesight, as may be seen in the minute dots over his *i*'s, *j*'s, and *ÿ*'s — may have lived long enough to learn from Sydenham how to treat small-pox by better means than toad-powder and sweating; but the worthy Governor was born too early, and died under the ancient dispensation.

The muck-heap of the old Pharmacopœia, fit only to be scattered like compost as it fermented in its own immundities, hardly sweetened itself in the whole course of the following century. The reform which Sydenham began went on slowly. It was late in the seventeenth century, that the

great philosopher, Robert Boyle, published his "Medicinal Experiments;" in which figure as remedies,—“the sole of an old shooe, worn by some man that walks much;” “the Bone of the Thigh of a hang'd man;” the excrements of horses, sheep, dogs, and similar abominations. The most inconceivable far-ragos kept their place in legitimate practice much later than this. Huxham, who died in 1768, left prescriptions containing more than four hundred ingredients; and when Heberden, who was living so late as 1801, proposed the dismissal of the absurd old mess called "Theriaca Andromachi" from the British Pharmacopœia, his proposition was carried by a vote of only fourteen, against thirteen who were in favor of retaining it. The more loathsome articles gradually dropped out of use: but James's "New Dispensatory" (1764) retains woodlice, sow-bugs, and earth-worms; and Cullen (1789) had to attack Vogel for allowing burnt toads and swallow-chicks to remain upon his list of remedies.

Dr. Stafford's practical directions to so considerable a person as Governor Winthrop, in a strange land where he would be exposed to unknown causes of disease, might be taken as a fair sample of the better sort of practice of the time. There is no parade of polypharmacy; no display of learned names for aches and ailments. It was written for the special use of a friend, and evidently with care and forethought.

What were the diseases and injuries the physician expected the Governor would have to deal with? Plague, small-pox, scurvy; all sorts of fevers, poisons; madness, epilepsy, hysteria, lethargy, vertigo; dysentery, jaundice; pains, rheumatic or other; affections of the urinary organs; pleurisies; watery humors, or dropsies; phlegm, or catarrhal affections,—such are the inward complaints for which he prescribes. Fractures, dislocations, wounds, bites of venomous creatures, boils, ulcers, gangrene, scrofula, burning with gunpowder, &c., are the external maladies.

I proceed to make some brief notes on the medicinal substances he recommends, referring each remedy to the paragraphs in which it is mentioned.

(1, 4, 5, 7, 12, 16) **HYPERICUM**, St. John's Wort. — Gerard commends it for wounds, burns, stone in the bladder; and says, it "stoppeth the laske" (diarrhœa). "I am accustomed to make a compound oyle hereof; the making of which ye shall receive at my hands, because that I know in the world there is not a better, no, not natural balsam (Balsam of Gilead) itself." So says Gerard. It is aromatic and astringent, and is still used as a domestic remedy.

(1, 4) **SPURGE**, *Cataputia minor*? — The name "spurge" has been applied to various plants (James's Dispensatory). Gerard figures no less than twenty-three varieties. Sir Thomas Browne speaks of the old wives' fancy about spurge; that its leaves, "being pulled up or downward respectively, perform their operations by purge or vomit." The same notion prevails among some of our country people respecting thoroughwort, — *Eupatorium perfoliatum*. Professor Tuckerman is unable to determine to which of several kinds of spurge, mentioned in Josselyn's "Voyages," the "spurge-time" spoken of in "New England's Rarities" is to be referred.

(2, 4) **BLACK HELLEBORE**, *Helleborus niger*. — Hellebore was proverbially famous in ancient times for the cure of madness. The variety used was probably the *Helleborus Orientalis*. Black hellebore is still retained in the United-States Pharmacopœia; and its extract, as Mr. Metcalf informs me, is often prescribed. Drastic cathartic.

(2, 4) **CINQUEFOIL**, *Pentaphyllon*; *Potentilla*. — Vulnerary; useful in many diseases, according to Gerard and Schröder. An astringent not now in use.

(3, 4) **BRYONY**, *Bryonia*. — A drastic cathartic, not now employed, unless the homœopathists can be said to make use of it.

(5) The FOUR GREAT COLD SEEDS are those of the cucumber (*cucumeris*), the gourd (*cucurbitæ*), the water-melon (*citrulli*), and the melon (*melonum*). — *Schröder*. Wood and Bache mention pumpkin in the place of water-melon.

(5) AARON is doubtless meant for *Aron*, *Arum*, *Cockow* or *Cuckow pint*, of Gerard; *Arum maculatum* (Wake Robin); *Cuckow pint* (Pereira). Acrid stimulant. "Beares, after they haue lien in their dens forty days without any manner of sustenance, but what they get with licking and sucking their owne feet, do as soone as they come forth, eate the herbe Cuckow pint, through the windie nature whereof the hungry gut is opened, and made fit againe to receiue sustenance." — *Gerard*, p. 835.

(5, 7) OAK BARK is still in common use as an astringent.

(6) MAIDENHAIR, *Adiantum*, is principally known as the basis of the *Sirop de capillaire*. Bitterish aromatic.

(6) FENNEL, *Foeniculum*, is a well-known aromatic and carminative, retained in our Pharmacopœia. Dr. James Jackson has favored me with the following note respecting this remedy:—

"The oil (of fennel) is a constituent part of the *fennel balsam* formerly used by Dr. Holyoke and everybody else in Salem. I think that Dr. Holyoke derived the receipt from Dr. Greene, or some other doctor, of Malden. It was a solution of potass, partially carbonated and prepared in a peculiar way, and seasoned with the oil of fennel. No doubt, the formula can be found in Salem. It was much used as a carminative, mostly for children. If the doctor omitted to prescribe it, the old women would ask if it might not be given,—in doses of five or ten drops, I believe; and the doctor would usually reply, 'Ay, yes, yes.'"

Dr. Jackson's reference to Salem reminds me of a curious fact, which came under my notice; illustrating the tenacity with which old names and practices are retained in that ancient and conservative settlement. I found, accidentally, an ointment to be in use there, called by the singular name

nutritum. The word was not in Dunglison's "Medical Dictionary;" it was not in Bruno's "Castelli," where, if in any old book, it might have been looked for. I supposed it to be a popular corruption of some scientific term, but could not determine what. I have, however, since met with the word in two places, — Boyle's curious work, before referred to (third edition, 1712, p. 61); and Dr. Slare's "Vindication of Sugar," "dedicated to the Ladies," 1714. "There is an ointment," he says, "called *unguentum nutritum*, that has two sorts of lead, and no other herb mixed with it [*sic*], of excellent use for sores" (p. 46). Mr. Webb, a much respected apothecary of Salem, still prepares a lead ointment similar to that mentioned by Boyle and by Dr. Slare, retaining the obsolete name *nutritum*; of which no person out of Salem, with whom I have spoken of the matter, has ever heard, and which has escaped even the omnivorous pages of Dunglison. It came down through "old Master" Holyoke.

(6) PARSLEY-ROOT, *Petroselinum*, keeps its place in the "secondary" list of the United-States Pharmacopœia. It is still used in the same class of cases for which it is prescribed by Dr. Stafford. Dr. Jackson tells me he has a patient who habitually employs parsley with good effect, — a hot infusion of the *leaves*, however; not the root.

(6) OIL OF ALMONDS, *Oleum amygdalæ* (U.S. Pharm.), is often used as a demulcent.

(6) BUTTER has been given of late as a substitute for cod-liver oil. It was successfully administered, as is related by Riverius, in a case of bilious colic (Obs. Med. et Cur. Insignes, Cent. ii., Obs. lxi.).

(7) RHUBARB. — Mr. Metcalf tells me that it has been prescribed *roasted*, within a few years, by a Boston physician. Dr. Bigelow says (Sequel to the Pharmacopœia, p. 316) that "the popular practice of toasting rhubarb only diminishes its activity, without adding to it any valuable property." The intention was to render its action milder.

(7, 10) ARMENIAN BOLE, *TERRA SIGILLATA*. — These argillaceous earths are made great account of, as internal astringent remedies, in the old books, where all their distinctions are described at length. A short account of them may be found in the Appendix to Wood and Bache's "Dispensatory." Armenian bole is used in making tooth-powder.

(7) *SANTALUM RUBRUM*, *Red Sanders*; *Santalum* (U.S. Pharm.), is used only for its coloring properties.

(7) *SANGUIS DRACONIS*, *Dragon's Blood*, is sometimes used to color plasters, but is no longer given internally.

(8) *SALT*, *Sodii chloridum* (U.S. Pharm.), is rather a food than a medicine; but is classed as a stimulant tonic, and, in large doses, as a purgative. *Bay* salt differs from common salt chiefly in the size and degree of compactness of the grains.

(8) *SALTPETRE*, *Potassæ nitras* (U.S. Pharm.), is refrigerant, diaphoretic, diuretic, aperient.

(8) *SAFFRON*, *Crocus* (U. S. Pharm.), is principally used to give color and flavor to tinctures. Old women hold it in great esteem as a remedy. "Saffron tea" (the word pronounced as old Josselyn spells it) is their never-failing prescription to bring out the eruption in measles and scarlet fever. The reason of its being prescribed in "Yellow Jaundise or Jaunders" must be looked for in the doctrine of signatures. Its yellow color was supposed to be the Creator's mark of its fitness in diseases which involved the yellow bile.

(9) *WILD-CAT'S SKIN*. — Robert Lovell, of the "Panzoölogi-comineralogia," says of the cat, "The skin is woorn to warm the stomach, and help contractions of the joynts." For his authority, he cites the mythical personage, called, in his list of authors cited, "Obscurus." I suspect that Dr. Stafford may have thought that wild-cats would be more easily obtained in the wilderness than the domestic animal, and therefore have mentioned this variety of *Catus*.

"A black wolf's skin is worth a beaver-skin among the Indians, being highly esteemed for helping old aches in old people, worn as a coat;" (Josselyn; *New England's Rarities Discovered*, p. 16.) "One Edw. Andrews, being foxt [drunk], and falling backward cross a thought [thwart], in a shallop, or fisher-boat; and, taking cold upon it, grew crooked, lame, and full of pain,—was cured, lying one winter upon bears' skins newly flead off, with some upon him, so that he sweat every night" (*Ibid.*, p. 14). The skin of a recently killed lamb has been in use, of late years, for rheumatism (Mr. Metcalf). Sir Walter Scott, it may be remembered, was subjected, when a child, to a prescription of this kind.* The "pork-jacket" (an application of fresh pork to the chest) was used, with seeming good effect, in the case of one of my neighbors, within a few months.

(10) ELM, *Ulmus*.—"The leaves of Elme glew and heale up greene wounds; so doth the barke, wrapped and swaddled about the wound like a band" (Gerard, p. 1482). U. S. Pharm.; and in common use internally as a demulcent, externally, in cataplasms.

(10) WITCH-HAZEL, *Ulmus folio latissimo scabro* (Gerard), *Ulmus montana* (Wright, cited in Worcester's Dictionary).—Like the above.

(11, 17) TOADS.—These inelegant animals have long enjoyed a reputation for various qualities, which they deserve more or less well. That they are "ugly," as Shakspeare says, none will dispute. That they are "venomous," may, perhaps, be questioned. That they wear "a precious jewel" in their heads must be confessed a fiction.

The belief in the poisonous quality of the toad is of long standing, and still exists among the ignorant. Boccaccio's story of "Pasquino and Simona" may not be remembered by all my readers. The first, who was the lover, seated with

* Autobiography in Lockhart's Life, vol. i. p. 45, Ticknor & Fields's edition.

his lady-love near a bush of sage, plucks a leaf, and rubs his teeth with it. Presently he swells up, and dies. Simona is accused of poisoning him. Wishing to show how events had occurred, she also takes a leaf of sage from the same bush, and rubs her teeth with it. She, too, drops down dead. Great amazement of all present. The sage is cut up by the roots. Under it is found "a monstrous overgrown *toad*, with whose breath it (the sage) was judged to be infected."

That the toad has some unpleasant personal quality, I became convinced by the following observation: A small and inexperienced puppy undertook to amuse himself with a perfectly civil toad by pushing him about with his nose, and handling him with his paws. What the toad did, I never knew; but all at once the little dog withdrew, with marks of the most intense disgust, and was immediately attacked with free salivation, continuing for some time, and of extraordinary amount, such as I have never seen any thing like in beast or man. It was remarked that he never meddled with a toad again so long as he lived.

Rana usta, burned *frog*, is mentioned by Aetius, in the fifth century, as good to stay bleeding. Burnt toad is commended by philopolysyllabic Lovell; and held its reputation, as we have seen, until within less than a hundred years. It seems to have been the favorite remedy of good Dr. Stafford. "My black powder" is prescribed both inwardly and outwardly in the gravest diseases. It made the patients sweat, as well it might: whether it turned their stomachs or not, is not mentioned.

The principle on which the toad and other hateful objects were applied to medicinal uses may have been partly the association of contrast, like that which placed the jewel in the reptile's ugly head,—the pleasing antithesis of detecting a hidden virtue under a forbidding aspect. Partly it may have been, that disease was personified as an evil nature, to be expelled from the body by odious things, such as the demon

of illness might be supposed to dread, and fly from. The morbid instinct of hostility to the natural processes of disease showed itself, in early times, in horrible prescriptions, like those which Pliny mentions,—the blood of gladiators taken from their fresh-gaping wounds; and, if possible, even more hideous spoils of humanity. In succeeding centuries, it fell off to objects simply disgusting,—like burnt toads, and the infinitely more loathsome matters which fill the old books. The next stage of civilization contented itself with poisons. The abuse of these substances was gradually yielding to the advance of the two half-sisters, Science and Common Sense, when the incredible fiction of homœopathy came in, and revived, at least in name and in theory, multitudes of the exploded barbarisms of the preceding epochs.

(12) QUICK-LIME.—Lime-water, *Liquor calcis* (U.S. Pharm.), is still prescribed as a wash in cases like that for which it is here recommended.

(13) ELDER, *Sambucus* (U. S. Pharm., secondary).—The flowers, the berries, and the bark have all been used medicinally. No remedy has been so popular, perhaps, with mankind as elder. It is mentioned by Hippocrates four hundred years before Christ. I have a flourishing advertisement of "Sambuci Wine" before me, taken from the "Boston Traveller" of Feb. 1, 1862. The boiling "oil of elder" was the famous cure for gunshot wounds in Ambrose Paré's time. The American variety differs from the European; and both, Dr. Bigelow thinks, are of little use.

(13) SEMPERVIVE, *Everlasting*.—"Probably cowleek," says Dr. Bigelow; "of doubtful value."—"Everlasting" is still used in domestic practice; but Mr. Metcalf has never seen it prescribed by a regular physician. Employed as a cooling application to burns, stings, &c. (Wood and Bache).

(13) MOSS, *Muscus*.—Gerard and Johnson figure fourteen kinds, including *muscus ex cranio humano*; but I cannot determine which is intended by Dr. Stafford.

LOTIUM. — Dr. Stafford employs the vernacular monosyllable. Schröder (1656) devotes four columns to its medicinal uses and preparations. It does not appear in James's "Dispensatory" (1764); but I am informed that it is still employed as a popular remedy among the ignorant.

(14) RESIN, WAX, TURPENTINE. — These substances are combined in the Compound Resin Cerate of the United-States Pharmacopœia.

(15) FOXGLOVE, *Digitalis* (U.S. Pharm.). — Used internally; or, if externally, to act as a diuretic. Bouillaud calls it the "opium of the heart," from its action on that organ. It is a powerful but dangerous sedative.

(16) CLOWN'S WORT, CLOWN'S ALL-HEAL, *Panax coloni* (Gerard), *Stachys palustris*. — Gerard gave it its English name in consequence of a wonderful "cure" he wrought on a poor man, who, "in mowing of Peason, did cut his leg with a sithe." He made a "pultesse" of the herb, stamped with hog's grease, which "did, as it were, glew or soder the lips of the wound together, and heale it according to the first intention, as we terme it; that is, without drawing or bringing the wound to suppuration or matter: which was fully performed in seuen dayes, that would haue required forty dayes with balsam it selfe." — "Since which time, my selfe haue cured many grieuous wounds, and some mortall, with the same herbe."

(16) BALSAM, *Balsam of Gilead*, *Amyridis Gileadensis resina* (Edin. Pharm.). — Mentioned by Wood and Bache because retained by the Edinburgh College. Has the virtues of other terebinthines. Was once in high repute, but is now disused.

(17) WAX, OIL. — In common use in cerates, &c.

Remedies mentioned in the General Directions.

CONFECTIO ALCHERMES. — A confection made with kermes, or *coccus ilicis*, an insect once thought to have special medical virtues; now used only as a dye.

JALAP; *Jalapa* (U. S. Pharm.). — Cathartic; in common use.

AGARIC, *Boletus igniarius* (Ed.). — “Ranked among the Phlegmagogue Purgatives” (James). Mr. Metcalf has seen it prescribed by a German physician; but it is not in use as an internal remedy among us. “That useful purging excrense (*sic*) agarick” (Josselyn, Tuckerman’s edition). As “spunk,” it has been employed for moxæ. The Indians use it in this way, according to Josselyn (p. 52). I am not aware that they have ever disputed the claim of the Japanese to the credit of contriving this remedial agent.

EXTRACT OF SCAMMONY, *Scammonium* (U. S. Pharm.). — Scammony is an energetic cathartic, still used, but mostly in combination with other drugs.

PINE DE INDE. — What particular pine is referred to, I have not discovered.

CROCUS METALLORUM, *Sulphuretted Oxide of Antimony*. — Rarely employed (Dunghlison). Used by the Edinburgh College in preparing tartar-emetic (Wood and Bache). Mr. Metcalf has known it to be used for making antimonial wine.

SNAKE-ROOT, *Aristolochia serpentaria*; *Serpentaria* (U. S. Pharm.). — A stimulant tonic, acting also as a diaphoretic and diuretic, in frequent use. Dr. Jackson says, “Snake-root, *Serpentaria*, has been much used in my day as a grateful stimulant, especially to ‘bring out the measles;’ and, in the late stages of fever, I have used it.”

CONTRAYERVA (U. S. Pharm., secondary), *Dorstenia contrayerva* (*Ibid.*). — Stimulant, tonic, and diaphoretic; very seldom used in this country (Wood and Bache). Mr. Metcalf has known it prescribed within a few years.

TACAMAHACA. — A resinous substance, supposed to be derived from the *Fagara octandra* of Linnæus. Formerly highly esteemed as an internal remedy; now little used, and only for ointments and plasters (Wood and Bache). Mr.

Tuckerman has, in one of his notes to Josselyn, "*Larix Americana*, Michx. (Larch; *taccamahac*, Cutler; *tamarack*; *hackmatack*"). The *Calophyllum inophyllum* is said to yield *tacamaque* (Rees's Cyc.).

CARANNA. — This resin resembles *tacamahaca*; but, according to Schröder, is a little more fragrant, glistening, liquid, and heavy. It was so much esteemed in medicine, that there was a proverb, "Whatever the *tacamahaca* has not cured, the *caranna* will" (Rees's Cyc., art. "Caranna"). The two substances are treated as identical in Dunglison's "Medical Dictionary."

KEREMAN. — I can make nothing of this, unless it be mastic, or some such substance, which, coming from *Kerman* in Persia, took the name of that place.

BURGUNDY PITCH, *Pix abietis* (U.S. Pharm.). — In common use for plasters.

With the exception of the cathartics, most of the internal remedies are simply insignificant, — such as old women prescribe without fear and without reproach. Not a single opiate; but one metallic preparation, and that merely enumerated in the list at the end; not one of our so-called specifics. Montaigne was of opinion, that the chief work of physicians was to "purge the belly;" and, truly, that operation and bleeding formed a large part of ancient practice. We must not forget the sudorifics, however, which were used so frequently before the time of Sydenham, under the idea of expelling the *materies morbi*. The toad-powder, which was expected to procure sweating, was principally animal charcoal, with some saline matters contained in the bones and other parts.

Whatever we may think of Dr. Stafford's practice, it is not certain that his patients would all have done better under the treatment of the present day. Some differences there would certainly be in our favor. We should trust more to moral

treatment, in "madness," than to St. John's wort; to diet, rather than to cinquefoil, in epilepsy. We should hope a good deal from opiates in dysentery, and confidently expect to arrest some fevers — those of periodical type — by quinine. But slight cases of disease would commonly get well under his treatment, and severe ones often die under ours. Diseases are like bullet-wounds: much may depend on their treatment, but much more must be referred to the extent of the visible or invisible injury and the part affected. It is a curious commentary on the nature of medical evidence, that the most popular medicine in the history of mankind should be *elder*, — a plant with hardly any assignable virtues. As for the external remedies, no one of them can claim any special efficacy; and some of them probably did more to irritate than to heal. The magic of "clown's all-heal" and "balsam" has been dispelled by the every-day observation of the kindly union of wounds simply brought together, or dressed with nothing but water.

The general medical directions at the end of the paper are very judicious, and might be followed with profit by the students of our own time. Some of them are of the true Hippocratic stamp, and confirm the idea that Dr. Stafford was a man of good sense and education. He has a just claim to be treated with respect; and, though some of his prescriptions may cause us to smile or shudder, it would be well if a physician of our time, whose prescriptions should be exhumed in the year 2080, were able to stand the examination of posterity as creditably as the very respectable Dr. Stafford, friend and adviser of John Winthrop, the honorable Governor of the Massachusetts Colony.

Mr. DEANE communicated the following remarks as the result of an examination of a copy of the so-called Narragansett Patent, which the President had recently committed to him for investigation: —

Mr. PRESIDENT, — You placed in my hands a few weeks since an ancient manuscript document, with a request that I would examine it, and report to you concerning it. I have made a few notes here ; and, with your leave, will read them to the meeting.

This paper proves to be — what I supposed it was at first inspection — a copy of what is sometimes called the “Narragansett Patent,” granted to the magistrates and freemen of Massachusetts, by authority of Parliament, and dated 10th December, 1643. The original is at the State House ; it having been noticed there by Mr. Felt a few years since, and subsequently made the subject of remark before this Society by him, and also by Mr. Savage. Colonel Aspinnall, also, read an interesting communication here respecting it, which will be found in our printed Proceedings of May, 1860.

I remarked, that the patent was granted by authority of Parliament. On the 2d of November preceding the date of this instrument, the Parliament passed an ordinance, “whereby Robert, Earl of Warwick, is made Governor-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral of all those islands and plantations, . . . belonging to any of his majesty’s . . . subjects, within the bounds and upon the coasts of America,” &c. The ordinance also appointed commissioners, “to be assisting unto him,” of seventeen persons, members of the House of Lords and House of Commons (Hazard, i. 533). By authority of this Board was this Narragansett Patent issued, though it bears the signatures of but *nine* of them. The reasons given in this instrument for this grant of territory are the excessive charges to which the Massachusetts planters had been subjected in founding their colony ; its rapid growth, requiring an expansion of its territory ; and the desire to Christianize the natives. The terms of it were, in effect, to annex so much additional territory to Massachusetts. What is curious, this grant of land embraced that territory, in almost the same

language, which, three months later (*i.e.*, 14th March, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$), was granted to Roger Williams, or, by his solicitation, to the inhabitants of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport.*

The earliest reference we find to this instrument is in a letter from the Massachusetts authorities to Roger Williams, dated 27th August, 1645, — more than twenty months after the document was issued, if it was issued at the time of its date; notifying the latter, that they had "received lately out of England a charter from the authority of the High Court of Parliament, bearing date 10th December, 1643, whereby the Narragansett Bay, and a certain tract of land wherein Providence and the Island of Quidny are included;" and warning him and others of their countrymen to "forbear to exercise any jurisdiction therein; otherwise to appear at our next General Court, to be holden the first fourth day of the eighth month, to shew by what right you claim any such jurisdiction,"† &c. This order appears to have been disregarded, and no further proceeding was had. The subsequent references to this patent are few, and it seems to have been almost lost sight of in our history till recently. Why Massachusetts based no practical claim upon it, it is not easy now to see, though various conjectures have been hazarded. It may be noted, that while there is a reservation in it of all lands previously granted, "and in present possession, held and enjoyed by any of his majesty's Protestant subjects," the Rhode-Island Patent, of three months later date, of the same territory, contains no such reservation; neither is there

* See Arnold's Hist. of R.I., i. 118, 119.

† This letter is recorded under date 7th October, 1645. Immediately preceding is the following order: "It is ordered by this Court, that Richard Saltonstall, Esq., and Captain George Cooke, shall be joined with Mr. Pocoke, and other our commissioners in England, in negotiating for us before the Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick and the rest of the Commissioners for Plantations, &c., or before the High Court of Parliament if occasion require, concerning the two late grants or charters for government or jurisdiction in the lands adjoining to the Narragansett Bay." Referring, undoubtedly, to these two conflicting grants. — *Records of Massachusetts*, iii. 48, 49.

any reference in this latter grant to the Narragansett Patent. An unwillingness, on the part of Massachusetts, to acknowledge the authority of the Parliamentary Commissioners, may be assigned as one reason for avoiding any assertion of her claims under this patent, though it will not explain all the difficulties which surround it. The grant was probably procured by Welde, then residing in England, and possibly without the authority of Massachusetts.*

It has been intimated (Felt, in *Geneal. Reg.*, xi. 41, where this patent is printed), that the banishment by Massachusetts of Gorton and his followers from their lands at Shawomet, March 7, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$, was by authority of this instrument; but no such claim was ever set forth by that government as a basis for these proceedings. The surrender of Pomham and Sacononoco (in June, 1643), whose lands embraced Shawomet and its neighborhood, and the act of the United Colonies of September of that year, authorizing Massachusetts to proceed against those unhappy schismatics, "according to what they shall find just," — New Plymouth claiming that this territory was covered by her patent, — were the only alleged grounds of the proceedings of Massachusetts in this case. Besides, it is doubtful, if, at the time of Gorton's banishment, this patent had been received here. It is quite certain, that during all this Gorton contro-

* "The forbearance of Massachusetts to found any practicable claim upon it is remarkable. I conceive the reason to have been the caution of her magistrates about involving themselves in an admission of the lawfulness of the authority intrusted to the Parliamentary Commissioners, which admission might presently be turned back upon herself." — "The sole object of Massachusetts, in giving the notice [to Williams], seems to have been to keep her rights safe in case of any necessity for using them," &c. — *Palfrey's History of New England*, ii. 122, 123, 217, n. In 1665, Rhode Island presented "some reasons unto the Right Hon. Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England," to show that that part of said colony called "King's Province" rightfully belonged to Rhode Island. In it they say, "For that the said country is wholly and clearly contained in the grant made in his late majesty's name, by the Lords and Commons in 1643, . . . which grant was since confirmed; and that which Mr. Wells [Welde?] underhand got of the same country was prohibited, being never passed at Council Table nor registered" (2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 104). — See citation from Williams's letter to Mason, further on.

versy, from 1643 to 1647,— during which these outcasts had carried their complaints to England,— the Massachusetts Government never pleaded this patent in justification of their acts ; and, what is also worthy of note, the Committee of the Lords and Commons, in their letter to Massachusetts authorities, desiring justice to be done to Gorton and his associates, and disclaiming any wish to abridge the bounds of the Massachusetts Colony as defined by its royal charter, make no allusion whatever to this Narragansett Patent, which bears the signatures of some of these very commissioners. (See Winthrop, ii. 280, 282, 317–320.)

Some years later, we find this patent cited by Massachusetts men claiming lands in the Narragansett country, not so much for the purpose of affirming their titles, as to avoid being included within the jurisdiction of Rhode Island. In a letter from Captain Edward Hutchinson, a member of the celebrated Atherton Company, to John Winthrop the younger, in London, dated Boston, 18th November, 1662, he speaks of a copy of this Narragansett Patent, which he sends to him to show that it embraced the same territory claimed by Mr. Clarke in the Rhode-Island Patent. He says, "Your patent and Plymouth join, reaching both the Narragansett River ; and, whereas Mr. Clarke pretends a patent, we have sent a copy of one to the Massachusetts, of the same land, dated before theirs, which answers theirs, and we conceive may give satisfaction" (Arnold's Hist. of R.I., i. 381). This copy, made by Secretary Rawson, is undoubtedly the one here referred to as sent to Winthrop, in London, in 1662 ; and, if I mistake not, it bears his endorsement upon it.

Enough has been said to show that this patent is shrouded in mystery. Some severe strictures have been made upon it ; and I must not forget that our friend Mr. Savage — who has called my attention to the fact that the date of the instrument is Sunday — has gone so far as to pronounce it a

forgery.* Reference has been made to a communication of Colonel Aspinwall respecting it; and I will dwell for a moment on some of his statements.

It is suggested by him, that this patent was not legally executed, and consequently was a mere nullity: in proof of which, he alleges that the document has no seal, either public or private; nor any indication of enrolment or registration. That it bears but nine signatures; whereas the ordinance by which the Board was created required the assent of the greater number of the eighteen commissioners, of which it consisted, to each of its acts. He also cites a passage from a letter of Roger Williams to Major Mason (1670), saying, that, at the time of Gorton's complaint against Massachusetts, "the Lord High Admiral (President) said openly, in a full meeting of the commissioners, that he knew no other charter for these parts than what Mr. Williams had obtained; and he was sure that charter, which the Massachusetts Englishmen pretended, had never passed the table" (1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 279). Also that the "probable reason for Winthrop's silence respecting it in his journal was his consciousness of its worthless character."

As I always like to see historical questions settled, it would be gratifying, in many respects, to be able to concur in all these statements; but I am not quite able to do so.

First, As to there being no seals upon the document. That is true, so far as to there being none now attached to it; but portions of the tags remain to each signature, the seals being lost or removed with that portion of the tags to which they were connected. I have inspected the original

* If I could believe that our Puritan ancestors, or any persons in their interest, were capable of such a *fraud*, I should still hesitate before charging them with such an act of *folly*. A forged title to such a large tract of land, the alleged grantors being still living, would be at once exposed by the rivals and opponents of the Massachusetts planters. The signatures to the document, so far as I am familiar with them, have every appearance of being genuine. It is quite improbable that any attempt would be made to forge seals.

instrument; and the seals, or at least the tags, appear to me to have been cut off near the margin. As a proof that there were seals originally attached to it, this *copy* made by Secretary Rawson, now just come to light among the Winthrop Papers, has, written against each of the nine signatures, "and a seale:" for instance, "Ro: Warwicke, and a seale."

Second, As to there being no evidence of enrolment upon it, I am doubtful how far that argument is of weight. It may prove too much. I have examined a good many of our charters or patents, and have rarely, if ever, found any such endorsement upon them. Some of them have evidence of delivery, &c.; but rarely, on those that have come under my inspection, of enrolment.

Third, To the objection, that, while the ordinance of Parliament requires the signature of the greater number of the commissioners to each of its acts, there lacks one to this instrument of the requisite number, I would say, that a majority is necessary only for certain specific acts; while, for the transaction of the general business of the Board, it requires but the assent of the president and any four of his associates. (See the ordinance in Hazard, i. 533.)

Fourth, As to the statement, in Roger Williams's letter, of an occurrence twenty-five years before, how far it may be safe to rely upon it, is a little uncertain. I should have great confidence that Williams would not assert what he did not believe to be true; but it must be remembered, that he was not present on the occasion referred to (not being in England at that time), and he must have heard the story from Gorton or from some other person. Still, I would not deny that the silence of the commissioners respecting this patent, in their letters to Massachusetts, above referred to, requires an explanation.

Fifth, As to Winthrop's silence respecting this patent in his journal, we find, in vol. ii., pp. 279, 280, of that work, the following queries and suggestions of the magistrates at the meet-

ing of the General Court, Nov. 4, 1646: "It was propounded to consideration, in what relation we stood to the State of England; whether our government was founded upon our charter or not: if so, then what subjection we owed to that State." — "And for that motion of petitioning, &c., it was answered, — 1. That, if we receive a new charter, that will be (*ipso facto*) a surrender of the old [that is, the Royal Charter of Charles First]. 2. The Parliament can grant none now but by way of ordinance; and it may be questioned whether the king will give his royal assent, considering how he hath taken displeasure against us. 3. If we take a charter from the Parliament, we can expect no other than such as they have granted to us at Narragansett, and to others in other places, wherein they reserve a supreme power in all things." No doubt seems to be here expressed as to the genuineness and legality of their patent for Narragansett; that is, that it is as good a grant as Parliament, or its commissioners, can give: but the more radical question is as to the authority of Parliament in issuing such grants. This discussion took place more than a year after the order to Williams.

A communication was received from the "Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," England, presenting twelve volumes of their Transactions; and requesting, in exchange, a contribution from the Collections and Proceedings of our Society.

Voted, That this subject be referred to the Standing Committee, with full powers.

The President offered for the inspection of the members several ancient certificates of marriage from the papers of his ancestor, Governor Winthrop. He also produced from the same valuable store of manuscripts a fragmentary paper relating to the estate of John Harvard, which, at his suggestion, was referred to Mr Sibley.

Rev. William A. Stearns, D.D., President of Amherst College, and Charles Sprague, Esq., of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. ROBBINS (C.) reported, that, by direction of the Standing Committee, he had restored to the library of the Old South Church the Hinckley Papers and several other manuscripts belonging to the Prince Library; and that he had expressed, in a letter addressed to the pastors and deacons of that church, the grateful acknowledgments of this Society for their courtesy and generosity in allowing those valuable papers to be retained and printed. In response to this communication, he had received the following letter:—

BOSTON, Feb. 12, 1862.

Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.

DEAR SIR, — In behalf of the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church, to whom your communication of the 31st ultimo was presented on Friday last, I have been directed to acknowledge the receipt of a part of the manuscripts which the Historical Society of Massachusetts desired to retain for a time, and for a special purpose, after they had conveyed the books belonging to the Prince Collection to the Old South Society, in July, 1859; namely, three volumes of the “Hinckley Papers,” and a volume entitled “Torrey vs. Gardiner.”

I am also directed to thank the Standing Committee of the Historical Society, through you, for the valuable printed volume of the “Hinckley Papers,” which, in behalf of the Society, they have kindly presented to the Old South Church and Society; and for the manner in which they have caused the three volumes of the “Hinckley Papers” to be thoroughly and neatly bound in one.

We also respectfully acknowledge the restoration to us of a number of manuscript sermons by one of our former esteemed pastors, the Rev. Dr. Eckley.

With our sincere acknowledgments of the courtesy and liberality of the Historical Society, I am, in behalf of the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church, very respectfully yours,

G. W. BLAGDEN, *Senior Pastor*,

Dr. ELLIS, in announcing the death of our esteemed associate (Dr. Luther V. Bell, of Charlestown) while in the discharge of his duties as a surgeon in the army of the United States, spoke as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—The painful intelligence was received here yesterday, by telegraph, of the decease of our much esteemed and distinguished associate, Dr. Luther V. Bell, at Budd's Ferry. We have, at present, only the knowledge of the sad fact, without particulars, which we wait for with anxious interest. As is well known to many of us, he had been for several years much enfeebled by disease, and under the regimen of an invalid. He must, however, have been snatched from us by some comparatively sudden blow, as, in letters recently received from him,—the last being dated at the close of the last month,—I had his emphatic assurance, that his measure of health and strength had surprised himself.

We are unprepared, under the sudden sense of this affliction, to give adequate expression to what is in our minds and hearts of respect and affection for our honored and eminent friend. He highly estimated the privileges and the associations of his membership of this Society; and we, too, regarded his co-operation with us as an enhancement of the dignity of our fellowship. In the most responsible office, which he held for more than twenty years, as the physician of the M'Lean Asylum, he took the highest professional rank, and won the fullest confidence and the loftiest personal esteem and affection of multitudes of friends in this community, and indeed over the whole country, from whose wide extent patients were committed to his care. He was a man remarkably endowed and fitted by nature for his exacting sphere of labor, and he had perfected himself by careful study and the most thorough professional culture. He had a noble mind, a dignified presence, a pure and a religiously trained heart. He

cultivated art, philosophy, science, and general literature. Enfeebled bodily vigor compelled him to resign his office at Somerville some six years ago; and, building himself a dwelling at the base of the monumental shaft on Breed's Hill, he became a citizen of Charlestown. He had filled several political offices; had been a member of the Executive Council, and President of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He loved to spend hours of leisure in these richly filled rooms. He was still privately consulted for professional purposes, and served on a Commission of the Commonwealth in the erection of the Asylum at Northampton. On the opening of the lamentable strife which has been for a year convulsing our country, the purest impulses of patriotism, and a sense of Christian obligation, moved him to offer his crippled but still valuable energies and abilities in our great cause. He left us last July as surgeon of the Eleventh Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. He was soon constituted one of the brigade surgeons of the volunteer army, and was filling that post in General Hooker's division, on the Lower Potomac, when the summons came to him in the last mortal conflict, from which there is no discharge. I cannot now say more; yet I could not but say at least what I have said, in tribute to one so respected and esteemed among us, and for whom, as a friend, I felt the highest attachment and regard.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM (R.), in referring to the death of Dr. Bell, spoke substantially as follows:—

He could not refrain from uttering a few words in respect to one, with whom, for many years, he had had much intercourse as a friend, a neighbor, and a citizen; and he was sure the Society would unanimously express their sense of the loss which it had sustained in the sudden death of a member so eminent and deeply respected as Dr. Bell.

Though he had met him, for many years, under various circumstances of public life, yet it was not until he retired

from the main field of his labor, — the M'Lean Asylum at Somerville, — and became a neighbor at Charlestown, and met him unreservedly in the social circle, that he saw and felt those sterling and sympathetic qualities which made him always welcome, and a favorite of the community in which he lived.

Dr. Bell had qualities that made him greatly beloved in private life, and fitted him to be its ornament. He was urbane in his deportment, conscientious in his opinions, gentle in his ways, and of rare conversational gifts: indeed, he related his varied and rich experience with the human mind, in its most startling and fearful moods, with so much simplicity and so exactly, with such entire absence of any thing like arrogance, that he charmed while he instructed. This (the human mind) was his great study, and he shrunk back from no phase of its manifestations.

Dr. Bell was emphatically public-spirited, and gave large attention to the questions of the day; and it always seemed that his knowledge of politics was large, his views comprehensive, and his spirit eminently patriotic. If he had the ambition to serve the country in political station, it was because he felt that he could serve it well, — act for country, and not for self. It was such a conviction that carried him, in this great crisis, to his last field of usefulness. He felt that his large experience in the line of his profession might make his service valuable to the army; and he devoted himself not only with zeal, but with conscientious fidelity, to his calling. His coolness, courage, and self-possession on the Bull-Run field were marked; and the wounded who fell to his lot, and felt his sympathizing presence, talk lovingly of the man who will linger enduringly in their memory. For such service he was promoted; and thus, while engaged in duties second only to the duty that man owes to his Creator, he honorably closed a useful life, falling asleep under the flag which he loved and was so beautifully serving.

He had been but a short time a member of this association. He felt an abiding interest in historical pursuits, sympathized with the success of the Society, and was ready, on its call, to share actively in its labors.

Dr. Bell aimed to be faithful to the whole round of duties. He was both the father and mother to an interesting group of children, who for years have been motherless; and to leave these for the duties of country was his hardest work. He will long be remembered by the institution which he so faithfully guided, by the town in which he passed his manhood, by the city in which he last lived, and by those with whom he loved to commune in the interchange of social amenities. Verily a good man has gone to his reward.

The following resolution was then unanimously passed; viz.:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society have learned with deep regret the death of their esteemed and respected associate, Hon. Luther V. Bell, while serving in the medical staff of the army of the United States; and that Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., be requested to prepare the customary Memoir.

A Memoir of Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., and of Rev. John Codman, D.D., prepared in compliance with a vote of the Society, was communicated from our associate, Rev. Dr. Jenks.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY

OF

REV. JOHN CODMAN, D.D., & OF REV. CHARLES LOWELL, D.D.

BY WILLIAM JENKS, D.D.

WHILE our beloved country is in so imminent peril, and death by warfare is multiplying its victims, our literary Society is permitted to follow its accustomed course. One feature of that course is a respectful and affectionate reminiscence of the merits of its departed members; and although our sympathies are demanded by the present struggle for the defence and continued existence of our invaluable civil privileges, and we feel deeply for all who are called to hazard life in their behalf, it nevertheless becomes us not to neglect or be unmindful of the memory of worthies in other departments of human duty than those of politics or war.

Under the control of such a sentiment, permit me, my highly esteemed associates, in attempting the discharge of the obligations you have seen fit to lay on me, to blend together such recollections and notices in regard to the late Dr. CODMAN, and his near kinsman, the more recently deceased Dr. LOWELL, as have appeared to me just and proper. As respects the former, your appointment is indeed of several years' standing, and the delay to comply with it may demand an apology; but I cast myself on your indulgence, which I trust will not be withholden.

Of the Rev. Dr. CODMAN, who died in December, 1847, we are possessed of an ample and authentic Memoir, from the pen of his college-classmate and highly esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Allen, late President of Bowdoin College; with whom he maintained a frequent and unbroken correspondence. The Memoir was published in 1853, in a volume containing also the late Rev. Dr. Bates's "Reminiscences" of its distinguished subject, and a few of his sermons. Of this volume a free use will be made in the present brief tribute.

Dr. LOWELL took, indeed, his first degree at Harvard two years before his kinsman, and was earlier ordained as a pastor; but although this seniority might constitute a claim to stand first in our recognition, yet his life was prolonged to a later period, and hence it will here take the second place.

Neither of these gentlemen, although both were natives of Boston, was prepared for college at the Public Latin School. "The father of Dr. Codman," we are told,* "received his early education at Dummer Academy, in Byfield;" and he placed his eldest son in the Academy at Andover. How long he continued there, I know not; but the youth was removed, with his younger brother, to Hingham, and confided to the care of the Rev. Mr. (afterward Dr.) Ware, pastor of the church in that town.

About this time it was that my own acquaintance with the family commenced. Being then an undergraduate at Cambridge, Mr. Codman applied to me, and proposed that I should leave college for a time, and go to Hingham as an assistant of Mr. Ware in the education of his two sons. But this arrangement was not effected. It laid, nevertheless, a foundation for a growing interest and concern in the welfare of one whom I was afterwards to regard as a beloved and influential brother in the sacred ministry.

* Memoir, p. 13.

The two pupils of Rev. Mr. Ware were the only children of Mr. Codman's first marriage. Their mother was Margaret Russell, youngest daughter of the Hon. James Russell, Esq., of Charlestown; another of whose daughters (Rebecca) had become the wife of Hon. John Lowell, Esq., and mother of the Rev. Dr. Lowell. The subjects, therefore, of our present attention, were, by maternal parentage, cousins-german.

Dr. Allen, in his Memoir, deduces the genealogy of these gentlemen in both the male and female descent. Such deduction has now become, and that with manifest propriety, far from uncommon. The associations which are formed at an early period, including observable advantages or disadvantages of social life, have great effect in either the development or restriction of natural talent or disposition. No biographical sketch, therefore, can be regarded as complete, which does not include some account of them; for, ere we are aware, character is forming, and the seeds of future distinction are sown. We plant a tree; but its subsequent growth, or failure to flourish, will greatly depend on the soil that envelops its roots.

Dr. Codman's father was an eminent merchant of Boston, and acquired a large property with a fair reputation. His character, admirably drawn by one who knew him intimately (his brother-in-law, Judge Lowell), describes him as a "truly excellent and respectable citizen. Of manners gentle, of affections warm and glowing, of habits industrious and enterprising, with an understanding clear and masculine, with an eloquence impressive and energetic, with a heart expanded and generous, he was qualified to fill, and honorably to discharge, the various important public and private relations in which he stood to society. . . . In the meridian of life [at the age of forty-eight], in the full career of usefulness and reputation, just entering into the higher councils of the State" (its Senate), he "died, as he had lived, a warm, sincere, pious

believer in the Christian religion, its hopes and future rewards."*

Reserving to another page a notice of Dr. Codman's maternal descent, I remark, that he was born in Boston, Aug. 3, 1782. His boyhood and youth exhibited no peculiarly memorable features; except that, as characterized by one who knew and loved him,† "his spirits were buoyant," his constitution being sound and healthy, and his temperament cheerful and affectionate. Yet with this was blended a discretion, resulting in no small degree from his circumstances of life and education, that rendered him reliable, and tended subsequently to the increase of his influence. Besides, the habits of responsibility, early inculcated and exercised, grew insensibly, and rendered him judicious, firm, thoughtful, and kind.

His college-life was passed respectably. The class of which he was a member contained several who afterwards rose to distinction; but among them, as he was not the first in eminence, so he was not of the most deficient. He seems to have been marked by a conscientious regard to duty, and an unhesitating and cheerful compliance with the known requirements made of a student. His merit was acknowledged by his instructors, and he was graduated with reputation in 1802.

My own acquaintance with and interest in him were increased at this time by the circumstance, that, having become an occupant of the Simpson‡ estate in Cambridge, the use of part of this large mansion was hired of me by young Codman's father, for the accommodation of the numerous company who attended on the occasion; among whom I well recollect the Hon. David Humphreys, of Connecticut, then recently returned from his embassy in Europe, and who was received by his countrymen with high distinction.

* See the genealogical particulars at large in Dr. Allen's Memoir, pp. 11-15.

† Rev. Dr. Storrs, sen., in his funeral sermon.

‡ This house was originally erected for the Rev. East Apthorp, first Rector of Christ Church in Cambridge, and inhabited by him.

The attention of the young graduate was soon given to the study of law. This he pursued in the office of his kinsman, John Lowell, Esq., at that time engaged in very extensive practice. He continued this study for about a year; and it was unquestionably of no little service to him, in view of subsequent events and his own deep interest in them, that his mind underwent a degree of legal discipline. It could not but aid him in giving precision to his judgment, and discrimination in his investigations, inducing and assisting habits of no small importance in life.

But this course was very unexpectedly interrupted, and indeed broken off, by the lamented death of Mr. Codman's honored father, in 1803; and the earnest desire which he had expressed on his death-bed, that his son would study divinity, and become a minister of the gospel. A new direction was now given to the mind of the young man; and it is presumed by his biographer, that serious and religious thoughts became now more forcible than ever.

At that period, although a professorship of divinity had been founded at Cambridge by the benevolent foresight of Hollis, yet it was customary for young men to place themselves under the supervision and advice of some parish minister. To his former instructor, the Rev. Mr. Ware, Mr. Codman applied, and for a time took his directions. But he frequented Cambridge also; and though the death of Professor Tappan had recently occurred, yet he there found fellow-students, and associated with them. This association was of essential consequence; for it served to establish his religious views, and to prepare him for the decided course which he afterward consistently pursued.

It was esteemed by him a peculiar advantage, that his acquaintance with his former classmate — William Allen, afterward the biographer of his friend — was here renewed, and rendered permanent. He was from the interior of the State, and son of a distinguished clergyman at Pittsfield, of

“the old school.” The renewed intercourse became, from several circumstances detailed at large in Dr. Allen’s narrative, deeply interesting. Mr. Codman’s affectionate heart was freely opened, and his religious exercises without reserve communicated, until his mind was fully established in the sentiments usually denominated, and, as appears to the writer, with strict propriety, “evangelical;” embracing the doctrines of the atonement, and of the necessity and efficacy of Divine Grace.

This present generation can with but great difficulty realize the difference between the actual and former state of religion and its concerns in our community. I use the word “former” with reference to the early part of the current century. At that time, as is admitted on all hands, the cause of serious, effective piety was at a low ebb, not only in our own country, but in England, notwithstanding the writings of Cowper, Newton, Wilberforce, Porteus, and Hall. As respects ourselves, the war of the Revolution is often brought in to explain the fact: and it is stated, that the Puritanic sentiments and manners of our venerated forefathers suffered greatly from the results of the political alliance with France; many of the officers of the army, as is alleged, adopting the deistical and infidel views of their foreign associates. There had, indeed, appeared the evidence of a revival of practical religion in the capital of Massachusetts about the year 1792; but this was mostly confined to the “Baptist” denomination, and not extensive. The “Methodists” also had commenced their efforts, two or three years before,* here and in this vicinity, but had not obtained that wide success which has since so remarkably distinguished their zeal. Most of the Congregational churches were in a quiet, conservative state; few beside aged persons appearing at the communion-table,

* See the Life of Rev. Jesse Lee, in the seventh volume of the Annals of the American Pulpit, by Rev. Dr. Sprague.

and conversions among the young being rare, and very observable when they occurred. "Moderate Calvinism" was professed by many of the clergy; and actually it was very moderate. "Experimental religion," so called distinctively, had declined, without question.

The frank, ardent temperament, and sincere, open, independent deportment, of young Mr. Codman, were operative and prominent in his religious views and the expression of them. They influenced his voluntary associations, and marked his general conduct, and that with characteristic uniformity, throughout the rest of his life.

It was not long before he concluded to avail himself of the advantage of a definite course of theological studies under the regular academic instructions of an appropriate institution. His kinsman, Mr. Charles Lowell, had already adopted this measure. Accordingly, he took passage for Liverpool in 1805. His object was a residence in Edinburgh. But he visited London before proceeding thither; and being furnished with letters to various individuals, as well as having personal relatives and friends then in the capital, his time was agreeably and profitably spent, especially with reference to his own spiritual improvement. This is evinced by copious extracts from his diary, published in Dr. Allen's elaborate Memoir, and from letters addressed to this "friend of his heart."

Mr. Codman's father had married, in 1791, his second wife, Catherine Amory, daughter of John Amory, Esq.; characterized as a "lady of singular intelligence, enlarged benevolence, and devoted piety; by whom he had six children." She survived her husband nearly thirty years; and, while her step-son was pursuing his studies at Edinburgh, her letters to him, of which some extracts are given by his biographer, exhibit "the mutual esteem and affection which subsisted between himself and that excellent lady." Replying to one of his letters, she remarks, "If you have reason

to thank God for the event which gave me to be your mother, how much have I to bless him that he gave me you for a son! . . . On what object can my affections so naturally fasten as on the counterpart of him who has been taken from them? My gratitude for the blessing is still more excited, when I view you as [thus virtually] the father of my children; and this is augmented by reflection on the sacredness of the profession you have chosen, which will add such weight and influence to parental advice. . . . Your happiness, and especially your advancement in the Christian life, never presses more forcibly and tenderly on my heart than when it is lifted up to the throne of grace; and I trust that my petitions for you will be answered in your safe return and useful subsequent life. With what pleasure do I look forward to that period when the influence of your precepts and example will so greatly aid me in rearing my children, and when we shall realize all the fond wishes expressed for them in your last!"*

This lady attended on the ministry of the Rev. Mr. (afterward Dr.) Channing, whom she most highly and justly esteemed, and who had taken a deep interest in the formation of Mr. Codman's Christian character, both before his going to Edinburgh, and while he was there. At this time, Dr. Channing was, in the view of worldlings, "almost the only melancholy preacher" in Boston. In evidence of his "strong evangelical feelings," Dr. Allen relates the circumstance, that after dining with Mrs. Codman, while her step-son was studying with Dr. Ware, he requested the young man to ride with him: "and during the ride, after much serious conversation, he expressed his fears that the religious speculations of the times were leading many astray; and he earnestly desired that his young friend might guard his mind from the prevailing errors, and that, by a prayerful study of the word of God

* Memoir, pp. 63, 64.

and an implicit faith in its teachings, he might be prepared for the solemn duties of the ministry." To this, Dr. Allen candidly adds, "Mr. Channing was not at this time ready to give up the evangelical doctrines: doubtless they were more or less modified in his view; but yet they exerted a powerful influence over his preaching and his life. Nor is it believed that this influence was wholly destroyed in any stage of his subsequent departures from the faith of the New-England churches."

In a letter to his young friend at Edinburgh, then in his twenty-fourth year, Mr. Channing writes, "I have suffered so much from indistinctness of views, that I wish to guard you against it. Be not contented with general views of religion. Analyze your heart, and seek to obtain from the word of God just views of the distinguishing exercises of a child of God; and, if then you have reason to fear for yourself, you cannot be too much impressed with your danger. On this point we cannot be too faithful. May God, who searches us, save us from deceiving ourselves on the infinitely interesting concerns of eternity!"

Before leaving Great Britain for America, Mr. Codman visited France, and remained in Paris several weeks, until his curiosity had been fully satisfied: and, after finishing his studies at Edinburgh, he visited his uncle at Bristol, preaching there in a "dissenting" pulpit; having received the regular license, dated April 29, 1807. Invited to preach in the Scotch Church, London, he labored there during a year, and then embarked for Boston; where he arrived in May, 1808.

A new parish had been recently constituted in Dorchester, and a house of worship erected and dedicated. Mr. Codman was invited to preach; and, after hearing him for two sabbaths, the church and congregation unanimously gave him "a call" to settle with them as their pastor. This drew forth a letter expressive of his religious views and aims.

Further communications ensued ; until at length, after an uncommonly full exposition of his sentiments, he was ordained on the 7th of December, 1808. This was his only settlement for the rest of his life.

The history, however, of this pastorate, I will not take on me to give. It has already been written and published in all its details by able and competent friends, who have already been named as authors of a "Memoir" and "Reminiscences" of Dr. Codman. To both of these clergymen and intimate associates, the interesting trials of the beloved subject of their record were fully known ; and they were witnesses of the faithfulness and unquestionable conscientiousness with which he bore them. Both also were convinced, and that deeply, of the importance to be assigned to the result ; and both have without reserve asserted, that, in consequence, the name of Dr. Codman belongs to the ecclesiastical history of the country. No historian, indeed, of Congregationalism in Massachusetts or New England, can be faithful to his duty, who shall neglect to inform posterity respecting these scenes.

I will only remark concerning them, that it appears from the record of the friends alluded to (for the writer was not in the State at the time), that Mr. Codman's ministry was very acceptable to his people during the year that followed his ordination. After this it was that difficulties arose among some of them on the subject of exchanges in the pulpit services. The minister claimed the liberty of choice in regard to such of his clerical brethren as he should invite to address his people. The malecontents maintained virtually, that he ought to consult the wishes of his people, and make his exchanges agreeably. Two several councils were summoned, and the subject litigated for three years of trying experiences. At length, the pastor and his devoted friends succeeded ; their opponents withdrew ; and it became a decided sentiment, that the exchange of pulpit-labor should be governed by the pastor's choice.

Both of the writers who have been alluded to express their strong conviction of the wisdom of the resolution, and the benefits of its result; asserting, that it has tended to allay disputes which were becoming bitter, and to promote the peace of the churches. Nevertheless, it exposed the young minister, who stood in the front of the contest, to much and severe trial; which, it is apprehended, could hardly have been borne, except by one similarly trained and providentially circumstanced. It is, therefore, a fair subject of moral inquiry, in what spirit it was indeed borne, and what assistance arose from the providential circumstances of the sufferer in it.

No reader of the ample narrative of the life and religious sentiments of Dr. Codman, to which so repeated reference has been made, can doubt that his views and feelings were deeply and consistently engaged in that system, which, for distinction's sake, is termed "experimental," "evangelical," or "Calvinistic;" and it appears clearly, not only from the "Memoir" and "Reminiscences," but from printed sermons and addresses, published both before and after his decease, that the religious views he adopted, at what he believed his own conversion, were with unshaken firmness, yet with manifest humility, maintained to the last. The profession he entered and held was the employment of his free and cordial choice. Of its labors, trials, and supports, he took a deliberate and solemn view; and his actual experience became a searching, faithful test of his sincerity.

In an ordination discourse,* he remarks, "There never was a greater mistake than this, — that the duty of the preacher of the gospel is light and easy. Little do they understand the nature and extent of his work, who cherish such an opinion. To resist the powerful temptations to preach themselves which are continually presented by that arch-deceiver, who, while he delights to harass all the people

* Delivered at the installation of Rev. G. W. Blagden, in Salem Street, Boston, Nov. 3, 1830.

of God, directs his most envenomed rancor against the minister of the cross, is of itself enough to lead him to cry out, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' But when we consider the magnitude, variety, and extent of the subjects involved in preaching Christ, we cannot for a moment suppose that a preacher's duty can be otherwise than laborious and difficult. What constant and painful preparation is necessary to the conscientious minister, who would faithfully discharge his duty; who desires to bring beaten oil into the sanctuary, and not to offer to the Lord that which costs him nothing! What diligence and care to ascertain the state of his flock, that he may know how to give to each a portion in due season! What earnest cries to God for grace to warm his cold heart, that he may impart warmth to others! What bitter tears over his own barrenness and unfruitfulness! what sinkings of soul under the consideration, that so few believe his report,—that he labors in vain, and spends his strength for nought! If this be ease, and freedom from care, then is the preacher's duty an easy task. Ah! little do they know the duties and responsibilities of the sacred office, who entertain such an opinion. But, though laborious and difficult, let it not be thought that it is unpleasant and irksome, and without encouragement. No: it is the most delightful and honorable work in which it is possible for a human being to be engaged; and, with all its trials, difficulties, and discouragements, I would not exchange it for an empire and a throne. It is the presence and gracious aid of the Master whom he serves, that lightens the cares, sweetens the labors, and relieves the anxieties, of the preacher of the cross. It is the same cheering voice that comforted the desponding spirit of the apostle, and animated the hearts of the primitive disciples, which sustains the courage, and quickens the zeal, of the ministers of reconciliation. 'My grace shall be sufficient for thee, and my strength shall be made perfect in thy weakness. Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.'"

It might be supposed, and without doubt has been charged, that the stand taken by Dr. Codman evinced a spirit of bigotry, and hostility to freedom of thought and speech, with an assumption of personal impeccability, and an addictedness also to dogmatic wrangling; but in a review of his ministry for twenty years, preached to his people, he observes, "In reviewing *the principles* upon which I have acted during the last twenty years of my life, if I deceive not myself, I have the testimony of my conscience that I have ever endeavored to act with a single eye to the glory of God and the good of souls. These principles may be wrong; for I pretend not to infallibility. All I can say is, that I have never yet been convinced of their erroneousness, or I should have renounced them with the same frankness and decision that I have embraced and maintained them. The principles to which I refer are these: That there are certain doctrines peculiar to the gospel of Jesus Christ; and that, among these, conspicuously stand the supreme divinity and atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, the reality of experimental religion, and the necessity of a moral renovation by the special agency of the Holy Ghost, as essential to the character of a Christian. On the firm belief of these opinions, I have uniformly acted; and have been unwilling to admit, as instructors of the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made me an overseer, those who do not clearly and unequivocally preach these, in my opinion, essential doctrines of the gospel." He adds, "These are the principles, which, in the early part of my ministry, exposed me to severe trials, and which, to this day, have loaded me with obloquy and reproach. . . . They have since been adopted and acted upon, not only by Trinitarian but by Unitarian ministers; and it is now generally admitted, that the difference of sentiment is so great, as to render this course highly expedient and desirable by both parties. . . . Let it be remembered, that the extent of my offending has been a reluc-

tance on my part to have my *own* people, solemnly committed to my watch and care, taught a system of religion which I honestly believe essentially defective. I have never presumed to judge others, nor to infringe upon the rights of others. I have uniformly been the warm friend and advocate of religious liberty; and all that I have ever asked is the liberty to feed my own flock with such food as I judged wholesome and salutary, and not suffer them to be fed by others who would adopt a regimen entirely different and opposite from my own. This was the offence for which I was brought before councils, and once excluded from this pulpit. My neglect to exchange ministerial labors with ministers of Unitarian sentiments was the well-known source of the memorable controversy which agitated this religious society soon after my settlement." *

One extract more from this "Review" is demanded, in justice to the proper exhibition of the humble spirit which marked its author, with all his firmness and moral courage: "I am constrained to acknowledge, that, on a review of my ministry for the last twenty years, I feel justly condemned, not in view of the principles upon which I have acted (for I have no wish to retract them); not on account of the doctrines I have preached (for, were this my last sermon and my dying day, I should desire it should be known that I lived and died in the faith of those sentiments): but on account of my many shortcomings in the discharge of my ministerial duties; on account of my coldness and inactivity in the service of the best of masters; on account of the many precious opportunities of doing something more for God, and for the souls of men, that I have for ever lost. May God forgive me that I have not done more for his glory,—that I have been such an unprofitable servant! I ask your prayers for me, my Christian friends, that, if my life is spared, I may be more faithful

* See the volume of Sermons and Addresses published by Dr. Codman in 1834, pp. 293-5.

in the discharge of my duty, and more devoted to God, both as a man and as a Christian." *

With regard to the providential circumstances of Dr. Codman, to which allusion has been made, it is very evident, that, had he been in the pecuniary condition in which very many enter the ministry of the gospel, he could not have sustained an attack so vigorous and persevering as fell to his lot, and which must render his name and case historical among us.

This sketch would be exceedingly imperfect were it only to characterize the spirit of its subject in relation to the actual exercise of the Christian ministry. Endowed as he was with social advantages, happy in his domestic connections, hospitable and kind in his habits, he was not backward in the encouragement and support of many of the numerous associations for the exercise of Christian beneficence which distinguish our country and our age. Especially did he take an interest in the efforts for extending the kingdom of Christ among the Heathen, and was an active and effective member of the American Board for that great object. But he did by no means overlook or neglect the spiritual wants of our new settlements; and the Home Mission shared his attention, along with the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America. Of a similar association, whose seat is in Scotland, with several of whose worthies he continued his correspondence to the last, he was a commissioner; and with the Andover institution for educating students in theology he maintained a salutary intercourse,—bestowing upon it a printing-press that bears his family name, and is furnished with fonts of type, not only for ordinary printing, but also for not a few of the Oriental languages. He likewise bequeathed to it his valuable library, rich in theological works, and especially in those of a distinctively Puritan character.

* Same vol., p. 310.

As a citizen and patriot, Dr. Codman took a deep and permanent interest in the welfare of his country; and this not only in its political, educational, and religious concerns, but, being himself a proprietor and cultivator of land, in its agriculture also. Hence his views of human employments were enlarged and general; and his influence, instead of being narrowed and confined by professional pursuits, partook of the extension to which his thoughts had been trained and developed.

As respects his connection with our Historical Society and its pursuits, I am inclined to believe, that, notwithstanding his general interest in the records of the country, that interest displayed itself more in relation to the religious character of its early inhabitants, and its transmission to their posterity, than in statistics of any other kind. Hence, in his addresses on anniversaries referring to "the Pilgrim Fathers," this view of our predecessors enjoys, as might well be supposed, the highest place. He traced, indeed, his own descent from the Winslow Family, of early distinction at Plymouth, as well as from that of Russell, which illustrated itself on the opposite side of the Bay of Massachusetts; and sympathized in their faith and devotion.

Dr. Codman died, in the bosom of his family, on the 23d of December, 1847, having entered his sixty-sixth year.

REV. CHARLES LOWELL, D.D.

My personal acquaintance with the late Rev. Dr. Lowell did not commence until after his ordination as Pastor of the West Church in this city. The occasion of it was the circumstance, that a family of endeared relatives,* branching sub-

* That of the late Hon. N. P. Russell, Esq., who became Treasurer of the Society; and his sister, now widow of L. Pope, Esq.; including their mother, Mrs. Sarah Russell (mother of the late Mrs. Jenks); and also the family of John Binney, Esq., who married Mrs. Russell's youngest daughter.

sequently into several households, had become his regular hearers, and attached members of the parish under his care; the connection, in regard to some of them, continuing during his life, and, as respects a few, prolonged with the parish even still. Running, therefore, through his whole ministry, and creating an interest in it with various excitements, this acquaintance gives authority to the "tribute" it is my present lot to pay to the departed.

For the discharge of this duty, there is no lack of sufficient documents, indeed, to supply what is wanting of personal knowledge; since the affectionate esteem in which the subject of it was held while living, and which has been elicited since his decease, furnishes them abundantly, although no express Memoir has been published.

His advantages of birth and training were of the highest character; and had, of course, their appropriate influence on his subsequent life. Of his friends he was not the first to receive the benefit of the most liberal education our country could afford, but derived an incitement to literary emulation from the station, connections, and influence of those to whom he sustained the nearest relationship. His father — the Hon. John Lowell, Esq., LL.D. — enjoyed the reputation of an eminent lawyer in this city; in 1781, was chosen a member of Congress; and having been appointed, by Washington, a Judge of the District Court in 1789, became in 1801, on the new organization of the courts of the United States, "Chief-Judge of the First Circuit." He is characterized* as "uniting to a vigorous mind, which was enriched with literary acquisitions, a refined taste and conciliatory manners; being sincere in the belief and practice of the Christian religion."

Judge Lowell married Rebecca, daughter of Judge James Russell of Charlestown,† a lady whose name is embalmed in

* See his article in Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

† This long-distinguished American family descended from Richard Russell, of Herefordshire in England, who settled in Charlestown in 1640. The writer well

her son's dedication to his sister of a volume of his sermons;* in which he writes, "You will find in this volume a sermon containing the portraiture of a good mother; and will not fail to trace in it, though she was not the prototype, the lineaments of the character of that sainted being, now a ministering angel to us, from whom we both received our first lessons of piety,—lessons which she so fully and beautifully embodied in her own life and example."

Under the instructions and with the example of such parents, the life of Charles Lowell commenced, and his youth was nurtured. For a time, he was at the Phillips Academy, in Andover; as was also, we have seen, his cousin Codman. Afterward he was placed in the care and tuition of the Rev. Mr. Sanger, in South Bridgewater; with whom he completed his studies preparatory to entering Harvard College in an advanced standing, as sophomore, in 1797; taking his first degree in 1800. Two of his brothers had been graduated there previously; and his reverend grandfather, in 1721; his father, in 1760.

On leaving college, Mr. Lowell did not at once enter on the studies of that profession on which his heart was set; but, as we have seen his cousin did, passed at least a year, in his eldest brother's office, in the study of law. His brother, a truly eminent lawyer, had attained great practice, which he found to be burdensome, and contemplated relinquish-

remembers the venerable judge, to whom he was introduced by the judge's grandson, Dr. (then Mr.) Codman, in 1797; and who maintained the dignity of age with honor, and the respect of the whole community. By the coat of arms which his son Thomas, the wealthy merchant of Boston, used in his book-plate, as well as by information derived from another of his sons, James (of Bristol, England), it appears that the family did not claim to descend from the ducal branch of the Russells, first ennobled in 1549; but probably from that of Strensham in Worcestershire, the male line of which became extinct there in 1705, after having flourished-five hundred years on that estate. This appears from Nash's History of Worcester, and from Wiffen's Memoirs of the House of Russell; tracing them from the old Norman stock, a scion of which was planted in England at the Conquest.

* Published in 1854.

ing his profession; and it was their father's wish that his youngest son should be prepared to enter the field, and reap the harvest made apparently so ready to his hand. However, the design failed; and young Mr. Lowell concluded to pursue his course of theological study at Edinburgh.

It was about this time that he lost his excellent father, who died at Roxbury on the 6th of May, 1802; having survived his brother-in-law, the Hon. John Codman (whose obituary he had written), as we have seen, but a short time. Whether this event affected the resolution of Mr. Lowell or not, I am unable to determine: but, in the autumn after, he sailed for Liverpool; proceeded thence to Edinburgh, where he entered the divinity school of the University; and for three winters pursued his theological studies in attending the stated lectures. With those of the eminent Professor Dugald Stewart he was highly pleased, and considered him "the finest lecturer he ever heard." In a notice of his lamented death,* which has already been quoted, it is added, that "the first summer he took a pedestrian tour to the Highlands of Scotland. He then visited England, France, and Switzerland." Having letters to several persons of eminence, he was received with the kindest attentions, particularly by Bishop Porteus and Mr. Wilberforce. He gave himself also the advantage of hearing Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan, as well as Wilberforce, in Parliament. In Paris also he saw Napoleon, when he first appeared as emperor. And, having preached at Hackney and at Bristol, he returned to Boston in 1805.

By the death of the Rev. Simeon Howard, D.D.,† who had succeeded the eminent Dr. Mayhew as Pastor of the West Church in Boston, a vacancy in that office had been created. Mr. Lowell was invited to fill it; and on the first day of January, 1806, was publicly ordained. This was his only settle-

* See Boston Daily Advertiser of Jan. 22, 1861.

† Aug. 13, 1804.

ment, and it continued for life: since, although his active services were not enjoyed by his people during some years of confinement toward its close, his affectionate parish would not receive his offered resignation, but regarded him as their pastor still; the necessary duties of that office being rendered by the Rev. Dr. Bartol, settled in 1837.

We have now to contemplate him in his new and sacred and responsible situation. And here he shone; not, indeed, as a controversial divine, but as a devoted minister of the Prince of peace, — devoted conscientiously to the welfare, temporal as well as spiritual, of his people. This was the distinguishing trait of his protracted ministry: and it met a full response in the affection borne to him, and variously manifested, from the beginning of it to its close. In very few religious communities have I known it more marked.

With equal independence of character, aided similarly by the prestige of wealth and family,* he yet took a course distinctly different from that of his relative whose life has now been briefly reviewed; and although the state of theological opinion had not, as yet, developed the differences of belief existing actually, yet the way was preparing for that separation of churches and pastors from each other, which distinguished so observably the former portion of the present century.

But it is time that the pastor should be permitted to speak, as it were, for himself. From a sermon, therefore, on "Cheerfulness in Youth, sanctioned by Religion," † an extract is made: "I am not," said the preacher, "and never have been, a believer in that system which would dress up the gladsome

* Not only did the father and elder brother of Dr. Lowell stand high in public estimation, as his grandfather had done, but his second brother, Francis C., acquired reputation and influence in a successful cultivation of an important manufacture; and it was in reference to his public and private worth that the thriving city of Lowell bears the family name. — See Memoir of the Hon. N. Appleton, by the respected President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

† From Eccl. xi. 9. — See Sermons chiefly Practical, published 1854, p. 32.

spirit of youth in the weeds of sadness, and convert the accents, even of early childhood, into mournful regrets and lamentations — if, indeed, these could be felt and indulged — for the deformed scene on which they have entered, and the deformed natures they have brought with them.” He adds, “It is a system which has never been taught in this church, whose hundredth year is not very distant; and which, I trust, will never be taught here.”

This important hint, or declaration, leads us directly to the history of the West Church, as given by its late senior pastor, who took much pains to be minutely accurate in his statements. It was organized in 1737, chiefly by members of several of the Boston churches; and its first minister was the Rev. William Hooper, who, in about ten years after, became Rector of Trinity Church, and died in 1767. His successors, in order, were the very eminent Dr. Mayhew, and the Rev. Dr. Howard, who immediately preceded the fourth pastor, our late lamented friend.

In the spirit of the quotation just made, the last remarks, when reviewing his ministry of forty years, and speaking of his first discourse, “The theme of it was from the fourth chapter of the Philippians: and the words were, ‘*Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I say, Rejoice.*’ Such was the text of the first sermon which I preached in this parish. It was my object in that sermon to portray the beneficial influence of religion on the character and happiness of man; and the concluding exhortation was in the spirit of the text, ‘*Rejoice in the Lord alway,*’ — in joy and in sorrow, in prosperity and adversity, in riches and poverty, in health and sickness, in life and death. As I then presented religion to you in the garb of cheerfulness, and not of melancholy; as the inspirer of peace and hope, and not of wretchedness and despair: so, you will bear me witness, I have always presented it. As I then exhorted those who heard me to rejoice in the Lord alway, so have I exhorted you to do it in all the varied circumstances of

your lives. I have directed you to God as your Father and your best friend, and—as our religion presents him to us—as God in Christ, reconciling the world to himself. I have exhorted you to go to him, through Christ, as your only secure refuge; and have assured you, that none who went by that way should in any wise be cast out. So did I begin, and so would I end, my preaching. *'Rejoice in the Lord always.'* And what an abundant source of rejoicing is opened to us in that religion which *teaches* us to rejoice in God! How often,—little as it seems to me that I have been instrumental in effecting in this already long ministry,—how often have I seen the influence of this religion in refining, purifying, sanctifying, elevating the soul of the believer; in soothing sorrow, sometimes indescribably great, and while nothing else could soothe; in reconciling, and more than reconciling, to death, when there was every thing to inspire the wish to live! But religion—faith in God and in Christ—had given the hope of a better world, and death was 'swallowed up of life.' Blessed hope! Hold it fast, my friends: do not let it go!"*

Three or four years before Whitefield's first arrival in America, the West Church had been gathered; and in the eleven Congregational churches of Boston, of which this was one, it is related that he preached. This was in 1740. But what was the special course of Mr. Hooper in reference to him does not appear. Dr. Lowell, in making his investigations for the history of the church, states that he found in manuscript, in our Historical Society's library, a correspondence in that year between Dr. Colman, of Brattle-street Church, and Mr. Hooper, which led him "to think that Mr. Hooper's greater liberality of sentiment than some of his brethren had an influence in determining him to leave the Congregational communion. He was," observes Dr. Lowell,† "a native of

* Occasional Sermons, published in 1855, p. 292, &c.

† Same volume, sermon entitled Retrospection.

Scotland; a man of more than ordinary powers of mind; of a noble aspect; an eloquent, popular preacher." And he adds, "It was on his account chiefly, as I have reason to think, that this church was formed; and the dissolution of his connection with it was universally and deeply lamented."

It is not a little remarkable, that Mr. Hooper's immediate successor, Dr. Mayhew,* should have become deeply engaged in a spirited controversy with the English episcopacy before the decease of Mr. Hooper,—a controversy which involved "his Grace of Canterbury," and contributed as much, perhaps, to the celebrity of the West-Church pastor, as his early, bold, patriotic stand in favor of the British Colonies in America; and the freedom which he demanded for his country, as a patriot, he claimed, vindicated, and exercised, in his own profession, as a minister of religion.

Rev. Dr. Howard, the successor of Mayhew, "an eminently wise and good man" (I use the words of Dr. Lowell), "followed in his steps, and neither brought himself nor his people under 'the yoke of bondage.' He did not enter, indeed, like his predecessor, upon the thorny field of controversy; but, like him, he asserted his independence, and inflexibly maintained the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the indefeasible right of every man to search and judge for himself. It was his own language, with respect to the duty of a Christian minister, that he should 'subscribe no man's creed, and require no man to subscribe his. I know not,' he says, 'how to reconcile the conduct of those who set up other standards of Orthodoxy, besides the Holy Scriptures, with that superior regard which is due to those sacred writings.'"

* "One of the ablest men our country has produced," wrote Dr. Lowell in giving a history of the West Church. The Life of Dr. Mayhew was published by the late Alden Bradford, Esq.; but it has excited my wonder that his Works have not been republished, by the friends of his sentiments, in a regular set. They were, indeed, collected with much care by Lieutenant-Governor Lincoln (father of the respected Ex-Governor), of Worcester, as he himself assured me many years ago.

“It has been my ambition,” adds Dr. Lowell, in the discourse from which the preceding sentences have been drawn, “like those who have gone before me in this church, to keep myself free from the shackles of human authority; and, to this end, I have adopted neither the name nor the creed of any party.* If I had selected any other name than that which the first disciples bore, it would have been ‘eclectic,’—taking from each party what seemed to me to be truth: but better than any other name is the name of ‘Christian;’ and better than all other creeds, the word of God. This name is as definite, and this creed is surely as intelligible, as any other. Whilst, however, I would build my faith on no man’s foundation in matters of religion, I have an entire respect for him who diligently and devoutly studies his Bible in search of truth; and, though he may come to a result different from my own, if I perceive in him the fruits of holy living, I have no anxiety to convert him to *my* faith, however dear it may be to me. The mode of faith that is best for me may not be best for *him*. I am satisfied with his faith, if it is productive of good works. I remember that the Saviour has said, ‘By their fruits ye shall know them;’ and that an apostle, too, has said, ‘Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith *by* my works.’”

The sentiment that originated the resolution thus expressed was, with apparent conscientiousness, and certainly with much firmness, maintained on all occasions, which, as he deemed, required it, by Dr. Lowell. Hence it was that he published a

* So frequently was this avowal made, and so resolutely kept, that the anonymous author of “Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England” has not hesitated to say, after enumerating several of the Boston ministers, who had adopted Socinian sentiments, renouncing the “Puritan” doctrines, “Lowell rejected least, and would never permit himself to assume any other title than that of ‘Christian,’ nor to be numbered with the party with whom he acted.” This pamphlet is a republication of papers from the “Episcopal Observer,” evidently written by one of that denomination, in which evangelical piety and Christian zeal have been greatly resuscitated since the commencement of the present century.

discourse entitled "Union in Sentiment among Christians, not essential to Peace." * Another is in the same volume, asserting that "the name of Christian [is] the only appropriate name for believers in Christ." He also wrote a discourse† maintaining that "theology, and not religion, [is] the cause of division and strife in the Christian Church." One of his sermons also is entitled "Men accountable only to God for their theological Opinions." Another is on "The Trinitarian Controversy," grounded on Luke x. 22.

These several discourses exhibit distinctively the views he entertained of the gospel and its requirements, and the reasons on which he grounded his habitual conduct. That conduct, although different from the course of many whom he highly esteemed, he justified to his own conscience by the arguments which in these discourses he has given; and took and exercised what he judged to be "the liberty wherewith Christ makes free." The limits to which these remarks may be extended will permit no further specifications.

In the practical discharge of his duties as a pastor and minister of a parish, Dr. Lowell, as I have ventured to say, shone peculiarly. It was, indeed, that which endeared him remarkably to the people of his charge. Nor to them only; for at the time of his settlement, and during the early portion of his ministry, none of the now numerous associations for the religious instruction and comfort of the poor had been formed. The eminently pious and excellent Dr. Stillman, whose spiritual services had been so acceptable wherever they were rendered, in private as well as in public, died in 1807. Dr. Thacher, too, of Brattle-street Church, ever welcome to the afflicted, had sunk under disease, previously by some years. And now the sympathy with suffering, and the devoted attention to such as sought his kindness, manifested among his own

* No. X. of his Occasional Sermons.

† No. XI. in the same volume.

people by Mr. Lowell, opened the door for many applications from beyond these limits. He says himself, in recalling his labors,* There "was a large accession of worshippers on the erection of the new church," in 1806; "and the parish, during the greater part of my ministry, consisted of from three to four hundred families. Circumstances also brought under my care the largest part of that portion of the population who were destitute of a stated ministry; so that I was for several years the 'Minister-at-Large' in fact, though not in name. . . . There were demands upon me, for ministerial services, from every quarter and from every class of society, by day and by night. My slumbers in the night were broken by calls to the sick and dying. Not seldom I have been obliged to find my way through dark and narrow passages, to minister, in their sickness and death, their penitence and fearful forebodings, to the most degraded and abandoned, of whom there were not a few in a remote section of the part of the city in which I lived. I could not portray in language the heart-rending scenes I have witnessed.† Ah, how fearful will be the account *they* must render, of whose unhallowed passions and cruel artifices these sufferers were the miserable victims! In performing these painful and wearisome labors, 'necessity was laid upon me.' I did no more," he adds with exemplary modesty, "than common humanity would lead me to do; and all I did was done with the prompting and in the strength of Him who is the author of all good designs, and whose 'strength is made perfect in weakness.' The burden which has thus devolved upon me was greater than I could bear; and the impaired state of my health led, by the advice of the parish, to my fixing my residence in the country. The number of churches, in the mean time, was

* Review of a Ministry of Forty Years, Occasional Sermons, p. 297, &c.

† He alludes, doubtless, to "the hill" between Beacon and Cambridge Streets, where not unfrequently his name was heard by me, while pursuing a course of Christian duty under the auspices of the Society for the Religious Instruction of the Poor, several of whom, in subsequent years, sorely missed his ministrations.

multiplied; and there was less necessity for my extra services. From these extra services, my removal, in a great measure, released me; though I continued to perform my appropriate parochial duties as usual."

How these "parochial duties" were performed, the following paragraph will declare. It is drawn from the same discourse: and the author says, "Is it amiss for me, in this connection, to say that I am not conscious of having ever heard of sickness or trouble in any of your families, that I have not gone to do what became me as your minister to do; or that I have ever known of any considerable accession to the sources of your happiness, that I have not rejoiced with you in your joy, and endeavored to lead you to a grateful improvement of the goodness of God to you? One thing more I may claim to say, that my pastoral visits have never been spent in idle gossiping. I have aimed to make them useful, however much I may have failed to do so. A minister of religion, I have felt that it became me to teach religion, not only 'publicly,' but 'from house to house;' to 'watch for souls,'—God forgive me that I have not been more faithful!—'as one who must give an account.'"

His labors were lightened by the happy settlement of a colleague; but for some years before his decease, although he journeyed for health in this country, and revisited Europe (extending his tour, accompanied by his wife and daughter, even to Greece and Palestine, of which he gave a brief account to his people), he was exercised with debility and sickness. Under these sufferings, however, he was sustained in a meek, uncomplaining resignation, even to the close of his earthly life.

His connection with the Historical Society of Massachusetts, as their Corresponding Secretary for a long series of years, deepened their interest in him, and endears to them his cherished memory. He was born in Boston, Aug. 15, 1782; and died at Cambridge, Jan. 20, 1861, in his seventy-ninth year.

And now, having briefly passed over the lives of these two clergymen, lately so much and so deservedly confided in by their respective parishes and friends, and permitted them afresh to speak, as it were, for themselves, let us pause a moment for a partial retrospect. Wesley, the honored head and archbishop of Methodism, is reported to have said, "I do not wish that my preachers should be *gentlemen*." His meaning I take to have been, that he did not desire effeminate, self-seeking, self-sparing men for the ministrations of the gospel. But here we have two devoted ministers, laborious, faithful, conscientious, to whom none who knew them will deny the name of "gentlemen," yet choosing and exercising their profession with a reverential sense of dependence on God, and need of his grace; withholding themselves from no exertion in their power to make in the discharge of duty: and, though they adopted views in several important particulars differing essentially, who shall pronounce a decisive judgment against either? Happily, it is not our business. "There is One that judgeth," and before Him we must all appear. Well may we adopt the language of a contemporary, who, when mentioning the late Rev. Cortlandt van Rensselaer, observes, "Some of the most laborious, earnest, and successful preachers are men above the reach of want, and independent of the support of their people."*

I cannot but regard it as a great advantage to both the persons whose lives we have been reviewing, that, before entering on their strictly professional studies, they had opportunity to pass a year in the study of law. It tended, I doubt not, to give them correct views of the organization of civil society, the excellency of our own invaluable institutions, and the gratitude we owe to God for them; thus preparing the way for appreciating the blessings of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," by the influence of which alone these privileges may be rendered permanent.

* New-York Observer.

Hence the liberal expression of rational and decided patriotism, apparent in their occasional discourses on public days. Not that political sermons answer my views, or theirs, of the great design of the Christian pulpit; but, under governments like ours, it surely is inexpedient so to restrict and circumscribe its occupant, that he shall not, without giving offence, utter in public what overburdens his heart in secret, when he contemplates the concerns of his country. How shall he discharge his sacred duty if he have not this liberty? Besides, men of cultivated intellect and of integrity, liberally educated, and animated with Christian love, cannot be restrained from taking an interest in these things, nor from having their own opinions about them; "for," as says the Apostle Paul, when characterizing nobly the Christian spirit, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this evening, Thursday, March 13, at half-past seven o'clock; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the publishers of the "Farmer and Gardener;" John Appleton, M.D.; George Clasback, Esq.; Thomas F. De Voe, Esq.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.; Hon. J. Segar; and from Messrs. Bigelow (G. T.), Folsom, Quint, Park, Robbins (C.), Warren, Washburn, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.